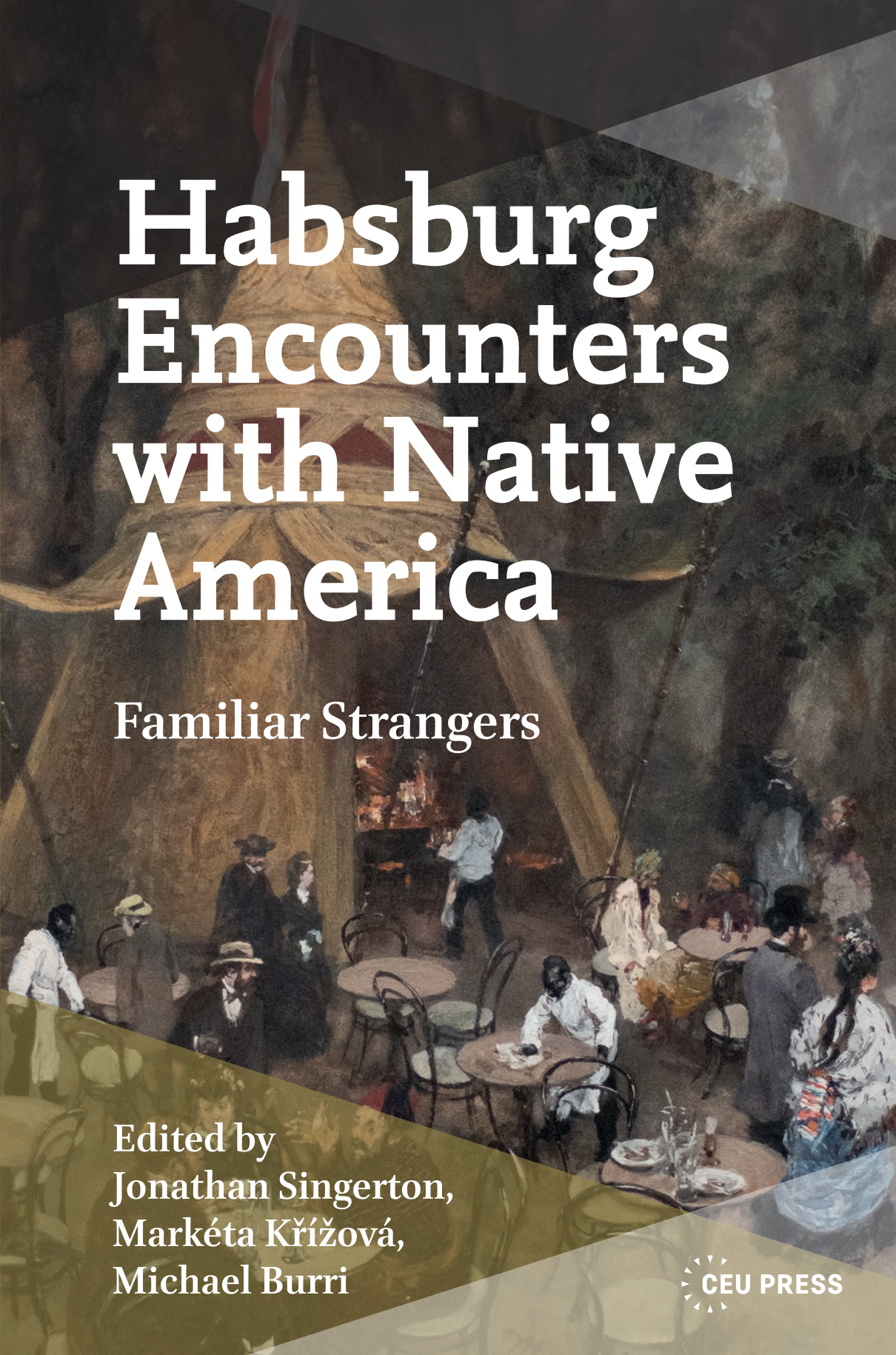
Habsburg Encounters with Native America

Familiar Strangers



Edited by
Jonathan Singerton,
Markéta Křížová,
Michael Burri

CEU PRESS

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Foreword

My late father Robert Treuer was born in Vienna, Austria, in 1926. He was one hundred percent Ashkenazi Jew but the recipient of an education and social experience common among those who lived in the heart of the Habsburg monarchy. In addition to his instruction in German language, literature, and music, he read Karl May books and loved them. Karl May's imagined Indian narratives were so popular that his work sold over 200,000,000 copies—making him one of the best-selling German writers of all time.

Reality, it turned out, was quite different from my father's imaginings, or Karl May's. My father and his mother fled Austria four months after the Anschluss. My grandfather followed after Kristallnacht. A couple of our cousins survived, but everyone else was killed during the Nazi Holocaust. My father restarted a new life in North America, serving in the US Army, working as a labor union organizer, teaching English, farming trees, and writing. He worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the agency of the American government designated to serve American Indians. That's when he met my mother.

My mother Margaret Treuer was born and raised on the Leech Lake Reservation in northern Minnesota. She spent the first eighteen years of her life there, and in spite of the fact that there are around 10,000 tribal citizens at Leech Lake, she only met one professional Native person her entire childhood. The denial of opportunity to Indians was pervasive. The one person she met was the school nurse and, inspired, my mother went to nursing school. One of her first jobs afterwards was working for our tribe's health program. Disappointed with the disempowerment, she went on to law school and became the first Native attorney in the state of Minnesota.

My father had great respect for Native people and our tribal culture, Ojibwe. But it was nothing like he imagined and far from anything Karl May described. Nobody wore eagle feathers except for powwows. Nobody owned a horse. The people, were just as complex, diverse, fascinating, beautiful, and problematic as people everywhere else. There was so much to learn.

In her brilliant TED Talk, "The Danger of a Single Story," Nigerian literary figure Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie said, "The problem with stereotypes is

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not that they are untrue but that they are incomplete."[1] They give us a single story to understand the experience of an entire group of people. Any single story by itself will, no matter how true it is, distort our perception. A single story about Austria might have everyone thinking that Austria was only a victim of the Nazis despite its welcoming of the Anschluss, Austrofascism, and the fact that Hitler himself was Austrian. Another single-story narrative would have us believe that Austrians all thought and acted like Hitler. The truth is that there were Austrian Nazis and there were Austrians who resisted the Nazis, and there were many other people, experiences, and truths simultaneously. The more stories we get, the better able we are to see, understand, and tell a narrative that is nuanced, complex, and accurate.

Most of the citizenry across the former Habsburg empire has received stories of Indians that are from the 1800s rather than the modern age, stories of tragedy, trauma, and loss, rather than stories of resiliency, survival, and growth. They also have received a lot of stories about people of the Great Plains and horses and buffalo, and not nearly as many about the people of the woodlands, water, deserts, and coasts. They have received stories of poverty and political collapse rather than ones of thriving and dynamic rebuilding. This volume speaks to these issues well, such as Secklehner's chapter on Hans Larwin's use of Indigenous poverty as something akin to the Roma in central Europe. Ambach and Gröber also speak well to the staged representations of Indigenous people displaying all of these tropes. Markéta Křížová shows how stereotypes about Native Americans were constructed and perpetuated in the Czech lands. Finally, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf showcases the religious depictions of Native Americans as "diabolical" and "savage" peoples.

This volume is well framed in that it seeks to explore not the imagined Indians of Karl May, but the real ones, especially as they encountered people from central Europe. And it also examines stories in plural. Instead of one, single story, we get many. We find multiple sites of encounter and multiple instances of imagination, aptly framed in the introduction as "running alongside the simplified reduction of Native Americans to common Europeanized stereotypes." This effort helps us understand the complexity of the Native experience and deepen our understanding of what life was like for Native people then and now.

There has been a shift in Native literature, history, and even moviemaking in recent years. It is an evolving effort rather than one that is fully evolved.

1 Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "The Danger of a Single Story," 7 October 2009, 13:14–13:21, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg, 11 June 2024.

The effort is to center Native voices in the telling of stories about Native cultures, to have efforts be Native led rather than be Native inspired, to get information about Natives from Natives, rather than filtered by everyone else—to encounter Native people face-to-face. It is in these encounters with one another that real growth happens. The need to truly encounter and reencounter one another has never been greater. Take it from a man with roots in central Europe and Native America—we are all thousands of years of human history still in the making.

Anton Treuer
Leech Lake, MN
June 2024

About the Author

Anton Treuer is Professor of Ojibwe at Bemidji State University and author of *Where Wolves Don't Die* and many other books. He lives at Leech Lake in northern Minnesota.

Introduction: Reencountering Native America from the Habsburg Lands

Jonathan Singerton, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri

Encounters with Native America abound in the present day. Across Europe today, preconceptions of Native Americans as "Indians" emerge from sedimented images of the "American Indian" found in early depictions of Indigenous peoples from the initial period of contact between European explorers and settler colonists.[1] We have become all too familiar with such tropes as the noble savage, the nomadic Plains Indians, and the objects, customs, and dress that go along with these stereotypes. At the conclusion of the "Habsburg Encounters with Native America" symposium held at the University of Innsbruck in June 2023 that serves as the backdrop for this volume, participants were confronted by this very fact. As coffee arrived to mark the end of the event's proceedings at a communal dinner, the branded cups and sugar sachets were from Passalacqua, a contemporary Neapolitan coffee company whose founder, Samuele Passalacqua, used the image of a "little American Indian boy" licking his lips to evoke the taste and quality of the coffee. Founded in 1948, Passalacqua's coffee bar and company became an established import and export business in Italy with a global outreach today.[2] The image of a smiling black-haired "Indian" youth wearing two colorful eagle war feathers resembles a standard Western assembly of Native American imagery; skin tones, facial features, and animal props combine to propagate the extensive commercialization of Native Americans.[3] In

1 This work avoids terms such as "Indian" or "American Indian" that may be interpreted as historically loaded and repressive, preferring instead to utilize terms such as "Indigenous" or "Indigenous American" or "Native American" to denote those cultures and people native to the Americas.

2 Information on the Passalacqua brand can be found from the history section of their corporate website: https://www.passalacqua.com/our-history, accessed 12 March 2024.

3 Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer, eds., *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001); Erika Marie Bsumek, *Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868–1940* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press,

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Figure 0.1 The coincidental Passalacqua "Indian" logo on a coffee cup at the Habsburg Encounters with Native America conference held at the University of Innsbruck

this case, the Passalacqua brand utilizes (according to their own website) these stereotypical elements to convey the "metaphysical dimension of beauty where rigor, loyalty, a sense of community [combine] in the work

2008), 76–113; Pauline Turner Strong, *American Indians and the American Imaginary: Cultural Representation Across the Centuries*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 125–62.

and the pursuit of good coffee."[4] Conflating notions of Native aesthetic simplicity with ascribed ideals of Native resilience, community, harmony, and pride recall what Oneida activist Pamela Colorado has framed as the ongoing struggle over the power to define "Indianness" by Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups.[5]

This moment brings to life two aspects central to the core of this volume as it typifies many forms of encountering that still perpetuate stereotypes of the Native American "Indian" among Europeans. Firstly, the Passalacqua example is emblematic of the sustained conversation between European and Indigenous (whether actual or, in this case, contrived). In this sense, the phenomenon is certainly not restricted to places like a restaurant in present-day Innsbruck but abound throughout much of central Europe. When boarding a Condor flight from Canada to Germany, for example, the Diné (Navajo) academic Renae Watchman witnessed an inflight safety video that depicted characterized stand-ins of Karl May's Winnetou and Old Shatterhand. Writing about the incident in a volume of works by Indigenous scholars written in response to the European fetishization of Native Americans, the authors of that volume understood this encounter to be emblematic of the "problematic German infatuation with the Indigenous peoples and cultures of North America."[6] It is this infatuation that Hartmut Lutz has described with the neologism "German Indianthusiasm" (*deutsche Indianertümelei*) as a witty but serious attempt to capture the unusual level of cultural absorption, fascination, and obsession with Native Americans among German-speaking societies.[7]

Popular periodicals and magazines continue to cater to a public enthusiasm for *die ersten Amerikaner* that adorn art and history publications. Taking a stroll through Viennese bookstores, one is confronted by images of Honii-Wotoma (Wolf Robe) of the Heévâhetaneo'o (Southern Cheyenne) on *Der Spiegel*'s *Geschichte*, or Diné (Navajo) objects featured on the front of *Tribal Art* magazine, which markets itself to the international bourgeois craze of collecting non-European artworks. In Prague and Ostrava, the host

4 https://www.passalacqua.com/our-history, 12 March 2024.

5 Pamela Colorado as quoted in Ward Churchill, *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema, and the Colonization of American Indians*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1992), 191.

6 Harmut Lutz et al., eds., *Indianthusiasm: Indigenous Responses* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2020), 3. For Watchman's narration, see 207–13.

7 For a wider definition, see Hartmut Lutz, "German Indianthusiasm: A Socially Constructed German Nationalist Myth," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 167–84.

cities of the International Ice Hockey Federation's 2024 World Championship, Czech fans adorned themselves with large feathered headdresses painted in Czech colors that contrasted their Native-American-derived buckskin coats. In both cities, one can hear frequent performances of Antonín Dvořák's Ninth Symphony, nicknamed "From the New World" during the composers sojourn in the United States—a period when contemporaries observed the Czech master was obsessed with the legend of Ayenwatha (Hiawatha).[8] As a cultural phenomenon, there is no doubt that Indianthusiasm is still a product of European imagined and past encounters with Native America. In this volume we seek to historicize the deeper roots of Indianthusiasm as a process of continual (re)encountering and (re)imagination of Native Americans, their history, cultures, and identities within the central European context.

To be sure, Indianthusiasm can be interpreted as an equally central European phenomenon. The ubiquitous imagery of Native Americans and Indigenous tropes abounded in the historic lands belonging to the Habsburg monarchy. Among the aristocracy of the monarchy in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Native Americana became a status symbol. Palaces featured allegories of the four continents where the Americas frequently appeared in Native form, adorned with colorful feathers, headdresses, and skirts, along with parrots and alligators.[9] In Prague, workshops emerged to produce painted feathers as an imitation of elite tastes that could be reproduced for mass consumption.[10] In the nineteenth century, mass consumption of Native American imagery became commonplace through printed paraphernalia, organized touring shows, and museums exhibiting exotic artifacts. Translations too played an important role. Long before he arrived in the United States, Dvořák first became familiar with the Ayenwatha legend through a translated version of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's famous epic poem which "appealed very strongly" to his imagination.[11] The present ubiquity represents part of a far longer tradition of encounters

8 Michael Beckerman, "Dvořák's "New World" Largo and "The Song of Hiawatha"," *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 1 (1992), 36–7.

9 Marion Romberg, *Die Welt im Dienst des Glaubens: Erdteilallegorien in Dorfkirchen auf dem Gebiet des Fürstbistums Augsburg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017). For later parallels and the construction of an imaginary shared transatlantic aristocratic culture, see Harry Liebersohn, *Aristocratic Encounters: European Travellers and North American Indians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3 and 134.

10 Stefan Hanß, "Making Featherwork in Early Modern Europe," in *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Europe, 1450–1750: Objects, Affects, Effects*, eds. Susanna Burghartz et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 148; Ulinka Rublack, "Befeathering the European: The Matter of Feathers in the Material Renaissance," *The American Historical Review* 126, no. 1 (2021): 19–53.

11 Beckerman, "Dvořák's "New World" Largo," 36.

such as these historical mediums between central European audiences and Native Americans.

Yet central European audiences engaged with Native America beyond a superficial level. Consumption also entailed debate and critique. Running alongside the simplified reduction of Native Americans to common Europeanized stereotypes was a continued rumination on Native American traditions, circumstances, and culture. From theological forays into the nature of Indigenous humanity to the linguistic and pseudo-anthropological studies of central European missionaries present among Indigenous communities, the process of (re)encountering the significance of Native American cultures occurred over centuries.

For the purposes of this volume, we attach special significance to the lands of the Habsburg monarchy as a polycentric, multinational, and composite region that together constructs a distinctly Habsburg Indianthusiasm as a space where particular understandings and fascinations for Native Americans emerged. Rather than merely reducing Native Americans to cheap advertising imagery or simplistic representation as logos, central Europeans under the Habsburg monarchy often encountered Native America on its own terms or within wider dynastic or (multi)nationalistic frameworks. These specific contexts added nuance and layered meaning to the idea of Native Americans. Early encounters often became framed within a dynastic context as Native Americans and their associated imagery served to support the sense of worldly power exhibited by the Habsburg family, both the Spanish and Austrian branches, which James Ring Adams and Alexander McCargar elucidate in subsequent chapters.

From claiming sovereignty over all peoples discovered in the New World for the House of Habsburg to the competitive inclusion of the peoples of Calicut (a fictive European metaphor for overseas people) in the triumphal processions of Holy Roman Emperors to the consumption of Amerindian products such as tobacco and colored feathers, the first encounters filtered through elite conceptualizations.[12] Later, encountering Native Americans could serve nationalistic or political means as a method of contrasting ideals and juxtaposing circumstances. Whether Native Americans formed a foil for viewing Roma inhabitants within the monarchy or as an impetus

12 Christian Feest, "Von Kalikut nach Amerika: Albrecht Dürer und die 'wunderliche künstliche ding' aus dem 'neuen gulden land,'" in *Dürer: Kunst, Künstler, Kontext*, ed. Jochen Sander (Munich: Prestel, 2013), 367–75; Christian Feest, "The People of Calicut: Objects, Texts, and Images in the Age of Proto-Ethnography," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi: Ciencias Humanas* 9, no. 2 (2014): 287–303.

for advancing a Christianizing mission across North America as part of the Catholic Habsburg duty—discussed in chapters by Julia Secklehner and Jonathan Singerton, respectively—the idea of Native Americans became a useful implement for specific purposes. The process of politicizing Native American concepts occurred through various media as Native Americans became stand-ins for marginalized or romanticized minorities within central European frames. They could even be projected onto the dominant nations within the Habsburg realm, who considered themselves to be marginalized and persecuted by the Habsburg rulers, as discussed in the chapter by Markéta Křížová. From this utility of the Native American within the Habsburg lands came a continued focus on Indigeneity and debates of authenticity and circumstances of Indigenous peoples in (mainly) North America.

Second, we seek not only to historicize the understandings of Native Americans from central European perspectives, but simultaneously to uncover the variety of the forms of encounters between central Europeans and Native Americans. Whereas disaggregating the construction of Native Americans from a wider European phenomenon can increase the pitfalls related to applying arbitrary national categories, the need to consider the narrower context of Habsburg Indianthusiasm arises due to the specific conditions of the Habsburg state as opposed to viewing it as part of a wider Germanic Indianthusiasm.[13] The Habsburg encounter with Native America receives a certain distinctiveness through the religious elements present within periods of sustained contact. As members of a predominantly Catholic polity, this religious lens shaped central European perceptions and influenced the varied degrees of connection in the process of power projection, asymmetric relations, and perpetuating Western-contrived visions of Native American existence. At the same time, the previously mentioned (multi)national instrumentalization of Native Americans also arose due to the specific nature of the composite Habsburg state and its multiethnic population that ascribed and utilized specific understandings of Indigeneity for their own causes in addition to their own preconceptions. From these contexts developed sophisticated (albeit sometimes misguided) discussions and unique understandings of Native America within central Europe.

At the same time, one impact envisioned by this volume addresses (mis)perceptions of central Europe as a historical site devoid of worldwide

13 For a warning against an overreliance on national categories, see Christian Feest, "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 25–45.

connectivity. Admittedly, states such as the Habsburg monarchy do not frequently appear in the canon of Native American studies, and so the assembled essays here provide good reasoning for its inclusion. Connections between the Habsburg lands and various Indigenous nations persisted throughout the early modern and modern periods, from at least the sixteenth century to the twentieth century that are represented in proceeding chapters. This chronological breadth is matched by the nature of these continued encounters as both direct and indirect interactions. Native America was not absorbed secondhand in central Europe, but representations and understandings often resulted from direct personal encounters by Habsburg subjects in the Americas. Whether as part of a scientific expedition, religious mission, personal tour, or political engagement, these direct encounters reflect the wider interconnectedness of central Europe and the world, in this case the Indigenous world of (mainly) North America. In doing so, recognition of the one-sided nature of these encounters—as primarily central European incursions into Native settings and communities—must be acknowledged, even as this helps to expand the spatial dimensions of central European history.

We use the concept of these direct and indirect encounters as an analytical means to explore the continued engagement between these audiences in a way that goes beyond the perpetuation of stereotypes expressed in some examples of central European cultures today. Our work has also been energized by the increasingly forceful voice of Indigenous groups in North America and across the world more generally, whose dynamism is manifested not least by significant recent funding streams directed to tribal priorities, but also by new state partnerships around land and natural resource stewardship. In a recent volume, *(Un)Following in Winnetou's Footsteps*, contributors called for transcending the normative representations of Native American cultures within European dimensions as well as opening up the historic dialogue between Indigenous and central European communities as a way for Indigenous identity to be "negotiated, even reclaimed, from within the cross-cultural arena" and as a "window of opportunity for Europeans to reflect back on themselves by confronting their ethnocentric attitudes, practices, and imagination."[14] It is for this reason that this volume gives the first and last word to two Indigenous scholars, Robbie Richardson and Anton Treuer, the latter himself of mixed Native and Austrian heritage, as an effort

14 Sanja Runtić, "(Why) Is Europe Still Following in Winnetou's Footsteps?" in *(Un)Following in Winnetou's Footsteps: Representations of North American Indigeneity in Central Europe*, eds. Sanja Runtić et al. (Singapore: Springer Verlag, 2024), 18.

to recognize the primacy of Indigenous voices and in an effort to open up this transatlantic dialogue. As a further contribution to these aims, we hope that this current volume will offer a renewed prospect for enhancing the recognition and comprehension of Indigenous–central European history as an extensive relationship.

In contributing towards a central European understanding of Indigenous history, each chapter reveals the interactions among encounters, representations, and political discourses in Native American–central European relationships across five centuries. The present volume is arranged in a broad chronological sweep. Each chapter reflects the varied mediums of encounters between Native Americans and central Europeans. At the heart of all these chapters are the ways Indigenous cultures were constructed for these central European audiences. We open with two chapters that focus on the earliest encounters of the Habsburg monarchy with what has been often termed "Wonders of the New World."[15] James Ring Adams in his chapter "The Royal Fifth and the Rights of Indians: Charles V and his Display of Mexican Material Culture" traces the history of the items from Hernán Cortés's plunder of Mexico, sent to the royal court of Charles V. This work explores how the strange, unfamiliar, yet undoubtedly rare and precious items were put to use for dynastic representation in competitions between Charles V with Henry VIII of England and François I of France, and how they helped to shape popular opinion in Europe with regard to the newly conquered territories and their inhabitants. Following along this thread, the chapter by Alexander McCargar under the title "Plumes of Power: Depictions of the Native American in Viennese Festival Culture before 1700" advances research on the sources and the uses of Indigenous motifs in allegorical scenes that accompanied the theatrical and musical shows and processions taking place at the Habsburg court in Vienna. While based on secondhand sources, these lavish representations, authored by prominent artists of the time, made lasting impressions into the European imagery of Native Americans as "Indians."

Tracing the use of the early encounters forms the basis of Ildikó Sz. Kristóf's chapter "'People of the Devil'—'People of Achilles': The Representation of Native America in Religious Practice, Translations, and Collections in Hungary, 1670–1840s," which draws predominantly on sources authored by Catholic and Protestant missionaries as well as secondary commentators inspired by their reports to produce a comparative analysis of diabolical

15 Rachael Doggett, ed., *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas 1492–1700* (Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington Press, 1992).

imagery with the noble savage stereotypes contained within these missionary reports and scholarly texts. In doing so, Kristóf is able to accentuate the missing Indigenous voices in early modern and modern Hungarian textual and pictorial constructions of America. In a similar way, Markéta Křížová moves the analysis of Native American imagery towards the nineteenth century in her "Neither Red Enough, nor Fierce Enough: The Construction of Native Americans in Nineteenth-Century Czech Culture" which explores the specificities of construction and exploitation of Native American imagery within the frame of Czech and German nationalist competition in Bohemia and Moravia. Focusing especially on the phenomenon of ethnographic shows, she concludes that for the Czechs the North American as "Indian" was closely tied to the fantasies of colonial and imperial greatness, cultivated in explicit opposition to the Habsburg rule. Finally, on this recurrent theme, Florian Ambach and Maxmilian Gröber in their chapter "Staged Representation: The Perception of Native Americans, 'Ethnological Expositions,' and Wild West Shows in the German-Speaking Austro-Hungarian Press, 1870–1918" also explore the reflection of ethnographic shows through German-language media in Austria-Hungary. Following the development of this unique form of popular entertainment, they focus in particular on the famous Wild West shows of Buffalo Bill, demonstrating how, also for the German press, reporting on the shows reflected imperial discourses, but ones that focused on Austria-Hungary, its center and its (semi)peripheries, constructed via the imagery of the exotic Native American.

Another focal point assesses the multiple ways in which inhabitants of the Habsburg monarchy and the Native peoples of the Americas could enter into contact, as well as the interchange of experiences and creation of (mis) understandings during these encounters. The chapter by Bernd Hausberger "Jesuit Missionaries from Central European Territories in Northwestern New Spain, 1680–1767" returns us to the period of Spanish colonial expansion overseas. Through the overview of the activities of Jesuits from the German provinces (Austria, Bohemia, etc.) in the colony of New Spain (present-day Mexico), Hausberger reveals how these missionaries inserted themselves into the imperial ambitions of the Spanish Habsburgs (and later Bourbons), and how the reports returned to their original provinces and residences influenced the worldviews of those readers living in the Habsburg monarchy. Missionary activity is also the principal topic of "Myriad Missions: Native Americans and the Leopoldine Society" by Jonathan Singerton. Drawing upon the sources produced by the members of this Catholic society established in 1829, originally aiming for the enhancement of Catholicism of German immigrants to the United States, yet also dedicating its care to

the various Native populations, Singerton points out the varied responses of Native groups to the missionary activities, as well as the spectrum of the cultural and sociopolitical consequences that these produced.

In "Reencountering Trade Legacies, Indigenous Histories, and the Early Leopoldine Society Circle in the Vienna Weltmuseum," Michael Burri takes the North American collection of Indigenous cultural artefacts in the Weltmuseum Vienna as a point of departure for considering the exchange of objects between Indigenous peoples, the early Leopoldine Society circle, and others in the Great Lakes region. Habsburg leaders dispatched these missionaries in step with larger state initiatives to expand Austrian trade abroad. And yet, among the Indigenous groups of the upper Great Lakes middle ground, Leopoldine priests would encounter some of the most skilled practitioners of exchange on the planet. Pursuing the instances of direct encounters and materiality further, Marija Živković in her contribution "The Seljan Brothers, Native Americans, and the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb" traces the history of the founders of the collection of non-European cultures in one of the museum institutions that arose within the frame of the nationalist revival movements within the Habsburg monarchy. Beyond this story of the encounters of Croatian brothers Mirko and Stevo Seljan with Indigenous people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, she poses important questions about the ways in which these encounters, and their material testimonies in the form of museum objects, should be dealt with at present, and what ought to be the exhibition strategy for museums that partook in such colonial and imperial fantasies and practices.

A final commonality brings out the political facet of the encounters between inhabitants of the Habsburg monarchy with the Indigenous nations in North America. Csaba Lévai's essay, entitled "'Poor Indians! Strangers in Your Own Land!' The Attitude of a Hungarian Traveler towards Native Americans in Jacksonian America" analyses a travelogue by the prominent Hungarian author Sándor Bölöni Farkas which received great popular acclaim. Through this text, Lévai reconstructs the attitudes in Hungary towards American Indigenous peoples, and how the information about their treatment by American settlers was reconciled with the generally positive image of the United States among progressive Hungarians. Michael P. Taylor's chapter "'Rothäute von Heute': Deskaheh's Petition for Recognized Indigenous Sovereignty at the End of the Austro-Hungarian Empire" puts to the fore the agency of Deskaheh (Levi General), a Cayuga hereditary chief and the designated speaker of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, who in 1923 travelled to Geneva to petition the League of Nations for international recognition

of Haudenosaunee sovereignty, and the responses to this initiative. Here, we discover how the encounter with Deskaheh was exploited by certain political groups in Austria, such as the suffragettes. Julia Secklehner in her text "Who are the 'Indians'? Hans Larwin and the Visualization of the Roma and Native Americans in Interwar Austrian Popular Art and Visual Culture" opens the important question of how representations of marginalized local communities of central Europe, the Roma, were entangled with those of non-European others—Native Americans—in the works of a popular Viennese artist Hans Larwin (1873–1938). The analysis reveals the central European fascination with the exotic, and the omnipresence of the colonial gaze even in situations when formal colonial dominance was not exercised. In the final chapter of the section, "Richard Erdoes, Red Power's Ally," György Tóth explores how the Austro-Hungarian visual artist and author Richard Erdoes (1912–2008) engaged in support of the Native American radical sovereignty movement from the 1970s through the 1990s. He demonstrates the strong agency of the Indigenous protagonists in shaping the image of themselves and their struggle through collaboration with Erdoes, but also shows how Erdoes's actions and attitudes were emerging out of a central European mindset.

This volume is the first collection of essays to examine the representation of Native Americans, actual personal encounters with Native Americans, and the place of Native Americans in political discourse in the central European Habsburg lands and their successor states from the sixteenth through the twenty-first centuries. Taken together, these contributions seek to reformulate the Germanic Indianthusiasm that was present throughout the Habsburg monarchy by considering the particularities of this Habsburg phenomenon and the distinctive level of direct encounters between Indigenous peoples and inhabitants of the Habsburg lands. Many of the chapters deepen our understanding of colonialism, the politics of representation, political discourse, and frameworks of encounter by connecting these scholarly fields with distinctly central European developments and themes. We focus upon how encounter, representation, and the political or cultural deployment of claims about Native people emerged and evolved over time in this region. Our volume is envisioned as a contribution to the continual and worthwhile process of (re)encountering, (re)imaging, and (re)historicizing the meaning of Native America. In bringing a historically, religiously, and politically central European Habsburg perspective to the foreground, it represents an effort—from an atypical perspective—to recover the wider history of our interconnected global spaces and to rethink present-day Indianthusiasm in central Europe.

About the Authors

Jonathan Singerton is Assistant Professor of Global Political History at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam in the Netherlands. His research focuses on the worldwide connections of the Habsburg lands in the early modern and modern eras. His first book, *The American Revolution and the Habsburg Monarchy*, appeared in 2022 and he currently serves as the chief editor of a forthcoming Oxford handbook focused on global Habsburg history.

Markéta Křížová is Professor of Ibero-American Studies at Charles University, Prague. Her research involves the history of overseas expansion, migrations, and cultural transfers. Among her publications can be mentioned M. Křížová and J. Malečková, eds., *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century* (Frank & Timme, 2022).

Michael Burri teaches in German Studies at Haverford College, is editor of the Journal of Austrian-American History, and the former President of the Austrian Studies Association (2021–23). He has published on Austrian and Swiss film, and his articles have appeared in *German Studies Review*, *Austrian History Yearbook*, *Journal of Austrian Studies*, and *New German Critique*. His review essays and opinion pieces have appeared in leading Czech and American dailies, including Lidové noviny, Dnes, and *The Washington Post*. He is currently completing a book project on cultural diplomacy and the state in Austria.

1. The Royal Fifth and the Rights of Indians: Charles V and His Display of Mexican Material Culture

James Ring Adams

Abstract: When Emperor Charles V placed his share of the plunder from Hernán de Cortés's *entrada* into Mexico on public display in several European cities, he produced a pivotal change in perception of "the Indians lately discovered." For the Habsburgs, including Margaret of Austria, governor of the Netherlands provinces, the show from 1519 to 1523, primarily at the Brussels Hôtel de Ville, made propaganda for Charles's claim to be universal emperor. But the exhibit showed an influential audience the impressive craftsmanship and humanity of the New World population, sparked a new fashion industry, and ultimately contributed to the Papal bull *Sublimis Deus* (1537), one of the first declarations of Indigenous human rights.

Keywords: Charles V, royal fifth, Mexico, Hernán de Cortés, Margaret of Austria, universal emperor/*dominus mundi*, *Sublimis Deus*, Indigenous human rights

> It was maintained a long time in the universities of Europe that the inhabitants of America were not truly men but were truly Ourang-outangs, and as one denied to them an immortal soul, it required a minatory Bull (*une bulle comminatoire*) from Rome to halt the progress of that opinion among the theologians and perhaps also among the philosophers of the fifteenth century.[1]

1 Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1774; repr., Editions Jean-Michel Place, 1990), I, 409: "On a soutenu longtemps, dans les universités de l'Europe, que les habitants de l'Amérique n'étaient pas de véritables hommes; mais de véritables Orang-Outans: & comme on leur refusait une âme immortelle, it fallut une bulle comminatoire de Rome pour arrêter les progrès de cette opinion parmi les théologiens, et peut-être aussi parmi les philosophes du quinzième siècle."

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This statement by an eighteenth-century *philosophe* presents a grotesque version of a major controversy in the first decades of the Spanish intrusion into what came to be called the Americas. Who, or what, were the "Indians" newly discovered? The writer, Cornelius de Pauw, was deeply wrongheaded on many things, but there is little reason to doubt that he was reporting an opinion current among the more vulgar levels of the conquistadors and early settlers of the Indies. It was far easier to exploit the New World if its people could be dehumanized and depicted as inferior, dependent, and lacking in God-given souls.

The dispute among missionaries, theologians, and church lawyers was much more subtle however. Early Spanish policy, according to an influential study by John Leddy Phelan, was a three-way tug-of-war among the two main mendicant orders, namely the Franciscans and Dominicans, and the exploitive settlers on the ground.[2] Both Franciscans and Dominicans maintained that Indians were truly human, with immortal souls and human rights, although the logic of each order had very different starting points. There was also a fourth party to this debate: the Indians themselves. Their voice in the early decades was muted and inarticulate, but we submit they made a major, if not decisive, impact, with the inadvertent help of the Habsburg Emperor Charles V, through the sensational display of their material culture.

Centuries later, the Habsburg dynasty came to assume the role of what one of our colleagues calls "neutral imperialism," providing missionaries, settlers, and occasional political and cultural leadership attuned to Indigenous interests without seeking to incorporate their domains into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But during first contact, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V was the supreme agent of European domination in much of the Americas. Although events on the ground were often out of his control, the moral, political, and human status of the Indigenous Americans was a central theme of his reign.

The issue of just conquest was hotly debated under King Ferdinand II of Aragon and, after his death in 1516, in the regency of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. The staunch advocate of Indigenous rights, Bartolomé de las Casas, had the ear of Cardinal Cisneros and advisers to Charles V, but settlers and administrators in the Indies vehemently objected to freeing Natives from their control. Learned commissions in Spain produced measures like the Laws of Burgos (1512), mandating measures giving a semblance of legality to Spanish forces, but the practice of these requirements was often

2 John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970 [1950]), 9, 17–28.

farcical. The attempt to justify Spanish conquest dogged the conscience of Charles V to mid-century, leading to his order to suspend military expeditions and the famous disputation at Valladolid, in which las Casas argued for Indigenous rights and his opponents developed the tendentious argument that Indians were "natural slaves." Indigenous figures themselves played little or no role in developing the tractates and response of these proceedings.

The Indian Voice

Yet Mesoamericans were given a chance to influence this debate—silently but with great effect—when Charles V, for his own reasons, in 1520 put on public display his plunder from Hernán Cortés's *entrada* into Mexico. By the rules of earlier crusades, one fifth of the loot from military campaigns belonged to the monarch, the royal fifth.[3] The first shipment from Mexico differed significantly from our notion of war booty, however. Much of it consisted of gifts or tribute prepared in anticipation of the Spanish intrusions by Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, *huēyi tlahtoāni* (great leader) of the triple alliance between Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan, better known as Montezuma II, the Aztec Emperor.[4] Some say the collection was assembled in response to the earlier, more timid expedition of Juan de Grijalva.[5]

The broad scope of materials and craftsmanship in this display looked as if it were intended to show the range of the skill and industry of Montezuma's domain. Matthew Restall sees the assemblage as a reflection of what he calls the "zoo-collections complex" in the royal palace. Montezuma and his predecessors delighted in gathering and displaying the wonders of their realm, both living and artisanal. The collection had a cosmological significance, placing the emperor as the center and supervisor of the known universe.

Whatever was in Montezuma's mind, the items he presented to Cortés were supreme examples of Mexican workmanship not only in gold and silver jewelry, but also in turquoise mosaic, feathers, and textiles. The Spaniards were most impressed by the precious metals, especially two large, engraved wheels of gold and silver. Montezuma's selection, on the other hand, highlighted a wide variety of featherwork and ingeniously

3 Hugh Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortes and the Fall of Old Mexico* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2005 [1993]), 179–90; Matthew Restall, *When Montezuma Met Cortés: The True Story of the Meeting that Changed History* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2018), 165–69; Harald Kleinschmidt, *Charles V: The World Emperor* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2004), 58n73.

4 Restall, *When Montezuma Met Cortez*, 122–38.

5 Restall, 136.

woven textiles; the collection was designed by the Mexica to show off their cultural achievements.[6] The display not only made the tacit point that Indians were fully human with rational souls, but that, as viewers as diverse as the engraver Albrecht Dürer and the chronicler Peter Martyr d'Anghiera stated, in some skills Indian artisans surpassed the best craftsmen in Europe.

Cortés made this implicit point repeatedly; the greater the achievements of Montezuma's empire, the greater was his own achievement as its conqueror. He attempted to send more shipments of arts and treasures after the first boatload from his settlement of Vera Cruz in July 1519, up to seven collections of royal fifth duties, additional gifts of fine craftsmanship, live animals, and a large retinue accompanying Cortés's own return to Spain in 1528. One assortment, primarily of featherwork, was addressed to thirteen convents and churches throughout Spain, and twenty-three influential officials, many of them involved in judging Cortés's own case.[7] This shipment and two others directly for Charles V were sent in 1522 but never arrived in Spain; they were intercepted in transshipment from the Azores by the French privateer Jean Fleury of Honfleur. Fleury's legendary haul alerted northern European pirates to the riches to be won by preying on the Spanish fleets.[8] Cortés also had bad luck in exporting American animals, especially larger predators, but he managed to bring back an assortment with his return. Together with a Native Indian retinue, including athletes, jugglers, and high-ranking notables, Cortés provided Europe with a precursor of the Wild West show. We will discuss its impact later. But the true shock to European perception of the Mesoamerican empire, and the capabilities of its inhabitants, came with the first shipment from Vera Cruz in 1519. The many finely wrought objects established the existence of a civilization, organized politically, with an elaborate economy and a form of religion, that Aristotelians would have to admit was the work of fully human "political animals" with inherent rights to sovereignty and property. This mute testimony of the royal fifth collection was articulated in the 1530s by Thomist writers like Bartolomé de las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria.

6 Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. Anthony Pagden (New Haven, NJ: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), 39–46.

7 Alessandra Russo, "Cortés's Objects and the Idea of New Spain: Inventories as spatial narratives," *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (November 2011): 241–43.

8 Eugene Guenin, *Ango et ses Pilotes* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901), 17–33. Fleury is usually referred to in English-language narratives as Florin. Guenin argues that the name Florin does not appear in the records of Dieppe whereas Fleury appears often. The misnomer Florin originated with writers in Latin, such as Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, as a translation of the French name, causing much subsequent confusion.

The 1519 collection had this implicit message when it reached the European audience, but it also served the special interests of Cortés and Charles V. Cortés's expedition was a gamble on the edge of a knife, and the royal fifth was a crucial element in his calculations. He was effectively on a rogue mission: by landing on the coast in 1519 and founding the settlement of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, he was hijacking the project of the governor of Cuba, Diego de Velázquez de Cuéllar, who became his mortal enemy. The settlement proclaimed loyalty directly to the monarchs of Spain, at that time Queen Juana of Castile (known as "the mad"), daughter of King Ferdinand II of Aragón, along with her son Charles. In effect, its existence as a crown colony declared independence from Cuba. The shipment of Montezuma's treasures and whatever gold Cortés had managed to accumulate was a bribe to induce the monarchy to recognize Cortés as its agent and to undermine Velázquez's authority.[9][10]

Cortés, acting through the settlers of Villa Rica, dispatched the treasure and his petition on his flagship *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* on 16 July 1519. (The petition included a detailed inventory of the treasures.) It was accompanied by Villa Rica leaders (and Cortés agents) Alonso Hernández Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, along with at least six Indians from the coastal Totonac people. Escaping pursuit by Governor Velázquez, the ship docked in Seville on 5 November. Its troubles were not over, for Governor Velázquez had very powerful friends in Spain; the supervisory authority of the port's traffic with the Indies, the Casa de la Contratación, confiscated the ship and its cargo.

The fate of Cortés and Montezuma's treasure now depended on getting the ear of Emperor Charles. It helped that the well-connected residents of Seville could get to see the treasures, which created a sensation. The historian Fernández de Ovieda viewed them before leaving for the Indies at the end of the year. Charles responded with a decree ordering the treasures to be turned over to his keeper of the jewels Luis Veret.[11] He summoned Cortés's agents to his peripatetic court, along with the Totonac Indians.

9 Cortés, *Letters*, 40–46. Inventory of the royal fifth, attached to the so-called First Letter, the petition to Queen Juana and the Emperor Charles V, from the officials of the Muy Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz, 10 July 1519. (The address is anachronistic, or news travelled very fast, since Charles was elected Emperor on June 28.) Pagden collates two copies of the inventory, the Vienna Codex and the *Manuel del Tesorero*, 458, n. 41. Some cotton goods were omitted from the Vienna Codex, see 459ns46 and 47.

10 Thomas, *Conquest*, 214–25, 337–42, 344–49.

11 Thomas, *Conquest*, 344–54. Cortes, *Letters,* 459n48. The order to Veret, dated 5 December 1519, is recorded in the *Manuel del Tesorero*.

(He also ordered sumptuous western outfits for the Indians, whose Native dress was poorly suited for the Spanish winter. The crown said it would pay for velvet tunics, capes, and satin doublets.)[12] Some at court mistakenly thought the Totonacs were custodians of the treasures, but it is impossible to say definitively whether they were considered to be emissaries or part of the exhibit.[13]

Montezuma's treasure became an important part of the story of Charles V. It is bracketed by two landmarks in the career of the "universal monarch." The first came on 28 June 1519 with the election of the nineteen-year-old king of Spain, Carlos I, to the position of Holy Roman Emperor. The second event was the confirmation of the new emperor in October 1520 at Aachen/Aix-la-Chapelle. The royal fifth became an integral part of Charles's progression to his place of confirmation as King of the Romans and Emperor elect. (Formal coronation by the Pope came later.) Charles had won election as emperor due to the Augsburg Fugger family, a banking dynasty which had financed the bribes for electors that no other candidate could match. Charles V would not have been elected if not for the riches brought to him in time; some of Cortes's gold went to pay back these loans and another 4,000 pesos helped pay for the fleet taking Charles from northern Spain to the Low Countries on his way to Aachen. In coming years, Charles grew even more dependent on the treasure fleets from the Indies to cover extraordinary expenses.[14] Even more importantly, the public display of Montezuma's treasures reinforced the ideology of Charles as *dominus mundi*, head of a true world empire that would unite Christianity against its enemies. The memory of the ancient Roman Empire, kept alive at least in name by the medieval Holy Roman Empire, inspired royal propagandists like his Chancellor Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara.[15]

The vision of a law-giving world order supervised by Emperor Charles V was derived in part from the end-of-times mysticism of the Spiritual Franciscans and in part from desperate geopolitical calculation; many, such as the later Christopher Columbus, saw a global wave of Christian conversions, starting in the Indies, as the precursor to the Messianic Age; they also hoped to use the treasures from the West to finance the fight against the advances of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans and eastern Mediterranean. As Kleinschmidt has argued, there was considerable tension

12 Caroline Dodds Pennock, *On Savage Shores; How Indigenous Americans Discovered Europe* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2023), 7–16.

13 Pennock, *On Savage Shores*, 7.

14 Rebecca Ard Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara and the Creation of the Spanish Empire* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 25–36.

between a world government and the emerging territorial proto-nationalism of Europe, but it would not be the first or last time that a political ideology failed to mesh with political reality.

Whatever the holes in the emperor's *dominus mundi* rhetoric, it made powerful propaganda, and the impact was even greater when coupled with the tangible reality of the wonders from the new domain in the West. Charles undoubtedly saw this clearly when he invested in bringing the collection on his procession to his coronation and displaying the treasures to a wide public. The treasures, packed by Veret in "carefully made wooden boxes," caught up with Charles and his court as they paused in northern Spain at Valladolid.[15] On Sunday 3 March, after Mass, the wonders from Mexico went on view at the Convent of Santa Clara, along with the Totonac Indians in native dress. The spectators included the ambassadors to the imperial court. The Natives apparently did not make a great impression. The Spaniards were put off by the Totonacs' labrets, the circular mosaic inserts that extended their lower lips. Yet the objects themselves received glowing reviews. We have contemporary accounts in a letter by Giovanni Ruffo di Forlì, Archbishop of Cosenza and papal nuncio to Charles, and an extended report from the chronicler Peter Martyr d'Anghiera.[16] After a hasty evacuation from restive Valladolid, Charles finally viewed his treasures and met the accompanying Indians in nearby Tordesillas. Taking pity on the shivering Totonacs, he sent them back to Seville with more warm clothes. He then packed up the treasures, presumably again in their wooden boxes, for the rendezvous with his fleet at La Coruña. Reaching the pilgrimage destination Santiago de Compostela on 26 March, Charles met with the Castilian parliament, which reluctantly voted funds amid rising disaffection, but he failed to decide whether to condemn or reward Cortés. He had another concern on his mind, again with a role for Montezuma's treasures.

The Brussels Exhibition and the Balance of Power

The emergence of Charles V as the most powerful ruler in Europe with domains from Habsburg hereditary lands, the Low Countries, Spain, and

15 Kleinschmidt, *Charles V*, 71–76.

16 Harry R. Wagner, "Translation of a Letter from the Archbishop of Cosenza to Petrus de Acosta," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 9, no. 3 (Aug. 1929): 361–63; Peter Martyr D'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt (New York, NY: 1910; repr., Burt Franklin, 1970), II, 47.

now in the New World, and pretensions to the title *dominus mundi* called forth a predictable reaction from other monarchs: They now began the quest for a balance of power that would frustrate Charles for the rest of his reign. France and England sought a rapprochement. After the election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VIII and François I began elaborate negotiations for a lengthy personal meeting, now scheduled for most of June 1520, on the border of the English domain in Calais. Charles was anxious to intervene. Waiving protocol, he offered to divert his fleet for a quick visit to King Henry, who at that point was still married to Charles's aunt, Catherine of Aragon. Henry and his Lord High Chancellor, the Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, reluctantly agreed to receive him on 17 May near Sandwich in Kent; but adverse winds delayed Charles's sailing. Wolsey wrote that if Charles didn't show up by the last week in May, Henry would be too busy preparing to leave for Calais to receive him. Yet Charles arrived at Dover at the last minute on 26 May. Henry VIII spent three days with his nephew-in-law (nine years his junior) at Canterbury, promising not to take any actions against Charles's interests and to meet him again after the French summit.[17] Although neither Charles nor Henry probably had time for full public display of Montezuma's treasures, Charles made up for it on a second visit to England in June 1522.[18]

On 30 May 1520, Henry crossed the English Channel for his summit with François I, at what has become known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. A temporary city arose on this field on the Calais border, with more than three thousand tents and three large, richly appointed structures. Most of June was devoted to sumptuous banquets and medieval tournaments. Charles countered this display with his own spectacle, staging the royal fifth in a

17 "Henry VIII: May 1520, 15–31," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3, 1519–1523*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1867), 274–85, *British History Online*, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol3/pp274-285, accessed 25 February 2018; Jasper Ridley, *Statesman and Saint: Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas More and the Politics of Henry VIII* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1983) (Published in Great Britain, 1982, as *The Statesman and the Fanatic*), 86–93; Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara*, 94–95.

18 Hugo Soly, "Charles quint et son temps," in *Charles Quint 1500–1558*, eds. Wim Blockmans, Peter Burke, Fernando Checa Cremades, Hugo Soly, and Dominique Bauthier ([Antwerp]: Fonds Mercator, 1999), 131; Hugh Thomas, *Conquest*, 571, 763n3. In the 1522 visit, Charles brought his collection, augmented by a second shipment from Cortés, for a ten-day exhibition at Henry's palace in Windsor, while their advisers polished a marriage contract between Charles and Henry's prepubescent daughter Mary. A director of pageants for the 1522 visit was John Rastell, brother-in-law of Thomas More; Rastell was also a legal printer, and his collection of parliamentary acts from 1524 contained at least one decorative element, a depiction of a feathered serpent with a human face within its jaws, very similar to Mexican images of Quetzalcoatl.

public exhibition at the Brussels Hôtel de Ville. Given travel and installation time, the exhibition probably opened around 15 June, directly competing with the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The contrast between the late medieval pageantry of Henry and François and the novelty of Charles's treasures underscored that a drastic change in perspective was underway. The New World had produced an advanced civilization, capable of holding its own in craftsmanship with the best in Europe. Many of the surviving reviews, from spectators like Bartolomé de las Casas, the Archbishop of Cosenza, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, and, in Brussels, Albrecht Dürer, make this point explicitly. After viewing the massive gold and silver "wheels" and two rooms full of "all kinds of wondrous objects," Dürer wrote a much-quoted review in his diary: "All the days of my life I have seen nothing that caused my heart to rejoice as much as these things, for I saw amongst them wonderful works of art, and I marveled at the subtle ingenuity of men in foreign lands."[19] Their message was that Indians must be taken seriously as members of humanity. Their extraordinary skills were proof of their rational souls.

Margaret of Austria and Her Circle

For a long time, the story of the royal fifth was thought to end in Brussels. Employees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York wrote in 2002, in an essay still online, that the items of precious metals had been melted down and "ephemeral materials discarded."[20] Recent research belies this statement. As the Brussels display wound down, Charles distributed many items to his relatives. Some famous featherwork pieces and a turquoise shield are

19 Albrecht Dürer, *Diary of His Journey to the Netherlands. 1520–1521* (Graphic Society Ltd., 1971), 53–54. For reactions to and remnants of the royal fifth exhibit, see the following works of Dr. Christian Feest, long a custodian of several significant items as director of Vienna's Völkerkunde Museum: *Vienna's Mexican Treasures: Aztec, Mixtec and Tarascan Works from 16th century Austrian Collections* (Archiv für Völkerkunde, 1990), vol. 45, 64; "El penacho del Mexico antiguo en Europa," in *El Penacho del México Antiguo*, coords. Sabine Haag et al. (ZFK Publishers, 2012), 5–28; "The People of Calicut: Objects, Texts and Images in the Age of Proto-Ethnography," *Boletem do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi. Ciencias Humanas* 9, no. 2 (2014): 287–303 (Dr. Feest provides a more accurate English translation of Albrecht Dürer's famous review); "First European Assessment of Indigenous American Art," English draft received from Dr. Feest after 2016 American Indian Workshop, Odense, Denmark, received by email 28 May 2016 (Christian.feest@t-online.de, Altenstadt, Germany); "Partly unreliable translations" (Dr. Feest's words) published as "Dürer et les premières évaluations européennes de l'art mexicain," in *Destins croisés. Cinq siècles de rencontres avec les Amérindiens*, ed. Joelle Rostkowski and Sylvie Devers (UNESCO—Albin Michel, 1992), 107–19.

20 Julie Jones, "Gold of the Indies," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1 October 2002, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/ingd/hd_ingd.htm.

now in the Weltmuseum in Vienna, successor to the Völkerkunde Museum. These pieces trace back to Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck, the combination of castle and collector's showroom built by Charles's nephew Archduke Ferdinand II. They were presumably gifts from Charles to Ferdinand I, his brother. Documents confirm that Charles sent another significant portion of the Brussels exhibit to his aunt on his father's side, Margaret of Austria, a crucial influence on his youth. Only in recent decades has academic attention focused on Margaret's Mesoamerican collection.

Margaret of Austria had direct personal exposure to the heady atmosphere at the Spanish court as the discovery of the Indies unfolded. As the only daughter of Emperor Maximillian I, she was a major piece on the Habsburg diplomatic-marriage chess board and had been married to Prince Juan, the presumptive heir to Ferdinand and Isabella. She lived in Spain from 1497 to 1499 (although her husband died seven months after their nuptials), while Columbus was preparing his third voyage. She befriended the chronicler of Spanish explorations, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, an Italian humanist imported by Queen Isabella in an attempt to raise the tenor of the court. She also sat at the feet of Queen Isabella herself, seeing firsthand how a strong woman could handle monarchic power. She must have passed these lessons to her charges when she returned to Mechelen and became the guardian of Maximillian's grandchildren and supervised the education of other highly placed children (including Anne Boleyn).[21]

Her principal ward was Charles of Ghent, later Emperor Charles V. Their relations were somewhat complicated; when Charles reached his majority in 1515, he removed Margaret from her position as governor-general of the Burgundian Netherlands. But her influence remained deep. During her third marriage, to Philibert II, Duke of Savoy, in 1501, she hired a legal advisor from the nearby Piedmont named Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara. After Philibert's death three years later, Gattinara remained with the Habsburgs, eventually becoming grand chancellor to Charles V and ideologist of his universal empire ambitions. Perhaps significantly, Gattinara retired from public life briefly when Margaret was dismissed but was summoned to Charles's court by October 1518.[22]

It remains to be studied how deeply Margaret shared Gattinara's vision, or Queen Isabella's solicitude toward American Indians. But she displayed

21 Dagmar Eichberger, "Margaret of Austria: A Princess with Ambition and Political Insight," in *Women of Distinction* (*Dames mitt Klasse*), ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Davidsfond/ Leuven: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 49–56.

22 Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara*, 9–13

physical evidence of her interest in the Indies. Charles reappointed her as governor-general of the Burgundian Netherlands in 1519 and in 1523 sent her a significant selection of his Mexican treasures. The transfer through Charles de Poupet, Seigneur de la Chaux, on 23 June 1523 probably marks the de-installation of the Brussels Town Hall exhibition. Margaret put many items on display in her palace in Mechelen, the Hof van Savoye, headquarters of her administration. Her public rooms, also replete with family portraits and genealogies, continued the Town Hall exhibit policy of propagandizing the extent and legitimacy of the Habsburg *dominium mundi*. As Deanna MacDonald observes, "By including the artifacts of the New World with those of the Old, she blended the two together in a symbolic microcosm, where the Old and New Worlds are under strong and unchallenged Habsburg authority."[23] As MacDonald emphasizes, the cumulative effect of the display, through a succession of waiting rooms, was worth any number of legal treatises on the *dominium mundi*.

Margaret of Austria's collecting merits much further study.[24] One potentially rewarding area is her interest in New World textiles. As early as 1512 she had received a box of Mexican cloth. Although the Spaniards neglected the cotton goods in the royal fifth, even omitting some from one inventory, both Dürer and d'Anghiera singled them out for mention: the latter wrote, "There are also large cotton clothes dyed with black, white and yellow checks, which proves that they are acquainted with the game of checkers. One of these cloths is black on one side and red and white on the other; another such cloth is dyed in many colors."[25] Since both Dürer and d'Anghiera moved in Margaret's orbit, it is possible she asked for the textiles directly. Margaret thus joined the small but influential coterie who saw beyond the dazzle of New World gold and silver and appreciated the economic (and human) value of the pool of skilled artisans now brought into the Habsburg domains.

23 Deanna MacDonald, "Collecting the New World: Ethnographic Collections of Margaret of Austria," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, no. 3 (Autumn, 2002): 663. See also, Joris Capenberghs, "Margaret of Austria, the '*Hof von Savoyen*' and the New World," in *Women of Distinction*, 296–309.

24 MacDonald deplores the lack of academic interest in Margaret's collection. The situation has improved somewhat since she wrote in 2002, with the continued work of Dagmar Eichberger and the exhibition *Dames mitt Klasse.* But organizers of a recent conference lamented, "Other connections, such as Margaret of Austria's collection of artefacts from the New World kept at her court in Mechelen … have garnered comparatively little scholarly attention." From the call for papers for "Arrows of Time," American Indian Workshop, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium, 10–13 April 2018. Portions of this chapter were delivered as a paper at this conference.

25 D'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades*, II, 47.

This economic impact came most immediately and dramatically from the display of Aztec featherworking. As the recent, rich work of Stefan Hanß, Ulinka Rublack, and others shows, the intricate, iridescent Mesoamerican craftsmanship inspired a new fashion industry throughout Europe.[26] D'Anghiera recorded the viewer response that gave rise to what Hanß calls "the early modern feather craze": "I am at a loss to describe the aigrettes, the plumes, and the feather fans. If ever artists of this kind of work have touched genius, then surely these natives are they. It is not so much the gold or the precious stones I admire, as the cleverness of the artist and the workmanship, which much exceed the value of the material and excite my amazement."[27] Hanss reports that "the arrival of New World feathers in late fifteenth century Europe … caused pure excitement across the entire continent."[28] In Paris alone over the next three centuries, 247 featherworkers (*plumassiers*) advertised their work. Featherworking guilds arose throughout Europe to protect and develop their delicate skills. Plumage adorned "panaches, crowns, collars" and a wide variety of other fashionable accessories, to an extent largely forgotten today.[29]

The Moral Significance of the Royal Fifth

Just as the display of the royal fifth had far greater importance for European material culture than has been generally acknowledged, it must also be assessed for its role in a great moral issue of the time, the affirmation of the humanity of the Indians. Although most of the fame of this travelling exhibit comes from its Brussels stopover and its description by Albrecht Dürer, as well as its afterlife in the Mechelen headquarters of Margaret of Austria, the moral impact began earlier in Spain, in its unveiling in March at the Convent of Santa Clara in Valladolid. This presentation reached a very important audience. Both the Archbishop of Cosenza and d'Anghiera attended and wrote detailed reports. Both saw the treasure together with the Totonac group and in fact mistakenly thought that the Indians were its guards and donors. (The Archbishop of Cosenza did note that the Totonacs couldn't

26 Stefan Hanß, "Making Featherwork in Early Modern Europe," in *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1750: Objects, Affects, Effects*, eds. Susanna Burghartz et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 137–51; Ulinka Rublack, "Befeathering the European: The Matter of Feathers," *American Historical Review* 127, no. 1 (March 2021): 19–53.

27 D'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades*, II, 46.

28 Hanss, "Making Featherwork," 140–49.

29 Hanss, "Making Featherwork," 140–49.

read the codices that he and d'Anghiera both admired.) The Archbishop of Cosenza indicated that he had talked directly with the Indians, the youngest of whom understood Spanish: "When we asked a little before whether they wished to become Christians and those who stood around had said that I was a priest and nuncio of the chief priest of the Christians, they asked with great urgency that I treat with his imperial Majesty that he bid them become Christians."[30] This exchange made a crucial point. For both Franciscans and Dominicans, one proof of the Indians' rational soul was their willingness to accept Christianity.

D'Anghiera also emphasized the Indians' humanity. With great perception, he praised the workmanship, not the precious metal content, of some of the less ostentatious pieces: This praise mitigated his negative reaction to the Totonacs' appearance. He said of their labrets, "I cannot recall ever to have seen anything more hideous."

> But they think that nothing more elegant exists under the lunar cycle. This example proves the blindness and the foolishness of the human race: it likewise proves how we deceive ourselves. The Ethiopian thinks that black is a more beautiful color than white, while the white man thinks the opposite. A bald man thinks himself more handsome than a hairy one, and a man with a beard laughs at him who is without one. We are influenced by passions rather than guided by reason, and the human race accepts these foolish notions, each country following its own fancy.[31]

This passage foreshadows the cultural relativism so prominent a generation later in Montaigne's essay on Brazilian Indians in France, "On the Cannibals." It emphasizes that the Indians are part of the human race, not a subhuman species. D'Anghiera wrote these reflections in the fourth *Decade* of his *De Orbe Novo*, the latest installment of his chronicles of Spanish expeditions in the West and the first to dwell on his personal interaction with its Indigenous people. The important recent work of Paloma Jiménez del Campo, unfortunately not yet available in English, suggests that its publication reflected a significant development in the Habsburg attitude toward its new domain. Although later editions of the fourth *Decade* were dedicated to Pope Leo X (see below), the first edition was rushed into print in 1521 in Basel and it bore a dedication to Margaret of Austria. At the same time, a German-language newsletter, the first to publish the news of Cortés's entry

30 Wagner, "Letter from Cosenza," 362.

31 D'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, II, 46.

into the Aztec capital, was also dedicated to Margaret. Campo emphasizes the coincidence with the Brussels exhibition of the royal fifth: "Everything points to a propagandistic interest to consolidate the imperial prestige of Charles V superimposed on the curiosity for the Indies novelty."[32] When one considers that Gattinara, Charles's High Chancellor and *dominus mundi* ideologist, entered Habsburg service through his connection with Margaret, her role as the center of an intellectual reorientation toward Indigenous Americans becomes of high interest. Campo's work is ongoing.

Through the 1520s, European interaction with Mesoamericans in Europe, although not insubstantial, had been largely mediated through letters from the absent Cortés and his treasure shipments. This connection became much more direct when Cortés returned to Spain in 1528, his first visit home since his *entrada* into Mexico. The conqueror brought with him a selection of flora and fauna and a large retinue of *indios*. His entourage had something of the character of the Wild West shows of later centuries. It included a Mexican juggler who balanced a log on his feet while lying on his shoulders. Athletes demonstrated the hip-ball game called Ullamaliztli (still played in some remote villages in Mexico). It was also Europe's first glimpse of a rubber ball. As Caroline Dodds Pennock notes, the group also included high-ranking Native leaders who had their own issues to press. Charles V gave them an audience and sent them on, or took them with him, to visit Pope Clement VII in Rome. This visit, or a similar one, gives us a rare glimpse of the Indian reaction to Europe. Pennock reports that a "water-pouring song," composed in Nahuatl in this period and collected in the *cantares Mexicanos* in the National Library in Mexico City, preserves vivid memories of a transatlantic trip. The Nahua voyagers met with Charles V and were told to "Go see the Holy Father" in Rome. "In the Pope's long house, where stands the multi-hued crypt, scripture writ with gold brings us dawning light."[33] Charles, at the time, was embarking on an extensive tour from Rome, which his troops had recently sacked, through Austria and southern Germany to the Low Countries. One member of his entourage was the German artist and woodblock carver Christoph Weiditz, who had

32 Paloma Jiménez del Campo, "Margarita de Austria y la Difusión de la Conquista de México en Europa," *Revista de Crítica Literaria LatinoAmericana* 46, no. 91 (2020): 203–32. (English quote from abstract).

33 Pennock, *On Savage Shores*, 22–32. The "Water-pouring song," with, as Pennock notes, its perhaps ironic reference to gold, is an example of the promise of new philology, the study of post-contact Indigenous writings, both in Nahuatl (and other Native languages) and in Spanish. Cf. Pennock, "Aztecs Abroad? Uncovering the Early Indigenous Atlantic," *American Historical Review* 125, no. 3 (June 2020): 787–814.

accepted an invitation to the Spanish court in 1529. Weiditz produced an impressive collection of illustrations from his stay, later collected in his *Trachtenbuch*. He spent a year with the emperor, with a documented stop in his company in Augsburg, Bavaria, and wound up in the Netherlands. This itinerary is confirmed by many of the drawings of ordinary country dress collected in his *Trachtenbuch*—see the chapter by Alexander McCargar in this volume. This same collection also includes a series of portraits of the Mexica who came to Europe with Cortés, as well as of Cortés himself. There are action drawings of the juggler and the hip-ball players, as well as of the high-status Indians wearing elaborate feather cloaks. We can ask whether Weiditz had the opportunity for these detailed drawings because he and some of Cortés's troupe were travelling together in Charles's retinue.[34]

The colorful feather cloaks left an artistic trail. A similar cloak appears in a detail of a large Biblical painting *Esther and Ahasuerus* done in southern Germany and dated sometime before 1569, which still hangs in a gallery of the Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck, one of Charles V's stops in 1529.[35] A generation later the south German principality of Württemburg staged a pageant of "Lady America" in which prominent townspeople appeared in similar feather cloaks both of Indigenous origin and their own making.[36]

The images of the royal fifth and Cortés's later entourage not only impressed the public, they also targeted a very select audience in the Papal Curia. Both the Archbishop of Cosenza and d'Anghiera addressed the tightly knit humanist-educated upper level of the Holy See. The Archbishop of Cosenza wrote to Peter de Acosta, apostolic prothonotary (chief clerk). Martyr wrote directly to Pope Leo X. (He also dedicated a later *Decade* to the Archbishop of Cosenza himself.)[37] Pope Leo had such letters read aloud at dinners with his cardinals and his sister. One of the cardinals was very likely his old friend Alessandro Farnese. Leo, born Guiseppe de Medici, was

34 Christophe Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch*. Plates reprinted and rearranged in *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance: All 154 Plates from the Trachtenbuch* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994), reprint of English edition of *Das Trachtenbuch des Christof Weiditz*, ed. Theodor Hampe (Verlag de Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1927). Indians appear in plates XI to XXIII.

35 *Esther and Ahasuerus*, attributed to south German anonymous, hangs in Schloss Ambras picture gallery, its original place of display in 1569, but is inventoried as Vienna Art History Museum Picture Gallery 5777. My thanks to Carlo Krieger of the Grand Ducal Institute of Luxembourg for pointing out this detail during a visit to the Schloss Ambras as part of the original conference behind this volume at the University of Innsbruck.

36 Ulinka Rublack, "Performing America, Featherwork and Affective Politics," in *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Europe*, 188–288, 197–99.

37 Harry R. Wagner, "Translation of a Letter from the Archbishop of Cosenza to Petrus de Acosta," 361–63; d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, II, 46.

the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent; he and Farnese were educated together at the Medici court in Florence. Another Medici of their generation, Giulio, an illegitimate nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent, rose through church ranks with the help of his cousin Leo X and was himself elected Pope in 1523. As Pope Clement VII, he would have received Cortés's Mexican entourage in 1529. Shortly afterward he issued a bull legitimizing Cortés's mestizo son Martin, whose mother was Cortés's famous interpreter and adviser, the Nahua woman Malintzin, known best as La Malinche. When Clement VII died in 1534, Farnese became Pope Paul III. As d'Anghiera's primary audience, this humanist network was steeped in the debate over the human status of the Indian, and by extension their human rights. This debate had broadened from long-time advocates for the Indians such as Bartolomé de las Casas to the austere halls of academic theologians. At the University of Salamanca, Francisco de Vitoria was developing the arguments he began to present in his 1538–39 lectures "On the Indians lately discovered." The Indians, he said, "have judgment like other men. This is self-evident because they have some order in their affairs, they have properly organized cities, proper marriages, magistrates and overlords, laws, industries and commerce."[38] It was this debate, caricatured by de Pauw in our opening quote, that Pope Paul III sought to settle definitively.

The *Sublimis Deus* Affair

On 2 June 1537, Pope Paul III issued the encyclical *Sublimis Deus*. It responded to an appeal by Dominican missionaries, including Bartolomé de las Casas, conveyed by their emissary, the friar Bernardino de Minaya, but the strong language suggests that the Vatican was predisposed to intervene. It emphatically repudiated the notion that Indians were subhuman: "The enemy of the human race, who opposes all good deeds in order to bring men to destruction, … invented a means never before heard of, by which he might hinder the preaching of God's word of Salvation to the people; he inspired his satellites, who to please him, have not hesitated to publish abroad that the Indians of the West and South, and other people of whom we have recent knowledge should be treated as dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of receiving the Catholic Faith." The Pope declared the opposite: "The Indians are truly men." As human beings with rational souls, they were endowed with inherent rights of liberty

38 Francisco de Vitoria, *Political Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 250.

and property, and as Francisco de Vitoria added, political sovereignty. The minatory bull ordered, "The said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside of the faith of Jesus Christ; and that they may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property, nor should they be in any way enslaved."[39] This ringing declaration, however, was by no means the end of the story. Paul III also issued a pastoral letter to enforce the bull, but it trampled on the solidly entrenched interests of the Spanish administrators in charge of the West Indies. Charles and his bureaucracy protested vehemently and exerted diplomatic pressure. Pope Paul III quickly disavowed the pastoral letter, saying it had been extorted from him. Lewis Hanke notes that this brief of repudiation was dated 18 June 1538, one day after Charles V signed a peace with François I that the Pope had worked hard to broker.[40] A controversy continued over whether the repudiation also rescinded the bull *Sublimis Deus* itself. Las Casas, for one, continued to cite it for the rest of his long life. He maintained his defense of Indigenous rights most dramatically against powerful opposition in the inconclusive disputation at Valladolid in 1550. These principles are now deeply embedded in church doctrine and international law.

Any residual doubt was finally settled in early 2023, when the Vatican formally repudiated the more than five-hundred-year-old Doctrine of Christian Discovery, the supposed basis for European claims of dominion over the New World. The document announcing this momentous reversal, the 30 March 2023 "Joint Statement" of two Vatican dicasteries (or administrative departments) closed with a ringing recitation of the words from *Sublimis Deus* that were quoted above.[41] This document was the product of thirty years of scholarship, petitioning, and argument by leading Indigenous intellectuals. The difference between 1520 and today is that Indigenous peoples have found their own voice, and do not need to rely on inanimate objects to prove the existence of their rational soul.

The material objects from the New World that so amazed their viewers in Valladolid and Brussels did not just stand alone; they represented the skill

39 *Sublimus Dei,* [*sic*] *On the Enslavement and Evangelization of the Indians*, Pope Paul III, May 1537; Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 2 (April 1, 1937): 65–102.

40 Hanke, "Pope Paul III," 90–102

41 Holy See Press Office, "Joint Statement of the Dicasteries for Culture and Education and for Promoting Integral Human Development on the Doctrine of Discovery," 30 March 2023, http://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2023/03/30/230330b.html.

and delicate labor of their makers, drawing on years of accumulated experience and responding to the demands of a complex society and economy. For Aristotelians, this was ample evidence that the New World Indians were fully human "political animals," endowed with what we now call inherent human rights, even if they had never heard of Christianity. Human greed and exploitation have thrown up much contrary noise and self-justification, such as the Doctrine of Discovery and all the excuses for slavery, in the intervening five centuries, but we can say that, for now at least, the mute testimony of the wonders from Mesoamerica has found its voice.

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2. Plumes of Power: Depictions of the Native American in Viennese Festival Culture before 1700

Alexander McCargar

Abstract: This chapter analyzes influential representations of Native Americans in Habsburg festival culture centered on Vienna, including outdoor events, indoor masquerades, and staged performances. Most often a smaller part of a larger festival program, the portrayals and embodiments of Native Americans became more complex over time, reflecting growing knowledge and contact. However, old stereotypes were still repeated, especially when they could serve to entice and marvel audiences and convey Habsburg political dominance. In this way, theater and festival designers were not afraid of embellishing the Native American figures they created with large doses of imagination. However, this imagination was still grounded in early modern visual sources, predominantly illustrated travel reports and costume books.

Keywords: festival culture, early modern era, performance, exoticism, masquerade, costume studies

Wearing a colorful feathered headpiece and plumed kilt, combined with a Roman style breastplate and cape, the personification of America entered the stage of the Theater auf der Cortina in Vienna in 1668. The figure would have had to walk through the thin, painted wings which at this moment depicted ten golden statues of ancestral Habsburgs on horseback (Figure 2.1). America was not alone but accompanied by other actors meant to represent the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, the Holy Roman Empire, Italy, Spain,

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH02

Figure 2.1 Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (designer), Matthäus Küsel (engraver), *Teatro della Gloria Austriaca*, stage design for the prologue of *Il pomo d'oro*, 1668, Vienna, Austrian National Library, Musiksammlung Inv. Nr. Misc. 143 -GF/2 -Mus. The America figure is on the right.

and Sardinia.[1] These were the lands in which the Habsburgs had political or dynastic ties. What we can surmise from the surviving, contemporaneously colored[2] engravings by Matthäus Küsel, after the designs by Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, is that the person playing America donned some type of blackface makeup or wore a mask and dark brown fabric over his skin.[3] It is also not outside the realm of possibility that someone at court of African descent was told to play the part.[4] This single figure of America, dwarfed

1 Daniela Franke, "*Il pomo d'oro* (1666/1668): Animated Retelling of a Baroque Festive Opera," *Art-Es: From Real Life into the World of Art, Online Exhibition*, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna/University of Malaga, 10 June 2021, https://www.artes-exhibition.digital/il-pomo-doro/.

2 The particular series of engravings cited here in the Austrian National Library are believed to have been colored in contemporaneously, soon after printing, and given to Emperor Leopold as a presentation copy. See Austrian National Library, Signatur: Misc.143-GF/1-25.

3 Although the hand coloring visually reinforces the darker skin of the figure, underneath the coloring the lines of the engraving itself are deeper and closer together, thus intended to depict a darker value. See Vienna Theatermuseum, Inv. Nr.: GS GFeS3323.

4 Christian Feest has pointed out that, already by the sixteenth century, Africans were easily available as sitters for artists in Europe and could have served as models for Indigenous Americans due to the obvious fact that there were virtually no opportunities to draw Indigenous Americans from life. See Christian Feest, "The People of Calicut: Objects, Texts, and Images in the Age of Proto-Ethnography," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi Ciências Humanas* (May 2014): 287–303. Here cited: 293.

by the rest of the spectacle on stage, and given only a few lines of text, can still tell us a lot about what the Habsburg court understood or failed to understand about Native Americans and how those views changed over time. In contrast to the static, golden statues of past Habsburgs, painted onto the flat scenographic elements, America was a living, speaking figure,[5] a figure that represented a myriad of influences, perceptions and beliefs.

The performance was of *Il pomo d'oro*, an epic opera performed over two days at the Habsburg court in Vienna in 1668, on occasion of the birthday of the empress, the Infanta Margarita of Spain. The allegorical personification of America is seen during the prologue titled "Teatro della Gloria Austriaca," which was one bookend framing the mythological narrative of the opera in a way that reminded audience members where power and control lay. Emperor Leopold himself was depicted as a golden effigy directly in the center of the scene above America and the other personified lands. Like his ancestors, he was also golden and mute.

By the second half of the seventeenth century, allegorical personifications of America in visual culture across the Habsburg lands were nothing new, and, like the prologue for *Il pomo d'oro*, they were most often a small part of a more complex scene or visual cycle. Once Europeans had encountered what they termed the New World, artists hastened to create and propagate a visual image of it—an image which most often reduced the Americas into a single figure or stereotype despite Europeans' growing realizations that Native Americans included many diverse groups. For the production and control of knowledge, the Indigenous peoples needed to be categorized and understood through existing European epistemologies which resulted in the codification of certain visual tropes and symbols. As Surekha Davies explains, "devising allegorical personifications of the continents was the next step in emblematizing peoples of the world for mnemonic purposes."[6] A set of questions was raised surrounding the perceived civility and genealogy of Native Americans which were often answered through visual depictions. In Vienna, the image of the Native American was based nearly always on secondhand sources including illustrated travel accounts, costume books, and images of festivals from elsewhere. Only rarely were artists able to consult actual Native American artifacts, entirely disconnected from their original contexts and makers. What becomes clear is that images of Native

5 The text differs slightly between the Italian and German versions but mainly praises America as an admired territory of the Habsburgs.

6 Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 281.

Americans produced in Vienna were derived from a limited group of sources circulating Europe and frequently embellished for political means.

The Sixteenth Century: An Amalgam of Influences

One of the first depictions of Native Americans commissioned by a major Habsburg ruler can be found within the more than 130 woodcuts making up the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* (Figure 2.2).[7] As a published series, the work does not depict an actual event which occurred, but rather a massively inflated and idealized festive procession based on real examples which were becoming more common in court culture at the time in accordance with the *all'antica* style.[8] Overall, the series was intended to show all peoples of the known world processing in honor and obedience to Maximilian. The *Triumphs*, first conceived by the emperor himself and mainly executed by Hans Burgkmair between 1516–18, was not fully published until 1526 and includes three plates depicting the "people of Calicut."[9] As Christian Feest explains, "the term 'Calecutish' … is derived from the old designation 'Calicut' for the present Kozhikode in the Indian federal state of Kerala, the city which Vasco da Gama had landed in 1498."[10] In German sources from the end of the fifteenth through the early sixteenth century, the term is used to refer more generally to an array of different far-off peoples.[11] At this time it was still a common belief that the New World could be reached westward by sea or eastward by land.[12] The depiction of the Calicut exemplifies this European overlapping of the Asian continent and the Americas. As Feest further elaborates, the Calicut, as depicted in the *Triumphs*, are a visual mixture of peoples from Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The physiognomy

7 Feest, "The People of Calicut," 295–96.

8 The triumphal procession glorifying a ruler was partly derived from medieval Christian holy processions but took on a more secular approach at this time when it combined with the idea of Roman military parades. Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* (1484–92), after which many copies were made, is one prime example predating Maximilian's *Triumphs*. Sabine Weiss has further pointed out Hans Burgkmair's early use of triumphal processions to depict non-European peoples before his work for Maximilian's *Triumphs*. See Sabine Weiss, *Maximilian I: Habsburgs faszinierender Kaiser* (Innsbruck/Vienna: Tyrolia-Verlag, 2018), 184.

9 Metropolitan Museum of Art, "People from Calicut, from the Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian I," catalogue entry: 32.37(2)-129, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/431770, accessed 7 May 2023.

10 Feest, "The people of Calicut," 294.

11 Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography,* 289, footnote 91.

12 Feest, "The People of Calicut," 299–300.

of many of the figures can be traced to some of Burgkmair's other work depicting Africans while some of the objects they hold are drawn after objects from the Tupinambá people (of Brazil).[13] Their feather crowns and skirts are also of Brazilian origin while in plate 129 the leader of the Calicut rides an elephant and wears a turban.[14] Maximilian himself is recorded to have dictated to his secretary that in the procession the Calicut men should be in different ranks with shields and swords, spears, and English bows and arrows, and that "all are naked in the Indian manner or *alla morescha*."[15] Although *morescha* or "Moorish" was another, more general signifier of the exotic, what is of note is the deliberate mixing of different foreign influences and Maximilian's own hand in designing the *Triumphs*. As Steven Mullaney has pointed out, "Indians from the Americas are often confused with Eastern or Asian figures; even when depicted with fair accuracy (at least according to established iconographic tradition), they are mistaken for Moors."[16] The Calicut, as a visual mixture of entirely different non-European peoples were enough to demonstrate that Maximilian was aware of the New World and was a player in vying for its riches. The *Triumph* was a piece of propaganda meant to be distributed across the Holy Roman Empire and served as a model for subsequent, realized triumphal processions up until the beginning of the twentieth century—just as many of the stereotypes it set into motion have continued to trickle down to us today.

Despite the early inclusion of the Calicut in Maximilian's *Triumphs,* images of Native Americans in festival culture did not greatly expand or develop in the Austrian Habsburg lands during the following decades. On the Spanish Habsburg side, which greatly influenced artistic trends in Vienna, iconography from Central and South America dominated representations of Native Americans and came to represent all the inhabitants of the Americas. Contrary to the Spanish Habsburgs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with eyes looking westward the Austrian Habsburgs were constantly aware of the immediate threat of the

13 Feest, "The People of Calicut," 292–93. Reproduced in Feest are two drawings attributed to Hans Burgkmair now in the British Museum which depict what Feest describes as "African" men with objects and clothing from several different Indigenous groups of Brazil.

14 It is also interesting to note the drummer next to the elephant, the battle drums along with horns were things associated with the Janissary armies of the Ottomans, although many dramatized reports of such drumming were published after the first siege of Vienna in 1529.

15 Feest, "The People of Calicut," 295.

16 Steven Mullaney, "The New World on Display: European Pageantry and the Ritual Incorporation of the Americas," in *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas 1492–1700*, ed. Rachael Doggett et al. (Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington Press, 1992), 105–13, 107.

Figure 2.2 Hans Burgkmair, *The People of Calicut*, plates 129—131 from *The Triumph of Maximilian* 1516—18, published 1526, restrike of the original, 1883 Metropolitan Museum of Art Inv. Nr. 32.37(2)-129-131.

Ottoman Turk from the east, which resulted in depictions of Ottomans gaining most attention in festivals and other courtly displays where the portrayals of the Other were included. Additionally, a steady flow of trade that had existed between Europe and the Ottoman Empire for centuries had already made Ottoman material goods more familiar to wealthy Europeans whereas objects from the Americas were still extremely rare and most often less desired than the raw materials from those lands such as gold and silver.

In Vienna, the first documented use of a reference to the New World in an actual festive event can be traced to the celebrations for Emperor Maximilian II in 1563 upon his entry into the city after being crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Frankfurt.[17] Three triumphal arches built from wood and covered with painted fabric were erected in the city center along a procession route.[18] On one triumphal archway, directly above the arch itself, two winged figures hold small laurel wreaths within which are the words "De Saracenis" and "De Indis" alluding to the Habsburg victories both over the Ottomans and over the Indigenous peoples of the Americas.[19] Another arch for the same triumphal entry evokes the exotic with the inclusion of a rhinoceros and elephant on its bases. Just a few decades before, the leader of the Calicut in Maximilian I's *Triumphs* rides an elephant, which

17 Friedrich Polleroß and Andrea Sommer-Mathis, "Amerika in der Politik," in *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone: Das barocke Amerikabild in den habsburgischen Ländern*, ed. Friedrich Polleroß et al. (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1992), 253–78, here 255–56.

18 "Einzug Maximilians II. (1563)," *Wien Geschichte Wiki*, last updated 29 December 2022, 10:46 p.m., https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Einzug_Maximilians_II._%281563%29, accessed on 12 May 2023. Woodblock prints of the arches can be found in the British Museum, Inv. Nrs.: 1927,0614.231-232.

19 Polleroß and Sommer-Mathis, "Amerika in der Politik," 255–56.

strengthened the associations between Native Americans, elephants, and a land connection to the Americas via Asia.

Many further examples of allegorical figures of America can be found integrated into triumphal arches erected in Spanish Habsburg lands after 1563. The image of America as a fourth continent was happily and easily adopted by European artists because of the already significant use of the number four in allegorical and mythological representations in festival culture: the four cardinal directions (often depicted as the four winds), the four elements, the four seasons, the four stages of life, and now the four continents, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.[20]

As static images of a personified America in visual culture became more ubiquitous, representations of Native Americans in festival culture began to take on more developed forms. One of the first allegorical depictions of America in Vienna which engaged a live costumed performer is found during the wedding celebrations in 1571 for Archduke Charles (brother of Emperor Maximilian II) and Maria of Bavaria. Giuseppe Arcimboldo was in charge of designs for the festivities which included costumes, decorations, and triumphal wagons.[21] According to the description written in 1590 by Gian Paolo Lomazzo,[22] and the report of Giovanni Battista Fonteo (who was also involved in the planning),[23] the event included representations of each of the four continents in the form of kings. The kings of America, Asia, and Africa were individual figures with entourages, while the continent of Europe was represented in more detail, as four separate characters representing Italy,

20 This has been pointed out by multiple authors including both Andrea Sommer-Mathis in "Amerika im Fest und auf der Bühne im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone: Das barocke Amerikabild in den habsburgischen Ländern*, ed. Friedrich Polleroß et al. (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1992), 127–58, here 128, as well as by Robert Lindell, as a specific theme concerning the wedding festivities of 1571. Lindell writes, "music for four voices occupied a central role in the festival programme, in which almost every aspect was based on the number four." Robert Lindell, "The Wedding of Archduke Charles and Maria of Bavaria in 1571," *Early Music* 18, no. 2 (1990): 253–52, 257–59, 261–69, here 257.

21 This is corroborated by many sources including Lomazzo's 1590 writings on Arcimboldo in *Idea del tempio della pictura* (Milan, 1590). See Lindell, "The Wedding of Archduke Charles," 258. Arcimboldo's costume designs and specifically the figure of the "King of America" will be explored in greater detail in a forthcoming article.

22 Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Scritti Sulle Arti*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi (Florence: Marchi e Bertolli, 1973).

23 Parts of Fonteo's text are translated and quoted in Andreas Beyer, "Die Szene der Fürsten. Arcimboldos Kostüme und Entwürfe für höfische Feste und Turniere," in *Arcimboldo 1526–1593*, ed. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (Milan: Kunsthistorisches Museum/Skira, 2008), 243–47. Beyer quotes from Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1978).

France, Spain, and German-speaking lands.[24] The King of America was portrayed by the archduke's cavalry major, Andreas Teuffel.[25] At present, the most detailed source for reconstructing the King of America's appearance is Fonteo's report. According to the manuscript, as summarized by Andrea Sommer-Mathis, the figure of America "was magnificently dressed in a costume trimmed with pearls and gems, but of course also with feathers, his horse as well had an opulent feathered headpiece, adorned with various Indian birds.[26] The musicians with their exotic instruments, the knights, pages, and lackeys all wore clothes of rich fabrics such as velvet and silk, which were decorated with gold ornaments and colored feathers."[27] Furthermore, the skin of the King of America and his entourage was noted as olive toned which could have been created with masks, dyed garments worn close to the skin, or facial and body makeup. Some images of the event exist, most notably a few costume studies within an unbound album of drawings by Arcimboldo now in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe of the Uffizi,[28] and woodcuts of the tournament published in a contemporaneous festival book[29] by Heinrich Wirrich. Among Arcimboldo's drawings at the Uffizi, some designs have been specifically identified as costumes for the wedding festivities, while other identifications remain speculative. There are three drawings of female figures who appear to have stereotypical African facial features. One has been titled as an "Amazon" by Andreas Beyer (1983),[30] but in a later publication he refers to the same drawing as an "oriental warrior."[31] Although there are minor uses of feathers in the headpieces, figures representing the Americas at this time were created, as

24 Andreas Beyer, *Giuseppe Arcimboldo Figurinen. Kostüme und Entwürfe für höfische Feste* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1983), 10–11.

25 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II* (New York, NY and London: Garland, 1978), 35.

26 Johannes Baptista Fonteius, *Europalia hoc es species, dignitas pompae quam Maximilianus II. imperator peregit Graecii in Styria a. 1571,* (Austria [(Vienna?)], after 1571), Austrian National Library, Cod. 10206.

27 Sommer-Mathis, "Amerika im Fest und auf der Bühne," 145. (Translation mine, A. M.)

28 Uffizi Gallery, Inv. Nrs.: 3144F – 3290 F.

29 Heinrich Wirrich (Wirri), *Ordenliche Beschreibung des Christlichen, Hochlöblichen vnd Fürstlichen Beylags oder Hochzeit, so da gehalten ist worden durch den Durchleuchtigisten … Herrn Carolen, Ertzhertzog zu Osterreich, Burgund, Steyr, Kärnten, Crayn … mit dem Hochgebornen Fräwlein Maria, geborne Hertzogin zu Bayrn, den XXVI.Augusti in der Kayserlichen Statt Wienn … in Teutsche Carmina gestelt* (Vienna, 1571).

30 Beyer, *Giuseppe Arcimboldo Figurinen*, 59.

31 Beyer, "Die Szene der Fürsten," 252. I contacted Andreas Beyer to clarify the titles and he replied that, due to the elapsed years since his initial research, he could no longer comment on the issue. Private correspondence with Dr. Andreas Beyer, 21 October 2023.

we have already seen, by combining characteristics of various non-European peoples. While these characters have exoticized attributes, we cannot securely label either as part of the "America" entourage. There are two other curious drawings in Arcimboldo's album which depict ornamental panaches comprised of green and blue feathers and possibly leaves.[32] While all of Arcimboldo's drawings in this series are drawn in washed blue ink, these two drawings are the only ones to have a secondary green color. This iconography is directly in line with early printed depictions of America and associations made between Native Americans and the so-called wild man, already a recurring mythical figure during the medieval era in Europe and included in the debates on the genealogy of Indigenous Americans.

Arcimboldo's drawings were originally owned by Emperor Rudolf II[33] and, although the date of their arrival in Florence is unknown, they possibly came as part of an inheritance after a Medici-Habsburg marriage.[34] Although the drawings could not have arrived in Florence this early, one such marriage occurred in 1608 between the sister of Emperor Ferdinand II, Maria Magdalena of Austria, and Cosimo de' Medici II. On the eleventh day of the festivities, mock battles on the Arno ensued where squadrons of different peoples, one being "Indians,"[35] each fought against and were defeated by a group of Pisan noblemen.[36] A great significance was given to the festivities, being the wedding of the Holy Roman Emperor's sister, and images were disseminated by way of the illustrated festival book.[37][38] In the single engraving showing the site of the mock battle, a group of seven processing "Indiani" are given a prominent location on the banks of the Arno. Since each mock battle could not be represented simultaneously on the single plate, many of the other squadrons are represented as single figures on a lower register,

32 Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Uffizi, Inv. Nrs.: 3240, 3241.

33 DaCosta Kaufmann, *Variations on the Imperial Theme,* 51–52.

34 This aspect of the Uffizi drawings will be examined in an upcoming article to be published in *Master Drawings*.

35 With near certainty we can say that the costume designs were created by Giulio Parigi who is credited to the designs of the decorative ships used in the event. There is a drawing attributed to Parigi depicting an "Indian soldier" for the *Guerra d'Amore* in Florence eight years later. Parigi was the main designer for festivities at this time. See Biblioteca Marucelliana Inv. Nr.: MF 001046849.

36 Doggett et al., *New World of Wonders,* 133.

37 The entire festival book, including the discussed engraving, can be consulted at https://archive.org/details/dellefestefattenoorinu/page/n17/mode/thumb?view=theater.

38 Alluding to its wide influence, there is even a costume drawing of an Indian by the English designer of masques, Inigo Jones, which is directly inspired by the Florentine precedent. See Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973), 142–43.

separate from the scene itself. In total, as stated on the engraving, there were twenty squadrons, each squadron consisting of thirty men. Even though the entire event thus witnessed hundreds of performers, a group of thirty Native Americans, alongside other groups such as "soldati Romani" and "Todeschi" ("Germans") would not have gone without leaving an impact. These "Indiani" figures along the Arno anticipate the America figure from *Il pomo d'oro* in their heroic contrapposto stance and feathered garments in imitation of the Roman military style. Their use in the celebrations of this important marriage between Vienna and Florence would mean that they would have entered into the visual vocabulary of both courts, especially in the minds of those who had no prior conception of Native American culture and appearance. Such iconography, despite having no ethnographic accuracy other than the association of feathers with the Americas, was quick to crystalize. Artists such as Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, who created the America figure for *Il pomo d'oro* in Vienna, would have worked within this realm of simple visual associations set in place by the Florentine festivities and similar events.

Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini and the Viennese *Wirtschaften* of the Late Seventeenth Century

Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, the imperial court architect and stage designer, as his official title read,[39] left us, in addition to his America figure, with even more complex and multifaceted examples of how festive court culture in Vienna understood (or failed to understand) the Native American. After the America figure, he continued to create many costumes for court events in which earlier influences are not entirely absent, but which display a uniqueness and frankly a bizarreness which makes them unique to the Viennese court.

Burnacini arrived in Vienna with his father, a theater architect, in 1651.[40] In a way that is unique to his experiences and artistic inclinations, he brought together many influences including commedia dell'arte, Venetian stage practices and an interest in the grotesque pictorial tradition. Burnacini's main task, as a creator of imperial spectacles, was to entertain. Accuracy

39 Andrea Sommer-Mathis, "Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini: eine kurze Biografie," in *Groteske Komödie in den Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636–1707)*, ed. Rudi Risatti et al. (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2019), 16.

40 Samantha Santi o Dei Santi, "Die Burnacini, eine Dynastie von Theateringenieuren. Neue Entdeckungen zu ihrer Herkunft," in *Groteske Komödie in den Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636–1707)*, ed. Rudi Risatti et al. (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2019), 39–61, here 50.

and authenticity in depicting the Other were rarely the goal. The depiction of non-European peoples was intended to conjure up ideas of fantasy and exoticism and to show Habsburg domination. Including foreign characters from far-off lands demonstrated the geographical awareness of the court and linked it, however superficially, with ongoing developments in science, exploration, and colonization.

The America figure from *Il pomo d'oro* of 1668 was not part of a devotional procession such as that of Maximilian's *Triumphs*, where the subjugated are made clear through the depiction of their captivity and order in line. Burnacini's allegorical figure of America for *Il pomo d'oro* flips the situation and depicts the Native American Other as a heroic, Romanized hero in classical contrapposto, like the abovementioned Florentine Indiani. However, in his Roman Europeanization and domestication, he is still under a form of captivity, perhaps a more striking and dangerous one due to its more latent nature. He is not in physical chains but is completely assimilated, denied of his context, agency, and meaning. As Steven Mullaney writes, figures representing the Americas "were incorporated into existing structures of festivity as but one of a number of more familiar examples. That is to say, their inclusion altered neither the structure of whatever ritual or celebration they were a part of, nor the structures of perception of those who witnessed them."[41]

Burnacini left behind 189 drawings making up his *Maschere* series, within which ten sheets form a subseries titled *Indiani* (Figure 2.3). The *Indiani* drawings depict costumes, each page containing one male and one female figure. The extremely finished quality with little evidence of process work or changes likely indicate that the drawings were made as documentation of the costume inventory at the Hofburg although it is possible not all were made. In any case, they are not preparatory sketches. Based off an excerpt from the correspondence of Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, who encountered Burnacini in Vienna in 1688, Sommer-Mathis proposes that they likely could have served, in addition to an album of the costume inventory, as prototypes for engravings intended for publication.[42] Other printed collections of theater costumes exist, such as Johann Meßelreuther's *Neu-eröffneter Masquensaal*

41 Steven Mullaney, "The New World on Display: European Pageantry and the Ritual Incorporation of the Americas," in *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas 1492-1700*, ed. Rachael Doggett et al. (Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington, 1992), 104–13, here 106.

42 Andrea Sommer-Mathis, "Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini und die Commedia dell'arte am Wiener Hof," in *Groteske Komödie in den Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636–1707)*, ed. Rudi Risatti et al. (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2019), 63–79, here 76.

Figure 2.3 Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, *Indiani*. Vienna Theater Museum, Inv. Nrs.: HZ Min20 91–101.

published in 1723.[43] The *Indiani* make up one group of sixteen within the *Maschere* series which additionally includes: a nameless group (possibly Jews),[44] Romans, Persians, Old Germans, Ethiopians, Turks, Pastoral Figures, Gardeners, "Diverse Barbarous Nations," "Gypsies," Villains, Invented Masks, Buffoons and Fools, Dwarves and Ridiculous Masks, and, finally, Hats and Head Pieces. The costumes were intended primarily for the so-called *Wirtschaften*,[45] celebrations at Leopold I's court where noble couples would dress up as people of lower classes or people from other parts of the world. The very name implies a role reversal with *Wirt*/*Wirtin* referring to country innkeepers, roles taken on by the emperor and empress. They can be seen in such a role in a painting by Jan Thomas dated to 1666 and now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum.[46]

The first page of the *Indiani* series contains only a hand-written title which has been closely trimmed and glued to the center of a later sheet. When looking through the drawings themselves, the first thing that is immediately apparent is the lighter skin tones and that each figure is heavily clothed. Black skin seen in the *Il pomo d'oro* America figure is no longer present, indicating that masks or blackface were not used and that likenesses drawn between Africans and Native Americans were less prevalent. Despite the

43 Johann Meßelreuter, *Neu-eröffneter Masquen-Saal, Oder: Der verkleideten Heydnischen Götter, Göttinnen und vergötterter Helden Theatralischer Tempel* (Bayreuth: Lober, 1723).

44 Rudi Risatti, "Der Bestand der Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini," in *Groteske Komödie in den Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636-1707)*, ed. Rudi Risatti et al. (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2019), 18–23, here 20.

45 Sommer-Mathis, "Amerika im Fest und auf der Bühne," 154–55.

46 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Picture Gallery, Inv. Nr.: 7660.

Figure 2.4 Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, Plate 92 from the *Indiani* series, Vienna Theater Museum, Inv. Nrs.: HZ Min20 92.

Figure 2.5 Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, Plate 93 from the *Indiani* series, Vienna Theater Museum, Inv. Nrs.: HZ Min20 93.

frequent nakedness in many European images of Native Americans, it would not have been appropriate to have nobles at court scantily clothed, thus the necessity to entirely cover his figures would have encouraged Burnacini to further embellish his designs, multiplying and adding materials, or repeating and extending motifs over larger areas. It was not only nakedness itself that presented a problem, but the early modern era's understanding of the relationship between outward appearance and inner temperament. As William C. Sturtevant explains, Europeans understood clothing and bodily adornment to express social hierarchy and the social characteristics of people.[47] Costume books underlined this viewpoint through their display of isolated, individual figures which forced the viewer to draw conclusions based solely on dress and appearance. Some theorists of the time even went

47 Willian C. Sturtevant, "The Sources for European Imagery of Native Americans," in *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas 1492–1700*, ed. Rachael Doggett et al. (Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington Press, 1992), 24–33, here 30–31.

so far as to propose that swapping clothing had the ability to alter one's social temperament, just as it was believed living in different geographic regions could do the same.

In the first two sheets of the *Indiani* series (Figures 2.4–2.5)[48] we are already presented with an array of colors, patterns, and materials. There are equally large areas of red, blue, green, yellow, and white. The male figures wear heavy feathered capes and skirts, their chests and waists overlaid with jeweled bands. The proportions of the jeweled bands and the shapes of the jewels themselves lend an almost Byzantine element, alluding to Burnacini's free mixing of source material. They also remind us of Fonteo's description of Arcimboldo's King of America from 1571. Some of the head pieces share commonalities with images of Ottoman rulers, including those engraved by Theodor de Bry in 1596;[49] however, they are not direct copies. Considering all these competing forces and visual precedents, the complex web of overlapping influences shaping the idea of the Native American, and in which artists such as Burnacini worked, becomes more apparent.

Costume Albums and Illustrated Travel Accounts

Although Burnacini has not made one-to-one copies from costume books in his designs, as we find in some examples from other European court artists,[50] he no doubt was aware of them. Among the earliest examples of costume books from German-speaking Europe to include full figures representing America is Abraham de Bruyn's 1580 *The Costumes of the Various Nations of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America* (*Omnium Pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae Gentium Habitus*). Amongst the figures showing the dress of America are those who wear a feathered kilt, hat, and cape similar to Burnacini's. Reinforcing the feathered cape and crown as the iconic look of America, De Bruyn uses these two items of apparel on the otherwise naked allegorical figure of America on the title page of the album. This figure also wears a jeweled necklace, armband, and pearl earrings. Within Burnacini's *Indiani* there are a few examples of pearl earrings and dangling adornments. More obvious are the bows and arrows held by two of Burnacini's male

48 Theatermuseum, Inv. Nrs.: HZ Min20 92-93.

49 Jean-Jacques Boissard and Theodor de Bry, *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1596).

50 For example, *Festzug mit Indianern*, Stuttgart, c. 1600, Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Inv. Nr.: 7.2-4. Reproduced in Sommer-Mathis, "Amerika im Fest und auf der Bühne," 141, as well as the drawings of Inigo Jones after Cesare Vecellio. See footnote 47.

figures which are found in two of the De Bruyn figures. Even if Burnacini did not observe De Bruyn's costume album, he almost certainly would have seen De Bruyn's figures, as they were copied in other costume books. For example, Pietro Bertelli's *Diversarum nationum habitus* of 1589 contains two of De Bruyn's figures as identical but flipped copies. One of the most widely disseminated and popular costume books, Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti Antichi*, includes Native Americans in its expanded 1598 edition. *Habiti Antichi* made it into many subsequent reprintings including one in 1664 during Burnacini's early years officially employed by the court.[51]

The largest and most detailed source for Europeans to understand the New World appeared at the tail end of the era of costume books. The thirteen-volume *America* series, published by Theodor de Bry and his family beginning in 1590, combined previously published and unpublished travel reports on the Americas in Dutch, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and German.[52] Part of the long-term and lasting effect of the series was due to the quality and sheer number of engravings in the publication. William C. Sturtevant tells us that:

> Research on all subsequent illustrations of American Indians must take De Bry into account, for he served as artists' source for at least two centuries … Very often, he or his other engravers were better artists than those who produced his models. The results give a homogenized impression: the figures are all "neoclassical," the compositions artificial and European. But more careful examination shows that in his own way he was faithful to his sources, for the transfer of clothing, houses, and other artifacts from one culture to another occurs infrequently. Thus, where De Bry's models are lost or unknown, his pictures should be taken seriously as primary ethnohistorical documents.[53]

51 To demonstrate the wide dissemination of Vecellio's *Habiti Antichi* and its use by theater artists, Inigo Jones in London used *Habiti Antichi* as a main source of inspiration for costumes. As Virginia Mason Vaughan explains of Jones's use of Vecellio's album, "he often confused and conflated elements of the 'exotic' cultures." See Virginia Mason Vaughan, "'Salvages and Men of Ind.' English Theatrical Representations of American Indians, 1590–1690," in *New World of Wonders*, ed. Rachel Doggett et al, (Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington Press, 1992), 114–24, here 118. Jones's figure of an "Indian Torchbearer" has many similarities with Burnacini's America figure from *Il pomo d'oro.* Both adopt a Roman military appearance with feathered kilt, shin coverings, and headdress, as well as a cape and chest piece.

52 Michiel van Groesen and Larry E. Tise, *America: Sämtliche Tafeln 1590–1602* (Cologne: Taschen, 2019), 7.

53 William C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old,* ed. Fredi Chiappelli (Berkeley, CA: University of California

Surekha Davies has further noted the importance of the De Bry series, especially in its decision to include plates of ancient Britons, the Picts, at the end of the series of images of Algonquins. As Davies points out, through the comparison between contemporary Native Americans and ancient Britons, it was signaled to viewers that what separated themselves from contemporary Native Americans was "time and space, not the civil human essence."[54] Despite its wide dissemination and influence, there are no exact, full copies of figures from De Bry found in Burnacini's drawings. However, more importantly than simply pointing out precise repetition of motifs, contextualizing the De Bry material and its more general attitudes and visual tropes alongside Burnacini's work demonstrates the larger, complex web of visual inclinations and understandings about Native Americans that were present throughout Europe in the late seventeenth century.

For example, many commonalities between Burnacini and De Bry can be seen in De Bry's images of the Indigenous people of Florida. Burnacini adopts similar styles of headwear and the rows of small, dangling ornaments which must have created sounds when moving. The bodily tattooing on some of De Bry's figures, which is really a European damask pattern—itself originating in the Middle East—finds resemblances in embroidered parts of Burnacini's designs. According to models of decorum, the costume silhouettes and coverage over the body would have still conformed to typical Baroque standards since they were worn by court nobility.

While nearly every drawing of Burnacini's is presented like a costume book with isolated figures on an empty page, in a few instances he gives us glimpses of context. In plate 98, a figure leans on large blocks of stone reminiscent of Mayan or Aztec pyramids, while in plate 99 (Figure 2.6), a figure holds up jewels from a treasure box evoking De Bry's depiction of Native Americans offering jewels upon Columbus's arrival and the idea that the Americas were overflowing with riches. This figure's headpiece, however, appears inspired by Southeast Asian models. It betrays once more Burnacini's mixing of source material and the lack of interest from him or his audience in creating accurate or ethnographic representations.

Despite the hand coloring in some extant De Bry editions, the great majority of copies were left uncolored, as was the case with most other sources Burnacini likely observed. The question of choice behind Burnacini's own colors thus arises. While the colors used in the *Indiani* series do not follow a strict color coding or tight palette, they do not appear to be random.

Press, 1976), 417–54, here 419–20.

54 Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 274.

Figure 2.6 Left: Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, Plate 99 from the *Indiani* series (detail), Vienna Theater Museum, Inv. Nrs.: HZ Min20 99. Right: Theodor de Bry, *Christopher Columbus Arrives in America* (detail) from *Americae pars quarta. Sive, Insignis & admiranda historia de reperta primum Occidentali India à Christophoro Columbo*, Rijksmuseum, Inv. Nr.: RP-P-BI-5278.

What actual Native American objects could Burnacini have observed? By Burnacini's time, many *Wunder*- and *Kunstkammern* included objects from the Americas. Earlier examples of such objects had been drawn by Albrecht Dürer and Hans Burgkmair, and some made their way into Austrian Habsburg collections; however, tracing the routes of exact objects, and who could have seen them and when, requires much more space than is available here. With Burnacini's use of some radiant greens it is tempting to consider the quetzal feather headdress now in Vienna and documented in the collection of Schloss Ambras from 1596.[55] The headdress, however, did not arrive in Vienna until the nineteenth century, and if Burnacini had ever seen it, the question remains why does it not appear in his work as a headdress or elsewhere?

Another source Burnacini seems to have been aware of and which may have influenced both his colors and designs was the *Trachtenbuch* of Christoph Weiditz, with many pages reputedly made from observation after Native Americans. Weiditz is said to have visited the court of Charles V in 1529, where Indigenous peoples of Mexico and their treasures were being presented.[56] Among the people on display were Aztecs. Elizabeth Hill Boone argues that, even though Weiditz's figures do depict Aztecs from central

55 Gerard van Bussel, *Quetzal Feather Headdress* (Vienna: KHM-Museumsverband, 2017), 4–5, 14.

56 Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 245.

Figure 2.7 Left: Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, Plate 93 from the *Indiani* series (detail), Vienna Theater Museum, Inv. Nrs.: HZ Min20 93; Right: Christoph Weiditz. *Indianischer Mann*, *Trachtenbuch*, 2, Germanisches National Museum, Inv. Nr. HS22474/9.

Mexico, they "were accessorized more extravagantly, to produce exotics on display."[57] Despite the fact that they were only published in the twentieth century, the paintings in Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch* were circulated and copied after 1555.[58] We can see clearly in several of Weiditz's sheets, capes with bands of feathers in alternating colors, something which Burnacini adopts for several of his male costumes. The comparison between two particular figures is quite striking (Figure 2.7). The poses are identical and the feathered capes have a unique hemline which lowers in the back, something not clearly observed in other precedent images of Native Americans. However, by this point in time Europeans had been experimenting with featherwork for centuries. Stefan Hanß has described the craze for feathers which spread across Europe, which due to its luxury nature, was propelled by court culture. Featherworkers established their own guilds in France and Germany and Hanß has traced at least one seventeenth century French feather merchant, Nicolas Le Trotteur, to Vienna.[59] Manipulated through a wide manner

57 Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Seeking Indianness: Christoph Weiditz, the Aztecs, and feathered Amerindians," *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, no. 1 (2017): 39–61, here 39.

58 Boone, "Seeking Indianness," 39; Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, 245.

59 Stefan Hanß, "Making Featherwork in Early Modern Europe," in *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1750: Objects, Affects, Effects*, ed. Susanna Burghartz et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 137–85.

of techniques, feathers could also be dyed to match the garments they accompanied, something which could have been done for the creation of Burnacini's feathered capes. However, an interesting example of fake feathers used for theater costumes was identified by Aby Warburg for the 1589 Florentine intermezzi which were performed in between scenes of the comedy *La Pellegrina*.[60] Ulinka Rublack summarizing Warburg describes that for the costumes of bird-like sirens: "creating their upper garments from real feathers was deemed far too extravagant; instead, canvas was ordered onto which the feathers were painted and then cut-out. Finally, these painted feathers were individually glued onto the costumes."[61] Since Burnacini's *Indiani* costumes were intended for nobility but were worn in theatrical and festive settings they could have been made either out of actual, precious feathers or less expensive methods. Since nothing material remains of them today, the question of their manufacture stays elusive.

Festival Culture and Court Rivalry: A Competition of Exoticization

Another type of source that Burnacini and his contemporaries must have been well aware of as court artists of festivities was illustrations of festivals and performances from other courts, especially that of Paris and Versailles. Burnacini's patron, Emperor Leopold I, had a major artistic and cultural rivalry with his first cousin Louis XIV of France. Both rulers tried to outdo one another through costly festive celebrations which would signal their dominance over the known world through the inclusion of foreign people. In 1662, Louis XIV put on his Grand Carousel, a spectacular display the centerpiece of which was a parade of extravagantly costumed noblemen dressed up as groups of historical figures such as Romans and people from different parts of the world such as "Turks". The costume designs are credited to Henri Gissey.[62] Burnacini would have heard reports of the event around 1662, but would not have been able to see the detailed engravings in the festival book, since it was not published until 1670. The case for Burnacini being influenced by his French peers is supported on some levels by the

60 Ulinka Rublack, "Performing America: Featherwork and Affective Politics," in *Materialized Identities in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1750: Objects, Affects, Effects*, ed. Susanna Burghartz et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 187–229.

61 Rublack, "Performing America," 188.

62 For literature and reproductions, see most recently Jérôme de La Gorce et al., *En scène! Dessins de costumes de la collection Edmond de Rothschild* (Paris: Louvre, 2022).

notable differences between his America figure for *Il pomo d'oro* (1668) and the later, much more visually complex *Indiani*. As with De Bry and other sources, Burnacini did not copy any French designs directly, but likely felt pushed to heighten the sense of exoticism and the spectacular, especially if he had intended to later publish his designs for a wider audience like the French court had done. Whereas the America figure of 1668 follows a typical, heroic Roman model, the *Indiani* are completely new inventions—just like their French counterparts. Joseph Gregor, the founder of the Theatersammlung at the Austrian National Library which evolved into today's Theatermuseum notes the similarities between Gissey and Burnacini, not as copies of one another but in the "stylistic peculiarities, especially the exotic costumes."[63]

One notable difference between Burnacini's work for the Habsburgs and the French Carousel is that the French work makes a clear distinction between "Indiens" and "Ameriquains," each having their own iconography and placement in overall structure of the Carousel. Given the French colonization of what is now eastern Canada, this conscious differentiation between "Indiens" and "Ameriquains" makes sense. The "Indiens" share visual stereotypes found in representations of Central and South Americans, while the "Ameriquains," with fewer feathers and more links to greenery and the ocean, appear to represent Indigenous people of North America. They even included costumed performers as brown bears, an animal associated with the upper regions of North America. In Vienna, these distinctions were not made, and the representations of Native Americans mingled attributes from different Indigenous groups from across the Americas.

Burnacini and Gissey also differ on color choices. The Carousel denotes a clear overall color palette for each group of parading figures whereas Burnacini's *Indiani* express a multitude of colors. The thinking behind these differences, however, becomes clear when we consider the ways and spaces in which the costumes for each set of festivities were worn. In the Carousel, the parading figures were viewed across the vast outdoor space of the Louvre and the Tuileries. Thus, for many viewers, the distinct color coding of each group would have been the main way of differentiating them. Burnacini's costumes, on the other hand, would have been seen up close in more intimate spaces, mainly worn during the *Wirtschaften*.

63 "[…] die stilistischen Besonderheiten, vorzüglich des exotischen Kostüms," Joseph Gregor, *Denkmäler des Theaters. Inszenierung, Dekoration, Kostüm des Theaters u. der grossen Feste aller Zeiten*, vol. 6, *Courses de testes et de bague faites par le Roy en l'annee 1662* (Vienna and Munich: Piper, 1925–30), 12.

Monotone color palettes would have actually diminished their impact in a setting where the details of each costume would have been their most distinguishable attributes. This further highlights Burnacini's desire to imbue the costumes with extravagant details, straying from precedents. The structure of the *Wirtschaften* and Burnacini's costumes for them thus, on the one hand, countered the linear, processional approach of many festive events which reinforced the idea of Native American subjugation and captivity. However, on the other hand, the *Wirtschaften* still upheld an idea of blind obedience and Native American colonization in the simple way that Native Americans as a group of people were integrated into existing European festival structures without deeper study or agency. Furthermore, during the *Wirtschaften*, by way of processes of self-Othering, a network of multi-way gazes resulted where the wearer of the costume was simultaneously observer and observed. On the one hand, the performer or wearer of the disguise embodied an invented Other, formed by personal and societal understandings of who that Other was. On the flipside, simply by performing the character, the wearer highlighted the differences between Other and self, European and non-European.[64]

By placing less emphasis on prior models and relying more heavily on his imagination, Burnacini is not simply ignoring what was thought to be known about Native Americans, but as an artist is reaching beyond what existing sources were telling him. Even if he is ethnologically inaccurate in his portrayals, he is no longer simply repeating existing visual models, themselves often more than a century old and based largely on unsubstantiated stereotypes and infused with political propaganda. Burnacini is speculating and inventing a more visually complex Native American figure—a figure which when placed side by side on equal terms with other characters during the so-called *Wirtschaften*, necessitated a deeper reading. Even the mere inclusion of the Native American in such an event demonstrates that by the late seventeenth century it formed a group of people in the Austrian Habsburg consciousness that could no longer be ignored, overshadowed, or restricted merely to the periphery as decorative allegorical figures.

64 We see similar ways of embodying the Other as an occasion for self-reflection later in the eighteenth century in such writings as Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, and operas such as Rameau's *Les Indes Galantes*, where inhabiting the Other becomes a guise under which Europeans could attempt to place themselves outside their own society and thus be able to criticize and critique it. Burnacini's *Indiani* and the function of the *Wirtschaften* had the potential to act as a type of Viennese precursor to these later examples.

About the Author

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3. Jesuit Missionaries from Central European Territories in Northwestern New Spain, 1680–1767

Bernd Hausberger

Abstract: At the end of the sixteenth century, the mission became one of the typical frontier institutions of the Spanish Empire, with the northwest of Mexico being an exclusive field of activity for the Society of Jesus. From the 1680s, a growing number of missionaries arrived from central Europe, including many from the Austrian Habsburg lands in the Mexican Jesuit province, and formed an early connection between these two regions. As it is difficult to pinpoint specific mission histories from these Habsburg territories, the focus here rests more upon the assignment of these missionaries from the Assistentia Germanica of the Society of Jesus, and particularly the Austrian, Bohemian, Upper German, and two Rhenish provinces of the order.

Keywords: missionaries, Jesuits, Mexico, central Europe, Catholicism, Spanish Empire

From the end of the sixteenth century onwards, missions organized by several Catholic orders (above all the Society of Jesus) became the typical frontier institutions of the Spanish Empire.[1] Northwestern Mexico became one of the largest Jesuit mission provinces, where, from the 1680s, a growing number of missionaries arrived from central Europe, including many from the Austrian Habsburg lands who form the basis of this chapter as a point of connection between these two regions. As it is difficult to pinpoint specific mission histories from these Habsburg territories, the focus here rests more upon the assignment of these missionaries from the Assistentia Germanica

1 Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 23 (1917), 87-111.

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH03

of the Society of Jesus, and in particular from the Austrian, Bohemian, Upper German, and two Rhenish provinces of the order.

The Society of Jesus

Founded in 1534 by Ignacio Loyola and confirmed by the Pope in 1540, the Society of Jesus represented an elite organization of the Holy See in its efforts to renew the Catholic Church in the contest against Protestantism. Jesuits gained influence in the courts of Catholic European monarchies and devoted themselves intensively to education in their colleges. Inspired by the discoveries of European seafarers as well as Portuguese and Spanish colonial expansion, the conversion of non-Christian peoples around the world became one of their central concerns. As early as 1540, Francisco de Jasso y Azpilicueta, later St. Francis Xavier, set off for India. Directed by the central general of the order in Rome, the Society of Jesus adopted a territorial organization in order to become more efficient; in the end, six clustered assistancies spanned the world (Figure 3.1; Table 3.1).[2] The Jesuits did not arrive in Spanish America until thirty years later, in 1568 in the viceroyalties of Peru, which encompassed the whole of Spanish South America until the eighteenth century, and , and in 1572 in New Spain, covering Central America and Mexico. So, they missed the chance to Christianize the population of the Indigenous American empires and city-states that the Spanish had conquered a few decades earlier. Instead, the Jesuits began their activities with the establishment of colleges in larger Spanish colonial cities, and only by the end of the sixteenth century their missionary ambitions found a field of activity on the fringes of the overall Spanish dominion. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, relations between the order and various Catholic royal houses deteriorated significantly. In 1759, Jesuits faced expulsion from Portugal followed by France in 1764 and the Spanish crown in 1767; finally the Papacy itself dissolved the company in 1773.

The Missions

The Catholic Church's spreading of the faith as part of a universalist Christian agenda suited entirely the Spanish crown's policies in the Americas.

2 Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

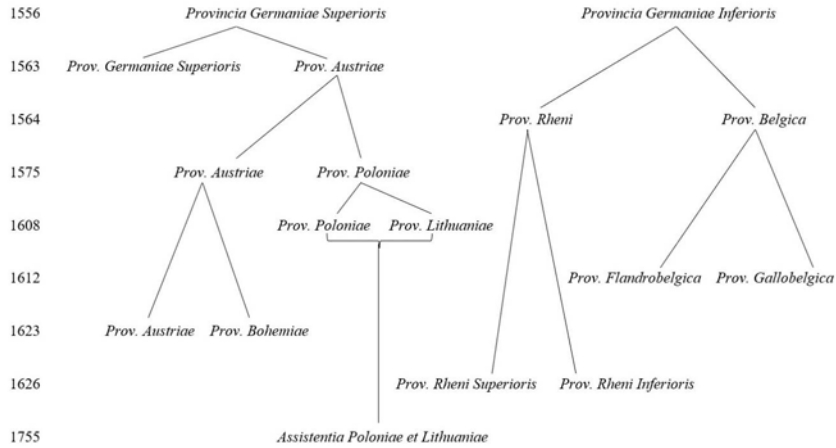

Figure 3.1 The evolution of the provinces of the *Assistentia Germanica*.

Accepting Catholicism also entailed a recognition of the most important principle in the legitimacy of Spanish kingship. At the same time, the Church's relatively dense parish-mission system also facilitated Spanish surveillance and control of the local populations—albeit somewhat imperfectly. Indigenous cultures, however, adopted Catholicism with a level of selectivity and creativeness, combining the new faith with existing cultural practices or simply amalgamating it with older forms of worship. Hybrid and syncretic religious beliefs emerged as a result as new forms of popular Catholicism. Finally, there is little doubt that this new religion also contributed significantly to explaining the catastrophes experienced during the collapse of Indigenous cultures and their cosmographies under the pressure of conquest and colonization, and led to a reconstruction and partial survival of ethnic societies and cultures.[3]

At the time of the Jesuit arrival in the New World, Spaniards faced new challenges. Defeating the Indigenous military and replacing existing administrative structures with a monarchical and ecclesiastical apparatus had proven enough to subjugate the peoples of the ancient American civilizations. The agrarian basis of Indigenous society, with land ownership and commercial orientation, had survived relatively unscathed and even the older system of tribute obligations, such as were customary during the pre-Hispanic era, continued to be made through offerings of food, handicrafts,

3 See, for example, Robert H. Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival among the Sedentary Populations on the Jesuit Mission Frontiers of Spanish America, 1609-1803. The Formation and Persistence of Mission Communities in a Comparative Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

Table 3.1 Membership numbers of the assistancies and provinces of the Society of Jesus, 1710

Assitentia Hispaniæ		*Assistentia Germanica*		*Assistentia Lusitaniæ*		*Assitentia Italiæ*		*Assistentia Galliæ*	
Provinces	Total / Priests	Provinces	Total / Priests	Provinces	Total / Priests	Provinces	Total / Priests	Provinces	Total / Priests
Aragoniæ	523 / 215	*Austriæ.*	1226 / 582	*Lusitana*		*Romana*	786 / 350	*Franciæ*	748 / 392
Bætica	518 /207	*Bohemiæ*	1182 / 564	*Brasiliæ*		*Sicula*	774 / 286	*Lugdunensis*	702 /379
Castellana	630 / 314	*Germaniæ Superioris*	929 / 437	*Goana*		*Neapolitana*	584 / 259	*Tolosana*	667 / 356
Toletana	561 / 281	*Rheni Superioris*	406 / 174	*Malabarica*		*Mediola-nensis*	627 / 307	*Campaniæ*	496 / 248
Sardiniæ	243 / 90	*Rheni Inferioris*	723 / 389	*Japoniæ*		*Veneta*	624 / 295	*Aquitaniæ*	486 / 261
Chilensis	155 / 91	*Angliæ*	350 / 232	*Sinensis**				in America and Asia	204
Mexicana	508 / 320	*Flandro-belgica*	559 / 288						
Novi Regni	149 / 78	*Gallo-belgica*	434 / 237						
Paraquariæ	269 / 165	*Lithuaniæ*	746 / 327						
Peruana	518 / 319	*Poloniæ*	644 / 333						
Quitensis	199 / 91								
Philipin-narum	165 / 108								
Total	4547 / 2410		7200 / 3563		1464 / 655		3395 / 1497		3303 / 1832

* Vice Province: Source Josephus Juvencius [Joseph de Jouvany], *Historiæ Societatis Jesu pars quinta tomus posterior ab anno Christi MDXCI. ad MDCXVI* (Rome: Typographia Georgii Plachi, Caelaturam & Characterum Fusoriam Profitentis, 1710), 953–67. In the case of the Spanish assistancy, the sum of the portional numbers does not match the totals given; rather, it results in 4,438 members or 2,279 priests.

textiles, and labor. Beyond the American empires and city-states, Spanish colonists encountered adverse natural conditions populated by nomadic or seminomadic, stateless, and war-prone people everywhere—in the Pampas, Chaco, Chile, northern Mexico, and in the tropical lowlands of interior South America where it proved difficult to regulate such groups. Few material incentives existed anyway. The discovery of numerous plentiful silver mines beyond the northern frontier of the Mesoamerican cultures in the 1540s changed this situation for the future of New Spain. Located far from Indigenous farming villages, these mines could not be easily supplied by means of demanding tributes, accessing local markets, or forcing labor service from the surrounding Indigenous population. The inhabitants of the northern zone, known collectively as the Chichimeca, numbered too few to sustain any effective mining regime and, besides, bitterly resisted Spanish impositions. All this gave rise to a decade-long war, during which the Spanish established a military system consisting of small fortresses (*presidios*) and mobile garrisons that did not exist in central Mexico following the conquest. To compensate for the lack of a subjugated local population, the Spanish encouraged immigration to the region among laborers from central Mexico who received paid work in the mines, but also worked alongside enslaved laborers—mainly imported Africans, but also imprisoned Chichimeca. In places that could support it, a new, Spanish-controlled agricultural and livestock rearing regime began, as the Spaniards disrespected any claims of land ownership by the hunter-gathering natives. Although the region remained difficult to pacify, the idea of integrating the Chichimeca into the Spanish colonial order was not entirely abandoned. In this regard, the Catholic missions performed an important function within the quest for a permanent settlement among Indigenous groups after the Chichimeca War came to an effective end by 1600.

As the Spanish frontier gradually pushed further northwards, fueled by discoveries of new silver deposits, they expanded agriculture (where sufficient water sources could be found) and cattle breeding. Nevertheless, many problems continued to restrain colonizers' interests. The supplies from the central provinces became increasingly difficult to maintain over greater and greater distances, and severe diseases from the Old World were eradicating large swathes of the Mesoamerican population which further hampered any immigration flow to the north from the south. However, in the northwest, in places like the Sierra Madre Occidental (between present-day Mexican states of Sinaloa, Sonora, Durango, and Chihuahua), population groups existed in small settlements that farmed the riverbeds along certain valleys and hunted in the surrounding landscape. These indigenous clusters

became the subsequent focus of the Spanish who sought out labor and resources. Spanish endeavors, however, to extort taxes, materials, and labor from these villages met only very limited success. Consequently, the Jesuits received the task of pacifying the northwest in order to facilitate food supply and labor service from these Indigenous settlements.

In 1591, as a result, the Jesuits arrived in the rather small village of Villa de Sinaloa to begin conversions among the local Indigenous population. In the decades that followed, they expanded their activities into the sierras of Sinaloa, Sonora, Durango, and Chihuahua, in the north as far as the Rio Gila (in what is now the US state of Arizona), and into the Lower California peninsula. In the early eighteenth century, their expansionist pursuit met with increasing resistance from the Seris and Apache. Following this friction, the Jesuits only succeeded in establishing the small mission province of Nayarit in the hinterland of their area of actual activity. They encountered throughout their missions a large number of different ethnic groups such as the Tehuecos, Zapes or Zuaques in Sinaloa, the Mayos, Yaquis, Ópatas, Eudeves, Jobas, Pimas, and Pápagos in Sonora, the Acaxees, Xiximes, and Tepehuanes in Durango, the Guarijíos, Chínipas, Tubares, and Tarahumaras in Chihuahua, the Pericúes, Guaycuras, and Cochimís in Lower California, and the Coras of Nayarit. They were all integrated into the missionary system and thus into Spanish rule with varying degrees of difficulty.

It is important to emphasize that Jesuit strategies to convince local populations differed in crucial aspects from the Spanish line, but the fathers always looked for cooperation with authorities of the monarchy and never refrained from resorting to violence entrusted to the frontier military institutions. It is true, the Jesuits intended to win over Indigenous populations through their sermons, rhetorical explanations, gifts, rituals, and protections from excessive Spanish attacks. But such a strategy could only be sustained when, on the one hand it could build on the fear of effective violence, and, on the other, through constant mission influence. Priests, therefore, began to settle permanently among the Indigenous settlements and endeavored to ensure a permanent, static, Indigenous presence. To this end, it was essential to strengthen (or at least maintain) Indigenous agriculture to such an extent that hunting and gathering activities could be replaced. In addition, the Jesuits endeavored to produce surpluses for sale to the mining settlements. The income largely financed the costs of the mission, above all the erection of churches, furnishing altars, providing Christian clothes for the natives, and the sustenance of the missionaries themselves. Internally, the mission settlements were patriarchally organized communities. Although their inhabitants were allowed a structure

of self-administration, the missionaries retained control over all aspects of mission life. They regarded their protégés as barbarians and denied them full personal maturity, as stipulated by Spanish legislation through the creation of the legal-social category of the *indio*.[4] For breaches against mission rules, perpetrators received physical punishments in accordance with the educational methods of the time.

Missions included a number of cultural and social components that profoundly reshaped the Indigenous cultures. The introduction of Christian morals, for instance, led to the implementation of monogamous marriage and new family structures. Yet, a complete cultural harmonization with the Spanish world never was the aim of these missions. Even at a linguistic level, there was no general Hispanicization of the population. Although Castilian became the overall dominant language of the Spanish colonial world, the clergy spoke native languages in cases where they were able to learn them, for there was no other way to preach to the Indigenous people, let alone hear their confessions. The special status of the subjugated population was thereby culturally enshrined: any attempt to abolish the clear separation between Indians and Spaniards would have threatened the desired social order. The natives, therefore, had to remain Indians or, more precisely, the various Indigenous peoples first had to be made into *indios*. This necessarily schematic description of the Jesuit mission, which cannot consider its difficulties and local and regional variations, is intended to outline the situation that the Central European Jesuits found when they arrived in northwestern Mexico from 1680 onwards.[5]

Central European Missionaries in New Spain

The Society of Jesus grew rapidly after its foundation. Nevertheless, the order lacked personnel in many places, not least due to its strict admission and training procedures. In the Mexican Province, the number of order members increased significantly after its foundation in 1572, from 107 in 1580 to 678 in 1767.[6] In 1711, 507 Jesuits were working in the province, 411

4 Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, "El concepto de indio en América. Una categoría de la situación colonial," *Anales de Antropología* 9 (1972), 105-124."

5 A detailed explanation of the methods and practices of the mission appears in Bernd Hausberger, *Für Gott und König. Die Mission der Jesuiten im kolonialen Mexiko* (Vienna and Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik/Oldenbourg, 2000).

6 Gerard Decorme, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanas durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1941).

of them in provincial management and in 27 colleges, seminaries, and residences, alongside 96 of them (or 19 percent overall) in the missions.[7] Among ordained priests, the proportion of missionaries was 30 percent in total. These activities could not be maintained, let alone expanded, with the regional recruitment of young people alone, as the Church refused to accept *indios* or *mestizos* into the religious community. Although Jesuits regularly came to Mexico from the Iberian Peninsula, even this influx was not enough, especially as this transfer of personnel had to meet the demands of the South American provinces as well, which all had their own mission territories. Table 1 provides an overview of the global personnel of the Society of Jesus in 1710. The five European provinces of the Spanish assistancy had only 2,475 members, of whom 1,107 were priests, and therefore lagged behind other assistancies (with the exception of the Portuguese). This difference resulted partly from the constant outflow of Spanish Jesuits to overseas missions. In any case, the potential of fresh pools in Spain's European provinces for further missionary personnel were probably exhausted.

Additional reinforcements had to come from outside the Spanish provinces, and so the highest populated assistancy, the Assistentia Germanica, became an expected source of personnel even if one only considers the five provinces that comprised the Holy Roman Empire and the Austrian hereditary lands. Internal needs within the German assistancy initially made it difficult to send a large number of clerics overseas. In the sixteenth century in particular, quite a few Italian and Spanish Jesuits had travelled north to contest Protestantism, and a transfer of personnel in the opposite direction was simply out of the question. The interconfessional struggle eased after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, but Spanish attitudes remained an obstacle. The Church in the Americas had been under royal patronage since 1508 (and the Spanish Church as a whole since 1523). The Castilian crown, to which the American territories were subject as part of the composite Spanish monarchy, decided on matters relating to founding new missions and sending missionaries.[8] In principle, it only allowed its own subjects to travel to America, but this rule always remained loosely enforced so, in effect, people from all over the world could be found in Spanish America from the beginning. In the case of an official program such as the mission, however, the problem could not be solved with illegal entry practices, and so a formal regulation became necessary.

7 Catalogus, 4 March 1711, Archivio General de la Nación (Mexico), Indiferente Virreinal, 1260, exp. 21, f. 11.

8 See John H. Elliot, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137 (1992), 48-71.

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, only a few foreign Jesuits arrived in Spanish America, mainly from the other places subject to the Spanish crown, such as Italian provinces and Flanders, and then later on (between 1580 and 1640) from Portugal. Subjects of allied dynasties, especially the Austrian line of the house of Habsburg, were only occasionally accepted. In 1654, as the presence of the new European maritime powers intensified the struggle for supremacy in Europe, the Spanish crown banned foreign missionaries from its overseas territories.[9] The shortage of personnel in the Americas became even more pressing as a result and combined with the needed expansion of the mission territories.[10] In 1674, after an arduous debate, a royal decree finally opened up the American Jesuit missions to allied foreigners who would be selected through the general of the order in Rome on the basis of letters of application, the so-called *litterae indipetae*.[11] The overall number, however, could not exceed one third of the total number of Jesuits travelling to the Americas from Europe. It was also expressly stipulated that foreigners were to be employed exclusively in the conversion and instruction of the natives. As can be seen in Table 2, before 1700 only Jesuits from the friendly Bohemian and Austrian provinces, that is to say territories of Austrian Habsburg crown, came to New Spain from the Assistentia Germanica, with only one singular exception—Eusebio Franciscus Kino from the Upper German province, who came from Trentino, another of the Habsburg crown lands. These hitherto favored subjects of the Austrian Habsburgs were eventually excluded from the mission in America in 1707 due to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), and remained barred even after the peace treaties of 1713 and 1714.[12] In fact, no Jesuits from the Austrian and Bohemian provinces of the order moved to Mexico from then until 1730. After that, the general number of Jesuits coming from the Assistentia Germanica increased again, but from the mid-1750s the Jesuits' support from the crown began to crumble, and in 1760 Charles III forbade

9 Lázaro de Aspurz, *La aportación extranjera a las misiones españolas del Patronato Regio* (Madrid: Consejo de la Hispanidad, 1946), 173–225 and Appendix C. Anton Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899), 9–15.

10 Francisco Zambrano and José Gutierrez Casillas, *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, 16 vols. (México City: Ed. Jus, 1961-1977), vol. 6, 571-2.

11 For the *indipetae*, see Christoph Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2007) and Aliocha Maldavsky, "Pedir las Indias. Las cartas indipetae de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI-XVIII, ensayo historiográfico," *Relaciones* 132 (2012), 147-181.

12 Aspurz, *Aportación*, 222–46.

foreign missionaries.[13] By 1767, only a few non-Spanish Jesuits had travelled to America with special permission.

So, who were these Jesuits exactly? It should be noted that the early modern Jesuits can only be defined to a limited extent according to national criteria. In the Jesuit self-image, national or ethnic ties to a region of origin were jettisoned upon joining the order.[14] The Assistentia Germanica and its provinces were administrative units organized primarily according to practical criteria, and their borders only partially coincided with the political or linguistic borders.[15] The Assistentia Germanica encompassed the political patchwork of the Holy Roman Empire (which also included Flanders and, until 1648, Switzerland) as well as the kingdoms of Hungary (insofar as it was not controlled by the Ottomans), Poland, and England. The Habsburg hereditary lands divided into three Jesuit provinces: the Austrian Province (including Hungary), the Bohemian Province (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia), and the Upper German Province, which included the Duchy of Bavaria, the Swiss Confederation, and the southwest part of the Holy Roman Empire such as Breisgau, as well as the Habsburg territories of Vorarlberg, Tyrol, and Trentino. The inhabitants of the Assistentia spoke English, Dutch, French, German, Lithuanian, Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Hungarian, Romanian, Croatian, Slovenian, or Italian, and so the Jesuits from the Assistentia Germanica included men of many different mother tongues. In Hispanic America, they were generally referred to as Germans (*alemanes*) and self-identifications to this effect were not lacking. Whether this primarily referred to membership of the Assistentia Germanica or to a linguistic, proto-national, or national group is usually unclear. These Germans also included the Jesuits from the Bohemian province, who for their part also referred to themselves as Bohemians (*bohemios*), which probably expressed a sense of regional affiliation regardless of their language.[16]

13 Aspurz, *Aportación*, 249–52, 331–34; Pedro Borges Morán, *El envío de misioneros a América durante la época española* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 1977), 251.

14 "In Societate tanta es unitas, ut, quantum ad mutuum juvamen et affectionem omnium inter se, perinde reputanda sit, ac si esset una provincial et una natio." Francisco Juárez (1548–1617), *Tractus decimus de religione Societatis Jesu*, cited in Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden 1540-1773* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2011), 391.

15 Friedrich, *Der lange Arm*, 416–22.

16 See also Bernd Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko. Eine Bio-Bibliographie* (Vienna and Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik/Oldenbourg, 1995), 26–33; Markéta Křížová, "Meeting the Other in the New World: Jesuit Missionaries from the Bohemian Province in America," *Historie – Otázky – Problémy* 2, no. 8 (2016), 39–40.

Table 3.2 Central European Jesuits who participated in missionary expeditions to New Spain

Year of expedition	*Bohemiæ*	*Austriæ*	*Germ. Sup.*	*Rhen. Sup.*	*Rhen. Inf.*	Central Europeans from the *Prov. Romana*[17]	Total
1680/81*	2	3*	1				6*
1687	4	3					7
1692	3						3
1719			2		2	1	5
1723			3	2	1	1	7
1730/31	2*	2	2				6*
1735/36	3	1	4		4	1	13
1744	1	1	2		1		5
1750	6	3**	2	4	5		20**
1755	14			2	2		18
1760			1				1
Total:	35*	13***	17	8	15	3	91****

Source: Hausberger, *Jesuiten*, 375–80.
* 1 died on route ** 2 died on route *** 3 died on route **** 4 died on route

Leaving aside the two Belgian provinces and the Polish and Lithuanian provinces, 479 Jesuits travelled from the five central provinces of the Assistentia Germanica—the Austrian, Bohemian, Upper German, Upper Rhine, and Lower Rhine provinces—to colonial Hispanic America, including the Philippines from the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards; eighty-four of them arrived in New Spain if we deduct those who died on route (Tables 2 and 3).[18] Of these, forty-four came from the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs. An additional five members of the order reached Mexico who came from these same territories but had joined the Society of Jesus in either Rome or Mexico.[19] Overall, the majority of these missionaries sent to the New World came from the Upper German province, but the Jesuits from the Bohemian province dominated in Mexico. In contrast, the participation of

17 Two further lay brothers with central European origins entered the Mexican province directly without any information about how they came to the Americas.

18 A regular stream of Jesuits came from the Belgian province to Spanish America but no known Jesuits came from the Lithuanian-Polish province.

19 Short biographies of these Jesuits can be found in Hausberger, *Jesuiten*. For a stimulating analysis of the missionaries from the German Assistance from a gender perspective, see Ulrike Strasser, *Missionary Men in the Early Modern World. German Jesuits and Pacific Journeys* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

members of the extensive Austrian province was surprisingly low, probably due to abundant tasks facing them at home.

Table 3.3 Central European Jesuits sent via Sevilla to Spanish America and the Philippines, 1670–1759

	Bohemia		Austria		Germania Superior		Rhenania Superior		Rhenania Inferior		Total
		percent of total		*percent of total*		*percent of total*		*percent of total*		*percent of total*	
Total	130	27%	86	18%	192	40%	24	5%	47	10%	479
To New Spain	35	40%	13	15%	17	19%	8	9%	15	17%	88
Percent of the province	27%		15%		9%		33%		32%		18%
To other territories	95	24%	73	19%	175	45%	16	4%	11	8%	391

Source: Totals from Nebgen, "Missionaries," 406; New Spain from Hausberger, *Jesuiten*, 23.

Both the Spanish Empire and the American provinces of the Jesuit Order undoubtedly benefited from this cooperation with foreign-born members. Among the central European Jesuits, only Johann Christoph Verdier from the Bohemian province seems not to have fulfilled the expectations placed in him, though the sources provide little precise information.[20] The case of Maximilian Gill from the Upper Rhine province, who transferred from the border to a college in Puebla after a few years, gives cause for suspicion. After the expulsion of the Society of Jesus, Gill returned to Germany, where he lived as a priest and tutor and was convicted in 1778 for homosexual relations and sexual abuse of several pupils. It can be assumed that Gill had not behaved differently in the secluded missions and was perhaps also ordered to Puebla for this reason.[21] Such an example was rather rare as most Jesuits remained in the missions until their death. Withdrawal from a mission did not always prove a failure, however. Johann Anton Balthasar (a Swiss from the Roman province of the order) left the Sierra Tepehuanes after six years for poor health reasons, but returned between 1743 and 1746

20 Hausberger, *Jesuiten*, 329–31.

21 Gill died imprisoned in 1786. Ulrich L. Lehner, *Inszenierte Keuschheit. Sexualdelikte in der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2024), 204–29. For his time in Mexico, see Hausberger, *Jesuiten*, 150–51.

as general visitor of the missions and, at the height of his career, served as the provincial of the Mexican province from 1750 to 1753.[22]

The superiors of the order believed that they could exploit extra services from the foreign Jesuits. After all, they had voluntarily applied for the mission and were subjected to a strict selection process before being sent to America, which went beyond the usual selection process for admission to the order. American Jesuits, on the other hand, had to go wherever their provincial ordered them to go. Foreigners occasionally showed a pronounced self-confidence, but whether they had a stronger sense of superiority over the Indigenous population than the Creole Jesuits, as Robert H. Jackson suggests, can hardly be generalized.[23] In any case, in the eighteenth century an unusually strong presence of foreign, especially central European, missionaries was noted in the particularly difficult missions. In the Pimería Alta (on the international border between present-day Sonora and Arizona), three of the seven missions (43 percent) were staffed by priests from the Assistentia Germanica in 1748, then seven out of ten (70 percent) in 1751, and finally four out of eight (50 percent) in 1755.[24] The situation was similar on the California peninsula (Table 4). This observation contrasts with the Creolization of the Society of Jesus in Mexico as described by María Cristina Torales: In 1767, 68.4 percent of the members of the Mexican province came from America, 22.6 percent from the Iberian Peninsula, and only 9 percent from abroad.[25] The special position of the missions can be confirmed with the data from 1764 (Table 5): 65 percent of the missionaries came from Europe—with the Assistentia Germanica making up the largest proportion. Only in Sinaloa, the oldest and most established Jesuit mission province, did the position of the Creoles correspond approximately to the situation

22 Hausberger, *Jesuiten*, 107–21.

23 José Luis Falcumbello to Provincial Antonio de Oviedo, Yécora, 4 May 1736, University of Texas, Austin, William B. Stephens Collection, No. 66, 234. See also Huonder, *Jesuitenmissionäre*, 98–101; Robert H. Jackson, "Creole Jesuits: A prosopographic study of the members of the Society of Jesus in Mexico City, Puebla de los Angeles, and frontier missions in 1767," *Estudios Históricos*, 14, no. 28 (2022), 33. Johann Jakob Baegert from Alsace was characterized by a pronounced arrogance towards the inhabitants of the California peninsula. See Hausberger, *Jesuiten*, 103–7.

24 Anton Maria Bentz to his parents, Cumuripa, 31 May 1752, in "Four unpublished letters of Anton Maria Benz eighteenth century missionary to Mexico," eds. Peter Masten Dunne and Ernest J. Burrus, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 24 (1955): 371; Ernest J. Burrus and Félix Zubillaga (eds.), *El noroeste de México. Documentos sobre las misiones jesuíticas 1600-1769* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1986): 596–97, 602.

25 María Cristina Torales Pacheco, "La provincia jesuita de Nueva España. Criollismo e identidad," in *Jesuitas en las Américas.Presencia en el tiempo,* eds. Jorge Cristian Troisi Melean and Marcia Amantino (La Plata: Teseopress, 2019): 92.

in the province as a whole.[26] Yet one should be hesitant to call the German Jesuits better missionaries, for their concentration on the frontier obeyed the conditions of their authorization and was therefore necessary in order not to jeopardize their deployment in the first place.

Table 3.4 Central European missionaries in the Californian missions, 1741–67

Year	Missionaries total	Central Europeans	Percentage
1741	15	6	40%
1744	14	6	43%
1748	15	6	40%
1751	13	8	62%
1755	14	9	64%
1758	14	8	57%
1764	16	9	56%
1767	16	8	50%

Source: From the *Catalogi* of the Society of Jesus, compiled by Ernest J. Burrus in Francisco María Píccolo, *Informe del estado de la nueva christianidad de California 1702 y otros documentos*, ed. Ernest J. Burrus (Madrid: Porrúa Turanzas, 1962), 304–5.

Table 3.5 Origin of the Jesuit missionaries in the mission provinces of New Spain, 1764

Mission Province	Central Europe	Italy / Sardinia[27]	Spain	Mexico	Total
California	9 (53%)		6 (35%)	2 (12%)	17 (100%)
Sonora	11 (42%)	1 / 1 (4% / 4%)	8 (31%)	6 (23%)	26 (100%)
Sinaloa	3 (16%)		4 (21%)	12 (63%)	19 (100%)
Chínipas	6 (50%)	4 / 2 (33% / 17%)		2 (17%)	12 (100%)
Tarahumara	4 (25%)		4 (25%)	8 (50%)	16 (100%)
Nayarit	1 (17%)	1 / 1 (17% / 17%)	1 (17%)	3 (50%)	6 (100%)
Total	34 (35%)	6 / 4 (6% / 4%)	23 (24%)	33 (34%)	96 (100%)

Source: *Catalogus personarum, & Officiorum Provonciæ Mexicanæ Societatis Jesu, in Indis 1764* (Mexico: Colegio de San Idelfonso, 1764), 27–31, accessed Oct. 26, 2023, https://archive.org/details/catalogus persona00jesu/page/n1/mode/2up.

In all of this, no special features can be discerned among the central European Jesuits in their missionary work or in their attitude towards the Indigenous population. When they arrived in the late seventeenth century, missions followed an established program into which newcomers had to fit.

26 This result is confirmed by an article by Robert H. Jackson, "Creole Jesuits," which the author kindly sent me during the editing of this article.

27 Sardinia formed part of the crown of Aragon and thus belonged to the Assistentia Hispanica.

On an individual level, peculiarities and contradictions to the prevailing conditions occasionally occurred, but it would be inappropriate to link these to a collective cultural background. The expansion of the mission in the Pimería Alta, for example, driven by Eusebio Franciscus Kino (from Trentino) was undoubtedly a unique, albeit unsustainable, approach.[28] Herman Glandorff from the Lower Rhine province, on the other hand, resolutely refused to force the Tarahumaras of his mission to perform labor from the 1730s onwards. In doing so, he was not only defending a personal stance, but also the Jesuits' traditional approach among the Tarahumaras, which came to be replaced by the economically more successful model of the Sonora missions. As a contribution to the maintenance of the mission, levies were imposed on the Tarahumaras, which the Jesuits called *limosna* (alms), but which could also be described as a form of tribute. In Sonora, on the other hand, the Jesuits reserved parts of the mission land for themselves, which the Indians had to work alongside their own plots.[29]

The smooth integration of the central European Jesuits into the American missionary organization was also due to the fact that Jesuits all over the world were trained according to the same principles on the basis of the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 and approached their work with a relatively homogenized view of history and humanity. There was only one fundamental difference in relation to the Indigenous population and the effects of which are difficult to grasp accurately. American Jesuits had grown up in contact with the *indios*, whereas the Jesuits from Europe only knew them from books, more often than not similar to ones in the colleges of the Society of Jesus. "From Spain to Poland, the Jesuit narration of the past had a clear pedagogical function in educating the pupils to perceive the past in an ordered manner, that is, to recognise the role of morality and, thus, of the church, in the unfolding of history."[30]

Although the Holy Roman Empire and especially the Austrian Habsburg territories were remote from the Iberian harbors from which the global expansion of the West began in the fifteenth century, across the oceans there was no shortage of news, which was readable in printed books, pamphlets,

28 Hausberger, *Für Gott*, 119–26; Bernd Hausberger, "Die universale Sendung des P. Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. (1645-1711)," in *Globale Lebensläufe. Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen*, ed. Bernd Hausberger (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2006), 46-76.

29 Hausberger, *Für Gott*, 473–85; Hausberger, *Jesuiten*, 156–60. For further information on materials about native Americans in central European Jesuit libraries see the chapter of Idikó Sz. Kristóf in this volume.

30 Moreno Bonda, "History-Writing and the Philosophy of Language: A Proposal for the Periodization of Early Modern Jesuit Historiography," in *Jesuit Historiography Online* (2018), accessed Nov. 19, 2023, dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_206300.

or handwritten manuscripts such as the early editions and translations of the reports and letters of Christopher Columbus, Americo Vespucci, and Hernán Cortés.[31] A growing number of reports from the newly discovered parts of the world now appeared in many places in Europe.[32] The Holy Roman Empire was one of the early centers of book printing and embedded within numerous wide-ranging information networks.[33] The reception of this early news can be seen in works such as the world map by Martin Waldseemüller, on which the New World was labelled America for the first time in 1507, or in the world map by Peter Apian published in Vienna in 1520.[34] A book published in Linz in 1621 by Gaspar Plautz, abbot of the Benedictine Seitenstetten Abbey in Lower Austria, under the name Honorius Philoponus, is remarkable: It describes the participation of the Catalan Benedictine monk Bernardo Boyl in Columbus's second expedition to the West Indies from 1493 to 1494 in a mixture of legends and regional or natural historical details. (Despite the complete failure of his mission, Boyl gained the reputation of the first apostle of America).[35] I mention this here because the book not only demonstrates the breadth of information that was available to interested readers even in the Alpine foothills, which were supposedly cut off from the world, but also the importance of church communication networks for the dissemination of knowledge about the New World and its inhabitants.

The Jesuits have been involved in this lively production of knowledge since their very foundation. Ignatius of Loyola had already demanded regular reports from the members of the order, and the letters of St. Francis Xavier from Asia formed the model for all later missionaries.[36] The first historical

31 Franz Obermeier, "Die frühen illustrierten Einblattdrucke zu Amerika und ihre Verbreitung im zeitgenössischen Pressewesen, " *Wolfenbüttler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 28 (2003), 3-30.

32 John Alden and Dennis C. Landis, *European Americana. A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1776*, 6 vols. (New York, NY: Readers Books, 1980-1997).

33 Sky Michael Johnston, "Pre-Suppression Jesuits in German-Speaking Lands," *Jesuit Historiography Online* (2016), accessed Nov. 11, 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_COM_192578.

34 Franz Wawrik, "Das Amerika-Bild in Österreich," in *Die Neue Welt. Österreich und die Erforschung Lateinamerikas,* ed. Franz Wawrik et al. (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1992), 17-40. For a fascinating reconstruction of the news networks of the Habsburg lands in the sixteenth century, see Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt. Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des habsburgischen Imperiums 1493-1598* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000).

35 Honorius Philoponus [Gaspar Plautz], *Nova typis transacta navigatio novi orbis Indiae Occidentalis* [...] ([Linz], 1621); Manuel Antonio Díaz Gito, "Con la cruz en ristre: fray Bernardo Boyl, primer apóstol de América, en la 'Columbeis' de Giulio Cesare Stella. Una imagen ignaciana," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 80, no.1 (2018), 167-186.

36 John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History 1542-1773* (Bombay: Indian Institute for History/Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1969), 33.

works on the progress of the mission were also soon available, such as Andrés Pérez de Ribas's extensive chronicle of the first fifty years of the mission in northwestern New Spain in 1645.[37] The writings of José de Acosta, especially his *De natura novi orbis*, appeared in Salamanca in 1589 together with the Jesuits' only programmatic work on the mission in Spanish America, *De procuranda indorum salute*; both works were reprinted and translated numerous times and also appeared in Cologne as early as 1596.[38] Acosta's definition of the natives of the border regions as barbarians of the lowest level and his detailed advice on their practical conversion, which in his explanations was necessarily also a civilization project, had a profound impact on the missionary work of the Jesuits.

Of the later Jesuit works published in central Europe, two historical accounts should be mentioned: the account of Jesuit martyrs from all over the world by the provincial of the Bohemian province of the order, Matthias Tanner, which appeared in Latin in 1675 and in German in 1683, and the four-volume history of the global spread of the Catholic religion by the Flemish Jesuit Cornelius Hazart (1667–71).[39] In the extended translation into German by Mathias Soutermans from Antwerp, a member of the Austrian province of the order (1678–84), there are ninety-seven pages on the ecclesiastical history of Mexico, quoting the works of the aforementioned José de Acosta and Pérez de Ribas as well as an unidentified report by Martín Pérez on the beginnings of the mission in Sinaloa. In 1730, the first book by a central European missionary from Mexico, the history of the Tarahumara uprisings, was published in Prague by Joseph Neumann.[40]

37 Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos de nuestra santa fee entre gentes las más bárbaras, y fieras del nuevo orbe* [...] (Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1645).

38 José de Acosta, *De natura novi orbis libri duo, et De promulgatione evangelii apud barbaros, sive, De procuranda indorum salute, libri sex* (Cologne: in oficina Birckmannica, sumtibus Armoldi Mylij, 1596).

39 Matthias Tanner, *Die Gesellschaft Jesu bis zur Vergiessung ihres Blutes wider den Gotzendienst, Unglauben, und Laster, für Gott, den wahren Glauben, und Tugendten in allen vier Theilen der Welt streitend* [...] (Prague: Carolo-Ferdinandeische Universität Buchdruckerey, 1683) (Latin edition Prague: Carolo-Ferdinandeische Universität Buchdruckerey, 1675); Cornelius Hazard, *Kirchen-Geschichte, Das ist: Catholisches Christenthum, durch die ganze Welt außgebreitet* [...] *Erstlich beschriben, und an Tag gegeben durch R. P. Cornelium Hazart. Soc. Jesu. Numehr aber auß der Nider- in die Hoch-Teutsche Sprach übersetzet, und vermehret durch R. P. Mathiam Soutermans*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Voigt, 1684) (Dutch edition Antwerpen: Michiel Cnobbaert, 1667-1671); the chapter concerning Mexico in vol. 2 (1684), 538–41.

40 Joseph Neumann, *Historia seditionum, quas Adversùs Societatis Jesu Missionarios, Eorumqu; Auxiliares Moverunt Nationes Indicae, ac potissimum Tarahumara in America Septemtrionali* [...] (Prague: Karl-Ferdinand Universität, [1730]).

The most important and lasting impact came from the collections of letters by Jesuit missionaries. In 1620, reports about a Tepehuán rebellion and the martyrdom of eight Jesuits in 1616 in northwestern Mexico, appeared in French in the Gallia Belgica province and were translated into German in the Upper German province that same year.[41] A standard was set by the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, which were published in numerous volumes in Paris from 1703.[42] They were the model for Joseph Stöcklein from the Austrian province, who initiated a German-language collection in 1726, which was to comprise forty parts in five voluminous volumes by 1761. It contains forty-six letters with information on Mexico. His *Der neue Welt-Bott* also contains a number of translations from the *Lettres édifiantes*; due to the widespread absence of French Jesuits in the Spanish Empire, the letters from America are almost all from Jesuits from the Assistentia Germanica. Their originals were mostly letters from the missionaries to their home provinces, in some cases also to their families.[43] The distribution of the *Welt-Bott* suggests that it was part of the general reading of all Jesuits interested in missionary work.[44] In addition to their own reading, one must mention the lectures during meals, which Protestant clergyman Johann Christoph Harenberg described in some detail in his history of the Jesuits.[45] This use corresponded to the intention of the publishers, as P. Peter Probst, one of Stöcklein's successors, explained: "If I have printed some letters or travelogues, which are quite long and yet do not seem to contain many oddities, it is indeed with the intention of making future missionaries a little more familiar with the land

41 *Auß America, das ist auß der Newen Welt. Unterschidlicher Schreiben Extract, von den Jahren 1616, 1617, 1618. Was gestalt Acht Patres Societatis, und zwo andere Ordenspersonen von deß Christlichen Glaubens wegen ihr Blut vergossen* [...] (Augsburg: Sara Mangin Wittib., 1620) (French edition Valenciennes, Ian Verfliet, 1620). For context of the work, see Sabine Sauer, *Gottes streitbare Diener für Amerika. Missionsreisen im Spiegel der ersten Briefe niederländischer Jesuiten (1616-1618)* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1992).

42 *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 34 vols. (Paris: Nicolas le Clerc, 1703-1776).

43 Bernd Hausberger, "Las publicaciones alemanas de misioneros jesuitas sobre la Nueva España," in *Miradas a la misión jesuita en la Nueva España. Antología*, ed. Bernd Hausberger (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2015), 271–74 and "El padre Joseph Stöcklein o el arte de inscribir el mundo a la fe," in *Miradas*, ed. Hausberger, 281-308, Johnson, "Pre-Suppression Jesuits," and Strasser, *Missionary Men*, 207–26 (even if I do not share their interpretation of the *Welt-Bott* as an expression of German colonial fantasies).

44 Galaxis Borja González, *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung über die Neue Welt. Zur Veröffentlichungs-, Verbreitungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichten jesuitischer Americana auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 249–50.

45 Johann Christoph Harenberg, *Pragmatische Geschichte des Ordens der Jesuiten seit ihrem Ursprunge bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit* (Halle/Helmstädt: Carl Herman Hemmerde, 1760), 219–20,

and water routes by reading them, perhaps also that they learn to prevent adversities and to better protect their health for such long journeys in the service of God."[46]

In order to assess the representation of the Indigenous population, the object of their missionary effort, in all these writings, it is necessary to keep in mind that every Jesuit text pursued a purpose. Martyrdom had an immense symbolic and thus also propagandistic meaning. A book like Tanner's wanted to show a European public precisely the willingness of missionaries to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of mankind. He therefore drastically emphasized the savagery of American natives, or non-Christian people in general. There was no room for differentiation. But martyrdom was not an end in itself for the Jesuits; it was a sin to strive for it deliberately.[47] The Society's overriding goal was the conversion of infidels and thus the salvation of their souls. The reports from Jesuits back home were primarily aimed at motivating new missionaries. For this, it was imperative to leave room for the possibility of success. This meant emphasizing the learning ability of the native people, who thus appeared in a better light. This more positive portrayal of the *indios*, which of course never forgot to mention the numerous difficulties and hardships of the mission, can be seen in Neumann's book on the Tarahumaras, more strongly in many letters of the *Welt-Bott* and especially in Kino's chronicle of progress of Christianity among the Pimas Altos (unpublished until the twentieth century). The latter didn't write for his confreres in Europe but to the authorities of the Spanish monarchy to obtain greater support for the expansion of the mission. In this way, he depicted a glorious perspective for the further colonization of the northwest and his native inhabitants.[48] In addition, direct contact with the people also led to better knowledge and more complex experiences that could not be depicted by the stereotype of the pure savage. An example of this attitude is the report on the Sonora missions by Daniel Januske from

46 Joseph Stöcklein et al., eds., *Der Neue Welt-Bott. Allerhand so Lehr- als Geistreiche Briefe, Schriften und Reise-Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus Beyden Indien und anderen Uber Meer gelegenen Ländern* [...] *in Europa angelangt seynd*, 5 vols. (Augsburg/Graz: Veith and Viena: Kaliwoda, 1726-1761), vol. 4 (1748), preface by P. Probst.

47 Camilla Russell, "Early Modern Martyrdom and the Society of Jesus in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in *Narratives and Representations of suffering, Failure and Martyrdom. Early Modern Catholicism Confronting the Adversities of History*, ed. Leonardo Cohen (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuesa, 2020), 67-99.

48 Eusebio Francisco Kino, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta. A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., Pioneer Missionary Explorer, Cartographer, and Ranchman, 1683-1711*, 2 vols., ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton (Cleveland, OH: A. H. Clark, 1919).

Wrocław in Silesia from 1723. In it, he repeatedly describes the inhabitants of the different missions as lazy, thieving, or rebellious, but in other cases also as docile, pious, and hardworking.[49] Certainly, this attitude again corresponded to a discursive necessity. The Jesuits were working in the northwest in missions that had been established for decades. Insisting on the savagery of their protégés would have denied their work any success and called its usefulness into question. Only Johann Jakob Baegert from Alsace was able to come up with such an argument after the expulsion, when Jesuit missions had finished anyway, describing the work in Lower California as a vain endeavor.[50]

Conclusion

After 1680, Jesuits from the Assistentia Germanica played an important role in the frontier missions of the Spanish Empire—in Mexico, and especially the members of the order from the Bohemian province. As a rule, they proved to be efficient workers in the already established mission system, without, however, bringing about any further development or even transformation. Their attitude towards the *indios* essentially corresponded to the principles laid down by José Acosta in 1589 in his *De procuranda indorum salute*. The Jesuits from the Assistentia Germanica only enjoyed a special position due to their general status as foreigners, whereby the Jesuits from the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs were treated differently from those from the Upper German or Rhenish provinces, depending on the political situation. Their disproportionately high publication activity was also special. The exoticism of their fields of work was probably simply greater for them than for Spanish and especially American Jesuits. This became particularly clear after the expulsion, when nine of the twenty-nine Jesuits who returned from Mexico to their old homeland wrote texts, seven of which were published during their lifetime, that are now among the most important sources for the history of their former working areas.[51]

49 Luis González Rodríguez (ed.), *Etnología y misión en la Pimería Alta 1715-1740. Informes y relaciones misioneras de Luis Xavier Velarde, Guiseppe María Genovese, Daniel Januske, José Agustín de Campos y Cristóbal de Cañas* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1977), 206–16.

50 Johann Jakob Baegert, *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten. Geschrieben von einem Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu, welcher lang darinn diese letztere Jahr gelebet hat* (Mannheim: Churfürstliche Hof- und Academie-Buchdruckerey, 1772).

51 For these works concerning Mexico, see Hausberger, "Publicaciones," 323–27.

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4. "People of the Devil"—"People of Achilles": The Representation of Native America in Religious Practice, Translations, and Collections in Hungary, 1670–1840

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

Abstract: Between 1670 and 1840, one encounters heterogeneous practices of knowledge acquisition in Hungary, relating to Native America. The chapter discusses how the authors of the age relied on textual, visual, oral, and institutional knowledge to get information. Institutional sites included the cabinets of curiosities, both smaller ones inside the country like that of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava/Tirnau), or the Reformed College of Sárospatak, and larger ones outside Hungary, including that of the Georg August University of Göttingen, Lower Saxony. The chapter surveys three practices of knowledge acquisition: Christian mission and conversion, translation from foreign languages, and collecting objects. In the Kingdom of Hungary, it was these three practices that affected Native American cultures the earliest.

Keywords: Kingdom of Hungary, Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), Reformed College of Sárospatak, Georg August University of Göttingen, knowledge acquisition, Christian missions and conversion, translation, collecting, objects, cabinets of curiosities

Between 1670 and 1840, the study of cultural otherness—and within it, the textual and visual reception of the Americas and its Indigenous peoples in Hungary—did not have an established coherent methodology. Rather, we encounter mosaic-like, heterogeneous, sometimes coexisting, sometimes

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
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interconnected practices of knowledge acquisition and processing. The most important common feature of these practices was that, whatever the ways in which the various components were interconnected, the process and the end result of the processing of knowledge were, for the most part, an armchair science. Travel that involved personal displacement and moving to distant places, such as Christian missionary work, was no exception to this. The final product, a published account of the journey or of the conversion itself, took its final form between bookshelves, on desks, under the aegis of a specific literary discourse. As a rule, it drew heavily on the body of knowledge—natural history and ethnography—already accumulated about the area concerned. This process can be observed in the early reception of Native American peoples and cultures in Hungary.

Another common feature of those practices was that they were embedded in the contemporary hierarchies of knowledge. European scholars, travelers, and missionaries wrote from a position of power about non-European peoples and cultures. Neglecting, in general, the native points of view in the description of Indigenous peoples, they founded their interpretations on their own historical myths (such as the classical Greco-Roman ones), their own religion (Christianity, either in its Catholic, or Protestant forms), and their own ethnographical observations, fabricated according to their own categories. This can be observed since the earliest reception of Native American cultures in Hungary. The emergence of ethnography in the early modern Kingdom of Hungary provides important lessons in that respect.[1]

The authors of the ethnographic descriptions and comparisons originating in the period of 1670–1840 sought to use both textual, visual, (as far as possible) oral, and institutional scenes or sites to acquire their information. Institutional sites included the predecessors of today's museums: the cabinets of curiosities or natural history (*Kunst-* or *Wunderkammer*) such as, for example, some smaller local cabinets—of particular importance for Hungary—like those of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava/Tirnau) or the Reformed College of Sárospatak, and some larger cabinets

1 This study is a result of my archival exploration relating to the reception of America and its native inhabitants which I carried out in the rare book collections of Somogyi Library, Szeged, the Library of Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, and the National Széchenyi Library, Budapest, between 2001 and 2014. Considering that it was basic research, a pioneer investigation of archival fonds and special collections, the primary purpose of it was to survey what we have. Establishing the kinds of documents, written and printed genres conveying knowledge about America was a long and meticulous work, not necessarily leaving place for an immediate, deeper social or political analysis.

outside Hungary, including the most important one (for Protestants, at least) of the Georg August University of Göttingen. Let us consider the three most important practices of knowledge acquisition and processing in Hungary between 1670 and 1840: the practices of Christian mission and conversion, those of translation from foreign languages (in the field of natural history, geography, and travelogues), and the practices relating to the collection and the closer knowledge of objects and artifacts. These three practices affected Native American cultures the earliest, the most persistently—and, we might add, the most adversely.[2]

First, as far as the practices of Christian conversions and the knowledge of cultural otherness that they generate are concerned, if we want to know what image an east-central European missionary had of America during the seventeenth century and how he acquired it, we have quite detailed source materials at our disposal. If this missionary belonged to the Jesuit order, before he went to Seville in Spain to perfect his knowledge he could have come to east-central Europe to study at the colleges of the order's Austrian province in Upper Hungary and then he could have gone to the University of Nagyszombat/Trnava. The catalogues of the libraries of these educational institutions are an excellent source of the Christian theological-scholarly view of America that could be learnt there.[3]

The Jesuit Academy, founded in 1635 by Archbishop Péter Pázmány (1570–1637)—predecessor of today's Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest—functioned as a special religious-cultural information center in east-central Europe.

Its members continued to transmit knowledge to and from Europe until the dissolution of the order in 1773. The University of Nagyszombat trained

2 Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „A kulturális másság feldolgozásának módjai: térítés, fordítás, gyűjtemény- és tárgyismeret [Ways of dealing with cultural otherness: conversion, translation, knowledge of collections and objects]," in *A tudományos tudásáramlás mintázatai a Magyar Királyságban, 1770–1830* [The patterns of the circulation of scientific knowledge in the Kingdom of Hungary, 1770–1830]. ed. Lilla Krász (Budapest: Corvina, 2024), 183-197.

3 Farkas Gábor Farkas, „Az Egyetemi Könyvtár a jezsuita rend kezelésében (1561-1773)" [The University Library under the Jesuit Order (1561-1773)], in *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár története és gyűjteményei* [History and collections of the University Library], ed. László Szögi (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2008), 7-32; Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, "Missionaries, Monsters, and the Demon Show. Diabolized Representations of American Indians in Jesuit Libraries of 17th and 18th Century Upper Hungary," in *Exploring the Cultural History of Continental European Freak Shows and Enfreakment*, eds. Anna Kérchy and Andrea Zittlau (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012) , 38-73; Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „Local Access to Global Knowledge: Historia naturalis and Anthropology at the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat (Trnava), as Transmitted in its Almanacs (1676–1709)," in *A Divided Hungary in Europe, vol. 1: Study Tours and Intellectual-Religious Relationships*, ed. Gábor Almási (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 201-228.

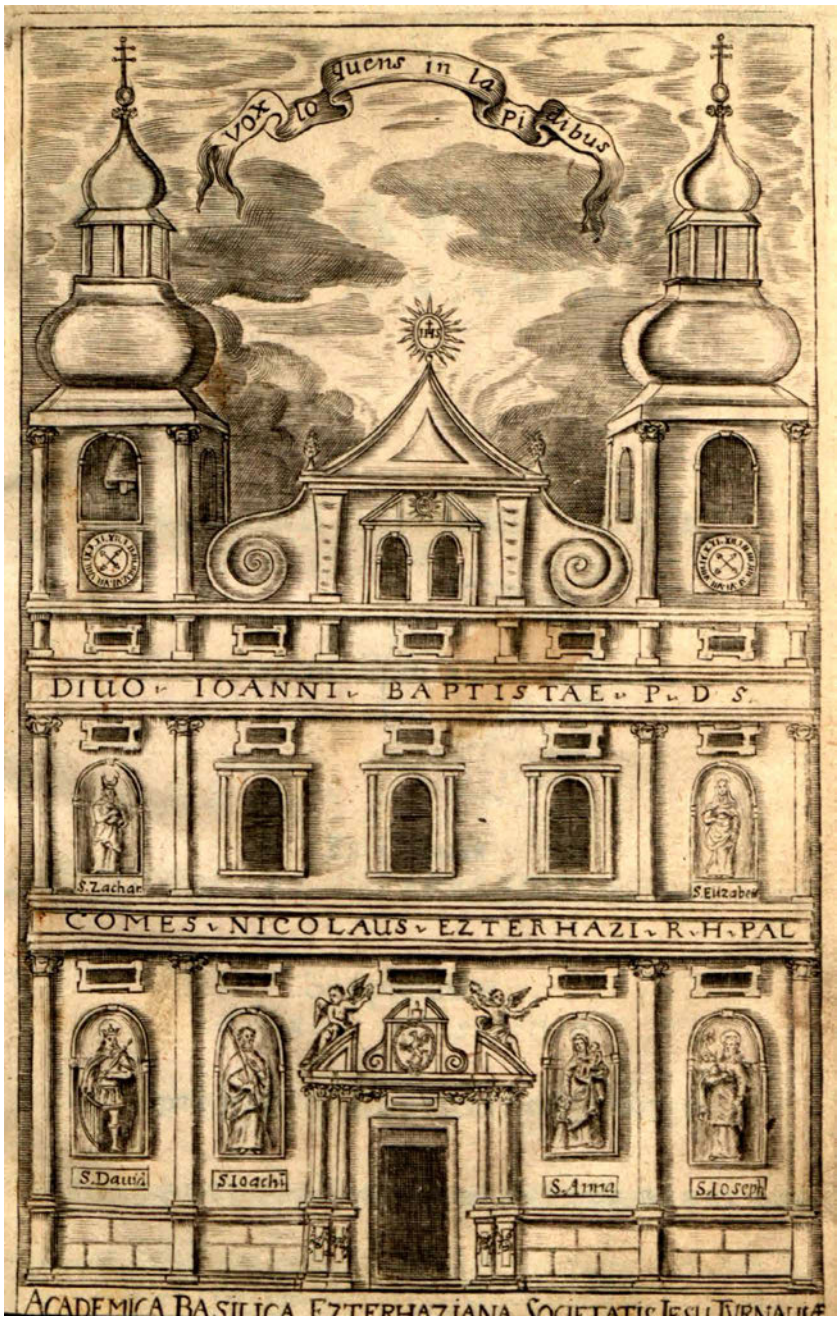

Figure 4.1 The church of the Jesuit academy of Nagyszombat (Trnava/Tirnau) (engraving, 1698)—*Calendarium Tyrnaviense, Ad Annum Jesu Christi, M. DC. XCVIII. … Ex Calculis peritissimi, et celeberrimi astronomi Andreae Argoli. Tyrnaviae [s. d.]. Typis Academicis, per Joannem Andream Hoermann*. (Courtesy of the University Library of Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest).

future missionaries, and so, accordingly, knowledge taught there included the characteristics of the then-known non-European peoples.[4] One of the most important sources of the image of Native America taught there was to be found in the university's almanac series, the *Calendarium Tyrnaviense*, especially in the scholarly treatises it contained. The earliest publication to be found in the University Library of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest dates from 1676; thereafter, they were published almost annually until 1773, when the Jesuit order was abolished.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the *Calendarium Tyrnaviense*'s knowledge of the Indigenous people of the Americas was completely international. It was not only drawn from Jesuit sources: its geographical world was based on the corpus of knowledge coming from the European geographical explorers of the time. The late scholastic geography implied in the treatises—for example, in the treatise *Dissertatio Prima Geographica* (1691)—included four continents: Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The Jesuit author added two more regions to these: the two poles and the region of some unknown, rather hypothetical lands around them. The region of the north, the so-called Arctic Pole included Greenland, Iceland, the Spitsbergs, and Novaya Zemlya, whilst the so-called South Pole consisted of a single vast imaginary continent. The latter was known as *terra australis incognita* ("unknown/uncharted southern land"), only parts of which were thought to be known at the time: e.g., New Guinea (*Nova Guinea*), the so-called land of the parrots (*Psittacorum regio*), and some islands in the surrounding Pacific Ocean (*Mare Pacificum*).[5]

Such a division of the inhabited world was found not only among the Jesuits, but also among Protestants, for example in the geography of the Lutheran Dávid Frölich (1595–1648), entitled *Medulla geographiae practicae* (Bartphae, 1639).[6] This division began to change only from the end of the eighteenth century, notably following James Cook's (1728–79) Pacific expeditions (1768–80). The fifth continent, Australia, began to appear in western

4 It would be important to know how and in what ways this knowledge reached other east-central European centers of learning in the period, such as Bratislava, Prague, Varaždin, or Zagreb, or, for that matter, Vienna. The historical philology of these relations is so complicated, however, that I decided not to include details about it in the present study. My aim, however, is to write about it—especially about the Hungarian-Croatian and the Hungarian-Austrian relations—in the not too distant future.

5 *Dissertatio Prima Geographica*, in Martinus Szentiványi, *Curiosiora et selectiora variorum scientiarum miscellanea,* Decadis Secundae, Pars Prima, 11 (Tyrnava: Typis Academicis, 1691). See Sz. Kristóf, "Local Access."

6 David Frölich, *Medulla Geographiae Practicae* (Bartpha, 1639).

European geography together with several Pacific islands and archipelagos, and at the same time the great unknown southern continent, the *terra australis* incognita, disappeared.[7] However, the world picture seems to have changed only slowly, and at a different pace from country to country, and almost differently from one area of knowledge to another. In Hungary, for example, there was a map in Jesuit use as early as 1783, which resulted from James Cook's geographical discoveries.[8] At the same time, there was also a world geography—originating from Göttingen and coming to be known via Protestant translations into Hungarian—which appeared in cross-denominational use until the 1840s; it continued to discuss and depict only four continents.[9]

A part of the ethnographic/anthropological knowledge of the non-European world in the *Calendarium Tyrnaviense* was provided by the works of classical antiquity. The knowledge accumulated by Aristotle (384 BC–322 BC), Pliny the Elder (?–79 AD), Aelian (Aelianus) (175–235 AD), Solinus (?–400 AD), and others, and handed down in writing, generally referred to the peoples living in the frontier regions as barbarians (*barbari*) and described them accordingly. Other pieces of information came, however, from contemporary sources and often from eyewitnesses. They came primarily from a vast amount of information, mixing the oral, visual, and written/printed modes, that was transmitted to east-central Europe by the works of Catholic missionaries. Among those cited in the Nagyszombat almanacs were, for example, Father José de Anchieta (1534–97) on Brazil, Father Roque González (1576–1628) on Paraguay, Father Luis de Valdivia (1560–1642) on Peru and Chile, or Father Franciscus Zarfatus (late sixteenth century—early seventeenth century) of Nova Hispania, denoting in this case Mexico. In addition, information

7 Peter James Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind. British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1982); Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea. English Voyages and Encounters 1570-1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

8 Ferenc Újházi, *Egész Föld Abrosza, s' nevezet-szerent Kook Kapitanynak Hoszszu Tengeri Utazása. Ira Újházi Ferentz 1782-ben* [Map of the whole world and namely the long voyage of Captain Cook, drawn by Ferenc Újházi in 1782] in János Molnár, *Magyar Könyvház. III. szakasz* [Hungarian storehouse of books, IIIrd section] (Posony: Landerer Mihály, 1783).

9 György Raff, *Természet História Gyermekek' Számára. Raff György Keresztely, Göttingai Oktató' Eredeti Kiadása Után Készült Második Magyarítás* [Natural history for children. Second Hungarian translation made after the original edition of Göttingen instructor Georg Christian Raff] (Kassa: Károly Werfer, 1835); Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy: The Representation of European and Non-European Peoples in an Early-Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook of Natural History," in *Competing Eyes. Visual Encounters with Alterity in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. Dagnosław Demski, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf and Kamila Baranieczka-Olszewska (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2013), 40-66.

came from various western and southern European travelers, sailors, and the first scholarly chroniclers of the history of the European discovery of the New World: Peter Martire d'Anghiera (1457–1526), Pedro de Cieza de León (1518–54), Juan Ponce de León (1460–1521), Fernández de Oviedo (1478–1557).[10]

The Jesuit editor of Nagyszombat who compiled this varied material and bequeathed it to the succeeding centuries was, however, an armchair scholar. Father Martin Szentiványi (1633–1705), author of the natural history treatises in the almanacs, never set foot outside Europe. He cultivated the genre of library voyage as did many others in the kingdom of Hungary in the period between 1670 and 1840. The three works to which Father Szentiványi referred to most often in his descriptions of America and its Indigenous peoples were three great summaries of natural history. The first was written by a Spanish Jesuit theologian, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658), was entitled *Historia naturae* (History of nature), and was published in Antwerp in 1635.[11] The second was a work of an Italian medical doctor and naturalist, Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605); it was entitled *Monstrorum historia* (The history of monsters) and published in Bologna in 1642.[12] The third was written by a German Jesuit theologian, Gaspar Schott (1608–66), entitled *Physica curiosa sive mirabilia naturae et artis* (Curious physics or the miracles of nature and human crafts) and was published in Würzburg in 1662.[13] All three were available in the library of the academy in Trnava, both in the time of Father Szentiványi and in the centuries that followed.[14]

The three natural histories conveyed stereotypes of cultural otherness, some of which were later to be found in eighteenth-century Catholic Hungarian geographical literature, but they appeared occasionally amongst the Protestant denomination too. Father Szentiványi selected from Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum historia* examples of various "monstrous" plants, animals, and anthropomorphic creatures of unusual shapes. He took, for example, his description of headless humans (*homines acephali*) from Aldrovandi.[15] Headless people, with their heads on their chests, were included as a supposed

10 Sz. Kristóf, "Local Access."

11 Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Historia naturae maxime peregrinae libris XVI* (Antwerp: Ex officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1635).

12 Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia. Cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium* (Bononia: Nicolaus Tebaldus, 1642).

13 Gaspar Schott, *Physica curiosa sive Mirabilia naturae et artis Libris XII comprehensa*. (Herbipoli: Jobus Hertz, 1667).

14 Sz. Kristóf, "Local Access."

15 *Dissertatio Curiosa Miscellanea. De Rebus Falsae, et Dubiae Existentiae*. In *Calendarium Tyrnaviense* (Tyrnavia, Typis Academicis, 1690) § . XXIII.

group of Native Americans in the French Jesuit missionary Joseph-François Lafitau's (1681–1746) account of Canada in 1724. They were even shown in an illustration of the book.[16] Gaspar Schott was also drawn on heavily in the dissertations included in the Nagyszombat almanacs. Father Szentiványi copied a long sentence from his *Physica curiosa* relating certain "forest people"—*homines sylvestres*—living in America.[17] *Homo sylvestris*—wild man living in the woods and depicted sometimes as hairy, sometimes as completely naked—became a typical late seventeenth century stereotype of Native Americans, especially in a Jesuit context in Hungary.[18]

The knowledge about America and its Indigenous people had at least two layers in Hungary already in the seventeenth century, and this specificity was largely preserved in the later period up to 1840. In Royal Hungary (as Upper Hungary became called after the Turkish occupation from 1541), there were essentially two major representations of America in use: a larger, more massive, Nagyszombat-centred Catholic—mainly Jesuit but also Franciscan—interpretative tradition and corpus of texts, and a smaller and less diverse Protestant tradition and corpus of reading matters, mainly found in the (merchant) towns further east. Both corpuses can be reconstructed from inventories and copies to be found in the denominational colleges and private libraries, and from certain extracts from texts inserted in town calendars and university almanacs. Both served as a primary knowledge-acquisition and knowledge-processing discourse for their own respective purposes, as much in Catholic Nagyszombat as, among others, in Calvinist Debrecen. A good example of all these tropes can be found in the travelogue of Brazil and the Tupinambá people by the Protestant German traveler and mercenary soldier from Hessen, Hans Staden's (1525–1576) *Wahrhaftige historia* (Marburg, 1557).[19] The Jesuits of Upper Hungary possessed it, but

16 Joseph François Lafitau, *Moers des Sauvages Amériquains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps I-II* (Paris: Saugrain et Charles Estienne Hochereau, 1724); Giuseppe Cocchiara, *Az örök vadember. A primitív világ jelenléte és hatása a modern kultúrára* [The eternal wild man. The presence of the primitive world and its influence on modern culture]. Hungarian trans. János László. (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1965 [1961]), 35-41; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

17 Schott, *Physica curiosa*; *Dissertatio curiosa*, § . XXII. See Sz. Kristóf, "Local Access."

18 On similar contemporary representations, see Silvia Sebastiani, "Challenging Boundaries. Apes and Savages in Enlightenment," in *Simianization. Apes, Gender, Class, and Race*, eds. Wulf D. Hund, Charles W. Mills and Silvia Sebastiani (Zürich: LIT Verlag GmbH & Co. KG Wien, 2017), 105-138. Further research would be needed to establish how much this stereotype was used by Protestant authors, and from which sources.

19 Hans Staden, *Warhaftige Historia. Zwei Reisen nach Brasilien* (*1548-1555*). *História de duas viagens ao Brasil*. Kritische Ausgabe/edição crítica von Franz Obermeier (Kiel: Westensee-Verlag 2007) (Fontes Americanae 1).

they seem to have incorporated it very little or not at all into the texts of their geographies. Staden's characteristic demonizing-cannibalizing description of the Tupinambá was not included, for example, in *Geographica globi terraquei Synopsis*, the most popular Jesuit textbook for the teaching of geography in the mid-eighteenth century and beyond.[20] In contrast, on the Protestant side, a longer German extract from Staden's dark, cannibalistic account was published, for example, in the calendar of the natural scientist and mathematician Dávid Frölich (1595–1648) of Késmárk (Kežmarok/Käsmark) and Bártfa (Bardejov/Bartfeld), the so-called *Schreib-Kalender* in 1640. Later, certain mid- to late-eighteenth-century Protestant geographers also drew from it, such as, in all likelihood, István Vecsei Pataki's *Magyar Geografia* (Hungarian geography) in 1757.[21] It is still to be established, however, how much Catholic and Protestant representations differed from one another, and how big was the interface between them. The image of the "wild man" or "savage" seems to belong to that interface.

The works in the Jesuit libraries of Upper Hungary in the second half of the seventeenth century—such as those of the Catholic Aldrovandi, Schott, or the Lutheran Eberhard Werner Happel of Marburg (1647–90) and others—contained knowledge of the Native Americans that provided a kind of miraculous natural history. They offered an encyclopedic account of the curiosities and wonders (*mirabilia*) of the world. The latter was built upon a structure of opposing poles and natural and cultural elements corresponding to them: north versus south/Laplanders versus Hottentots; east versus west/India, China versus Mexico, Peru; cold versus hot climate/dwarves versus giants, and so on. In the structures thus created, and composed of stereotyping and juxtapositions, the emphasis was laid on the composition itself rather than on its order and aesthetic value, and the variety and diversity of its components. It did not really include an intention to conform to empirical reality,[22] as will be more characteristic of the following eighteenth century with its meticulous descriptions and hierarchical forms of organization best exemplified in Carl von Linné (1707–78) or Johann Friedrich Blumenbach

20 *Geographica Globi Terraquei Synopsis* (Jaurinum, 1746); László Nedeczky, *Geographica globi terraquei Synopsis* (Tyrnavia: Typis Academicis, 1757).

21 See Sz. Kristóf, "Wahrhaftige Historia"; Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „Amerika und seine UreinwohnerInnen in den ungarischen Kalendern des 17. Jahrhunderts: David Frölich vs. die Jesuiten,." in *Schreibkalender und ihre Autoren in Mittel-, Ost- und Ostmittel-Europa* (*1540-1850*), ed. Klaus-Dieter Herbst (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2018), 355-369; István Vetsei Pataki, *Magyar Geografia, Az Az: Ez Egész Világ Négy Részeinek....Rendes és Rövid Leírása* [Hungarian Geography, that is An orderly and brief description of the four parts of this whole world] (Nagy Károly: Ferentz Károlyi 1757 [1741]). .

22 Sz. Kristóf, "Local Access."

(1752–1840). A significant sign of the non-empirical nature of those early, wondrous encyclopedias of natural history is that the Ottoman Turks—a very empirical threat in east-central Europe since the middle of the fifteenth century—do not necessarily feature in them. Accordingly, I have not come across any comparison of Turks and Native Americans in early modern Hungary; the former belonged rather to the real/empirical sphere of sociopolitical threat, while the other belonged rather to an exoticized, miraculous sphere of accounts, tales, and myths.

An essential, late scholastic feature of the treatises in the Nagyszombat almanacs was that demons, monsters, and humans—including, for example, Indigenous peoples outside Europe—as categories did not necessarily appear in isolation from each other. Whereas the German Jesuit Schott in his *Physica curiosa* (1662) discussed humans in a separate chapter, well separated from demons and monsters,[23] the Italian Aldrovandi discussed the "difference among men" (*Hominum differentiae*) in a subchapter of his *Monstrorum historia* (1642) where he contrasted, for example, the Buddha and the mythical, so-called man of the woods (*homo sylvestris*), and juxtaposed them with depictions of Native Americans. The Queen of Florida (*Regina insulae Floridae*) was modelled on Fortuna, the ancient Greek goddess of fortune and abundance; there was an unnamed King of Cannibals (*Rex apud cannibales*); and Rex Quoniambec himself, chief of the Tupinambá Indians of Brazil, whom the French Franciscan traveler André Thevet (1502–90) met in the 1550s.[24] Behind them, horned, hairy-bodied satyrs and other anthropomorphic monsters were to be seen, followed by various demons.[25] Aldrovandi has also included a picture of a Sámi "demon" ("from Lapland") in this chapter, as an illustration of the alleged idolatry there. The schematized figure of the demon had three heads with human faces, and sat on some kind of a throne.[26] The German Protestant Happel's *Relationes Curiosae* (1685–89) also mixed and matched the miraculous *mirabilia* of humans, monsters, and demons in its depiction of the so-called idolaters of India (Calcutta)—and Mexico.[27] Such mixed, culturally heterogenous images functioned as models of the Indigenous people for the Christian missionaries to travel to America.

23 Schott, *Physica curiosa*, 352–502.

24 Sz. Kristóf, "Local Access."

25 Aldrovandi, *Monstorum historia*, 4–36, 74–110.

26 Aldrovandi, *Monstorum historia*, 110.

27 Eberhard Werner Happel, *Grössester Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so genandtt Relationes Curiosae* (Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1685-1689), vol 4.

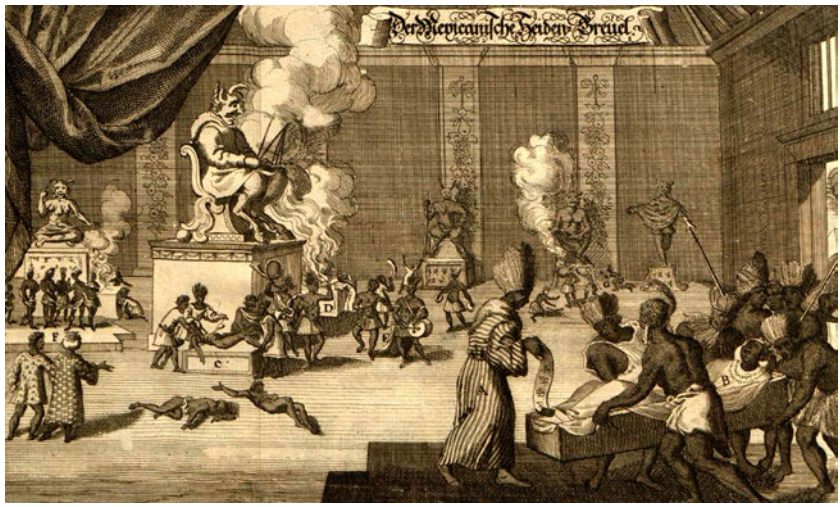

Figure 4.2 Natives of Central America worshipping demons (engraving, 1688)—Eberhard Werner Happel, 1688, *Thesaurus Exoticorum. Oder eine mit Außländischen Raritäten und Geschichten Wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer*, Hamburg, Thomas von Wiering (Courtesy of the University Library of Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest).

The demonized image of the Native Americans in connection with Christian conversion was, however, only one of the images found in contemporary bibliographic knowledge—in western Europe as well as in Hungary. A need for more relevant, reliable knowledge as well as more critical examination of information was already present and can be found in the same dissertations included in the Jesuit almanacs of Nagyszombat as early as the second half of the seventeenth century. Regarding the interpretation of the monstrous beings (such as satyrs, centaurs, and others) inherited from classical antiquity and the medieval tradition, late scholastic Jesuit thinking of the period essentially marked out two main directions. The Nagyszombat almanacs embraced both, and both directions appeared later—at the end of the eighteenth century, too, in Hungarian geography books, natural histories, and other kinds of nonreligious literature. One interpretation was that the manifestations of monstrosity were merely *fabellas*, having originated and being recorded on the basis of doubtful and uncertain rumors. The second possibility, however, was that they were nothing other than the works of Satan and his demons. This second interpretation offered kind of a general explanatory scheme for the natural and cultural otherness of non-European lands and the unusual appearance and customs of its Indigenous inhabitants.

There are several examples of explicitly diabolical representations of the Native Americans in Hungarian libraries—religious and geographical works—both Catholic and Protestant, and in both textual and visual sources

from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Father Joannes Ratkay (1647–83), a Croatian-Hungarian missionary of the Jesuit order, described, for example, the native inhabitants of New Mexico in his letter written in 1681—and sent from Mexico City to the head of the Austrian Province of the Jesuits—with the following words: "These hostile Indians look more like the Devil than a man; since they cut their beard and paint their faces in such a repugnant manner as they can." Father Ferenc Szuhányi (1742–1824), another Hungarian Jesuit author, wrote about the native inhabitants of Guyana and other lands of South America in his *Notitia Orbis* (Description of the world) published in Kassa (today's Košice, Slovakia) in 1788. He said "They know lots of names of demons."[28] Surveying the then known regions of the Americas and the forms of their religion, he pointed at "idols" and "idolatrous practices" in Florida (concerning, for example, the Sun and the Moon), in Mexico (around "Fitzliputzli," referring to Huitzilopochtli, the war deity of the Nahuatl), in Peru (around Pachacamac, the creator and keeper of the Inca/Quechua), and also in Chile, Brazil, and the Caribbean islands (concerning the Sun, the Moon, and the stars). The work of Father Szuhányi, among many others, testifies that some of the diabolical ideas and traces of the corresponding demonizing representation appeared and survived in central Europe until the end of the eighteenth century. It existed parallel with what we call the Enlightenment.

It cannot be overemphasized, however, how important the attempt to analyze or, for want of a better term, rationalize the knowledge of the world and its inhabitants in a thorough and careful manner occurred in the seventeenth century with lasting effects into the eighteenth century. It would be an exaggeration to argue that the actual ethnographic or anthropological descriptions begin when observers no longer believe in miracles, but the treatises of Father Szentiványi and the various missionary histories (*Synopsis historica totius orbis*) inserted in the Nagyszombat almanacs attest to the fact that that there was a tendency according to which the path of skepticism about miracles and monsters began to open up, and a secularization of miracles, the non-spiritual, scientific explanation of miracles began concurrently. Alongside all this, more empirical, non-spiritual ways of observing and interpreting other non-Christian, non-European cultures could also begin to open up. Amongst the Jesuit geography books from the second half of the eighteenth century, the *Geographica globi terraquei synopsis* of László Nedeczky (1703–59) from Hungary (Nagyszombat, 1755) is a good example, and, among the missionary accounts, the description of the Bolivian Mojo

28 Cited in Sz. Kristóf, "Missionaries, Monsters," 38-40.

Indians by Ferenc Éder Xavér (1727–72) from the 1760s–90s is another one.[29] Neither of these works emphasized a demonizing approach, but provided rather a meticulous description of the Indigenous cultures placed in their natural environment. And this was an important step towards the emergence of more thoughtful, more interested, and sometimes also more affectionate descriptions of those cultures.

It seems that the Jesuit fathers who visited America in the second half of the eighteenth century were far more critical of the whole early modern trend of demonization than their counterparts in other denominations. These missionaries, who had been doing mission work in Central and especially South America on a sustained basis for years, sometimes decades, had indeed experienced that Indian demons existed only in the European imagination and book culture of the preceding centuries, and not amongst the living Indigenous people. The natives had little to do with the world of Satan: they formed part of the empirical, social, and political world of the Americas.

The third image of the Native Americans, which differs from both the stereotype of *homo sylvestris* and demonization, was also linked to European classical antiquity in the early modern period. This parallel is what I have called in the title of my paper "people of Achilles": the search for similarities between ancient Greek society and culture and the newly encountered Indigenous peoples of the Americas, the Iroquois, Huron, and others of the northeast. A major exponent of this, in many respects positive, exoticizing interpretation was the French Jesuit Joseph de Lafitau who himself certainly summarized a long-standing tradition. According to the latter, the Native Americans could be equated with the pagans of classical antiquity, and therefore their treatment—their religious knowledge and conversion—should be done in a similar way. This discourse infiltrated Hungary quite early, probably already in the mid-seventeenth century, and above all through Jesuit mediation. It would seem, therefore, that the Hungarian reception of the works of Saint Jean de Brébeuf (1593–1649) and other missionaries describing the Canadian Indigenous was also established.[30]

29 Nedeczky, *Geographica*; Xavér Ferenc Éder, *Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum in Regno Peruano* (Buda: typis Universitatis, 1791).

30 Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „Canadae Incolarum mores: The Representation of Canada and Its Indigenous Peoples in Jesuit Literature in the Kingdom of Hungary, Late 17th-Early 18th Century." Paper given at the international conference entitled „Polysemic Studies and Readings Around a Painting: France Bringing Faith to the Wendat of New France", organised by the Département d'histoire de l'art of the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÁM) on 19th October 2021; Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, "The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans in the American Southwest (17-18th Centuries)," in *Centers and Peripheries in European Renaissance*

Figure 4.3 A dancing Mojo native of Bolivia (engraving, after a pen drawing, 1791)—Ferenc Xavér Éder, *Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum in Regno Peruano. Buda, typis Universitatis, 1791* (Courtesy of Károly Somogyi County and City Library, Szeged).

In the eighteenth century, such a comparison and identification with the classical Greek society was present in the description of the Iroquois and the Huron of Canada published by Franciscus Szdellar (1685–1745) in 1720.[31] It was also present in the depiction of the Bolivian Mojo natives by Franciscus Éder Xavér in 1791.[32] And, it formed part of the education that the Hungarian Protestant students received at the Georg August University in Göttingen in the beginning of the nineteenth century.[33] This stereotype provided exoticization and idealization to the image of Native Americans in Europe as well as in Hungary.

Let us turn to the practice of translation from foreign languages and the knowledge of cultural otherness which was generated in that way

Culture. Essays by East-central European Mellon Fellows, eds. György E. Szőnyi and Csaba Maczelka (Szeged: JATEPress, 2012), 161-182.

31 Sz. Kristóf, "Canadae Incolarum mores."

32 Éder, *Descriptio.*

33 Sz. Kristóf, "A kulturális másság."

in Hungary in relation to America. The majority of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hungarian authors who worked for establishing a thorough ethnographic knowledge about non-European cultures remained more or less domestic, armchair scientists. Even at the end of the eighteenth century, the methods of acquiring and processing knowledge of cultural otherness were still primarily bibliographic: reading, translation from foreign languages, and, with no less importance and significance, observing and describing images. The practice of translation in this period consisted of a selection and extraction of texts, and was embedded in the interrelated cultural practices of "reading as a journey," relying on books instead of meeting non-European people in person. These practices are exemplified by Georg Christian Raff's (1748–88) richly illustrated *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (Natural history for children), published first in Göttingen in 1778. The three Hungarian translations of that work between 1779 and 1846 disseminated geographical descriptions and visual depictions of the world and its various cultures. It contained colorized images of North and Central America, too. These images were not demonizing representations at all, but resulted from a kind of an empirical, descriptive approach emerging in the age.[34]

The most significant translation of (or rather compilation from) foreign works on America and its natives was the work of the Lutheran pastor Zsigmond Horváth (1782–1845) and was entitled *Ámerikának haszonnal mulattató esmértetése* (A useful and entertaining description of America). It was published in Győr in 1813. It described selected features of the "Indians" of the American and Canadian east coast as well as the Inuit (Eskimo) peoples of Canada and Greenland, and their natural environment. This work drew upon several representatives of contemporary English, French, and German scholarly literature. Its preface named the authors of dozens of works, travelogues, and other types that served as sources. The list included the French abbé Guillaume Thomas Raynal (1713–96), the English James Cook (1728–79) and George Vancouver (1757–98), the Scottish William Robertson (1721–93), the Baltic German-Swedish Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770–1846), and the Germans Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann (1743–1815) and Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859).[35] The

34 Georg Christian Raff, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1778); Raff, *Természet História*; See Sz. Kristóf, "Domesticating Nature."

35 Zsigmond Horváth, *Ámerikának haszonnal mulattató Esmértetése* [A useful and entertaining description of America]. vol I. (Győr: Streibig Jósef"s widow, 1813); On the reception of Humboldt in Hungary, see Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „Alexander von Humboldt and Hungary: National Identity and The Emergence of Modern Sciences," in *National Identity and Modernity 1870-1945. Latin*

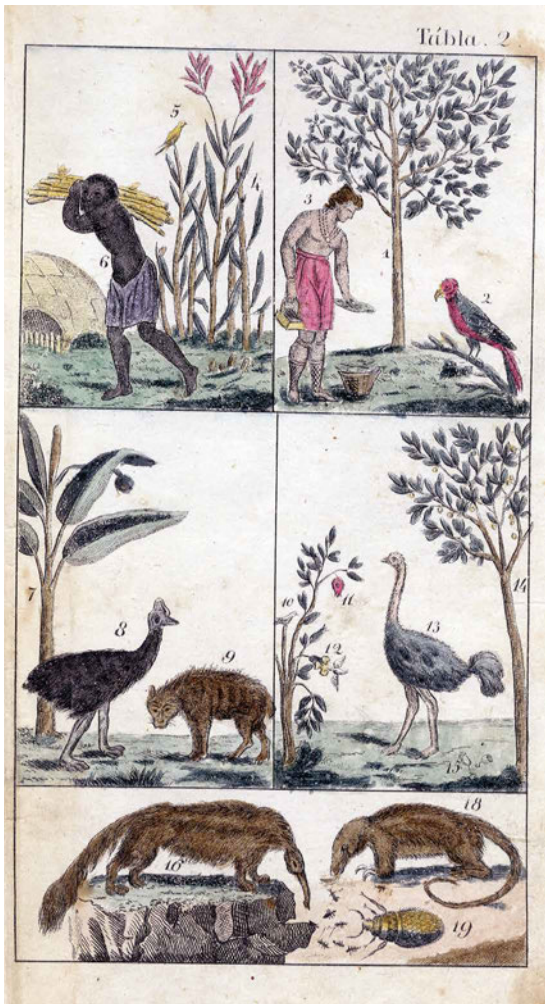

Figure 4.4 Top row: Black slave carrying a bundle of sugar cane (Central/South America); East Coast Indigenous woman carrying a basket of fish (North America) (colored engraving, 1835)—*Természet História Gyermekek' Számára. Raff György Keresztely, Göttingai Oktató' Eredeti Kiadása Után Készült Második Magyarítás* [Natural history for children. Second translation based on the original of Raff György Keresztely, instructor of Göttingen], Kassán, Nyomtatta' s kiadta Werfer Károly, cs. kir. priv. Könyvnyomtató, 1835 (Courtesy of the National Széchenyi Library, Budapest).

main characteristic of this translation was the reliance upon and processing of the latest contemporary western European literature. With regard to the Indigenous peoples of America, János Tanárki's (1781–1842) *Amérikai história* (History of America) should also be mentioned (published in Pest, 1807–9). Tanárki was a Reformed pastor and later physician of the town of Nagykőrös, which, together with Zsigmond Horváth's *Ámerikának haszonnal mulattató esmértetése*, testifies to the familiarity of the work of the Scottish

America, Southern Europe, East Central Europe, eds. Viktória Semsey (with the assistance of Petra Balaton, Csaba Horváth, José Antonio Sánchez Román) (Budapest: KRE- L'Harmattan 2018), 391-406.

William Robertson (1721–93) in Hungary and the frequent use of his image of "Indians," especially in Protestant discourse.[36]

The early reception of the Indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere in Hungary also includes the spread of awareness of the Greenland natives, thanks especially to Mihály Dobosy (1780–1853), a Reformed pastor in the town of Szentes. Greenland featured often on old maps as part of the American continent, and its Indigenous people together with the Native Americans. Pastor Dobosy was so impressed by the courses he had attended as a student at the Georg August University in Göttingen in 1805, and also by the non-European objects and artifacts he had seen in the university's cabinet of natural history, that he decided to introduce in Hungary the new kind of ethnographic geography that he had encountered in Göttingen.[37] From the point of view of the history of anthropology, his main achievement was a translation of the travelogue of the German Moravian missionary David Cranz (1723–77), originally published in Barbÿ, Sweden, in 1765. The work was entitled *Historie von Grönland* (History of Greenland) and in it the peninsula was described together with its inhabitants, and remarks were made, as the title says, on its natural history. The Hungarian translation was published in Buda in 1810.[38]

What made Cranz's work even more popular in western Europe was that James Cook himself carried its English translation in his ship's library on his third ocean voyage between 1776 and 1779. This was the voyage from which Cook never returned, having been killed by natives on the island of Hawaii. It was also the voyage on which his ships, in search of the so-called Northwest Passage, touched the Aleutian Islands, the south coast of North America, Alaska, and some islands of the Pacific Northwest. Cranz's book

36 Vilhelm Robertson *Amérikai históriája I-II*. Hungarian trans. János Tanárki (Pest: Ferenc József Patzkó, 1807, 1809).

37 Hans Erich Bödeker, Philippe Büttgen and Michel Espagne, Michel eds. *Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen in Göttingen um 1800. Wissenschaftliche Praktiken, institutionelle Geographie, europäische Netzwerke* (Göttingen 2008); Han Vermeulen, *Before Boas. The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

38 Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, "Greenland in Hungary: Inuit Culture and the Emergence of the Science of Anthropology in Late Eighteenth- to Early Nineteenth-Century Hungary" in *Legacies of David Cranz's 'Historie von Grönland' (1765)*, eds. Felicity Jensz and Christina Petterson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) 165-183; See also Antal Filep, „Népismereti, néprajzi érdeklődés a Délkelet-Alföldön a reformkorban és továbbélő öröksége. Kutatási vázlat" [Ethnological and ethnographical interest in the Southeastern Great Plain in the reform era and its surviving heritage. Research outline], in *„Tenger fenekéről gyöngyszemeket szednék" Tanulmányok Olosz Katalin tiszteletére* [„I would pick pearls from the bottom of the sea" Studies in honour of Katalin Olosz], eds. Anna Szakál and Erika Tekei (Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, 2020), 349-390.

was deliberately taken by the British to be used as an aid, an ethnographical handbook, to study the Indigenous peoples of those areas of north Asia and America. The logs of the third voyage referred to Cranz on several occasions: Cook made specific comparisons, for example, between the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) people as well as other, smaller Northwest Coast groups (like Haida, etc.) in Prince William Bay and the Inuit of Greenland. Cook based these investigations, which were more a kind of early comparative study, on pieces of Indigenous material culture (boats, clothing, weapons, fishing gear, etc.) as well as appearance (hair, tattoos, etc.). The ways of such a comparison were then mediated to Hungary by the translation of Reverend Dobosy in 1810.

Finally, among the contemporary methods of acquiring and processing knowledge about cultural otherness, let us turn to the use of the collections of objects. The use of natural history collections was by no means a product of the late eighteenth century, not even in Hungary.[39] The ethnographic material of the treatises included in the Nagyszombat almanacs between 1676 and 1709 was a kind of *Wunderkammer*-like mixture of texts, oral traditions, and sometimes object-related information. Some of that was derived from the work of Christian missionaries working outside Europe, but much of it was based on a wholly international corpus of written/printed texts: works by classical authors, contemporary travel accounts, various contemporary summaries of the natural sciences, visual representations, and collected objects.[40] The end of the eighteenth century brought, however, a new composition to the collections: new natural and ethnographic material from the newly discovered areas of the world. Above all pieces of the Indigenous material culture of Oceania and, to some extent, North and Central America, this new material was transmitted to Hungary by the cabinet ("museum") of natural history of the Georg Augusta University of Göttingen. Göttingen was a center of education for Protestant students from Hungary. It housed the major continental scientific collections like the material of the Oceania expeditions (1768–80) of James Cook, Joseph Banks (1743–1820), Reinhold Forster (1729–98), and Georg Forster (1754–1794).[41] All that knowledge was transferred to Hungary by peregrinating students.

The above-mentioned Mihály Dobosy, a Reformed pastor from the town of Szentes, for example, was able to see both the northern (Arctic and

39 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994).

40 Sz. Kristóf, "Local Access."

41 See Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin and Gundolf Krüger eds. *Siberia and Russian America: Culture and Art from the 1700s. The Asch Collection. Göttingen – Sibirien und Russisch Amerika: Kultur und Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die Sammlung von Asch, Göttingen* (Munich: Prestel, 2007).

subarctic) and the American (North, Central, and South American) parts of the universal ethnographic collection in Göttingen during his studies in 1805. Dobosy did not mention the Oceania section of the collection in his memoirs, but he surely was familiar with it, since he was preparing to translate James Cook's travelogue into Hungarian.[42] He also came across Inuit artifacts, certainly those from the collection of Baron Georg Thomas von Asch (1729–1807) from St. Petersburg. In this way, he had things to compare with the Greenland Inuit objects known from the abovementioned *Historie von Grönland* of David Cranz that he translated to Hungarian. Dobosy also got closer to the Indigenous artifacts from the North American continent. In his recollections, he spoke with great enthusiasm, for example, about certain tattooing implements that had presumably been brought (in an unspecified way) to the Göttingen cabinet from the so-called southeastern Indian cultural area.[43] Another Reformed pastor, Ferenc Benkő (1745–1816) from Nagyenyed (Aiud/Straßburg am Mieresch), who also translated the *Voyages* of James Cook, could have studied this collection in the early 1780s. He, for his part, recalled various utensils made of Oceanic fish bones and seashells, and mentioned that his own collection of curiosities included a piece of a Polynesian bark cloth.[44] How he got into the possession of the latter is not mentioned.

It is to be added, unfortunately, that the skull collection of the naturalist and physician Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), who also taught at the University of Göttingen, was also very popular among Hungarian scholars. Several of them, such as the physician and early ethnographer Pál Almási Balogh (1794–1867), had the opportunity to see it in 1825. Never setting foot outside Europe, Almási Balogh compiled the first ethnographic profile about the Australian Aboriginals in Hungarian, and another ethnographic profile in German about the Inuit of Boothia Peninsula, Canada.[45]

42 Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „Tahiti in Hungary: The Reception of the Voyages of James Cook and the Emergence of Cultural Anthropology in Hungary," in *Sciences between Tradition and Innovation – Historical Perspectives / Wissenschaften zwischen Tradition und Innovation – historische Perpsektiven*. ed. Lilla Krász (Vienna: Praesens Verlag, 2022), 233-261.

43 Sz. Kristóf, "Greenland in Hungary."

44 Ferenc Benkő, „A' Világnak V-dik Része Otahaitirol. Az ujsagot szeretőknek kedvekért" [About Otahaiti the fifth part of the world. For the lovers of news] In *Parnassusi Időtőtés* [Parnassus pastime] 1793. Negyedik darab (Kolosvár: Márton Hochmeister, 1796).

45 Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „The Representation of the Australian Aborigines in Text and Picture: Dr. Med. Pál Almási Balogh (1794-1863) and the Birth of the Science of Anthropology in Central Europe/Hungary," *Caiana Revista académica de Historia del Arte y Cultura Visual de Centro Argentino de Investigadores de Arte* (*CAIA*) (Buenos Aires), No 5, Segundo semestre, dossier special „Ciencia y Cultura Visual", eds. Piroska Csúri and Mercedes García Ferrari, (2014): 126-140.

Conclusion

The various Hungarian scenes of the representation of cultural otherness outside Europe, and the methods of knowledge processing associated with them, existed and benefited from the larger, more comprehensive discourses of the respective historical periods. These included political and power-related discourses (anti-Habsburg, oppositional, linguistic, and cultural ones), colonial views (adopted together with the translated works and the visited artifacts from western Europe), religious discourses (quarrels between Jesuits sympathetic to the Habsburg rulers and Protestants sympathetic to the Hungarian cause), and ideological and scholarly discourses (comparative and hierarchical, evolving from the Baroque to the Enlightenment and to national Romanticism and putting forward the development of human societies as a rather linear movement).[46] The authors and works cited above attest that the same discourses impacted the works on Native Americans and their representations in Hungary between 1670 and 1840.

One of the unfortunate consequences of all this was the general lack of Indigenous voices in the ethnographic descriptions in Hungary. The works cited above hardly questioned, but rather accepted and adopted the descriptions from various western European observers and sources. In many cases, they also adopted fixed, biased, negative cultural stereotypes and colonial representations. Their critical reflection, their self-reflection, was very limited indeed.

Indigenous people themselves had no say in what was taken from them and what was taken to Europe for public display (whether human remains, bones of their ancestors, etc.). Nor, for example, did they have any say in the accumulation of skull collections in Europe and the US. The Indigenous peoples of the Americas and Oceania have been requesting from the Euro-American museums the return of those ritual objects and human remains since the 1980s.[47]

46 Sz. Kristóf, "A kulturális másság."

47 See Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, „Kié a hagyomány és miből áll? Az *Indigenous Studies* célkitűzései a jelenkori amerikai indián felsőoktatásban" [Whose is tradition and what does it consist of? Objectives of Indigenous Studies in contemporary American Indian higher education], in *Hagyomány és eredetiség. Tanulmányok*, [Tradition and authenticity. Studies], ed. Gábor Wilhelm (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2007), 153-172; Timothy C. McKeown, *In the Smaller Scope of Conscience: The Struggle for National Repatriation Legislation, 1986*–1990 (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2013); Devon A. Mihesuah, ed. *Repatriation Reader. Who Owns American Indian Remains?* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 1999).

The problem of the missing Indigenous voices is relevant not only for research in western Europe, but also in east-central Europe. As the authors and their works discussed in this study attest, a huge, complex ethnographical corpus—textual and visual representations of non-European Indigenous peoples—was created in Hungary from the late seventeenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century. Scholars have a duty not only to inventory but also to evaluate it according to ethical and political viewpoints. Cultural stereotypes that demonized, hierarchized, barbarized, or even exoticized Indigenous peoples could and did enter the discourses of the colonial era (and vice versa) from the late eighteenth century onwards, first in the Enlightenment and then, and most importantly, in evolutionary social theory of the nineteenth century.[48] Critical theory, Indigenous anthropological and historical approaches based, for example, upon the critical insights of Native American scholars like Vine Deloria Jr., Donald L. Fixico, Devon A. Mihesuah,[49] and others have the merit of pointing out this unfortunate possibility. It is incumbent on all of us to explore the deeper contexts of the construction of race in the history of Euro-American ways of thinking.

In conclusion, I would, however, say that the image conveyed to Europe of the Indigenous peoples outside Europe, such as the Native Americans, was by no means entirely dark. There we also find, for example, the powerful representation of the people of Achilles, the cultural comparisons with the ancient Greeks as an ideal society, and the exoticization that surrounded it. It is therefore the responsibility of the individual historian to capture the complexity of the historical image(s) of non-European Indigenous peoples. The author of this study has attempted to fulfil this task.

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48 See Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory. A History of Theories of Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968); Sz. Kristóf, "The Uses of Demonology."

49 Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins. An Indian Manifesto* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988 [1969]); Donald L. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World. American Indian Studies & Traditional Knowledge* (New York, NY and London: Routledge, 2003); Mihesuah, *Repatriation Reader*; Devon A. Mihesuah, ed. *Natives and Academics. Researching and Writing about American Indians* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press 1998).

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5. Neither Red Enough nor Fierce Enough: The Construction of Native Americans in Nineteenth-Century Czech Culture

Markéta Křížová

Abstract: The present text aims to explore how the imagining of the Indian was tied to nationalism and modernization discourses in the specific context of the Czech Lands in the second half of the nineteenth century. The purpose is to analyze how the Native Americans figured in the Czech discourse of oppression by the Habsburgs, and how the quasi-colonial ambitions of the Czechs in the period under consideration tacked closely to Czech emigration to the United States. The article is based on a variety of primary sources, from literary and pictorial depictions of Indians to newspaper articles, but the focus is especially on the ethnographic shows that in the 1870s to 1890s helped to consolidate the stereotyping and othering of the Native Americans. This case study would enable us to understand better the complex entanglements of identity-making discourses of the time. At the same time, the specific image of the Indian formed in this period left traces in the Czech public memory that are identifiable even today.

Keywords: Czech lands, Native Americans, nationalism, colonial fantasies, emigration, ethnographic shows

Throughout the nineteenth century, political, economic, social, and cultural competition arose among the Czech- and German-speaking populations in the Czech lands.[1] The Czechs cultivated the image of themselves as oppressed

1 The research for this text was funded by the Polish National Science Center Grant No. UMO-2021/43/B/HS3/03009, within the project "Contentious Collections. Rethinking the Legacy

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH05

and marginalized not just by the Germans—who in 1880 constituted 35 percent of all inhabitants in the Czech lands,[2] yet had for a long time dominated both political representation and economy and culture—but also within the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire by the (German-speaking) Habsburg administration. This conviction of being looked down on translated itself into the ways Czechs perceived and represented others, both within and outside Europe—even the seemingly scientific or cultural representations were thus eminently political.

There were some manifestations of sympathy for colonized peoples. For example, the Czech medical doctor Pavel Durdík, who spent several years in Sumatra in the service of the Dutch army, in spite of the fact that in his travelogues he exoticized the "man-eaters" of Sumatra, at the same time depicted them as brave people defending their mother land with their primitive weapons. He did not conceal his distaste of colonialism as "nothing else than robbery with respect to the local people, born in their homeland and her lawful heirs."[3] Yet, as I will argue further in this text, I consider these alleged sympathies to be rather celebrations of bravery and the value

of Ethnographic Shows in Central and Eastern Europe." By "Czech lands," I denote the regions of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, historically ruled by the kings of Bohemia (an alternative toponym was Lands of the Bohemian Crown) and from 1526 incorporated into the territories ruled by the Habsburgs. In 1918, these lands became, together with Slovakia and Ruthenia, parts of the new Czechoslovak Republic. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the words "Czech" and "Bohemian" were often used as synonyms in English-language texts (and their meaning oscillated between a territorial and ethnic sense), while the phrase "Czech lands" did not exist during that time; it is a product of the effort of present-day historians to grasp the territorial, social, and cultural integrity of the whole region of the crown lands (the term "Bohemian lands" would give precedence to one of the historical lands, the land of Bohemia). Tom Dickins, "The Czech-Speaking Lands, Their Peoples, and Contact Communities: Titles, Names and Ethnonyms," *Slavonic and East European Review* 89, no. 3 (2011): 401–54. Pieter Judson in his valuable monograph avoids using normative terms like "Czechs" or "Germans," preferring instead descriptive denominations such as "Czech speakers." Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2016), ix. However, in my effort to understand the role the imagery of the "Indian" played in the discourse of Czech nationalism, I decided to use precisely the term "Czechs" for those men and women participating in the Czech nationalist discourse, in order to accentuate the fact of their auto-identification in opposition to the "Germans," that is, German-speaking population that also inhabited the Czech lands/Lands of the Bohemian Crown.

2 See Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914*, 2nd ed. (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006); Václav Houžvička, *Czechs and Germans 1848–2004: The Sudeten Question and the Transformation of Central Europe* (Prague: Karolinum, 2016).

3 Pavel Durdík, *Pět let na Sumatře: vypravování vojenského lékaře* [Five years in Sumatra: Narrative of a military doctor] (Prague: Frant. Bačkovský, 1893), 33. Durdík's opinions are analyzed by Jan Mrázek, "Czech Tropics," *Archipel* 86 (2013): 184–185. See also Jan Mrázek, "Returns to the Wide World: Errant Bohemian Images of Race and Colonialism," *Studies in Travel Writing*

of freedom, important topics in the Czech nationalist discourse. Most Czech intellectuals eagerly joined in the hegemonic discourses of western Europe and sympathized with colonial expansion, creating what Ulla Vuorela (in the case of Finland) coined as "colonial complicity."[4] The derogatory perception of non-European others confirmed the Czechs' own supposedly high level of development. Such an attitude was not unique to the Czech case. In an essay discussing the eastern European imagining of the colonial world, the Polish scholar Zbigniew Bialas employed the words "colonized colon" for representatives of nations marginalized within the Austro-Hungarian empire who, precisely because of this subordinate position, derided other "primitives" to better their own position within domestic contexts.[5] This led not just to imitation, but also to an intensification of the condescending representations of the non-European others and the sense of entitlement to superiority.

In constructing negative stereotypes to support positive self-images, native North Americans acquired a somewhat special role in the Czech milieu. I aim to explore how the imagining of the "Indian" tied to the nationalism and modernization discourses in the specific context of the Czech lands before Buffalo Bill's Wild West show visited central Europe, and also before the increase in popularity of Karl May's stories, two factors that made a considerable change in the way native North Americans were perceived and stereotyped.[6] I focus exclusively on the perception of Native

21, no. 2 (2017): 135–55, for further arguments of what Mrázek considered to be manifestations of Czech sympathies with the colonized peoples.

4 Ulla Vuorela, "Colonial Complicity: The 'Postcolonial' in a Nordic Context," in *Complying with Colonialism: Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*, ed. Suvi Keskinen et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 19–20. For the specifically Czech participation in hegemonic discourse of the European West, see Sarah Lemmen, "Noncolonial Orientalism? Czech Travel Writing on Africa and Asia around 1918," in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. James Hodkinson and John Walker (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 209–27.

5 Zbigniew Bialas, "Whose Madagascar? The Case of the Colonised Colon," *English in Africa* 24, no. 2 (1997): 15–25.

6 The first European tour of Buffalo Bill in Europe in 1890–91 had opened a new era of ethnographic show events in a sweeping fashion and on an unprecedented scale. Karl Markus Kreis, "From Fantasy to Show: Changing Images of 'the Indian' in German-Speaking Europe at the Beginning of the 20th Century," in *The Multicultural Modernism of Winold Reiss 1886–1953*, ed. Frank Mehring (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2022), 70. Yet it did not reach Czech lands, even though there were some notes in newspapers and Czechs traveling to other countries might have had a chance to see the performances. On the second tour in 1905–6 and the profound impact on the inhabitants of the Czech lands and other regions of central Europe, see Jaroslav Čvančara and Miroslav Čvančara, *Když u nás byl Buffalo Bill* [When Buffalo Bill visited us] (Prague: Academia,

North Americans by those who professed themselves Czechs. My purpose is to analyze how the Native Americans figured in the particular Czech discourse of oppression by the Habsburgs, and how the quasi-colonial ambitions of the Czechs in the period under consideration tacked closely to Czech emigration to the United States. I bear in mind that in the complex and precipitous development of Czech society in the second half of the nineteenth century and its struggle to find its position within the Habsburg Empire, the symbolic encounters with the Native North Americans were just episodes. Still, they help to understand better the complex entanglements of identity-making discourses of the time. At the same time, the specific image of the Indian formed in this period left traces in the Czech public memory that are identifiable even today.

"Fake Indians" and "Real Indians"

Until the late nineteenth century, encounters with native inhabitants of America had been mostly indirect in the Czech lands. Sometime after 1800, "a certain Englishman" brought "Brazilian Botocudos, man-eaters" to Prague. Those three men had "wild dispositions, high feather caps on their heads, tattooed faces, bone drawn through the nose, in their lower lips round pieces of wood, large rings in their ears. … They sang songs in a strange language, sacrificed a black cock to an ugly idol, and ate raw chickens, first tearing their heads off." Then one of the spectators recognized the "Botocudos" as some farmhands from a nearby village, and "the Englishman took to his heels with the Indians and the money."[7] It is not certain if this particular show of fakes ever took place, or if the story reacted to the display of the Brazilian Aimoré (called "Botocudos" at that time) in London in 1822, which was popularized all over Europe.[8] It at any case drew on common imagery of barbarity: semi-nakedness, fierceness, and body mutilation. Yet the notion

2013). (To this topic is also dedicated the chapter by Florian Ambach and Maxmilian Gröber in the present volume.) As to Karl May, the first book in the North American series, *Winnetou* (orig. ed. 1893), was published in Czech as early in 1901. For the popularity of Karl May among Czech readers, see Jaroslav Moravec, *Pražský případ Dr. Maye: Banální kapitola z nakladatelských dějin* [The Prague case of Dr. May: Banal chapter from the history of publishing] (Prague: Toužimský a Moravec, 2006).

7 In these words the story was narrated by Jakub Malý, *Národní pohádky* [National tales], 4th enlarged ed. Prague: I. L. Kober, 1876), 296–98. The author of the original narrative is unknown.

8 J. C. H. King, "Family of Botocudos Exhibited on Bond Street in 1822," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 243–51.

of their falseness became a hallmark within subsequent developments of "Red Indians" in the Czech Lands. Allusions to "fake Indians" who ate raw meat accompanied newspaper reports on performances of North American natives even in the 1870s.[9] A false Indian in a circus appeared in the musical opus that is one of the foundations of Czech culture, the comic opera *Bartered Bride* (1866) by Bedřich Smetana and Karel Sabina, a popular piece that appeared incessantly at various theaters.[10]

As will be shown further in this text, stereotypes of Native Americans in Czech books and pictures were rather detailed—so detailed and precise, in fact, that the stage performances fell short of them, and consequently were considered either inadequate or even faked. These textual and pictorial stereotypes mostly took the form of eyewitness accounts, and thus became entrenched in the minds of Czech consumers as genuine. In contrast to the accentuated barbarity of (fake) performers, Native Americans presented to the Czech readers often featured the noble savage theme.[11] An important milestone represented the translation of Chateaubriand's *Atala* to Czech language by Josef Jungmann (appearing in 1805, only four years after the publication of the original). This text reached great popularity among Czech readers and coined the Czech version of the word savage (*divoch*), which literally means "wild man."[12] Yet connotations of wildness meant not brutality and unrestrained lust, but rather uncorrupted gentleness. This was also because Jungmann, with the specific Czech readership in view, omitted those parts of Chateaubriand's text that referred to Catholicism (and which could allude to the forced re-Catholicization of the Czech lands

9 The show of the Haudenosaunee in Prague in 1879 (which will be analyzed in more detail below) was commented on in a feuilleton in the newspaper *Národní listy* through an allusion to the fact that there have already been such visitors in Prague, "eating the obligatory pigeon with feathers and everything." But then the anonymous author of the feuilleton added rhetorically: "Oh sorry! We won't see this time those Indians born in Holešovice [at the outskirts of Prague]." Anon., "Indiáni v Praze" [Indians in Prague], *Národní listy*, 6 August 1879, 2.

10 For English translation, see Karel Sabina, *Verkaufte Braut/Bartered Bride*, transl. Helen J. Harvitt (New York, NY: F. Rullman, 1908), 29.

11 For detailed discussion on the theme of the noble savage, in the context of the Enlightenment intellectual tradition of self-criticism, see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

12 Josef Jungmann, *Atala, aneb, Láska dwau diwochů na paussti* [Atala or love of two savages on the desert], (Prague: František Jeřábek, 1805). The importance of *Atala* for the sentimental identifications with the plight of the natives also in the German-speaking regions is confirmed in Susanne Zantop, "Close Encounters: Deutsche and Indianer," in *Germans and Indians. Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, ed. Colin Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 4.

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).[13] Such adaptation meant that the sharp contrast between pagan savagery and European civilization in Chateaubriand's original became blurred for the Czech readers, and the otherness of the Native American was instead anchored explicitly in untamed, virgin nature.

Even before Jungmann's translation, Czech readers received some information on American natives through cheap books published by Václav Matěj Kramerius, with the ambition of educating the urban and rural masses. Kramerius published narratives on Columbus and John Smith, presented to the Czech readers as direct testimonies of "men who traveled through strange lands."[14] Native Americans again appeared inexorably tied to exotic flora and fauna, as strange (with hints of cannibalism), and unable to grasp the intricacies of European culture, yet still being unequivocally human and endowed with bravery and a certain nobility. Translations of James Fenimore Cooper's works (to German from the late 1820s, and to Czech from the 1850s; the first being *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1852) further affected these imageries.[15] Numerous Czech authors throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries alluded to Cooper and his apparently "truthful" depictions of Native Americans.[16] Instead of the Caribbean islands of Columbus, Smith's Virginia or Atala's "desert" (Louisiana), the woods and lakeshores of the northeast became the new setting for the Native American. In Cooper there was also the important motif of the "bad Indian," the counterpart of the noble savage, as well as of the vanishing race, which especially appealed to Czech readers. The image of the vanishing Indian" increased through

13 Michal Hrala et al., *Kapitoly z dějin českého překladu* [Chapters from the history of Czech translation] (Prague: Karolinum, 2002), 83–85, explained that Jungmann reacted to the remembrances on the forced re-Catholicization in the Czech lands during and after the Thirty Years' War.

14 Václav Matěj Kramerius, *Jana Smita kapitána anglického pravdivá historie o cestách* [A true history of travels of John Smit [*sic*], an English captain] (Prague: Václav Matěj Kramerius, 1798), s.n. (Introduction). See also Václav Matěj Kramerius, *Historické vypsání, kterak čtvrtý díl světa Amerika od Kolumbusa vynalezena byla* [Historical narrative of how America the fourth part of the world was discovered by Columbus] (Prague: Václav Matěj Kramerius, 1803).

15 James Fenimore Cooper, *Poslední Mohikán: povídka z roku 1757* [Last of the Mohicans: A story from 1757], transl. Josef Vojáček (Prague: Jaroslav Pospíšil, 1852). The copy of this book, preserved in the National Library of the Czech Republic, bears traces of being read by a schoolboy, perhaps even during classes (as there are jottings on physics on the final page).

16 When describing the love of the Czech painter Mikuláš Aleš for the North American natives, one of his biographers dwelled on his knowledge of Cooper "almost by heart. … As to the fakes, such as May's, you would not find even one in his library. His Indian is Cooper's Indian, truthful, morally virtuous savage." Josef Aleš-Lyžec, "Mikuláš Aleš: K jeho 60. narozeninám 18. listopadu 1912" [Mikuláš Aleš: For his 60th birthday on November 18, 1912], *Besedy Času* 17, no. 47 (15 November 1912): 364–65.

illustrations by George Catlin and engravings by Karl Bodmer, who repeatedly reproduced and plagiarized in cheap books throughout Europe, Czech lands included.

Both Catlin and Bodmer found yet another background for the noble savage, that of the great plains of the American West, turning the Native American from Mohican to Lakota. The turn was duly followed by others, even though some motifs coined by Cooper—such as canoes, tomahawks, wigwams, Huron war cries, scalping, and the calumet—had by this time became generic attributes to any American native.[17] In 1848, a series of articles in a popular Czech newspaper written by Josef Štorch promised to inform the readers about the lifestyle and opinions of the "Indian nation." Štorch used the term in the unspecified singular, but the details in his text clearly indicate the Plains. He described in detail "a childish nation" living close to nature, and expressed fear of its rapid extinction.[18] The motif of "childishness" was frequent and fitted into paternalist attitudes concerning the "civilized" white man and his "savage" counterpart.

Meeting the Native American

Whilst the development from Chateaubriand's and Jungmann's savage to Štorch's Indian took place in literary practice, Czech society underwent dramatic transformations. There were the processes of industrialization, migration to the cities, and demographic expansion. Of equal importance was the fact that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Czechs had developed social, cultural, and political self-consciousness, calling for recognition of their nation within the Austro-Hungarian empire, and for equality between Czech and German within the Czech Lands. National feelings increasingly became a defining factor of everyday life. After the

17 Thus, the historical drama by Ladislav Stroupežnický, featured for the first time in 1890, explicitly put on stage a Carib brandishing a tomahawk over the head of Christopher Columbus. Ladislav Stroupežnický, *Krištof Kolumbus* [Christopher Columbus] (Prague: Vaněk a Votava, 1929), 26. See in this respect Kreis, "From Fantasy to Show."

18 Josef Štorch, "Ze života Indiánů" [From the life of the Indians], *Květy a plody*, 16 November 1848, 268–74; 23 September 1848, 289–95. In the first Czech encyclopedia, *Riegrův slovník naučný* [Rieger's dictionary], vol. 1 (Prague: J. L. Rieger 1860), 177–78, the word "Indian" did not yet have a separate entry, but was used (without further explanation and alternatively with the term "American nations") in the article on "America—inhabitants," which indicates it was of common usage. The second great encyclopedic work in the Czech language, *Ottův slovník naučný* [Otto's dictionary], vol. 12 (Prague: J. Otto, 1897), 556, already provided a separate, yet very short entry: "Indians, the native inhabitants of America, see America").

political and popular fervor of 1848, there came disillusionment, but also decades of political activities on various levels and a proliferation of civic associations for cultural and educational institutions. In the years 1863–64, the municipal autonomy of towns and villages was markedly increased and, subsequently, self-governance on the level of the whole of the Czech lands. There were important achievements particularly with regard to questions of language use in the local civil service and questions of control over education and welfare policy.[19]

All this is important because of the repercussions the increased self-confidence of the Czechs had with respect to their dealings with the non-European others. In 1856, a Czech intellectual Adalbert Fingerhut/Vojta Náprstek took part, during his ten-year sojourn in the United States, in an official visit of the federal government to the Dakota in Minnesota.[20] Upon his return from the USA, Náprstek put various keepsakes on display in Prague, including a painted buffalo robe. He praised the Dakota, accentuating their bravery and love of freedom—the latter feature having particular importance within the Czech discourse that accentuated their situation of oppression in their homeland.[21] As Matthew Rampley rightly remarked in his study on other manifestations of Czech colonial fantasies in this period, Náprstek's collection of curiosities that formed the first material base for Czech imagining of the North American natives was assembled in a context of power inequality.[22] Náprstek brought those objects to Prague in the first place in an effort to prove that a member of a Czech nation had reached the North American interior; yet they were also trophies and symbolic objects of domination. As demonstrations of "primitive technologies," the objects confirmed the supremacist treatment the natives received in the United States.[23]

19 Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford: Hoover Institute Press, 2004), 128–31.

20 The surname "Náprstek" is a literal translation into Czech of the German surname Fingerhut (Thimble). Vojta (short for Vojtěch) is a Czech translation of the original first name Adalbert; the practice of changing German names for Czech ones was common among Czech patriots.

21 For the biography of Náprstek and his North American collection, see Kateřina Klápšťová, *Dakotská kultura na rozcestí: Vojta Náprstek a jeho dakotská sbírka z roku 1856/Dakota Culture at the Crossroads: Vojta Náprstek and his Dakota Collection from 1856* (Prague: National Museum, 2016.) This volume also contains a transcript of Náprstek's lecture in Milwaukee, for the local German community, in original German version and in translation into English in Klápšťová (204–13, 223–31).

22 Matthew Rampley, "Decolonizing Central Europe: Czech Art and the Question of 'Colonial Innocence,'" *Visual Resources* 37, no. 1 (2021): 20–21.

23 For the notion of "primitive technologies" in the Náprstek Museum, see Markéta Křížová, "Dominating the Non-European Other through Research: The Náprstek Museum in Prague as a Site

Náprstek was a great admirer of the American political system, as well as the material and technological advancements he had seen in the USA. After returning to Prague, he called for their emulation. His activities evolved against the background of growing Czech emigration, a process that greatly occupied Czech intellectuals of this period. With the exception of a small number of political émigrés, the majority of those resettling overseas (temporarily or permanently) did so because of economic opportunities. Representatives of Czech patriotic discourse lamented the loss of enterprising countrymen, but justified their departure with references to Habsburg oppression. At the same time, they also tried to frame the overseas exodus as, de facto, Czech colonial expansion. As one of the newspaper commentators reiterated at the end of the century, "there is no nation of similar size that would have so many and so great colonies abroad as our nation."[24] Such interpretation of Czech economic migration put the Czechs unequivocally on the side of progress and the most developed nations of the times; that this progress also involved the displacement of the native inhabitants of the continent who stood in its path was accepted no matter what was the romantic admiration of the "brave Dakota." On the other hand, as Philip Deloria confirmed for the representations of Native Americans, the simultaneous exultation of American democracy and the bravery of the natives defending their own freedom against encroaching white settlers was not in fact a contradiction. The cultivation of such stereotypes brought to the fore freedom as an "essential American quality, a customary right inherent in the land itself."[25] The enjoyment of this right was offered to the immigrants, Czechs included—and the American dream was reiterated precisely through the noble savage discourse.

This is clearly demonstrated in texts by Josef Václav Sládek, another Czech who traveled through North America in 1868–70. Sládek shared the admiration for the political and material well-being of Americans, explicitly contrasting the slavery that the Czechs supposedly endured within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Yet he also doubted those positive

of Symbolic Colonization and National Promotion," in *Decolonial Museology Re-centered: Thinking Theory and Practice through East-Central Europe*, ed. Erica Lehrer and Łukasz Bukowiecki (Berlin: De Gruyter, in press).

24 Anon., Čechové Američtí [The American Czechs], *České noviny*, 11 June 1895, 29–31. The conceptualization, by the commentators of the times, of the Czech economic migration overseas as "colonization" is a central argument for Michael Dean, "'What the Heart Unites, the Sea Shall Not Divide': Claiming Overseas Czechs for the Nation," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2014).

25 Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 41.

features of North America by referring to injustices committed upon the native inhabitants. In the poem *On the Graves of the Indians*, Sládek ascribed a sense of approaching doom to the beauty of the American landscape, emphasizing further ties between the noble savage and nature. "The rivers flow clean as crystal / as a tear rolling down the cheek. Where the wigwam has stood are arising / cities unending, hungry / and in the forest the axes fall," he lamented. "You have built freedom here / such that the European slaves don't even dream of / … but upon what foundation?"[26] Interestingly, whilst Sládek built upon the popular motif of the vanishing American,[27] the topos of "graves" was also recurring in Czech poetry, where the dusty graves of Czech kings symbolized past glories and present humiliation of Czechs under Habsburg rule. Sládek found parallels in the fate of Czech migrants, escaping oppression by their powerful German neighbors as well as the Austro-Hungarian government. Chased from their homeland by material need, in search of political freedom, these migrants were still trying to preserve their native language and historical memory in a new homeland whilst being cheated by earlier immigrants.[28] As Sládek himself reflected, most Czechs readily identified with American civilization.[29] The fate of the Native Americans could be pitied. Nevertheless, it followed a preordained path of progress, of which the Czechs partook.

26 Josef Václav Sládek, "Na hrobech indiánských" [On the Indian graves], *Ruch* 2 (1870): 138–42.

27 The motif of graves and funerals dominated many of the popular articles on North American natives published in Czech illustrated journals of the 1870s and 1880s, such as the text by the painter and traveler Bohuslav Kroupa, "Indiánské pohřebiště" [Indian graveyard], *Světozor*, 22 November 1878, 585; or the longer reportage by Jan Hugo Dvořák, "Ze života Indianů (Dle vypravování amerických cestovatelů a z vlastního poznání)" [From the life of the Indians (According to the stories of American travelers and from own experience)], *Květy* 2, no. 7 (1880): s. 73–75; 2, no. 10: 469–70. The anonymous article "Indiáni" [Indians], *Světozor* 4, no. 14 (1870): 37–38, opens with the description of the funerary place in the prairie. The article then narrates about "true Indians, but these are waning rapidly." Also, the fictional story set among the Sioux ends with the death of the main protagonist and the detailed description of a funeral. Anon., Diora, dcera náčelníkova (Skutečná událost'—dle vypravování Indiana Waanata) [Diora, daughter of the chief (True story—according to the narration of the Indian Waanato)], *Čechoslovan* 3 (1875): 33–36.)

28 This motif is strongest in a short story by Josef Václav Sládek, "Válečná výprava" [War party], *Národní listy*, 28 April 1871, 1–2). A gang of French and Mexicans kill a Czech farmer's horse, and blame the deed on the Native Americans. The Czechs set out to punish the natives, but find out not only that they were innocent of the crime, but also in exodus from their homeland, so they pity the hungry outlaws and feed them.

29 In a short story that again developed the motif of a graveyard. Josef Václav Sládek, "Na hřbitově" [On a graveyard], *Národní listy*, 29 April 1871, 1. Sládek puts a common opinion in the mouth of a successful, wealthy Czech migrant: "False sentiment! … We cut down the forest, ploughed the prairie, built mills and factories by the rivers. In land barren for centuries our cities arise."

Besides his reportages, poems, and short stories from North America, Sládek offered Czech readers a translation of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epos *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855, first Czech edition 1872). The poem, set in the Great Lakes region, contains a gloomy vision of the future, or rather lack of a future, of Native America. In the preface to his translation, Sládek explicitly denounced images of the "bloody, devilish mask of the red savage," praising Longfellow for revealing the true "heart of these red people. … We cannot but see in the cruel savage a man, yearning as any other for goodness and truth."[30] Numerous reviews of the Czech edition, however, reveal that the *Song of Hiawatha* strengthened many of the existing stereotypes of the Native Americans as "children" of America as a youthful continent, and of Europe as a mature civilization. It was presented to Czech readers as strangely beautiful precisely because of its divergence from the European literary standard—in a way similar to "primitive" peasant rhymes or medieval epics.[31]

The romantic Indian also found expression in the Czech visual arts. The painter Mikoláš Aleš—famous especially from his romantic scenes from earliest Czech history and the rapidly disappearing traditional village culture—had since childhood allegedly been fascinated by Cooper's novels, and by the culture and the fate of the North American natives, reminding him of the vanished Baltic Slavs who succumbed to the pressure of Germanic colonization in the Middle Ages.[32] In the 1880s, under the influence of Sládek's *Hiawatha*, as well as Cooper and the more contemporary Wild West novels, Aleš created a series with the title "The Elements." It had as its principal topic the muscular bodies of half-naked natives, fighting for

30 Josef Václav Sládek, introduction to Henry Longfellow, *Píseň o Hiavatě* [Song of Hiawatha], transl. Josef Václav Sládek (Edvard Grégr, 1872), 3. See also Josef Polák, "Sládkův překlad Longfellowova eposu The Song of Hiawatha" [Sládek's translation of Longfellow's epos "The Song of Hiawatha"], *Česká literature* 7, no. 2 (1959): 151–163.

31 Among others was Vítězslav Hálek, Literární úvahy, *Národní listy* [Literary Essays], 8 November 1872, s. 1, who extolled the simplicity of native poetry as presented by Longfellow and Sládek: "The spirit of eternal youth breathes from that song. … Simple story, and without rhyme, … and yet how beautiful." In retrospective, famous Czech poet Jaroslav Vrchlický spoke of Sládek's bringing back from the New World "fragrance of primitive America, something indeed new and unknown for Europe." J. V. [Jaroslav Vrchlický], "Henri [*sic*] Wadsworth Longfellow," *Národní listy*, 27, February 1907, 1. The musical composer Antonín Dvořák was also allegedly fascinated by this poem, especially by the depiction of nature, and his Ninth Symphony in E minor, op. 95, 1893 ("From the New World") reflected, among other inspirations, the motives from the *Song of Hiawatha*. Otakar Šourek, *Život a dílo Antonína Dvořáka* [Life and work of Antonín Dvořák], vol. 3 (Prague: Hudební matice Umělecké besedy 1930), 460.

32 Mikoláš Aleš, letter to Dr. E. Salaba-Vojan, 14 October 1906, quoted by Polák, "Sládkův překlad," 161.

life in the untamed nature of the New World and clashing with European colonization, choosing death over humiliation. Aleš prepared sketches for this "funerary song, silent requiem for the Indians"[33] over many years, and later used some motifs in his paintings on the topics of Slavic history, connecting the two dramas of nations chased from their homelands.[34] Thus again the motif of nationalist competition, the warning against the danger of succumbing to a ruthless opponent, was voiced through the image of the Native American. However, these pictorial representations contain an important feature, present also in Sládek's poems and stories—they were admirable and, perhaps, pitiable figures, but not models to follow. Their destiny to fall after a brave fight was a warning to the Czechs to find other strategies to survive the Habsburg oppression, as well as the ruthless competition within the multiethnic milieu of the United States, the destination of the economic migrants. To survive, the Czechs had at their disposal what the brave, yet simple native warriors had not—civilization, culture, education.[35]

A similar type of representation of the vanishing Indian arises from a completely different source: booklets for prospective Czech migrants. Such texts utilized "good Indians" and "bad Indians." The "bad" ones lived far to the west and "hated the whites," explains the author of one of the pamphlets. "But," he continues, "the settlers only live alongside friendly Indians and the army troops would protect them against the unfriendly ones. … The government of the United States tried in every possible way to make Indians open to human education, but all efforts have been in vain and the red people march towards doom, which is brought to them by the advancing civilization."[36] Thus, the image of the "bad Indian" as a hindrance to civilization, in line with the justification of Indian wars by the US authorities as well as the general public, appeared in the Czech

33 Quoted by Emanuel Svoboda, *Jak Mikoláš Aleš žil a tvořil* [How did Mikoláš Aleš live and work] (Prague: B. Kočí, 1920), 133.

34 See the reproductions and analysis in Jaromír Neumann, *Mikoláš Aleš—Cykly* [Mikoláš Aleš—Cycles] (Prague: SNKLHU, 1957), 202–5. It needs to be kept in mind that this book was a product of the 1950s communist discourse (placing Aleš not just in the defense of the Native Americans, but in opposition to encroaching capitalism).

35 This information contained implicitly the already quoted entry on "American inhabitants" in *Riegrův slovník naučný*, vol. 1, 177–78. It stated that the natives in the United States were "visibly diminishing, yet in Mexico, Peru etc. they are multiplying. The hunters perish, but the skilled agriculturalists prosper."

36 Josef Pastor, *Americký vystěhovalec: spolehlivé zprávy a rady pro české vystěhovalce na cestu do Ameriky* [American emigrant: Reliable news and guidance for Czech emigrants for journey to America] (Prague: J. Pastor, 1873), 43.

Figure 5.1 Cover of the novel by Matěj Karas, *Náčelník Siouxův* [The Sioux Chief], Prague 1890. "Not all pale faces are evil," said the chief, trying to get up.

milieu as well. It could even be adopted to the everyday experience of the competition with the Germans. A caricature of 1869 mocked the German Bohemian journalists who were trying to block the equality of the Czech and German tongues in Czech Lands. These German reactionaries were depicted as Native Americans throwing logs under the advancing train, a symbol of progress and civilization (Figure 5.2).[37] So, while the predominant discourse likened "good Indians" to the Czech victims of Habsburg oppression, in this particular case the "bad Indians" became the role models for, or perhaps allies of, the reactionary Habsburgs in their efforts to block the victorious ride of the Czechs towards global acknowledgment.

Native Americans on Stage

All these varied images came to the fore when the Czechs were given a chance to see "real" Indians. As elsewhere in Europe, numerous performances, such as "Nubian caravans" or "northern shows," arrived in the Czech lands in the last decades of the nineteenth century. These shows were staged as quasi-ethnographic enterprises, giving the public the illusion of discovering for themselves the difference between the savage and the civilized worlds. Impresarios appealed to the paying audience through the idea of an impending extinction of "primitive" peoples. Performances were framed as a last chance to glimpse the rapidly vanishing "savages."[38]

In 1873, the influential Czech journalist Jan Neruda visited the Vienna World's Fair lured by the "Indian Wigwam," part of the US exhibit:

> What impression will the first real savage make on me? On Darwin it was enormous, through this experience Darwin was brought to his studies,

37 *Humoristické listy*, 3 April 1869, 58. The author of the caricature, František Kolár, apparently found inspiration in an engraving on the motif of the painting of Theodore Kaufmann, *Westward the Star of Empire* (undated, ca. 1860s, at present at St. Louis Mercantile Library Art Museum) which was published as "Indianer, einem Zug der Pacific- Eisenbahn überfallend" *Leipziger Illustrirte Zeitung* 52, no. 1336 (1869): 101. I am grateful to Filip Herza who drew my attention to this caricature by including it in his book *Imaginace jinakosti: Pražské přehlídky lidských kuriozit v 19. a 20. století* [Imagination of otherness: Prague freak shows in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries] (Dolní Břežany: Scriptorium, 2020), 169.

38 For the phenomenon of the shows in general see Pascal Blanchard et al., *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, trans. Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); for the specific context of central Europe, see *Staged Otherness: Ethnic Shows in Central and Eastern Europe, 1850–1939*, eds. Dagnoslaw Demski and Dominika Czarnecka (Budapest: CEU Press, 2021).

> to his writings, and became immortal. God knows what I will write! I almost see him already, that Indian! Tall and slim, of clear-cut profile, piercing eyes. An animal hide is draped from his shoulders, eagle feathers interwoven in his hair, around his loins a belt full of toys and dry human scalps. A long bow, full quiver, but I am not afraid of my scalp, grayed by culture. The man is sitting peacefully, smoking a peace pipe, would not even turn around when we enter his wigwam. I wonder what the name of this good-natured Indian would be? Perhaps "Big Snake" or "Red Lightning" or "King Jaguar." … But maybe all will be different? Who knows how many savages came here—maybe there will be such merriment as at the wedding of Hiawatha.[39]

The allusion to Hiawatha is further testimony of the impact of Sládek's translation upon the Czech public; but most revealing was the sense of superiority over the noble savage and his "toys," not as weapons or tools indicating a mature culture. As revealed in the final part of the story, Neruda was disappointed after finding out that the advertised "wigwam" was nothing more than a liquor store in the shape of a teepee. This once more brought to the fore memories of numerous "fake" Indians presented in Czech circuses.

Precisely the expectations of Neruda and many others were what the German entrepreneur Charles Reiche tried to fulfil when he brought to Europe a troupe of Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) from Canada in 1879. Eight men and two women spent two weeks in Prague, in a village on the island on the Moldau River. They performed dances, burials, lacrosse, archery, canoeing, and mock battles. The advertisements of the show in Czech journals promoted the "sons of that unlucky tribe, whose remnants are dying out in the American West."[40] That is, the authors of those articles unequivocally assumed that "real Indians," of course "vanishing Indians," could only inhabit the Great Plains. Onlookers were guided firmly by existing stereotypes. The "proud, brave bearing" of the natives was appraised, as well as their "intelligent" appearance and long black hair; however, in the end, the descriptions fell into the paternalist pattern with clear conviction of superiority. There were also some manifestations of dissatisfaction, as the performers in fact were no "Red Indians," being "neither red enough nor fierce enough, and indeed these sons of the desert [*sic*] were rather

39 Jan Neruda, "Hugh!," *Národní listy*, 1 June 1873, 1.

40 Anon., "Indiáni v Praze" [Indians in Prague], *Národní listy*, 6 August 1879, 2.

Figure 5.2 Bohemian Germans as "Indians," throwing logs under the train of (language) reform, *Humoristické listy*, 3 April 1869, 58.

civilized."[41] Interestingly, the phrase "sons of the desert" seemed to allude to *Atala* rather than either the Great Plains or the eastern woodlands, which would be another confirmation of the continued process of the mixing and refurbishing of clichés surrounding the Indian (Figure 5.3).

Sixteen years after the Haudenosaunee spectacle, another show featuring an Indian took place in Prague, within the frame of the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895. This event reacted to the popularity of great international exhibitions that were at this period already well established in Europe as well as in the United States, and even more to the fascination with rural folk life that was supposed to provide a basis for national membership in various parts of Europe. The exhibition indeed became a national as well as a commercial success, attracting two million local and foreign visitors.[42] Its main theme was Czech history and the varied culture

41 Anon., "Indiánští náčelníci na řece Missouri" [Indian chiefs on the river Missouri], *Světozor* 13 (1879): 431.

42 Marta Filipová, "Peasants on Display: The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895," *Journal of Design History* 24, no. 1 (2011): 15. See also Marta Filipová, "Regional Modernity and the Global Exhibition Network: Prague's Exhibitions of 1891 and 1895," in *Imagined Cosmopolis:*

of Czech peasantry, presented both as homogeneously national and rich in regional specialties. Yet if the peasants were represented as the proper creators of the spirit of Czech culture, they were also seen as a backward and sometimes even nationally indifferent people, who were to be both educated and nationally cultivated by their more developed compatriots. The topic of modernity, especially of technological advancement, was thus also prominent in the exhibition.[43]

The naming "Czechoslavic" distinguished the Slavic Czech citizenry clearly from the "Bohemian Germans," and emphasized the affiliation of the Czechs with the family of other Slavic peoples of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.[44] Envoys of various Slavic nations, as well as representatives of the Czech diaspora from Europe and overseas, most of all fellow countrymen from the United States, were given a warm welcome during the event. The American Czechs demonstrated through their participation in the event how they "kept their nationality beyond the ocean" as a successful diaspora group in the United States.[45] As the newspaper reports accentuated, "the whole ocean and whole grand countries with other, larger cultural nations spread among [the motherland and the diaspora], but all this does not prevent it from being one world, one Czech world with a common language, common culture, common history."[46] The word "colony" is crucial in this context, and in line with the already outlined efforts of Czech patriotic elites to frame the economic emigration from the Czech lands into the imitation of imperial expansion, and the migrants as agents of modernity.[47] The fantasy of overseas expansion further strengthened the nationalist discourse.

Internationalism and Cultural Exchange 1870–1920, ed. Grace Brockington and Sarah Turner (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2019), 281–301.

43 Filipová, "Peasants on Display," 18–19; also, Milan Ducháček, "Slovaks on Display. Otherness of the 'Eastern Brothers' at the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague 1895," *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*, 64, no. 1 (2019): 177–200; Filip Herza, "Anthropologists and their Monsters: Ethnicity, Body, and Ab/Normality in Early Czech Anthropology," *East Central Europe* 43 (2016): 64–98.

44 Stanislav Brouček et al., *Mýtus českého národa, aneb, Národopisná výstava Československá 1895* [The myth of the Czech nation, or, Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition 1895] (Prague: Littera Bohemica, 1996), 12.

45 Anon., "Čechové Američtí" [The American Czechs], *České noviny*, 11 June 1895, 29.

46 Anon., Feuilleton, *České noviny*, 16 June 1895, 1.

47 Dean, "What the Heart Unites," referring to the discussion by Kristin Kopp, *Germany's Wild East: Constructing Poland as Colonial Space* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), on the "soft" and "hard" meanings of the word *Kolonie*/colony.

As early as in the 1850s, and in much greater abundance in subsequent decades, Czech readers were offered penny novels about Czech emigrants experiencing adventures among Indians in America.[48] These texts were in line with the previous representational strategies of eyewitness accounts considered even more reliable and realistic than a first-hand encounter with an Indian. The narratives also copied the distinction between the "good Indian" (noble savage) and the "bad Indian," spoiled by contact with civilization. Often, an alliance was established in these narratives between the Czechs (honest and diligent, and lacking the Yankee ruthlessness and avariciousness) and the "good Indians," brave and loving their motherland. But, in the end, the natives were always destined to expire, while the Czech settlers joined the victorious modernity. This is the case with the story "The Sioux Chief," set around the time of the battle at the Little Big Horn. A Czech migrant rendered assistance to a Chief Bull Eye, wounded by a wicked white trader. Moved by seeing the hopeless prospects of the natives, the Czech persuaded the chief to give up the fight. "The chief did as he promised. For ten years, his tomahawk was buried, and he lived in firm friendship with his neighbors the Czechs. But in the end the war party of his tribe prevailed, a new fight ensued, which ended again by complete defeat of the Sioux, after which they never recovered again" (Figure 5.1).[49] Beyond these repeated reiterations of the noble savage theme, however, the important motif underlying them was the active and successful participation of Czechs in the equally noble task of spreading the civilizational values—European, but also specifically Czech—to the New World. The way the American natives were included in the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition of 1895 corresponded precisely to this motif.

48 The following could be quoted as examples of adventure stories set in North America and among wild Indians, whose main protagonists are Czech emigrants: Josef Jiří Kolár, *Libuše v Americe* [Libuše in America], (Prague: pub. by author, 1854)—the plot takes place in the eighteenth century and among the Mohicans; and the series of short novels by Matěj Karas, such as *Čeští osadníci v Americe: Povídka z lesů amerických* [Czech settlers in America: Story from American forests] (Prague: F. Kytka, 1878), a story that features a brutal attack of bloodthirsty savages on peaceful settlers; or Matěj Karas, *Zlaté ložisko na řece Gile: Obraz ze života českých vystěhovalců v Americe* [Golden placer on the River Gila: Story from the life of Czech emigrants to America] (Prague: F. Kytka, 1879), drawing upon the popular rumors of Apache gold.

49 Matěj Karas, *Náčelník Siouxův: Povídka ze života českých vystěhovalců v Americe* (Prague: F. Kytka, 1890), 60.

Figure 5.3 Haudenosaunee performer in Prague, 1879 (Photo Archive of Náprstek Museum, no. 3.641).

The Czech Colonist and His Tamed Indian Friend

Proposals for bringing in exotic peoples from the New World appeared already during the preparatory phase of the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition.[50] Their underlying motive was not any more the effort to demonstrate "barbarians untouched by civilization," as was the case of the Haudenosaunee show, but the "savages" tamed by Czech culture, albeit maintaining their exotic appearance. For example, a certain Bohdan Petzl, originally from the Moravian town of Telč and living in Nebraska, offered to bring to Prague a band of twenty-five Indians able to perform "their wild pieces and national dances."[51] What exactly the author of the letter meant under "wild pieces" is unclear, but he specified further that the indigenous musicians were also able to sing Czech national songs, and to play Czech

50 The term "exotic" was explicitly used by the newspaper coverages of the exhibition. Anon., "Čechové Američtí II" [The American Czechs II], *České noviny*, 14 June 1895, 43.; or Anon., "Tři exoti"[Three exotic men.] *České noviny*, 18 July 1895, 151.

51 Petzl's letter is quoted in *Dačické listy*, 13 April-4- 1895,, 3, within the frame of detailed reportage on the preparatory works on the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition.

music. Thanks to this cultural influence, explained Petzl, they were "quite tame," but still would offer a splendid sight. "These 25 Indians, half-naked, feathered, their faces and bodies painted, can behave well even in civilized society. … We want to bring these 25 Indians to Prague to the Ethnographic Exhibition and demonstrate how the Czech can even in the wilderness work for the benefit of civilization."[52] Petzl's request for an advance payment for this project was ignored and the band never appeared in the exhibition program. Yet, the motif of the Native Americans singing Czech songs—as the convincing mark of their civilization—continued to resurface.[53]

This was all the more so as Native Americans were staged within the frame of the so-called American settlement. This sub-exposition was to manifest the material and intellectual successes of the Czech community in the United States and, by extension, the potential of the Czech nation when given political freedom and access to the latest industrial inventions. The idea was to show the progress of a Czech migrant from a primitive sod house through a farm, and finally to a city residence furnished with various technological novelties to serve as a model for the Czechs in the mother country. This was to be a narrative of achieving success, riches, and social esteem through backbreaking work. And it was precisely in the American compound where the Native American by the name of White Wolf appeared in front of visitors, manufacturing and selling small handicraft items. According to the newspaper reports, White Wolf was either Kickapoo from Kansas,[54] the "last remaining Huron,"[55] or "full-blooded Sioux."[56] (We can again see in these confused ethnonyms the long-term stereotypes of "real Indian" of Cooper and western penny novels) (Figure 5.4).

Even though "clad in a festive dress of his tribe" of fringed leather,[57] White Wolf was not "playing Indian" through horse-riding and lasso-throwing,

52 Ibid., p. 3.

53 For example, the article by Jan Wagner, "Američtí Čechové" [American Czechs], *Národní listy*, 14 August 1895, 1–2, mentions that "from the Czech farmers numerous Indians, living near the Czech settlements, learned Czech. In St. Louis several years ago, there was an Indian who was going to Czech pubs, playing the concertina and singing—Czech songs."

54 Anon., "Z Ameriky výstavní" [From the American exhibition], *Národní politika*, 8 June 1895, 1–2.

55 Josef Kafka, *Hlavní katalog a průvodce Národopisné výstavy československé v Praze 1895* [The main catalogue and guide to the Czecho-Slavic Ethnographic Exhibition] (Prague: Nákladem výkonného výboru, 1895), 446.

56 Anon., "Národopisná výstava československá" [Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition] *Národní listy*, 20 June 1895, 5.

57 Emanuel Kovář, *Národopisná výstava československá v Praze* [Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague] (J. Otto, 1895), 303.

Figure 5.4 White Wolf and Karel Vilím at the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague, *České noviny*, 18 July 1895, 151.

but rather demonstrating a European work ethic. "In spite of his Indian origin," he appeared polite and pleasant to the visitors, and in fact "fully civilized and educated."[58] In the exhibition compound, he worked on his small souvenirs alongside a Czech emigrant Karel Vilím, who was dressed like a cowboy. In reality, Vilím was a painter who for some time traveled to the western United States.[59] "Inseparable companions and friends,"[60] they resembled famous popular duos like Cooper's Eagle Eye and Chingachgook, or Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull. The "faithful Indian" followed the white hero "to his mother country,"[61] and thus the power hierarchies of the colonial encounters were reproduced for the Czech milieu.

58 Kovář, *Národopisná výstava*, 303.

59 Kovář, *Národopisná výstava*, 303.

60 Anon., "Národopisná výstava československá" [Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition] *Národní listy*, 15 June 1895, 5.

61 Anon., Tři exoti [Three exotic men], *České noviny*, 18 July 1895, 151.

There was also a small exhibition in the log house. It included some ethnographic items, among them Apache bows and arrows, tomahawks, and peace pipes, even some dried scalps of uncertain origin, and also pants allegedly belonging to the "greatest American murderer, Frank James," and the "sable of General Custer."[62] These doubtful antiquities provoked some criticism especially on the part of some of the Czech-American visitors, as in their eyes they tarnished the reputation of the whole American settlement at the exhibition, and in consequence the Czech diaspora in the USA as such.[63] In fact, not even the log house itself was authentic. Instead of logs, it was made of rough planks.[64] Yet, judging from the reactions of the majority of the visitors, it was an acceptable background to White Wolf's performance which, instead of rectifying the existing stereotypes, conformed them. What the onlookers expected, and what they received, was a "colorful and bizarre" spectacle,[65] even though, as the Iroquois before him, he did not seem "red" to the disappointed spectators, rather "yellow-brownish."[66]

There were some other exotic humans on display in the American settlement, such as African-American and mixed-blood waiters and singers. Michael Dean dedicated a detailed and inspiring analysis to these actors and their role in the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition. He concluded by stating that, through them, the Czech visitors were confronted with "ambiguities of ethnicity and race."[67] Whilst I consider this interpretation true in some respect (especially in relation to these African Americans), I am convinced that the case of White Wolf was different.[68] He was brought

62 Anon., "Národopisná výstava českoslovanská" [Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition] *Národní listy*, 2 June 1895, 5.

63 "In the log house they ask five kreutzers from the blockheads. Under the supervision of the Indian White Wolf they observe the various Indian memorabilia. I won't dwell long on this filth and say just one word – humbug! They show there some tattered pants, allegedly belonging to the greatest American murderer, Frank James, a sable of General Custer and other home-made antiquities. A wonder the exhibition committee allowed all this." R. V. Miškovský, "Výstavka americká v Praze" [American Exhibition in Prague], *Pokrok Západu*, 25 September 1895, 5.

64 Kovář, *Národopisná výstava*, 303.

65 Anon., "Z Ameriky výstavní" [From the American Exhibition], *Národní politika*, 8 June 1895, 1–2.

66 Anon., "Výstava Čechů amerických" [The Exhibition of American Czechs], *Národní listy*, 2 June 1895, 5.

67 Michael W. Dean, "'Žan Kudla is My Name, it Brings Me Wealth and Fame!' The Fortunes of a Barroom Song Tradition between Gilded Age Chicago and Fin-de-Siècle, Prague," *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* NS 3, no. 1 (2021): 25.

68 For the attitudes towards African performers, see Filip Herza, "Black Don Juan and the Ashanti from Asch: Representations of 'Africans' in Prague and Vienna, 1892–1899," in *Visualizing the Orient: Central Europe and the Near East in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Adéla Jůnová Macková et al. (Prague: Academy of Performing Arts, 2016), 95–105.

to Prague as a "trustworthy witness."[69] Yet he was not to witness his own nation's colorful customs and strange bodily traits, but rather to testify to the successful civilizing efforts of the Czechs in the American "wilderness." The commentators of the performance assured their readers that the Czechs never took an active part in the wars against the native inhabitants of America. "That is why the sight of many horrible Indian scalps, two of which are displayed in the log cabin, need not awaken such horror in us."[70] Nevertheless, while accentuating their own nation's non-participation in colonial atrocities, the Czech journalists and their readers nevertheless celebrated those who did participate, such as Custer, "the heroic warrior fallen with 200 of their soldiers in the battle with the Indians."[71] They joined the dominant discourse and hoped to elevate themselves through such complicity.

Conclusion

I have quoted Zbigniew Bialas's concept of a "colonized colon," as applying to the ambitions of the Czechs to increase their visibility in the domestic context of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy through accentuated imperial rhetoric. The term devised by two other Polish historians, Mariusz Kaczewiak and Magdalena Kozowska, could also be applied—referring to Susanne Zantop's "colonial fantasies," Kaczewiak and Kozowska devised the term "fantasies of greatness" with respect to the east and central European mental map of the world and their position in it at the height of the period of colonial expansion.[72] These fantasies included both pride in technological advancement, and the effort to dominate others, especially those on the lower rungs of the developmental scale. In contrast to Germany, where, as Susanne Zantop persuasively demonstrates, colonial imagery eventually clashed with the reality of colonial administration, the Czechs could develop the fantasies almost without restraint.[73]

69 Anon., "Národopisná výstava československá" [Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition], *Národní listy*, 2 June 1895, s. 5.

70 Anon., "Tři exoti" [Three exotic men], *České noviny*, 18 July 1895, 151.

71 Anon., "Z Ameriky výstavní" [From the American Exhibition], *Národní politika*, 8 June 1895, 1–2.

72 Mariusz Kaczewiak and Magdalena Kozowska, introduction to Mariusz Kaczewiak and Magdalena Kozowsk, eds., *The World Beyond the West: Perspectives from Eastern Europe* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2022), 8.

73 Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997)

Thus, perhaps, the durability of the dual imagery of the "vanishing Indians" and at the same time the explicitly formulated feelings of paternalistic superiority over them can be explained. When in 2012 the Náprstek Museum prepared for an opening of an exhibition which took as its central theme the native cultures of the American West, all the stereotypes resurfaced. A promotional movie clip featured the director of the museum, Eva Dittertová, tied to a totem pole in the middle of the exhibition hall and threatened by a "redskin" in feathered headdress, with face paint, armed with a scalping knife.[74] More than a century after Czech participation in the colonial subjugation of the American natives was celebrated at the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition, the fantasies of the West manifested themselves to be still deeply embedded in Czech society.

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74 See http://muzeum3000.nm.cz/videa/video-spot-k-vystave-po-stope-karla-maye; critique of the exhibition, György Tóth, "Tracing Karl May in the History of Transatlantic Indian Imagery: Review essay of the exhibition titled *Po stopě Karla Maye* / *Tracing Karl May* in the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague, October 25, 2012 – April 30, 2013", *Studia Territorialia* 13, no. 3 (2013): 103-120.

6. "Poor Indians! Strangers in Your Own Land!": The Attitude of a Hungarian Traveler Towards the Native Americans in Jacksonian America

Csaba Lévai

Abstract: Sándor Bölöni Farkas (1795–1842) published a very influential travelogue about the United States in Hungary in 1834. The main aim of this chapter is to analyze his views about the Indigenous people in the wider context of the Indian policy of the Jackson administration, and in the context of the situation in contemporary Hungary. The author discusses Bölöni's opinion about the Indigenous people in the mirror of his highly favorable general opinion about the United States, including the analysis of the prospects of the Native Americans in the United States. He also compares these aspects of Bölöni's opinion to that of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–59), who visited the United States at the same time as his Hungarian counterpart.

Keywords: Sándor Bölöni Farkas, Alexis de Tocqueville, Hungary, Indian removal, Indigenous people in Canada and the United States

The travelogue of Sándor Bölöni Farkas (1795–1842) published in 1834 played an outstanding role in the emergence of a very favorable picture of the United States during the 1830s and 1840s in Hungary.[1] Much has been written about

1 Sándor Bölöni Farkas, *Útazás Észak Amerikában* (Kolozsvár: Ifiabb Tilsch János, 1834). There are two English translations of Bölöni's work: *Journey in North America*, trans. Arpad Kadarkay (Santa Barbara: 1831; repr., ABC-Clio, Inc., 1978). *Journey in North America*, trans. Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoeman (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1977). All citations in English are from the latter. The best modern Hungarian edition of Bölöni's works is Sándor Bölöni Farkas, *Napnyugati utazás—Napló* (Budapest: Helikon, 1984). On the views of

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH06

the different aspects of the book, but none of these works focuses on his perception of the Native Americans.[2] The main aim of this chapter is to analyze his views about the Indigenous people in the wider context of the policy of the administration of Andrew Jackson towards them, and also in the context of the situation in contemporary Hungary. In the first part of my paper, I describe the life and the motivations of Bölöni, and also his travels in the United States briefly. In the second part, I construe the attitude of the Hungarian traveler about the Native Americans in three respects. First, I analyze his opinion about the Indigenous people in North America, and I compare his perception of them in Canada under monarchical British rule, and in the republican United States, in the context of his republican political ideas. In the second place, I discuss Bölöni's attitude towards the Native Americans in the context of his highly favorable general opinion about the United States. He clearly perceived that the Native Americans were not the only downtrodden group in the United States. He was also shocked by the existence of chattel slavery, and the extreme wealth of the upper classes of contemporary American society. I examine the techniques by the help of which Bölöni was trying to reconcile these negative aspects of the contemporary United States with his republican ideals, and his highly favorable view of the American republic. My third point is, the analysis of the prospects of the Native Americans in the United States according to Bölöni.

Throughout my study, I compare these aspects of Bölöni's opinion to that of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–59), who visited the United States at the same time as his Hungarian counterpart.[3] This comparison is justifiable

the Hungarian public about the Native Americans before the 1830s, see the study of Ildikó Sz. Kristóf in this volume.

2 Géza Závodszky, *American Effects on Hungarian Imagination and Political Thought* (Highland Lakes, NJ: East European Monographs, 1995), 103–22; Csaba Lévai, "A French Aristocrat and a Hungarian Nobleman in Jacksonian America: A Comparison of the Views of Alexis de Tocqueville and Sándor Bölöni Farkas," in *Global Encounters, European Identities*, ed. Mary N. Harris et al. (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2010), 247–59; József Gellén, "Alexander Bölöni Farkas and Alexis de Tocqueville, a Comparison of Two Attitudes," in *Hungarian Studies in English*, ed. László Országh (Debrecen: Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem, 1976), 27–41; Árpád Kadarkay, introduction to *Journey in North America, 1831*, by Sándor Bölöni Farkas (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio., Inc., 1978) 5–78; Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman, "Sándor Bölöni Farkas an Early Hungarian Traveler in America," *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 17 (1976): 218–37. On the views of some nineteenth-century Czech travelers about the Native Americans, see the study of Markéta Křížova in this volume, especially pages x-x.

3 He mentions in his book that in the state penitentiary of Charlestown, near Boston, "we met the two magistrates sent over by the French government to study American prisons and the penal system as a possible model for France." One can assume with very good reasons that the two French visitors were Tocqueville and his accompanying friend Gustave de Beaumont (1802–66),

for several reasons. First, both of them compared Jacksonian America to their homelands, and, in doing so, both of them wanted to tell something not only about the conditions in the United States, but about the state of affairs in France and Hungary too. Second, both authors' books proved to be very successful in their own countries, and played a crucial role in the formation of the opinion of the French and Hungarian public about the United States during the nineteenth century. Third, the first two volumes of Tocqueville's work, including his views about the Native Americans and slavery, had been published in Hungarian only six years after the coming out of Bölöni's travelogue, and both books had a tremendous impact on the political thought of the liberal Hungarian politicians in opposition who wanted to introduce political, social, and economic reforms in the country. It means that they had the opportunity to compare to each other Bölöni's and Tocqueville's interpretation of Jacksonian America.

Who Was Sándor Bölöni Farkas?

Bölöni was born in the region of Transylvania (present day Romania) inhabited by the Hungarian-speaking Szekler population, who were the privileged border wardens living along the eastern borders of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. He came from a family of lesser nobility, and was educated in the Unitarian College of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) in present day Romania, where he studied humanities and theology. He then studied law in the Royal Lyceum of the same city. He became a clerk in the government of Transylvania, which was the province of the Austrian Empire, governed separately from the Kingdom of Hungary at that time.[4]

Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831) was the leading authority in Hungarian literature during the first decades of the nineteenth century, and he saw the potential of a great writer in the early writings of Bölöni, which he sent to Kazinczy. Bölöni translated many works of such well-known writers and literary critics of the era as Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Herder, Wieland, and Winkelmann, and his boyhood friend, Miklós Wesselényi was one of the most important leaders of the reform movement not only in Transylvania, but also

who were officially sent to the United States for this purpose. Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 119. Tocqueville Elek, *A democratia Amerikában* (Buda: A Magyar Királyi Egyetemnél, 1841).

4 Kadarkay, introduction, 6–16; Sándor Maller, introduction to *Napnyugati utazás—Napló* by Sándor Bölöni Farkas (Budapest: Helikon, 1984), 12–18. On the history of Hungary during the lifetime of Bölöni, see László Kontler, *Millennium in Central Europe. A History of Hungary* (Budapest and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 207–46.

in Hungary proper at the beginning of the 1830s. He tried to break out from the boring life of a bureaucrat by participating in the evolving cultural and social reform movement of Transylvania, taking part in the founding of such institutions as the casino and the first savings bank of Kolozsvár. Bölöni's life turned upside down in 1830, when his friend Count Ferenc Béldi (1798–1880) asked him to accompany him on his grand tour of western Europe. The proposal provided him the opportunity not only to leave behind his more and more desperate life, but also to fulfil his dreams of success as a writer.[5]

The two friends left Kolozsvár on 3 November 1830, and they arrived in Paris one month later. From the capital of France, they continued their journey via Brussels and Amsterdam to London, to where they arrived on 18 April 1831. The Hungarian travelers visited not only the social, economic, and cultural wonders of England, but also those of Scotland and Ireland. The ambassador of the Austrian Empire in Britain the Hungarian prince Pál Antal Eszterházy (1786–1866) issued passports for them to visit the United States of America. Bölöni and Béldi arrived in New York City on 3 September 1831, and returned to France again by 14 December.[6]

Bölöni's experiences of western Europe were very interesting, but he never arranged his notes into an edited volume, and they were published only in 1943, more than one hundred years after his death.[7] During his lifetime he became famous for his travelogue about the United States. It was a tremendous success in contemporary Hungary. The two editions of 1834 and 1835 were sold in two thousand copies, and he was elected member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, where he was awarded the prize of 200 Austrian gulden by the academy for his book. Almost all the leading Hungarian politicians and influential intellectuals of the period praised the work.[8]

The Perception of the Native Americans in North America by Sándor Bölöni Farkas

The two Hungarians visited the United States at one of the turning points of the Indian policy of the United States. Congress enacted the Indian

5 Kadarkay, introduction, 21–42; Maller, introduction, 5–12, 15–53.

6 Kadarkay, introduction, 42–43; Maller, introduction, 53–63.

7 The best modern edition of his diary about his travels in western Europe is Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás—Napló*, 97–275.

8 Závodszky, *American Effects*, 116–23; Lévai, "A French Aristocrat and a Hungarian Nobleman," 248–49; Maller, introduction, 68–72.

Removal Act on 28 May 1830, and President Andrew Jackson signed it on the very same day. The legislation provided the president with the funds to negotiate new treaties with the Native American nations and resettle them west of the Mississippi.[9] This law regularized the removal of them beyond the Mississippi river. Bölöni and Tocqueville visited the United States in this period, and they perceived the consequences of the legislation. They read about it in the newspapers and talked to persons who were involved in it; the French traveler was even eyewitness to the crossing of the Mississippi of one group of the Choctaws.

The Indians of Monarchical British Canada

There are two parts of Bölöni's travelogue in which he discusses the conditions of the Indigenous people in North America. While travelling in Canada, the Hungarians had to wait for the steamboat in Kingston, at the northeastern end of Lake Ontario, and they observed a group of Native Americans from the Mississauga nation, "who on a hunting trip, stopped in Kingston to buy some food."[10] The Hungarian describes their canoes, clothes, and jewelry in a detailed but detached manner.

There were probably several reasons for this approach. The main aim of his travelogue was to show the American republic as a shining example to his compatriots. He almost exclusively applauds the conditions of it, and he uses his brief visit to colonial Canada as a counterpoint to the positive image of the republican United States. When the two Hungarians enter the United States in the port of New York City, Bölöni is smitten with his first impressions: "At customs the traveller's word is sufficient guarantee to clear his luggage. It is not opened, rummaged through to check upon the passenger's honesty … I was impressed by these things. And those who have travelled there still share my admiration for the American method."[11] Their experiences in Canada are fundamentally different and Bölöni notes how "guards at the fortress and in the city already indicated we have left behind a free country and were, once more, under a monarchical government. In the United States no public official, not even the president, has a military guard. But on these shores, there is already a customs inspection."[12] Canada was

9 "An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, for their removal west of the river Mississippi," in *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845*, ed. Richard Peters, vol. 4 (Boston, MA: Charles Little and James Brown, 1846), 412.

10 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 141.

11 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 85–86.

12 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 85, 136.

still the colony of a European monarchical power, and he clearly identifies the government of Canada with the European monarchies. Bölöni subscribes to the classical republican theory, according to which military guards and standing armies are the supporters of tyrannical power. Under the influence of the republican ideas of the American and the French Revolution, Bölöni also attributes the backwardness of Hungary partly to its monarchical form of government, and this is another reason why the contrast of the republican government of the United States and the still monarchical government of Canada is so important for him. This is the reason that he offers the United States and not Great Britain as a model for his Hungarian audience to follow. Although he applauds the economic advancement of Britain, he heavily criticizes the aristocratic and monarchical nature of the British government and society.[13]

As a result, his clear distinction between the republican government of the United States and the monarchical system of the United Kingdom and Canada has a very important impact also on his view of the Indigenous people. He gives an unbiased, cold description of the Native Americans he meets in Kingston, but in sharp contrast to this reserved tone he closes this section with an emotional effusion of his sympathies towards the Indigenous people and their fate: "Poor Indians! Strangers in your own land! Your enemies, who murdered your forefathers, already treat you as foreign intruders!"[14] This passionate declaration of sympathy does not follow from the peaceful and detached scene of the Mississagua people. By contrasting the detached and peaceful description of the Native Americans and the passionate effusion of his feelings, he wants to draw his readers' attention to the downtrodden, homeless situation of the Natives in Canada. Probably, due to his strong commitment to republicanism, he does not mention any efforts on the part of the monarchical government of Canada to improve their conditions, while in the case of the republican United States he enumerates several measures of the federal government to help the Indigenous people.

The Native Americans in the Republican United States

Bölöni discusses the conditions of the Indigenous people in the United States in a more detailed manner. Returning to the United States near Buffalo at

13 Bölöni, *Napnyugati utazás—Napló*, 249–51.

14 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 140–42.

the former territory of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Hungarian traveler notes that "the fierce and savage Iroquois possessed the vast areas between Lake Erie and Ontario," and that "they were a terrifying tribe, the largest and the cruellest among the Indian tribes."[15] Bölöni depicts Native Americans as "savage, terrifying and cruel" people, but adds that they and the white settlers "signed frequent peace treaties but the white with shameless infamy violated and cheated on them, which in turn invited the blind revenge of the Indians, who killed and burned the whites."[16] Not to mention, the whites provoked intertribal warfare among the Indigenous people, who were "corrupted and progressively decimated by gifts and whiskey."[17] The works of his American contemporaries about the Native Americans clearly impressed him, but his visit to an Indigenous village near Buffalo also heavily influenced his opinion.[18]

Bölöni acknowledges the military strength of the Iroquois Confederacy, but adds that "in the end the cunning white man triumphed over the simpleminded savage."[19] The Hungarian accepts the contemporary stereotype that the "cunning" whites were wiser than the "simpleminded" Indians, and the higher understanding of the whites was the main reason behind the fact that they could cheat the naïve Native Americans so easily. It is worth noting that the Hungarian term used by Bölöni (*egyszerű ész*) could also imply that he simply thought that the understanding of the Indians was not worse as compared to that of the whites, but their way of thinking was more honest and straightforward compared to the cunning (*ravasz*) way their adversaries thought. Bölöni notes that the only reaction of the Indigenous people to the violations of the whites was "blind revenge," which indicates that they were not clever enough to give an answer which could accord with their interests in the long run.[20] In this way, the Hungarian traveler also implies that Native Americans were not simply the innocent victims of the intriguing machinations of the whites, but to some extent they were also responsible for their own tragic fate.

15 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 151.

16 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

17 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

18 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152. According to his notes, Bölöni used the following contemporary works: Peter Force, *A National Calendar for the Year 1831* (Washington, DC: Davis and Force, 1831); *The Quarterly Register of the American Education Society* 3 (1830): 1, https://archive.org/details/sim_american-education-society-quarterly-journal_1830-08_3_1/page/26/mode/2up, accessed 5 January 2024.

19 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 151.

20 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 151–52.

Bölöni's description of Native Americans in the American Revolution is also very instructive. He notes that "during the American Revolution, some Iroquois tribes, incited by the English, armed themselves and attacked the free states (viz. the United States). Major General Schuyler defeated the armed enemy tribes in 1779, and the rest destroyed each other in the following years. At the end of the Revolution the Indians could arm only fifteen hundred men."[21] The Hungarian traveler was right that many of the Natives supported the British against the American patriots, but he attributes this not to the unjust treatment of the Natives by the American settlers, but to the "incitement of the English."[22] His language corresponds with the language of the original draft of the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson. According to it, the tyrant George III "has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, & conditions of existence."[23] The description of the Indigenous people by Thomas Jefferson is very similar to Bölöni's, who depicts them as "savage, terrifying and cruel" people. The Hungarian traveler also calls the Native Americans joining the British the "enemy tribes" of the American patriots, just like Jefferson. Bölöni's approach corresponds with his general opinion about the exemplary and admirable republican political system of the United States, and the corrupt and insidious policy of monarchical Britain. The tyrannical king of Britain insidiously used the "savage, terrifying and cruel Indians" to destroy the liberties of the republican American patriots. Bölöni made the first Hungarian translation of the Declaration of Independence, and he published it in his travelogue. He was well aware of the terms Jefferson used to describe the Native Americans.

The situation was much more complicated, of course. The expulsion of the French from North America as a result of the French and Indian War (1754–63) also had unfavorable consequences for the Native Americans. As historian Alan Taylor puts it, "The British conquest of New France alarmed native peoples, who lost the leverage of playing off one empire against another. Indians also resented the British claim to territories that the French had held by native sufferance."[24] The result of these tensions was

21 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

22 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

23 "III. Jefferson's Original rough Draught of the Declaration of Independence, 11 June–4 July, 1776," National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0176-0004, accessed 15 December 2023.

24 Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History, 1750-1804* (W. W. Norton and Company, 2016), 57.

Pontiac's Rebellion, a series of attacks by the Indians against British forts around the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley. Native American warriors also attacked the frontier settlements, and "outraged by the atrocities of frontier war, many settlers treated all Indians, regardless of allegiance, as violent brutes best exterminated."[25] The British government did not want a new, costly war against the Natives after the exhausting warfare against France and her allies. Gradually "British officers concluded that settlers, rather than Indians, posed the greatest threat to imperial peace and order on the frontier. Determined to avoid another expensive war, British officials sought to protect natives from settlers."[26] The result of this policy was the Royal Proclamation of October 1763, which prohibited settlers from moving beyond the water parting of the Appalachian Mountains.[27] This was the reason why many of the Indigenous people supported the British and not the Americans. They were not simply incited by the British, but they were trying to follow their real interests.

The Hungarian mistakenly states that it was General Philip John Schuyler (1733–1804) whose troops routed forty villages of the four British allied Iroquois nations between June and October 1779 in upper New York. The American units were led not by him, but Major General John Sullivan (1740–95) and the American troops did not really "defeat the armed enemy tribes," but it was a systematic effort to destroy the villages of the Iroquois.[28] This is not to blame Bölöni for not telling the whole story. My intent is simply to demonstrate that he adopts the approach of his American contemporaries.

The Hungarian traveler's description of the Native Americans' fate in the independent United States was double-faced. As he puts it, they were "destroyed by their own hands and by the whites."[29] Due to the superior force and the cunning machinations of the whites, their tragic fate was inevitable on the one hand, but they were also responsible for their own failure. The whites defeated the Indigenous people by military force, and "for whiskey, guns, and trinkets the white settlers bought huge tracts of land" from them.[30] Describing their features, the Hungarian traveler uses the stereotypes of his age again to depict the Native Americans. According to him, they are "morally corrupt, demoralized remnants of a once proud and strong nation … bribed, and impoverished, simpleminded

25 Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 59–60.
26 Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 61.
27 Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 61.
28 Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 256.
29 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.
30 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

savage, who in the end left his land or sold it for pittance," and Bölöni implies that the Indigenous people were also responsible for their own fate.[31]

The Hungarian visited a Native American village near Buffalo. Similar to his experience with the Mississauga nation in Canada, he provides a detached description of the village and its inhabitants. He depicts the physical appearance of the Indians, and also the school and the church of the village. Bölöni simply mentions that "the children are taught the Christian faith and its theology. Later we went to the church. The village Indians are Presbyterians."[32] It is clear that he is not impressed by their visit to the village. He does not make any comments regarding the possible progression of the Native Americans in interiorizing the elements of white civilization, culture, and religion. Merely, after describing their visit to the village, Bölöni concludes that "despite all the missionary and civilising efforts, the Indian cannot find his place among white men against whom he harbours a deep, residual hatred … he rejects the white men's education, which he considers the science of cunning … Progressively, the Indians are renouncing religion and all civilization."[33] The Hungarian traveler acknowledges that the hatred of the whites by the Native Americans is justifiable, but he also adds that "the Indian's soul is so hardened with hatred that he suspects double-crossing even when the white man means well."[34] He suggests again that the Indigenous people are responsible for their own decay since their one-sided hatred prevents them from enjoying the blessings of white civilization, and "the proud Indian will die of hunger rather than serve the whites."[35]

Republican Ideals, Slavery, and the Native Americans

It was not only the miserable position of the Native Americans that did not fit into Bölöni's laudatory depiction of the United States. He was shocked by the existence of slavery, and he "found the contrast between noble ideas

31 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

32 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 153. Bölöni was Unitarian, and as the member of a discriminated church in the Austrian Empire ruled by the Catholic Habsburgs, the question of religion was important for him. Probably, this is the reason why he notes the religious affiliation of the local Native Americans.

33 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.

34 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.

35 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.

and despicable praxis always incomprehensible."[36] He blames "the English, greedy for new profits" that they imposed slavery upon the colonies.[37] This argument is similar not only to Jefferson's reasoning in the original rough draft of the Declaration of American Independence, but also to that of Bölöni's approach when he accuses the British of inciting the Indians against the American patriots during the American Revolution.[38] Jefferson also argues that the profit-seeking British imposed slavery upon the Americans, and during the American Revolution they stirred up the slaves enslaved by themselves against the American patriots fighting for liberty.[39] Bölöni enumerates in a detailed manner the measures the colonists were trying to introduce to end the slave trade, but "in response, Parliament callously argued that its slave trade was too profitable to renounce for the sake of Americans."[40]

The Hungarian traveler argues that "with the Declaration of Independence, the states' attention first turned to the issue of slavery," but does not mention that the new federal constitution of 1787 legalized slavery in the United States.[41] He provides a lengthy enumeration of the efforts of the states and the federal government to end the slave trade and to enact legislation concerning the gradual emancipation of the slaves. At this point, he contrasts again the exemplary steps taken by the republican United States to some monarchical powers of Europe, which "continued to sanction the inhuman practice in their colonies."[42] The Hungarian traveler acknowledges that there were still some two million slaves in the American republic, but he concludes that "the so-called thirteen free states' resolute moral stand against the slave-owning eleven and the awakened public conscience will shortly end all slavery."[43]

In order to support his optimistic approach, Bölöni also provides a detailed description of the movement of colonization of American slaves. According to

36 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 254.

37 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

38 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152.

39 National Archives, "America's Founding Documents. Declaration of Independence: A Transcription," https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript, accessed 15 December 2023.

40 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 179.

41 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 179.

42 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 179.

43 Bölöni, *Journey in North America*, 179–80. According to the census of 1830, 2,009,050 slaves lived in the United States, *Return of the Fifth Census. The Number of Free People, the Number of Slaves. The Federal and Representative Number* (Washington DC: Duff Green, 1832), 46, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1830/1830b.pdf, accessed 2 January 2024.

him, everything was going well in Liberia, the new African home of colonized American slaves, because the new citizens of Liberia "brought with them the American republican principles, laws, and the Constitution. Imbued with religious and moral values, the inhabitants have already built three churches in Monrovia … In 1831 the United States shipped there 343 Negro colonists. What new chapter will Liberia soon open in human history!"[44] It is clear from this enthusiastic effusion, that the Hungarian traveler made a serious effort to whitewash the prospects of slavery in the United States.

Bölöni's depiction of slavery is in sharp contrast to Alexis de Tocqueville's. The French traveler also states that "Servitude had begun in the South and was then extended toward the North; today it is retreating. Freedom, starting out of the North, is descending toward the South without a stop." But he did not think that the end result would shortly be the "end of all slavery" in the United States. On the contrary, Tocqueville concludes that "the most dreadful of all the evils that threaten the future of the United States arises from the presence of blacks on its soil."[45] The French observer thought that colonization would not solve the problem. He concludes that the whites had only two options: "free the Negroes and mingle them with it; remain isolated from them and hold them in slavery for the longest possible time."[46] According to Tocqueville, Southern whites "are not wanting to mingle with the Negroes," and consequently "they do not want to set them free."[47] And this attitude could lead to "the most horrible of all civil wars, and perhaps to the ruin of one of the two races," not to mention the dissolution of the Union.[48]

Republican Simplicity, the "New American Aristocracy"

Bölöni and Tocqueville were impressed by the egalitarian nature of American politics and society, but they were shocked by the richness of the upper stratum of American society. Both the French and the Hungarian traveler try to reconcile the luxury of the "new American aristocracy," as they both call it, with republican simplicity, and again, they come to very different conclusions.

44 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 180. On the colonization project, see Howe, *What Hath God Wrought,* 260–66; Paul J. Polgar, *Standard-Bearers of Equality: America's First Abolition Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 211–317.

45 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (The University Chicago Press, 2002), 334, 326.

46 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* 346.

47 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* 346.

48 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* 346.

The Hungarian traveler was invited to the house of General Stephen Van Rensselaer (1764–1839) in Albany, New York. As he puts it, "the European aristocratic splendor and luxury at the Rensselaer's home surprised me. Located on the outskirts of the town, the house both inside and outside, with its English driveway and surrounding park, recalled an English lord's mansion. I could hardly reconcile this splendor with republican simplicity."[49] It is worthy of note that Bölöni associates splendor and luxury with the monarchical regimes of Europe, and he contrasts it to the supposed simplicity of the republican United States. But, despite his doubts, he concludes that there is no contradiction between reality and his ideals: "But seeing more such homes, I realised that everywhere wealth and intellect have their own aristocracy, if wealth and talent's universal love of comfort and family security can be called aristocratic."[50] The Hungarian clearly links talent with wealth and, in so doing, he suggests that the new American upper class is an aristocracy of merit, and therefore deserves its high social position, in sharp contrast with the aristocracy of European monarchical regimes, whose high position is due simply to birth. And it is the natural aspiration of the talented new elite of America to live well and enjoy the riches it deserves.[51]

Tocqueville connects the emergence of "the new American aristocracy" to the spectacular development of the industrial sector of the American economy: "So, therefore, at the same time that industrial science constantly lowers the class of workers, it elevates that of masters … What is this if not aristocracy?"[52] The French traveler also compares the new American industrial aristocracy to the European aristocracy of feudal origins. As he puts it, "the manufacturer asks of the worker only his work, and the worker

49 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 98.

50 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 98.

51 Bölöni was probably not aware of the fact that the pedigree of his host went back to the seventeenth century, when one of his ancestors received a huge tract of land from the Dutch Republic, when the territory of the present day state of New York was the colony of the Netherlands. General Rensselaer was the tenth patroon of the estate which was one of the largest in the state. His mother was the member of the large landowner merchant Livingston family, and his maternal grandfather, Philip Livingston (1716–78), was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The general was the lieutenant governor of the state between 1795 and 1801, and he was later an elected member of the United States House of Representatives (1822–29). He was really an aristocrat by contemporary American standards. It is clear that the general inherited much of his wealth and upper class position, and it was not exclusively due to his talent. *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, "Philip Livingston," https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/l000369, accessed 8 December 2023; *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, "Stephen Van Rensselaer III," https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/V000056, accessed 8 December 2023

52 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 531.

expects only a wage from him. The one is not engaged to protect nor the other to defend, and they are not bound in a permanent manner either by habit or by duty."[53] However, "the territorial aristocracy of past centuries was obliged by law or believed itself to be obliged by mores to come to the aid of its servants and to relieve their miseries. But the manufacturing aristocracy of our day, after having impoverished and brutalized the men whom it uses, leaves them to be nourished by public charity in time of crisis … I think that all in all, the manufacturing aristocracy that we see rising before our eyes is one of the hardest that has appeared on earth."[54] Again, Bölöni also whitewashes this aspect of contemporary American society. Tocqueville depicts a much more realistic picture of the brutality of the new American industrial aristocracy, and also compares it to the old European aristocracies. But, the French author of aristocratic origins favors the old European territorial aristocracy, who, in his opinion, did feel a sense of responsibility towards its servants.

The Native Americans and the Idealized Picture of the American Republic

Bölöni formulates a very pessimistic view of the future of the Indigenous people in the United States. He explains that the Native Americans definitely "renounce religion and civilization," and retreat "into the northern wilderness, unoccupied by whites. The proud Indian will die of hunger rather than serve the whites."[55] In the sense that they refused the offer of the whites to adopt their religion and civilization, they were also responsible for their tragic fate. He did not think that the Indigenous people were capable of becoming the citizens of the American republic. He could find a solution to the problems of slavery and the "new American aristocracy," but he could not really fit the unsolvable problem of the Native Americans into the framework of the laudatory and optimistic tone of his travelogue. Nevertheless, he tries to do so, and again he uses the same tactics of whitewashing.

Bölöni mentions that "In the last thirty years or so, the United States Congress has paid special attention to the Indians, partly because of strong public sentiment and partly out of fear of the Indians."[56] He wants to suggest

53 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 532.
54 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 532.
55 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.
56 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.

that congress really wishes to improve the Native Americans' situation, but the second half of his sentence implies that it is not fully a sincere endeavor on their part, since Americans did so only under the pressure of necessity to prevent the attacks of the "savage Indians." Again, the Hungarian makes the Indigenous people partly responsible for their situation because they are unable to change their behavior. Bölöni adds that the Native Americans "in exchange for their ancestral lands … received one hundred million acres in the Missouri Territory, where in 1830 eight tribes had already settled."[57] According to him, "The Congress seeks to persuade the Indians to resettle progressively in the exchanged territory and, through Christian religion and education, attempts to attach the rest to the whites."[58] For this purpose, "agents are sent, and schools are maintained in the Indian territories. Annually these programs cost the United States $700,000."[59] In order to support his argument, Bölöni includes detailed statistics about the population of the different Native American nations, and also about the money paid for them by the federal government.

Bölöni uses the case of the so-called Civilized Tribes to examine whether adaptation to white culture could be a viable solution for the Indigenous people. He mentions that "the mighty Cherokee and Choctaw nations, refuse any contact with the white man. They are self-governing republics, have separate schools, and have turned to agriculture and trade."[60] The adoption of the civilization, the way of life, and the republican political institutions of the whites by the two Civilized Tribes was in accordance with the republican ideals of the Hungarian traveler, and also with the positive picture of the United States provided by him in general. But it is also worthy of note that the emergence of the self-governing, republican communities of the Cherokee and Choctaw was possible because "they refuse any contact with the white man." According to Bölöni, any contact with the whites would probably question the viability of this Native American republican experiment, as it was the case with all other Native American nations.

57 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.

58 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.

59 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.

60 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152. The term "Civilized Tribes" came into use after the American Civil War (1861–65), and included the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole nations. They were called the Civilized Tribes because they adopted political systems imitating the political system of the United States after their removal to Indian Territory (present day Oklahoma). They also maintained their own public school system. A Cherokee veteran warrior named Sequoyah (around 1770–1843) developed the first alphabet of any Native American nations in 1821, and the first Indian newspaper the *Cherokee Phoenix* was published in 1828, with parallel columns in English and Cherokee. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 342–57.

In order to convince his readers about the good intentions of the whites, the Hungarian traveler also mentions that, due to the benevolent measures of the American government, "Indians withdrew *voluntarily* (emphasis added) beyond the Mississippi."[61] As the historian Daniel Walker Howe mentions, president Andrew Jackson's "State of the Union message claimed that the Indian Removal would be 'voluntary.' In reality, everyone knew that no stone would be left unturned to extract such 'voluntary' migrations … To make it clear what he really meant, the president stated that the federal government would not protect the Indians in their present locations whenever states extended jurisdiction over them."[62] Naturally, Bölöni could not have been aware of the outrageous measures the states and the federal government used in removing the Indigenous people of the Southeast during the next few years.

Bölöni also enumerates the number of Native American children who attended schools maintained by the federal government between 1822 and 1830, and the number of such children quadrupled during this period. This means that 468 Native American children attended such schools in 1822, and their number raised to 1,830 by 1829. It is worthy of note that, according to the statistics provided by the Hungarian traveler, 429,453 Indians lived on the territory of the United States, plus some two million "in the Missouri Territory and beyond."[63] It is very interesting to compare these numbers to the data Bölöni provides concerning the number of African Americans participating in the movement of African colonization. Bölöni stresses that "thirteen of the twenty-four states have completely abolished slavery, and in the process 339,360 Negroes became free men."[64] He acknowledges that there were still 2,011,320 slaves in the Southern states, but he also mentions that "in 1831 the United States again shipped … 343 Negro colonists" to Liberia.[65] The number of free African Americans and the Black colonists of Liberia were dwarfed by the total number of slaves still in the United States in 1830. Nevertheless, the Hungarian traveler is deeply convinced that colonization, "the resolute moral stand" of the free states, and the "awakened public conscience will shortly end all slavery" in the American republic. Summarizing his opinion about the bright prospects of colonization, Bölöni declares: "What new chapter will Liberia soon open in human history!"[66]

61 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.
62 Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 348.
63 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 152–54, 154.
64 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 179.
65 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 179, 180.
66 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 180.

The number of Native Americans who received some kind of elementary school education was also dwarfed by the total number of Native Americans, but in this case the Hungarian traveler does not make such an enthusiastic effusion about the bright future of the Indigenous people. In contrast to colonization, he is much more skeptical towards the success of the removal of the Native Americans beyond the Mississippi, and he adds that "if the reservation Indian continues his savage way of life, he still remains a feared neighbour."[67] Due to his doubts, the outcome of the game is not inevitable for Bölöni, as it was in the case of the emancipation and colonization of the African Americans. He thought that Indians were not only responsible for their fate, but it was also up to them to make their choice to choose the way of life of the whites. But the American Indians reject the white man's culture, education, and religion, and "he suspects double-crossing even when the white man means well."[68] According to Bölöni, in contrast to the Indians, African Americans did not have such choices to decide their own fate, and they did not bear any responsibility for their tragedy. However, he is firmly convinced that the enlightened Americans will solve the problem. He does not have the same certitude regarding the fate of the Native Americans.

The Native Americans and the Non-Idealized Picture of the American Republic

Regarding the destiny of the Indigenous people in the United States, Alexis de Tocqueville's opinion is not much different from the case of the African Americans and the new American aristocracy. He compares the position of the Native Americans and African Americans: "The Negro is placed at the ultimate bounds of servitude; the Indian at the extreme limits of freedom … For him, to be free is to escape from almost all the bonds of society. He takes pleasure in this barbarous independence, and he would rather perish than sacrifice the least part of it. Civilization has little hold on such a man."[69] The French aristocrat also concludes that the Native Americans did not want to be the part of the whites' civilization: "The Negro would like to intermingle with the European, and he cannot. The Indian could up to a certain point succeed at it, but he disdains the attempt. The servility of the one delivers him to slavery, and the

67 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.
68 Bölöni, *Journey in North America, 1831*, 154.
69 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 305.

pride of the other to death."[70] Supporting his argument, Tocqueville also refers to statistics and congressional documents, but in one respect his approach is very different. He provides a dramatic eyewitness account of the removal of the Choctaws. He is shocked by the sight of the depressed Native Americans crossing the Mississippi river silently, bowing to their inevitable, tragic fate.[71] The dramatic spectacle of the Choctaws affirms his conviction that "the great evils" experienced by the Native Americans are "irremediable. I believe that the Indian race of North America is condemned to perish."[72] Tocqueville concludes that "they had only two options for salvation: war or civilization; in other words, they had to destroy the Europeans or become their equals."[73] But he thinks that both ways have been closed for them. As to the option of war, "today the disproportion of resources is too great for them to be able to think of such an undertaking."[74] And as to the second option, "it is easy to foresee that the Indians will never want to be civilized, or that they will try it too late when they come to want it."[75]

The French traveler enumerates several reasons why the second option cannot be a real one for the Indians. According to him, "civilization is the result of a long social endeavor that operates in one same place, and that different generations hand down, one to another, as they succeeded each other."[76] Due to their migratory hunting way of life, the Native Americans were not suited for civilization. They rejected and disdained all the economic activities pursued by the whites, and not only consider work in the European sense of the word "as an evil, but as a dishonour, and their haughtiness struggles against civilization almost as obstinate as their laziness."[77]

It is worthy of note that the French traveler makes a comparison similar to that made by Thomas Jefferson. He also compares the position of the Native Americans in North America to that of the Germanic people outside the borders of the Roman Empire, but he comes to a very different conclusion. According to the third president, moving to the territory of the civilized Roman Empire, the Germanic tribes gradually became civilized, and the fate of the Indigenous people could be the same in the long run. They could

70 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 306.
71 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 311.
72 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 312.
73 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 312–13.
74 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 313.
75 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 313.
76 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 313.
77 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 314.

become the equal citizens of the American republic. But in Tocqueville's eyes, the position of the Indians and the Germanic people is fundamentally different. The barbaric Germanic tribes defeated the civilized Romans, while in the United States the barbaric Native Americans were defeated by the civilized whites, and "when the one who possesses material force enjoys intellectual preponderance at the same time, it is rare that the vanquished is civilized, he withdraws or is destroyed."[78] Since the Anglo-Americans wanted to seize all of the lands of the Indigenous people, there was no territory for them to withdraw to.

Tocqueville also says something about the so-called Civilized Tribes. The French social thinker admits that "these Indians, in the little they have done, have surely shown as much natural genius as the peoples of Europe in their waste undertakings."[79] This statement is very similar to Thomas Jefferson's regarding the potential intellectual capacities of the Native Americans, who were formed "on the same module with the Homo Sapiens Europaeus."[80] But Tocqueville's conclusion is very different. He argues that "nations, like men, need time to learn, whatever their intelligence and their efforts might be," and the "civilised tribes" simply did not have enough time to accomplish their endeavor.[81] Surrounded by Europeans, they had no other choices than civilization and death. They chose the first, but only from necessity, "and without entirely dropping either their habits or their mores."[82] Their white neighbors "ruined them by a competition that the Indians could not in any way sustain."[83] In this way, "misery had driven these unfortunate Indians toward civilization; today oppression pushes them back toward barbarism. Many among them, leaving their half-cleared fields, resume the habits of savage life."[84] As a result, "The success of the Cherokees therefore proves that the Indians have the ability to civilize themselves, but it does not at all prove that they can succeed at it."[85] The Civilized Tribes were not exempt from the general rule.

The Civilized Tribes failed despite the fact that they were trying to play according to the laws of the whites' game. Against the oppressive measures of the state of Georgia, "the Creeks and the Cherokees have addressed

78 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 316–17.
79 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 320.
80 Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," 187.
81 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 320.
82 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 315.
83 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 320., 321.
84 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 320, 321.
85 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 316.

themselves to the central government."[86] Similar to Bölöni, Tocqueville also recognizes the benevolent attitude of the federal government towards the Native Americans, admitting that "the latter is not insensitive to their ills; it sincerely would like to save the remnants of the natives and assure them free possessions of the territory that it guaranteed to them itself."[87] Bölöni also thought that the tragic fate of the Indigenous people was almost inevitable, but he still cherishes some hope that the federal government can help them. The picture provided by the French aristocrat is more pessimistic and realistic. He clearly recognizes the limits of the intervention of the federal government: "When it seeks to execute this design, the particular states put up formidable resistance, and then it resolves without difficulty to let some already half-destroyed savage tribes perish in order not to put the American Union in danger."[88]

Tocqueville knew very well that this was a period of growing tensions between the Northern and Southern states over the problem of slavery. The enactment of the Indian Removal Act coincided with the debate between the federal government and the Southern states, especially South Carolina, over tariffs, known as the Nullification Crisis.[89] The main factor behind this debate was the different economic interests of the Southern and Northern states, and Andrew Jackson's administration was trying to make a compromise. Most of all, the state of Georgia was interested in the removal of the Civilized Tribes, and, under such conditions, the federal government did not want to provoke the further polarization of the political tensions between the North and the South and alienate Georgia by supporting the cause of the Native Americans in the state.[90] Besides that, Andrew Jackson also supported the policy of removal personally. When the Supreme Court of the United States decided to support the cause of the Cherokee nation on 3 March 1832, the president did nothing to enforce the decision over the Georgian authorities.[91]

Bölöni left the United States in November 1831, while Tocqueville stayed in North America until February 1832. He left the United States not much

86 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 321.

87 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 321.

88 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 321.

89 On the Nullification Crisis, see Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 395–410.

90 On the interdependence of the removal of the Civilized Tribes and the Nullification Crisis, see Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 412–14.

91 On the laws enacted by the legislation of Georgia to extend the jurisdiction of the state over the land of the Cherokees, see Howe, *What Hath God Wrought,* 346–47. On Jackson's attitude towards the decision of the Supreme Court, see Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 356–57.

before the decision of the Supreme Court, and he was very well aware of these developments. As he comments in his book, "There is less cupidity and violence in the Union's manner of acting toward the Indians than in the policy followed by the states; but the two governments are equally lacking in good faith."[92] The French traveler concludes that the removal of the Indigenous people is the only possible option, but it would not solve the problem: "Thus the states by their tyranny, force the savages to flee; the Union, by its promises and with the aid of its resources, makes flight easy. These are different measures tending to the same end."[93]

Tocqueville compares the Indian policy of the Spanish in Latin America, and the "conduct of the Americans of the United States."[94] The Spaniards committed brutal atrocities and cruelties against the Native Americans, and they almost exterminated them. But "the remnant of the Indian populations escaping the massacres in the end mixes with those who have defeated it and adopts their religion and mores."[95] The Anglo-Americans did not permit themselves to occupy the lands of the Indians "without having duly acquired them by means of contract; and if by chance an Indian nation can no longer live on its territory, they take it like a brother by the hand and lead it to die outside the country of its fathers."[96] North Americans attain their goal with "tranquillity, legally, philanthropically, without spilling blood, without violating a single one of the great principles of morality in the eyes of the world. One cannot destroy men while being more respectful of the laws of humanity."[97] This sarcastic, but honest and true statement was typical of Tocqueville. And in contrast to Bölöni's opinion, this was a more critical evaluation of the United States' contemporary Indian policy.

Conclusion

Bölöni's opinion about the Native Americans and about their prospects in the United States is in contrast to the fundamentally laudatory tone of his travelogue. He wants to show the republican United States as a positive example to his Hungarian contemporaries. But he encounters such negative aspects of the United States as chattel slavery, the extreme richness of the

92 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 323.
93 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 323.
94 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 325.
95 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 325.
96 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 325.
97 Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 325.

upper strata of American society, and the tragic fate of the Indigenous people. The Hungarian traveler tries to fit these negative elements into the framework of his fundamentally positive view of the American republic. He wants to make his negative experiences consistent with his republican ideals, and he uses the tactics of whitewashing. In the case of slavery and the extreme richness of the American upper classes, this tactic proves successful in the sense that he also firmly believes in the solution he supports. But in the case of the tragic fate of the Native Americans, his faith in the benevolent impact of the Indian policy of the federal government is not so firm, and he frankly doubts that the Indigenous people can be integrated into the white society of the United States. His approach is closer to Tocqueville's in this respect, while in the case of slavery and the emergence of the "new American aristocracy" the French social thinker's opinion is significantly different from his Hungarian counterpart, and is more realistic. Although Bölöni adopts many of the negative stereotypes of his American contemporaries about the Native Americans, he provides one of the first detailed, eyewitness accounts of them in Hungary, which heavily influenced their perception during the nineteenth century.

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7. Myriad Missions: Native Americans and the Leopoldine Society

Jonathan Singerton

Abstract: This chapter explores the role of Catholic missionaries from the Habsburg monarchy in North America, particularly through the Leopoldine Society, which was established in 1829 to support Catholicism in the United States. Over the nineteenth century, missionaries from Austria-Hungary worked among numerous Indigenous nations, influencing their societies in both positive and negative ways. While missionaries provided education, political advocacy, and cultural documentation, they also contributed to the erosion of Indigenous traditions and autonomy. These myriad missions highlight how missionaries acted as both proponents of Indigenous culture, mediators in conflicts, and, at times, disruptors of Indigenous communities. This presence and the legacy of the Leopoldine Society, which endured beyond its dissolution in the early 1900s, left behind a complex legacy of central European-Indigenous interactions.

Keywords: Catholicism, transatlantic, missionaries, diplomacy, Indigenous studies, Habsburg studies, nineteenth-century history

Native Americans and Catholic missionaries from the Habsburg monarchy share a long, intertwined past. Central European clergy provided some of the most intrepid disciples active in the Americas during the early modern period.[1] This lineage of social entanglement continued for several centuries. In the nineteenth century, however, a new initiative in the Austrian Empire brought about another period of interconnection, one in which dozens of

1 Research into this topic received support from the Botstiber Institute for Austrian-American Studies (BIAAS), the Tiroler Wissenschaftsförderung (TWF), and the Academy of American Franciscan History (AAFH). For earlier examples, see Bernd Hausberger's chapter in this volume.

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Indigenous nations would be affected by a sustained Austrian (and later Austro-Hungarian) presence. Over the course of the nineteenth century, priests from the Habsburg lands came to affect the lives of the Akimel O'odham (Pima), Diné (Navajo), Hocąk (Ho-Cunk/Winnebago), Kalapuya, Mamaceqtaw (Menominee), Molala, Anishinaabe (Ojibwe), Odaawaa (Odawa/Ottawa), Shoshone, Tillamook, Tohono O'odham (Papago), Tututni, and Yoeme (Yaqui) peoples.[2] In each case, the central European element within these Indigenous nations helped to define—sometimes for better, sometimes for worse—the future course of their host communities. Present among various peoples during an era of intense change, missionaries from Austria(-Hungary) experienced complicated relationships with the diverse cultures they encountered; in some cases, their actions provided short-term comfort and opportunity whereas these same actions also accumulated into a wider destructive force that helped to erode the basis of Indigenous life. Central European priests simultaneously contributed to the pejoration of Indigenous independence, the dilution of native traditions, and the evisceration of local beliefs, as well as offered protection, political assistance, and educational improvement.

Catholic missionaries left the Habsburg monarchy with far-reaching religious aims. Many dreamt of serving a divine role in an expansive interior. All of them followed the siren calls of bishops in the United States, who, in the early 1820s, made known the impoverished and understaffed conditions of their dioceses among European parishes. Foremost among them became Friedrich (Frederick) Rese, the vicar general of Cincinnati, who traveled first to Rome and then to Vienna on behalf of his bishop in order to raise funds for the diocese. After meeting with Emperor Francis I, Rese successfully persuaded the Catholic elites in Vienna to found a missionary organization dedicated to supporting Catholicism in North America. Established in 1829 as the Leopoldine Society (*Leopoldinenstiftung*), named both for the Viennese patron St. Leopold and in honor of the emperor's recently deceased daughter Leopoldine of Brazil, donations for American dioceses came through the collection of alms across the Austrian Empire.[3] Over the course of seventy

2 In this chapter, I prefer the use of endonyms of Indigenous nations rather than exonyms.

3 The founding date itself depends upon individual preference: Pope Leo XII issued his *Quamquam plura sint* of 30 January 1829, approving the society, and an opening ceremony occurred on 13 May 1829 in Vienna. For the Leopoldine Society in general, see Johannes Thauren, *Ein Gnadenstrom zur Neuen Welt und seine Quelle: Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung zur Unterstützung der amerikanischen Missionen* (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1940); Theodore Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms* (St. Louis, MO: Herder, 1942); Benjamin J. Blied, *Austrian Aid to American Catholics, 1830–1860* (Milwaukee, WI: self-published by author, 1944);

years, the society's supporters raised the substantial sum of over three million Austrian kronen for American dioceses with an additional 286,722 florins given as support for missionaries to travel to the United States. (Canadian provinces received 120,320 kronen in the same period, 1830–1913). A further 95,137 kronen came from the House of Habsburg-Lothringen and 835,625 came from other foundations, private donations, testaments, and as interest earned on capital. The total monetary accumulation of the Leopoldine Society amounted to over 4.2 million Austrian kronen.[4]

Native Americans in North America featured prominently and consistently within the Leopoldine Society's activities. Early reports in the society's published annals continually focused on the possibilities for conversion to the Catholic faith among Indigenous nations. Funds soon flowed to those who were willing to attempt such conversions and to cover the costs of either sending or training missionaries destined for such missions. In all, some 419 individuals received funding from the Leopoldine Society, mainly in the form of travel stipends.[5] Of the 10,000 florins awarded to beneficiaries between 1831 and 1841, over one third of this sum went to six missionaries active among Indigenous populations, and half of the funds during the first five years were spent on these Indigenous missions.[6] This emphasis continued throughout the nineteenth century with missions among Indigenous peoples in Arizona—mainly the Akimel O'odham, Diné, Tohono O'odham, Yo'eme—continuing into the twentieth century.

Jonathan Singerton, "A Spiritual Lacuna: The Austrian Leopoldine Society and the United States of America," Special Issue: Central European Religious Initiatives in Nineteenth-Century North America, *Journal of Austrian-American History* 8, no. 2 (2024): 73–87.

4 Gertrude Kummer, *Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung, 1829–1914: Der älteste österreichische Missions-Verein* (Vienna: Wiener Dom-Verlag, 1966), 16–17 and 177. The total amount raised by the dioceses of the Habsburg monarchy amounted to 3,324,067 kronen (the currency unit introduced in 1892 when Austria-Hungary entered the gold standard and replaced the silver-pegged Austrian gulden [florin] with one florin = two kronen). See Kummer, *Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung*, 16. Sixty kreuzers formed one florin and one krone consisted of one hundred heller (or *fillér* in the Hungarian lands). The value of one florin was approximately forty-two US cents and later one krone equaled roughly $0.20 on the eve of the First World War.

5 Around 286,722 Austrian kronen was spent on travel funds for missionaries, and 120,320 Austrian kronen for missions in Canada. See Kummer, *Leopoldinen Stiftung*, 177. The exact number of female beneficiaries is likely higher as a number of donations went to groups and women in organizations where the beneficiaries were not directly named in the sources. For two indicative (but incomplete) tallies of those beneficiaries present in the United States (in 1869 and 1882), see Blied, *Austrian Aid*, 149.

6 They were Frederick Baraga, 900 florins (1831, 1837), Simon Sänderl, 500 fl. (1831), Franz Xavier Hätscher, 500 fl. (1831), Andreas Viszoczky, 500 fl. (1832), Franz Pierz, 400 fl. (1835), and Otto Skolla, 400 fl. (1841). All of them were active among the Anishinaabeg.

When American entry into the First World War shuttered transatlantic operations, these efforts in Arizona outlasted the Leopoldine Society itself and endured into the 1930s.

The longevity of the Leopoldine Society's interactions with native peoples in North America was matched in some places by its intensity. Although the society's reach stretched across much of the continental United States along with Alaska and certain Canadian provinces, the epicenter fell upon the Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe). Part of the wider Algonquin-speaking culture, the Anishinaabeg formed one Niswi-mishkodewinan (Council of the Three Fires) along with the Odaawaa (Odawa/Ottawa) and Potawatomie, who came together to dominate eastern Anishinaabewaki, the region home to the Anishinaabeg around the Great Lakes of North America.[7] Together with their neighboring Mamaceqtaw (Menominee), the Anishinaabeg faced the most sustained levels of engagement with central European missionaries as a result of the Leopoldine Society's donations. Of the twenty-nine Society missionaries whose missions dealt with Indigenous communities (see appendix), twenty of them lived and preached among the Anishinaabeg. The nineteenth century represented a time of particular change for the Anishinaabeg following centuries of gradual relocation to the eastern regions of Anishinaabewaki where, by the 1800s, they had established themselves as essential suppliers in the fur trade. Prosperity lasted until the War of 1812 when the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the North West Company and subsequently controlled pelt prices to the Anishinaabeg, who, pressed, relied upon diminishing wildlife stocks.[8]

By the time Austrian missionaries arrived in eastern Anishinaabewaki, foreign encroachment combined with an erosion of fortunes that forced many Anishinaabeg to negotiate punitive treaties with the American government. In 1826, Anishinaabe representatives signed the Treaty of Fond du Lac that attested their allegiance to the United States and signed away the resources of their lands in exchange for American annuities that barely materialized. Eleven years later, the first Anishinaabe removals began as

7 For example, the term Ojibwe unites bands such as Mwikwa, Auwasse, Marten, Noquet, Marameo, Outchibou, Monsoni, Mississauga, and Saulteurs which all featured their own totem communities. See Heidi Bohaker, "'Nindoodemag': The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600–1701," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2006): 23–52; McDonnel, *Masters of Empire: Great Lakes Indians and the Making of America* (Hill & Wang, 2015), 8–13 and 34–36; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 10–23.

8 Charles A. Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade* (Holt, 1974), 11 and 255.

the fur trade all but collapsed and, by the 1860s, most would be consigned to reservation land after a further set of treaties sequestered their lands.[9] Priests sponsored by the Leopoldine Society accompanied the Anishinaabeg during this time of harsh new realities, from the first encounters by Frederic Baraga and Simon Sänderl in the 1830s to the reservation work of Servatius Altmicks and Aloysius Hermanutz at the turn of the twentieth century.

Aside from the Anishinaabeg, the remaining Austro-Hungarian missionaries operated among a variety of Indigenous nations across a vast geographic area. Whereas the Anishinaabeg sustained the earliest central European interlopers, these other nations received missions in entirely different contexts due to the profound shifts that occurred between the early and late nineteenth century when Indigenous peoples faced punitive relocation to sequestered lands known as reservations.[10] On these sites of hardship, the presence of Catholic missionaries from the Habsburg lands occurred within a more established framework of US government-sponsored institutions, established to deculturate Indigenous people. Finding themselves in such conditions were the Akimel O'odham (Pima), Diné (Navajo), Tillamook, Tohono O'odham (Papago), Tututni, and Yo'eme (Yaqui) peoples, among whom several missionaries worked thanks to funds gathered from the Austro-Hungarian parishes for the Leopoldine Society.[11]

For many Indigenous people, Catholic missionaries functioned as a balm for the turbulence of the age, but at the same time these missionaries became merely another harbinger of western advances upon native life. As individuals set on the spiritual conversion from native beliefs, missionaries served to undermine the existential bedrock of many Indigenous cultures. Additionally, many Society missionaries also worked to entice immigrants

9 The Treaty of Washington in 1855 created the Leech Lake and Milles Lacs Reservations. See Ronald N. Satz, *Chippewa Treaty Rights* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 9.

10 For a general overview from the perspective of American policy, see the classics Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Robert A. Trennert, *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846–1851* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1975); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). For the Catholic Church's role, see Peter Rahil, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870–1884* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1953).

11 Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Yaqui Resistance and Survival: The Struggle for Land and Autonomy, 1821–1910* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 59–90 and 190–96; Peter Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 48–65; Bernard L. Fontana, *Of Earth and Little Rain: The Papago Indians* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press 1989), 118–129.

from the German-speaking lands to populate the lands whence occupied by Indigenous people. In these ways, these priests helped to erode the traditional lives of their host societies from within. Yet in some cases, these same men also worked in the interests of Indigenous lifestyles, arguing for greater political autonomy or defending Indigenous rights in an era when few dared to challenge the tidal erosion of native sovereignty. As interlopers within Indigenous cultures who sought to acquire linguistic competency, even if only for the purpose of conversion, these missionaries also helped to preserve and propagate Indigenous concepts and culture through their study and adoption of native languages. The dual position of Catholic missionaries, of being simultaneously at the vanguard of settler colonialism that eviscerated Indigenous power in the heartlands of North America while also being agents of cultural preservation or advocates for Indigenous rights fundamentally shaped the complex legacies of the Leopoldine Society among not only Native Americans but also in North America more generally.

As the first concerted effort to acknowledge the Indigenous component within this complex legacy, this chapter examines the activities and ramifications of Leopoldine Society priests among the Native Americans of North America via several case studies. In the following sections, the duality of these missionaries as both quasi-settler colonists and cultural defenders becomes apparent in the variety of experiences recorded by these individuals that have mostly been preserved in European archives. This offers not only a detailed synthesis of seemingly disparate interactions over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but also encourages the recognition of central Europe's far more intertwined role within seemingly disconnected historical regions that have all too often either fallen out of modern memory or been remembered uncritically.

Proponents

For Leopoldine Society missionaries active before the highpoint of the reservation era, early encounters with Indigenous peoples largely occurred upon Indigenous terms. Central European priests settled in locations remote from their own accustomed lifestyles, often trekking numerous days to reach their adopted homes that were far removed from the American urban centers they passed thrsough on route. Some settled within semi-established communities composed of Indigenous peoples, European settlers, and so-called mixed-blood or métis inhabitants who descended from both groups.

Proximity to métis brokered their entrance into such communities where they relied upon the linguistic and cultural expertise of people who were familiar with both worlds, European and Indigenous. In the mid-nineteenth century, just as centuries before, these métis individuals came to define the relations between newcomer and native.[12] Early missionaries such as Frederic Baraga and Franz Pierz relied upon individuals such as Pierre Cotté, a fur trading métis who lived around Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, and acted as a devout facilitator between both men and the Anishinaabeg. In their absence, he also served as the de facto leader of the Indigenous Catholic community.[13] Métis, however, became the most susceptible to the presence of these missionaries; as "half-bloods," they were far more likely to convert fully to European ways (including religion) and so became prized missionary targets. Nearly all the first wave of Austro-Hungarian missionaries relied upon métis interlocutors as translators, instructors, and aides while offering prime Catholic instruction in return.

Although dependent on the métis position within society at first, Leopoldine Society missionaries quickly gained facilities to interact directly with Indigenous people. Among these earliest prerequisites was language proficiency. Often learning through métis instructors, priests worked diligently to advance in an array of Indigenous languages. "I also took pains to learn the difficult Otchipwe [Ojibwe] language," noted the missionary Otto Skolla who missionized at La Pointe (Mooningwanekaaning) in the 1840s with his interpreter who came "three times a week to explain the genius of this language [before] I mastered this tongue so well that after a few years I was able to preach any to administer all the other means of salvation to this tribe, all by myself."[14] His contemporaries such as Baraga and Pierz both learned the language during their missions; Baraga learned while in Cincinnati from William Makatebinessi.[15] Latecomers such as the Slovenian Joseph Buh or Casimir Vogt from Breslau also learned Ojibwe within a few months, and the latter gave sermons before the end

12 Métis often formed a bridging point between Indigenous and Western cultures as well as for economic interactions, but faced ostracism from both Native and European societies. See Anne F. Hyde, *Born of Lakes and Plains: Mixed-Descent Peoples and the Making of the American West* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2022), xviii–xix and 103–7.

13 Cary Miller, *Ogimaag: Anishinaabeg Leadership, 1760-1845* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 208.

14 Grace Lee Nute, "Father Skolla's Report on his Indian Missions," *Acta et Dicta* 7, no. 2 (1936), 235.

15 For Baraga, see Antoine Ivan Rezek, *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette* (Houghton, MI: Donohoe, 1906), I:26. For Pierz, see William P. Furlan, *In Charity Unfeigned: The Life of Father Francis Xavier Pierz* (St. Cloud, MN: Diocese of St. Cloud, 1952), 75–76.

of his first year at Bayfield, Wisconsin.[16] For many of these individuals, language acquisition represented not only a means to spread their faith but also to instruct others about a rich linguistic tradition. Vogt, for instance, answered queries from the public about the origins of certain native place names.[17] Meanwhile, Baraga's Anishinaabe orthography became one of the most celebrated assemblages on the language and an influential resource for future linguists despite the exuberant publication costs required to print such a massive tome as these were borne by the Leopoldine Society.[18] Through language learning, missionaries became not only better channels of Christian doctrine but also willing proponents of Indigenous heritage.

Encounters also allowed missionaries to ponder the disposition of Indigenous peoples. While on mission, several priests used their time to compose works that explained Indigenous living conditions to a wider audience. Four beneficiaries of the Leopoldine Society produced books that specifically dealt with the Indigenous situation: Frederic Baraga, Franz Pierz, Alexander Berghold, and Anselm Weber.[19] Each author had an intended purpose for their mission texts, but some held overlapping similarities. In the case of Baraga and Pierz, their books (*Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* (1837) and *Die Indianer in Nord-Amerika* (1855) respectively) sought to distill Indigenous customs for European

16 For Buh, see Bernard Coleman and Verona LaBud, *Masinaigans – The Little Book: A Biography of Monsignor Joseph F. Buh, Slovenian Missionary in America, 1864–1922* (St. Paul, MN: North Central Publishers, 1972), 48; Owen Lindblad, *Full of Fair Hope: A History of St. Mary's Mission, Red Lake, Minnesota* (St. Joseph, MN: pub. by author, 1997), 17. For Vogt, see "Catholic Indian Schools: I. St. Mary's Institute, Bayfield, WI," in *The Indian Sentinel* (New York, NY: Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, 1916), 8–9.

17 See Vogt's response about the origins of Pasadena in Hiram Alvin Reid, *History of Pasadena* (Pasadena History Company, 1895), 339; Vogt, *Gete-dibadjimowin/Gijigong—ababikaigan—Katolik—anamie-masinaigan—Cum permissn superiorum* (St. Louis, MO: Herder, 1891).

18 Baraga published eight works alongside a popular dictionary. See the list in Regis M. Walling and N. Daniel Rupp, eds., *The Diary of Bishop Frederic Baraga: First Bishop of Marquette, Michigan* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 323.

19 For Baraga: *Abrégé de l'Histoire des Indiens de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris: [various], 1837); *Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* (Ljubljana: Joseph Blasnik, 1837); *Popis Navad in Sadershanja Indijanov Polnozhne Amerike* [Description of customs and manners of Indians in midnight America] (Ljublkana: Joseph Blasnik, 1837). It is worth noting here that the original German edition and its translations received funding from the Leopoldine Society. For Pierz: *Die Indianer in Nordamerika: Ihre Lebensweise, Sitten, Gebräuche u.s.w.* (St. Louis, MO: Franz Saler, 1855). For Berghold: *Indianer-Rache, oder die Schreckenstage von Neu-Ulm im Jahre 1862* (New Ulm, MN: pub. by author, 1876). For Weber: *St. Michael's Mission and School for the Navajo Indians* (St. Michael's Mission, AZ: pub. by author, 1907); *The Navajo Indians: A Statement of Facts* (St. Michael's Mission, AZ: pub. by author, 1914).

audiences.[20] Baraga met with resounding success as his work appeared in three languages: French, German, and Slovenian, each of which he dedicated to the generosity of the Leopoldine Society. With an interest kindled before his journey to the United States, he relied upon a larger canon of writing on Native topics in shaping his own work. It is well known, for instance, that his views on the origins of Indigenous peoples in North America were lifted from James Adair's *History* (1775), Jonathan Carver's *Travels through America* (1778), and notably John Heckewelder's *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations* (1818/1821) among others.[21] Yet Baraga interwove original observations about the characteristics of Indigenous life from his own experiences, both negative and positive impressions. He described how Native Americans he came to know were equally brave and persevering when faced with hardship but also callous, revengeful, and often lazy; although "tireless" in their pursuit of prey, they would otherwise "remain for weeks before the fire, smoking their pipes, until hunger forces them to seek food."[22] Pierz maintained a critical outlook throughout his discourse on Native customs ranging from diet to dwellings, clothes to childhood. Disdainful of prior Indigenous religious beliefs, Pierz reserved a particular scorn for those he thought still "possessed" by either "evil" or "infernal" spirits.[23] His chapters on governance and social structures appeared less critical, however, with a decidedly neutral exposition on styles of deliberation and counsel (*Beratung*/*Gigitowin*) among community elders.[24] Pierz's explanatory, less literary tone stemmed from the original intention behind his work as a manual for newly-arrived German-speaking immigrants to North America; for this purpose he explicitly penned a lengthy appendix about the general situation of the Minnesota territory that included practical advice.[25] In this sense, Pierz exemplified how both praise and criticism could be combined within a text that also served to undermine the very ways of life that his text sought to preserve in print.

Whereas Baraga and Pierz engaged in forms of early ethnography, the two latter authors had rather direct aims at drawing attention to the plight

20 Vilko Novak, "Zwei Werke über die nordamerikanischen Indianer," *Anthropos* 65 (1970), 1001–7.

21 Graham MacDonald, ed., *Frederic Baraga's Short History of the North American Indians* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 33–34; Breda Pozar, "Frederick Baraga and his Book on the Manners of American Indians," *Acta Neophilologica* 6 (1973), 36–38.

22 MacDonald, *History*, 74; for an example of his first-hand accounts, see 188–89.

23 Pierz, *Die Indianer*, 43.

24 Pierz, *Die Indianer*, 49–53, esp. 51–52.

25 Pierz, *Die Indianer*, 117–30.

of Indigenous conditions. As a Styrian pastor who had answered the calls of Pierz to work along the Minnesota River Valley, Alexander Berghold came into constant contact with Anishinaabeg from 1868 to 1890 throughout his main duty to the German-speaking migrants settled in New Ulm, the site of a bloody series of skirmishes between town inhabitants and the Dakota in 1862. Satisfying the budding writer in him, Berghold had already started penning an idyll about the American Midwest before he left Graz based upon impressions from German newspapers, but his commitment to see the flourishing of New Ulm led him to write his *Indianer Rache: oder, Die Schreckenstage von New-Ulm* in 1876 that, following popular acclaim, featured English translations and multiple reprints, outselling all of his other (mainly poetic) publications.[26] Berghold's work combined several elements into one vivid narrative: migrant propaganda, a political treatise, and a plains paean. His choice of title (*The Indian's Revenge*) underscored his somewhat sympathetic explanation for the 1862 Dakota uprising that, in his view, had been provoked by unscrupulous government agents and land speculators seeking to defraud the Native Americans to the west of Minnesota. Even though Berghold held conventionally derogative views of some Indigenous people such as the Dakota as "remarkable for their shrewdness and deceit" with a "dark" but "not repulsive" complexion, Berghold maintained that many nations had been deceived by the federal government with "enormous swindles" of unpaid promises and broken treaty obligations.[27] He quoted Indigenous leaders such as Mahpiya Wicasta (Cloud Man) of the Mdewakanton Dakota and Ma-za-sa (Red Iron) of the Sisseton Dakota to dispel what he viewed as spurious accusations against their causes for the 1862 conflict. Justifying the desperation of these leaders, Berghold concluded that, though the harrowing massacres unleashed during the war were terrible, "the acts of injustice by which [the Dakota's] patience is tried and exhausted must be still greater."[28]

The labors of Anselm Weber echoed similar complaints against Indigenous injustices. Born in Michigan but supported by the Leopoldine Society with 1,800 Austrian kronen for his activities among the Diné (Navajo) of Arizona,

26 La Vern J. Rippley, "Alexander Berghold: Pioneer Priest and Prairie Poet," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 37 (1978), 43–56.

27 Alexander Berghold, *The Indian's Revenge or, Days of Horror: Some Appalling Events in the History of the Sioux* (San Francisco, CA: P. J. Thomas, 1891), 57–68, esp. 61–63 and 69–71. For an account of New Ulm and the Dakota War of 1862, see Gary Clayton Anderson, *Massacre in Minnesota: The Dakota War of 1862, the Most Violent Ethnic Conflict in American History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 93–109 and 150–54.

28 Berghold, *Indian's Revenge*, 187.

Weber served as part of the Franciscan St. Michael's Mission from 1898 until 1921. Weber's appearance on the reservation coincided with a time of acute hardship for the Diné who endeavored with their allies to acquire protections and expansions on original Navajo treaty lands as a source of fortification against the threats of state governments, local agriculturalists, and speculating industrialists who desired even greater access to the resources on Diné land. Unsustainable ranching and the Diné reliance on horse breeding exacerbated the existing problems over land use caused by the Dawes Act of 1887 that aimed to fragment reservation lands by allocating parcels to small family units. This system of allotment with provisions for the sale of non-allocated plots to non-Indigenous members created a patchwork of conflicting tensions and disagreements over land into the early twentieth century. Aware of these difficulties for the Diné through his additional roles as advocate, interpreter, and representative, Weber articulated these issues as "impractical and fatal" in his *The Navajo Indians: A Statement of Fact* (1914) that addressed the US Congress directly on behalf of the Native Americans affected by poor policy.[29] "His insistent voice made a difference" through the thousands of other letter campaigns he embarked upon as a proponent of Diné sovereignty and equality.[30]

Peacemakers

When relations deteriorated to the point of violence between Indigenous and white settler communities, missionaries often found themselves caught between both words as interlocutors for one side or the other. Almost all Leopoldine Society missionaries encountered moments of conflict. Some endured frequent small skirmishes over trespassing while others contended with the full-scale military engagements between Native nations and the US government, but certain beneficiaries prided themselves in occupying positions as mediators, negotiators, and peacemakers among warring parties. Often these social functions came from their exalted status within the community as surrogate leaders and de-facto interpreters, and other times from their own personal commitment to defend the loss of Indigenous life. Yet such conviction did not always result in the desired effects, and many missionaries found themselves powerless to

29 Weber, *Navajo Indians*, 18.

30 Iverson, *Diné*, 97–108. Quotation from 104. See also, Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900–1935* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 16–21.

avert calamities or to exert their influence vis-à-vis the US government and its policies. In spite of such setbacks, a number of Society beneficiaries performed considerable roles as peacemakers during times of heightened tensions and outright conflict.

One of the earliest instances of a pacifying role came during the various missions of Franz Pierz. After serving in northern Michigan, Pierz moved to Minnesota in 1852 where he ministered to the Anishinaabeg around Crow Wing. Two instances impelled him to intervene in Anishinaabe matters that held potential to turn violent. On the first occasion, fourteen months into his new mission, Pierz responded to a request from another missionary to intercede following an altercation between bands of Ojibwe and Hocąk (Ho-Chunk/Winnebago) when an allegedly drunken group of Hocąk killed two Anishinaabeg whose families sought justice through blood revenge. Missionaries seemed to understand little of the practices of social justice among Indigenous communities where aggrieved parties could demand similar lethal retribution as a form of recourse. Rather they viewed any violent clashes as an abhorrence to be prevented if Indigenous people were to abandon their "atrocious barbarity."[31] Pierz, in particular, saw such disturbances as a symptom of disbelief. "I am of the opinion," he wrote in *Die Indianer*, "that this treacherous murder will come to an end no sooner than until one or both nations are converted to Christianity."[32] There was, therefore, a religious dimension inherent in Pierz's journey to Long Prairie where he aimed to stop a war party gathered under the Anishinaabe leader Otawagan who had promised Pierz to convert to Catholicism. Using this intention, Pierz dissuaded Otawagan from launching a revenge crusade as, according to Pierz, it was an act that would go against divine design and lead away from the examples of Christian forgiveness. Pleased that the Anishinaabeg heeded his warning, Pierz recalled how he achieved his peaceful goal to his "complete satisfaction."[33]

A more severe test for Leopoldine Society priests came during the Dakota War of 1862. The scale of the war between American forces and various bands and allies of the Lakota (Sioux) shocked many onlookers, but as an extensive conflict it posed many challenges to the work of missionaries in affected regions. Pierz found himself again engulfed by violence as Anishinaabe bands waged their own parallel resistance against the US government over the uninvited recruitment of Anishinaabe conscripts for the American Civil

31 MacDonald, *History*, 159.

32 Pierz, *Die Indianer*, 30.

33 Pierz, *Die Indianer*, 30; Furlan, *Charity Unfeigned*, 188–89.

War.[34] In a raid likely under the direction of Chief Bagone-giizhig (Hole in the Day) (or "Huleday" as Pirez called him) around Crow Wing, Pierz set off to the "camp of the rebels" where, confronted by sentries and "two black-painted riders" galloping towards him, he signaled peaceful intentions with a white handkerchief and gained entry to talk with Bagone-giizhig and his councilors. After a lengthy oration in Anishinaabemowin, Pierz reported to the Leopoldine Society membership how he successfully persuaded the assembled leadership to resist joining in the bloodshed against the Americans and to come seek terms at Crow Wing.[35] Yet Pierz vastly overestimated his hand in the Anishinaabe decision-making process; fractures between the leaders of Anishinaabe bands such as Bizhiki (Buffalo) of the Pillager Band at Leech Lake, Gwiiwwizhenzhish of the Mississippi Band at Gull Lake, and Migizi (Eagle) of the Mississippi Band at Mille Lacs hampered Bagone-giizhig's attempt to maximize on the distractions further west caused by the Dakota War. Instead, Bagone-giizhig agreed to a council at Crow Wing in September 1862 not solely on the invitation of Pierz, but rather to make his demands directly known to the American commissioners sent by President Abraham Lincoln after having demonstrated his strength through the nearby attacks. Faced with the prospect of a second escalating conflict in the western theatre, US officials sought to appease Bagone-giizhig at all costs.[36] Pierz may have only appeared at the opportune moment in a series of calculated maneuvers despite his exaggerated commentary that adorned the society's journals in Vienna.

One missionary who had decidedly greater influence was the Vorarlberger Johann Jutz, present in the vicinity of the infamous massacre of 270 Mnikȟówožu Lakota men, women, and children by the US Army at Wounded Knee Creek in 1890. Jutz's role as a mediator emerged from the tense developments of the 1880s when a harsh assimilation program in the wake of Lakota defeats attempted to force them onto reservations through unhonored treaty rations and subsequent starvation and coercion. Faced with an enfeebled capacity to resist dependency upon the US government, a "millennialist cultural revitalization" took hold among western Native Americans who followed promises of a returning Indigenous world espoused by the prophet Wovoka.[37] Resulting in the Ghost Dance movement across the

34 Anton Treuer, *The Assassination of Hole in the Day* (St. Paul, MN: Borealis Books, 2011), 130–33.

35 *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Österreich* 33 (Vienna: Dom Verlag, 1863), 31–32.

36 Treuer, *Assassination*, 137–40.

37 Ned Blackhawk, *The Rediscovery of America: Native Peoples and the Unmaking of U.S. History* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2023), 363; Pekka Hämäläinen, *Lakota America: A New History of Indigenous Power* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2020), 377.

western plains, this renewed spiritual practice undermined the accelerated work of Christian missionaries who viewed the Ghost Dance as a distinct threat to their conversion aims as well as creating a sense of agitation among participating communities.[38] They found natural allies in the US government forces sent to guard against potential discontent in an increasingly militarized zone in southern Dakota—by November 1890, almost one-third of the entire US army had descended upon Lakota country.[39] In the middle of this mix stood Jutz at the Holy Rosary Mission in the Pine Ridge reservation.

Jutz arrived in South Dakota in 1885 as part of a reinvigorated Jesuit effort to evangelize the Lakota.[40] His previous mission among the Shoshone of Wyoming proved his capacity to acquire Indigenous languages and ingratiate himself into Indigenous society. First at the Rosebud mission, he managed the St. Francis Mission before establishing Holy Rosary in 1886 not far from the government headquarters of the Pine Ridge reservation.[41] As the Ghost Dance movement got underway, Jutz and his contemporaries despaired at what they viewed as a deteriorating situation.[42] Receptive to suggestions by government officials, Jutz offered to convey an invitation on behalf of the commander of the US Seventh Cavalry at Pine Ridge, General John R. Brooke, to Lakota for a parlay at the reservation.[43] Unaffiliated with the Americans, and a foreigner, Jutz occupied an effortless position as an outsider to the US and Lakota, and so became a more trusted, neutral intermediary for both sides.[44] On 3 December 1890, Jutz went to Oglala Lakota camping grounds with the help of Jackson Red Cloud, son of the Oglala war leader Mahpíya Lúta (Red Cloud), "in order to bring these Indian troubles to an end faster

38 Attendance at Catholic masses plummeted. See Karl Markus Kreis, *Lakotas, Black Robes, and Holy Women: German Reports from the Indian Missions in South Dakota, 1886-1900* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 40; James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and Wounded Knee* (New York, NY: Dover, 1991), 772–97.

39 Hämäläinen, *Lakota America*, 378.

40 Ross Alexander Enochs, *The Jesuit Mission to the Lakota Sioux: Pastoral Theology and Ministry 1886–1945* (Kansas City, MO: Sheed & Ward, 1996), 26.

41 Friedrich Pöhl, "Johann Jutz: Ein Vorarlberger Jesuit und das Massaker von Wounded Knee," *Vorarlberger Landesmuseumsverein—Jahrbuch* (2016), 63–64.

42 John B. Jutz, "Recollections of an Old Indian Missionary," *Cansius Monthly* (October 1918), 212–18; John B. Jutz, "Der 'Ghost Dance' der Sioux Indianer," Three Parts, *Central-Blatt und Social Justice* (May, June, and August 1918), I:49–50, II:82–84; III:151–53.

43 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, John Rutter Brooke Papers, vol. 32, Brooke to Ruger, 21 March 1891.

44 Josephine Waggoner, *Witness: A Húnkpapȟa Historian's Strong-Heart Song of the Lakotas* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 699.

and more easily."[45] Jutz showed a particular understanding of Indigenous concerns during his entreaty with the Oglala, invoking the direction of Indigenous sky spirits and dispelling suspicions that Brooke's invitation actually represented a deception to imprison them. "If one man were to be harmed," Jutz assured, "then the next man could shoot me dead."[46] Together with Jackson Red Cloud, Jutz eventually led a delegation of over thirty Oglala elders to the Pine Ridge headquarters where negotiations over the removal to reservation lands and discontinuance of the Ghost Dance stalled as fractures between the elders became exposed.[47] Much like Pierz, Jutz faced barriers to his accomplishments as a peacemaker due to the internal deliberations and calculations of the Native Americans.

Following the massacre at Wounded Knee Creek of the Mnikȟówožu Lakota families who were set on reaching the reservation lands after the killing of Hunkpapha Lakota leader Thathánka Íyotake (Sitting Bull) on 15 December 1890, Jutz became another neutral beacon in a region reeling from trauma and heightened distrust. His mission fell within earshot of the Hotchkiss cannons that fired heavy ordnance onto the Mnikȟówožu encampment.[48] In retaliation strikes, Lakota war parties burned down schools, homes, and government offices along White Clay Creek, but spared the Catholic mission in accordance with the wishes of Mahpíya Lúta (Red Cloud).[49] "The quiet of death reigned everywhere, and nobody came near us," Jutz recalled.[50] Yet the mission hosted many. Soldiers from the Seventh Cavalry used the mission's buildings and pantry on the evening after the massacre while days later Jutz received Mnikȟówožu refugees and Oglala groups who wished to surrender without further bloodshed. By mid-January, around two thousand men, women, and children passed through the mission.[51] Pressed by Brooke's superior, General Nelson A. Miles, to act again

45 Kreis, *Black Robes*, 42. Jutz had tried to persuade Red Cloud to accompany him, but the aging chief suffered from pneumonia at that time and provided his son instead. See John B. Jutz, "Historic Data on the Causes of the Dissatisfaction among the Sioux Indians in 1890," *Woodstock Letters* 47 (1918), 319.

46 Kreis, *Black Robes*, 42; Jutz, "Dissatisfaction," 320–21; see also his compelling pitch recorded in William S. E. Coleman, *Voices of Wounded Knee* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 160.

47 Kreis, *Black Robes*, 42–43.

48 Jutz, "Dissatisfaction," 323.

49 Jutz, "Dissatisfaction," 324; W. Fletcher Johnson, *Life of Sitting Bull and History of the Indian War of 1890–91* (Philadelphia, PA: Edgewood Publishing Company, 1891), 336–37; Kreis, *Black Robes*, 49–50.

50 Jutz, "Dissatisfaction," 325.

51 Kreis, *Black Robes*, 47–49

as the government's Lakota envoy—this time to Red Cloud the elder—in an effort to bring about a general surrender of the Oglala, Jutz reluctantly conveyed a further invitation to parlay that resulted in little. In the wake of Wounded Knee, Jutz clearly felt that the situation had been exacerbated by government policies and unfair conditions imposed on the Lakota. "Indians cannot be governed or converted by guns and bayonets," he concluded years later, "but they can be won over by love and friendliness."[52] At such a poignant moment in US–Indigenous relations, however, Jutz, like Pierz and other Leopoldine Society missionaries, sought to quell and soothe tensions arising between both sides.

Provocateurs

A counterweight existed to the advocacy and mediatory roles of Leopoldine Society missionaries in the disturbances that their missions caused among Indigenous communities. Such provocations stemmed from the clergymen's same source of interest in Indigenous conditions and their dedication to the spread of Catholicism among native communities. Although it is arguable all missions contributed a level of disruption in the preservation of Indigenous culture through Christian conversion, assimilation schooling, or the stimulation of non-Indigenous migration, some episodes in the Leopoldine Society's sponsored undertakings proved particularly troublesome to those in the vicinity. One example that combines all these positive and negative attributes can be found in the mission of Ignatius Tomazin at the White Earth reservation where Tomazin's staunch advocacy of Indigenous rights and his ardent belief in Catholic superiority combined with his somewhat maverick personality to produce a combustible situation that drew the US government's ire and strengthened its intervention in the Anishinaabe reservation.

White Earth, Minnesota, emerged out of a series of calamitous misfortunes for the Anishinaabeg. Land speculation, particularly over the mineral-rich lands of northern Minnesota, heightened settler appetites for removing Indigenous inhabitants from these lands that worked in parallel with a general assimilationist sentiment among American politicians, migrants, and clergy of all denominations, but especially the Episcopalian (later bishop) Henry B. Whipple and his counterpart, Roman Catholic Bishop Thomas L. Grace, who

52 Jutz, "Dissatisfaction," 323.

both called for relocation.[53] Reflecting a wider trend that started earnestly in the early 1860s to disaggregate Indigenous lands, Anishinaabe leaders acquiesced to a series of land concessions in return for material support from the US government; in March 1863, White Earth became the major site of Anishinaabe removal as a direct result. The assassination of Chief Bagone-giizhig (Hole in the Day) by his own kin in 1868 diluted further resistance and removed a major impediment to fulfilling the removal process, revealing the ruptures in Anishinaabe leadership and creating a malignant power vacuum in its wake.[54] Anishinaabe society split over issues of political legitimacy amid a deep religious crisis opened up by physical dislocation, erosion of traditional lifestyles, and increasingly numerous Christian proselytizers who sought to convert those now concentrated in the reservation.

When shorn of the spiritual dimensions, conversion amounted to little more than a numbers game, a quest to share salvation with as many individuals as possible and acknowledge their conversion through adopted modes of religious practices and beliefs. Missionaries frequently boasted of the number of converts acquired via a visitation. Catholic missions centered on conversion among the Indigenous populations led to direct competition for souls with other Christian groups, especially where certain denominations had received authority over education on reservations. Beneficiaries of the Leopoldine Society were not immune to these interdenominational competitions. In fact, some of the most incendiary clashes between Christian missionaries in the American Midwest occurred through the bitter determination of central European priests—the Milanese Samuel Mazzuchelli against William Terry or Frederic Baraga (and his métis proxy Pierre Cotté) against Edmund F. Ely were indicative of these clashes. At White Earth, the situation proved combustible due to métis who were more receptive to the reservation scheme and largely already practiced Catholicism. They were at odds with not only the traditional believers of more resistance-leaning groups but also the Episcopalians who had been granted control of the reservation's educational system by the US government intent on assimilating and pacifying the resettled through Christianization. Yet a predominant Catholic contingent remained, so strongly in fact that decades later a majority of surveyed inhabitants followed Catholicism.[55]

53 Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889–1920* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 40–63.

54 Treuer, *Assassination*, 145–47, 159, and 183–90.

55 M. Inez Hilger, *A Social Study of One-Hundred-Fifty Chippewa Indian Families of the White Earth Reservation of Minnesota* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press,

Confronted with a Protestant hierarchy and taking advantage of the political vacuum within the Anishinaabe nation, métis-aligned factions sought to enlist the Catholic Church's mission at Crow Wing as an aid in tipping the scales of domestic politics to their advantage.[56] Fortunately for them, Tomazin arrived at White Earth in 1873 as a permanent answer to the perceived demand for Catholic instruction and support. White Earth represented Tomazin's first substantial solo mission after his ordination in 1865 where he had followed Pierz on his missions in order to become fully acquainted with Indigenous affairs and language. Tomazin's mission resulted in quick progress: within a few short months a school building, rectory, and church replete with a one-thousand-pound bell appeared. "All this was made possible by the annual financial contributions I received from the Leopoldine Foundation," Tomazin reflected.[57] Indeed, Tomazin received one of the largest donations of the Leopoldine Society out of all the twenty-nine missionaries serving Native American missions.[58] Lewis Stowe, officially an agent of the US government but who in reality acted as a proxy for the Episcopalian Bishop Whipple from 1874 onwards, observed Tomazin's successes with discontent. Over successive months, Stowe embarked on a campaign to marginalize Tomazin within the Anishinaabe community by discrediting him in front of reservation inhabitants, diminishing rations to his parishioners, and disrupting Tomazin's ministry in any way possible.[59] Tomazin's reaction to these slights prompted clashes between their respective supporters on the reservation as the Catholic-Episcopalian split reflected the assimilationist-traditionalist divides among the Anishinaabeg themselves.[60]

After an extensive letter-writing campaign by Tomazin exacerbated the disagreements, Stowe engineered his removal in 1877 for a breach of

1939), 110–14; Rebecca Kugel, *To Be the Main Leaders of Our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825–1898* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 115–21.

56 Kugel, *Ojibwe Politics*, 151–52.

57 *Berichte* 50 (1880), 39–42, here 39.

58 Archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions [ABCIM], White Earth, Tomazin to J. B. M. Genin, 1 September 1874: "The Missionary Society of Vienna sent me 1,000 florins, or $475 for my Indian missions." The Leopoldine Society provided him with 4,600 Austrian gulden in total or roughly $2,200. He also received around $1,300 from the Bavarian Ludwigs-Missionsverein. See Theodore Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States (1838–1918)* (New York, NY: J. F. Wagner, 1933), 112 and generally; Willibald Mathäser, *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern: Seine Vor und Gründungsgeschichte 1828–1838 und seine Entwicklung bis zum Jahre 1868* (Munich: Druck der Salesianischen Offizin, 1939).

59 Kugel, *Ojibwe Politics*, 121.

60 Kugel, *Ojibwe Politics*, 153–56.

reservation legalities when Tomazin attempted to escort the late Chief Bagone-giizhig's two daughters to a Catholic convent off reservation.[61] Events came to a head when Stowe ordered the US government to enforce Tomazin's removal from the reservation after he refused and holed himself up in the church, ringing out from the belfry when government calvary appeared in the distance. Cognizant of the consequences of Tomazin's downfall, his Anishinaabe allies initially came to his defense, blocking entry to the American forces at their own risk, and threatening the imperfect harmony that White Earth had been built upon. Unwilling to engulf his parishioners in bloody conflict with American hegemony, Tomazin relented and gave up his mission.[62] He later served at the Red Lake reservation before similar discontent, caused by his overzealous personality, led to his discharge—he eventually committed suicide by leaping from a Chicago hotel in 1916.[63]

Tomazin's departure left the Catholic-aligned Anishinaabe majority at White Earth at a crossroads and handed a victory to the assimilationists alongside their Episcopalian allies. Recalcitrance towards the situation eroded even though a successor to Tomazin, the Austrian Benedictine Aloysius Hermanutz, would serve the White Earth Catholics for over fifty years but never seriously challenged Episcopalian authority.[64] To do so would have again plunged the ravaged, and largely destitute, reservation population into greater hardship, something which Anishinaabe leadership began to acknowledge and concede in the aftermath of Tomazin's stand.[65] Yet Tomazin's defiance, his quest for equity for his followers, demonstrated the advocacy that missionaries like him acquired from their immersion during missions. His efforts to become their champion, to mediate some end to their persecution by Stowe, reflected also the commitment to their cause that, in this case, ended in confrontation and US government intervention. An episode symbolic of the qualities of missionary work, it also marked the diminished compliance for the Anishinaabeg of White Earth at the end of the nineteenth century.

61 ABCIM, White Earth, Stowe to Whipple, 28 January 1875; Minnesota Historical Society, Henry B. Whipple Papers, Tomazin's manuscript "To the Reverend Clergy and Laity of the United States!" dated 8 September 1875. Bagone-giizhig had six daughters from his two wives who moved with his son Mino-giizhig (Ignatius Hole in the Day), a Catholic-educated scholar and political princeling, to the White Earth reservation. See Treuer, *Assassination*, 203–4.

62 Carol Berg, "Climbing Learners' Hill: Benedictines at White Earth, 1878–1945" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1983), 17–18

63 *The Day Book* (Chicago, IL), 26 August 1916; *New York Times* (New York, NY), 27 August 1916.

64 Aloysius Hermanutz, "St. Benedict's Mission," *The Indian Sentinel* (1910), 26–34.

65 Kugel, *Ojibwe Politics*, 141.

Conclusions

Beneficiaries of the Leopoldine Society embodied the complicated position of missionaries in Indigenous settings. While holding sincere vocations centered on the betterment of their targeted communities, these missionaries also occupied roles that were disruptive to Indigenous life. As proponents, early missionaries advocated Indigenous language learning, provided records of customs and practices, and sought to further understand these cultures to broader audiences both in the United States and in the Habsburg monarchy. Equally, later missionaries became more forceful advocates for the preservation of these cultural values and defended Indigenous communities against outside critique or in the face of what they perceived to be bad government policy on behalf of the United States. As peacemakers, missionaries often utilized or responded to calls to use their influence among Indigenous communities to intermediate or intercede against the threat of violent confrontations. These roles were often willingly undertaken, even when faced with great risk or little chance of success. Yet, as intermediaries, these occurrences presented Society missionaries with few opportunities for success due to their overestimated leverage and the political agency of Indigenous parties. Finally, as provocateurs, some missionaries—particularly in the example of Ignatius Tomazin—caused disruptions to their communities through competition with other groups, especially other Christian denominations, and as staunch defenders of their own faith and its global mission.

The Leopoldine Society, as a charity and political foundation, held no original aspirations with regard to the Native Americans of North America. Native Americans do not appear in the society's founding statutes. Instead, it was through the perseverance of its members with their own encounters and prior fascination with an Indigenous America that a period of prolonged interconnection came into existence. The intensity of this relationship, spread out over decades and across regions of the United States and Canada, developed into a major aim of the Leopoldine Society through its mission to revitalize the American dioceses and their Catholic communities, be they immigrant or Indigenous. Although the epicenter of this spiritual intervention fell upon the Anishinaabeg of the Great Lakes due to the proximity of these peoples to the major areas of German-speaking migration, the Leopoldine Society funded later missions among communities in Arizona, British Columbia, Kansas, New Mexico, and Oregon. As a period of interaction, the society's supported undertakings represented a new phase in the Habsburg encounters with Native America as a continuation of a spiritual presence in the continent by central Europeans and a renewed process of cultural revelation, individual meeting, and transatlantic connection.

Appendix

The list below represents part of a larger ongoing effort to identify beneficiaries of the Leopoldine Society in general. Information for biographic and geographic data comes from a variety of published and unpublished sources that would be too numerous to include here. Details on the amount of support received are derived from the society's *Berichte*, the work of Gertrude Kummer, and the administrative files of the society held in the archives of the Archdiocese of Vienna.

List of missionaries active among Native American communities and supported by the Leopoldine Society, 1829–1914				
No.	**Name of Missionary**	**Primary Location(s)**	**Primary Indigenous Population(s)**	**Support from Leopoldine Society**
1	Altmicks, Servatius (1829–96)	Keshena, WI; Harbor Springs, MI	Mamaceqtaw (Menominee); Anishinaabe (Ojibwe)	3,000 gulden (1886–91)
2	Baraga, Frederic (1797–1868)	Arbre Croche, MI; La Pointe, WI; L'Anse, MI; Sault Ste. Marie, MI	Odaawaa (Odawa/ Ottawa); Anishinaabe	900 gulden (1830–37)
3	Berghold, Alexander (1838–1918)	New Ulm, MN	Anishinaabe	1,900 gulden (1869–78)
4	Bucher, Felix (1862–1938)	Siletz Reservation, OR; Grand Ronde, OR	Molala; Kalapuya; Tututni; Tillamook	11,300 kronen (1904–13)
5	Buh, Joseph (1833–1922)	Cass Lake, MN; Leech Lake, MN; White Oak, MN; Red Lake, MN	Anishinaabe	700 gulden (1870–83)
6	Cebul, John[66] (1832–98)	Shawano, WI; Keshena, WI; Duluth, MN	Mamaceqtaw (Menominee); Anishinaabe	800 gulden (1859–74)
7	Deutsch, Justin (1869–1935)	Phoenix, AZ	Akimel O'odham (Pima); Tohono O'odham (Papago)	1,900 kronen (1907–1910)
8	Edelbrock, Alexius (1843–1908)	White Earth, MN	Anishinaabe	1,300 gulden (1877–83)
9	Hätscher, Franz (1784–1863)	Green Bay, WI; Sault Ste. Marie, MI	Mamaceqtaw (Menominee)	500 gulden (1831)

66 He left for Carniola in 1870/1872 and then travelled to India and France before returning to North America in 1882.

List of missionaries active among Native American communities and supported by the Leopoldine Society, 1829–1914				
No.	**Name of Missionary**	**Primary Location(s)**	**Primary Indigenous Population(s)**	**Support from Leopoldine Society**
10	Hermanutz, Aloysius (1876–1926)	White Earth, MN	Anishinaabe	6,800 gulden (1881–90)
11	Jutz, Johann (1838–1924)	Rosebud, SD; Pine Ridge, SD; St. Stephens Indian Mission, WY	Oglala Lakota (Sioux); Shoshone	Unspecified
12	Lavtižar, Lovrenc (1820–58)	Red Lake, MN; La Croix, WI; Arbre Croche, MI; Sault Ste. Marie, MI	Anishinaabe	400 gulden (1854)
13	Locnickar, Bernhard (1848–94)	White Earth, MN; Red Lake, MN	Anishinaabe	1,000 gulden (1892–94)
14	Lutz, Joseph Anton (1801–61)	Leavenworth, KS; Topeka, KS	Kaw (Kansa)	Unspecified
15	Mazzuchelli, Samuel (1806–64)	Arbre Croche, MI; Mackinac Island, MI; Green Bay, WI; Dubuque, IA; St. Louis, MO; Prairie du Chien, WI	Mamaceqtaw (Menominee); Odaawaa (Odawa/ Ottawa); Anishinaabe; Hocak (Ho-Chunk/ Winnebago)	Unspecified
16	Mrak, Ignatius (1810–1901)	La Croix, WI; Grand Rapids, MI	Anishinaabe	800 gulden (1845–60)
17	Pierz, Franz (1785–1880)	Arbre Croche, MI; La Pointe, WI; L'Anse, MI; Sault Ste. Marie, MI; St. Cloud, MN	Anishinaabe	3,626 gulden (1841–72)
18	Sänderl, Simon (1800–79)	Green Bay, WI; Arbre Croche, MI	Mamaceqtaw (Menominee); Anishinaabe	500 gulden (1831)
19	Scholz, Franz Xavier	Clayoquot Sound, BC	Tla-o-qui-aht (Clayoquot)	Unspecified
20	Skolla, Otto (1805–79)	La Pointe, WI; Keshena, MN	Mamaceqtaw (Menominee); Anishinaabe	400 gulden (1841)
21	Snyder, Maurus (1865–1958)	Clayoquot Sound, BC	Tla-o-qui-aht (Clayoquot)	1,200 kronen (1901)
22	Stariha, Johann (1845–1915)	Red Wing, MN; SD	Anishinaabe	3,200 kronen (1902–8)
23	Tomazin, Ignatius (1843–1916)	White Earth, MN; Red Lake, MN	Anishinaabe	4,600 gulden (1874–80)

List of missionaries active among Native American communities and supported by the Leopoldine Society, 1829–1914				
No.	**Name of Missionary**	**Primary Location(s)**	**Primary Indigenous Population(s)**	**Support from Leopoldine Society**
24	Troesken, Engelhard	Keshena, MN; Little Oconto, WI; Kinpowa, WI	Mamceqtaw (Menominee); Anishinaabe	800 gulden (1884–85); 1,800 kronen (1909–1910)
25	Viszoc-zky, Andreas (1796–1853)	Grand Rapids, MI	Odaawaa (Odawa/ Ottawa)	1,343 gulden (1838–50)
26	Vogt, Casimir (1846–1916)	Bayfield, WI; Superior, WI	Anishinaabe	500 gulden (1881)
27	Wandt, Tiburtius (1884–1969)	St. Juan, AZ	Diné (Navajo)	600 kronen (1911–13)
28	Weber, Anselm (1862–1921)	St. Michael, AZ	Diné (Navajo)	1,800 kronen (1911–13)
29	Zittier, Lucius (1868–1936)	Gila River, AZ; Komatke, AZ; Guadalupe, AZ	Yoéme (Yaqui)	500 kronen (1907)

About the Author

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8. Reencountering Trade Legacies, Indigenous Histories, and the Early Leopoldine Society Circle in the Vienna Weltmuseum

Michael Burri

Abstract: This chapter concerns the Great Lakes Indigenous peoples whose artifacts may be found in the Vienna Weltmuseum. It situates these artifacts within the larger framework of exchange modalities among Indigenous peoples, together with the Leopoldine Society, an organization founded in Vienna in 1829 to minister to German-speaking Catholics in North America. To convey this framework, the chapter recalls Indigenous artifact collections of British officers active in the region, as well as the gift giving of Odawa leader Jean-Baptiste Assiginack. It also devotes close attention to Georg Schwarz, whose inventory of Indigenous artifacts remains the centerpiece of the North American collection in Vienna. In Assiginack and Schwarz, the issues of the chapter converge—the Habsburg turn to North America, the Leopoldine Society, and the complex overlays among the ambitions of Austrian traders, practices of Indigenous exchange, and the contemporary Weltmuseum collection.

Keywords: Jean-Baptiste Assiginack, Austrian-American relations, Frederic Baraga, Johann Georg Schwarz, Leopoldine Society, Odawa, Ojibwe, Pays d'en Haut, Weltmuseum

The Indigenous Place: Austrian Trade Legacies in North America

The increased dynamism of the Austrian economy in the two decades before 1848 should be written into the new histories of the relationship between Habsburg Austria and Native America. Historically, it is this increased

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dynamism that forms the broader context for Austrian engagement with North America, as Habsburg elites during these years invested in networks capable of sustaining Austrian political and commercial interests abroad. In the 1830s and 1840s, the Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes region—notably, the Anishinaabe groups (or plural, Anishinaabeg), the Ojibwe (Chippewa), Odawa (Odaawaa/Ottawa), and Potawatomi, as well as the Hocąk (Ho-Cunk/Winnebago), and Mamaceqtaw (Menominee)—played a role in these North American networks whose legacies reach down to the present.[1]

That role is the subject of historical interest. Indigenous peoples became the focus of early missionary activity by the Leopoldine Society, an organization founded in Vienna in 1829 with the purpose of ministering to German-speaking Catholics in North America. But that role is also of contemporary interest, inasmuch as the cultural artifacts acquired from these Indigenous peoples by the Leopoldine missionaries and their agents constitute the center of interest in the North American collection at the *Weltmuseum*, the principal ethnographic museum in Vienna.[2] This chapter is about the Great Lakes Indigenous peoples whose artifacts may be found in the Weltmuseum, and it is about the Leopoldine Society. At the beginning, economic dynamism in Austria brings both into focus.

The two decades prior to 1848 in Austria were marked by sustained economic growth and expanding commerce. Trade through the Austrian port city of Trieste, for example, began to recover following the British blockade during the Napoleonic wars, as maritime imports doubled, with exports rising by 60 percent.[3] Indeed, the weak economic performance of the 1810s and 1820s leads Gustav Otruba to see evidence of a revival after 1830, including the introduction of modern, large-scale industrial enterprise. Likewise, the index of industrialization compiled by Richard Rudolph suggests a steady period of economic expansion from 1830 onwards, with

1 Anishinaabe is an endonym used by Indigenous peoples to indicate belonging to a cultural and linguistic group that can include the Ojibwe, Odawa, Potawatomi, Mississaugas, Nipissing, and Algonquin peoples.

2 For an overview that situates the North American collection within the history of the museum, see Christian Feest, "Das Museum für Völkerkunde in Wien," in *Das Museum für Völkerkunde* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1980), 13–34. On the recent transition of this Vienna institution from a "museum of ethnology" to a Weltmuseum, see Claudia Augustat, "Dealing with the Colonial Past at the Weltmuseum Wien: A Curator's Perspective," *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 32 (2019): 17–31.

3 Aleš Skřivan, "Trade Gateway to the Habsburg Monarchy. On Trieste's Status, Development and Importance to the Mid-19th Century," *West Bohemian Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (2020): 1–23 (here 23).

the 1830–55 interval outpacing the years between 1855 and 1890.[4] To be sure, Austria was less urbanized, and its economy remained less productive than that of Western Europe. But as David Good concludes, structural transformation and institutional change had taken hold, with the result that ongoing expansion could withstand short-term fluctuations. In Austria, a modern, sustained growth economy was now manifest. Economic cycles would persist, including short term discontinuities, such as the crash of 1873. But from the 1830s, there would be no reversal in the upward trend of the Austrian economy.[5]

Inside Austria, Habsburg leaders directed their attention to economic activity. With his 6 April 1829 *Cabinetschreiben*, for example, Emperor Franz I ordered the establishment of a bureau of statistics to coordinate recordkeeping in Austria, an undertaking he had delayed for two decades.[6] The product of that bureau, *Tafeln zur Statistik der österreichischen Monarchie*, registered advances in trade and the economy, while data included there furnished the basis for the first attempt outside England to estimate national product.[7] By establishing a statistical baseline, moreover, the *Tafeln* facilitated other initiatives to boost economic growth. With his appointment by the emperor, for example, Alois von Lederer became the first Austrian consul general to take up his post in the United States in 1820. According to his original instructions, Lederer was to "further the already existing trade relations" between the two countries, especially Austrian exports.[8] To fulfill that

4 Gustav Otruba, "Österreichs Industrie und Arbeiterschaft von der Manufaktur- zur Fabrikatur-epoche (1790–1848)," *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 15, no. 10 (1971): 569–604 (here 575); Richard L. Rudolph, "The Pattern of Austrian Industrial Growth from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century," *Austrian History Yearbook* 11 (January 1975): 3–25. The three-stage progression described by Freudenberger—1) 1750–1811 great momentum; 2) 1811–35 retardation and reorganization; 3) 1835–50 renewed momentum—sets a similar trajectory. Herman Freudenberger, *Lost Momentum: Austrian Economic Development 1750s–1830s* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003), 19.

5 David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914* (Berkeley, CA: University of California press, 1984), 34–73. See also, John Komlos, *The Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs Union: Economic Development in Austria-Hungary in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 89–111.

6 Direktion der administrativen Statistik, *Skizze einer Geschichte des kaiserl. königl. statischen Bureaus in den Jahren 1829-1853*, vol. 4, no. 1, *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Statistik* (Vienna: K.u.k. Staatsdruckerei, 1855); Bundesamt für Statistik, "Die Entwicklung der amtlichen Statistik in Österreich," *Progress in Public Administration* 5, no. 3 (January 1932): 329–42.

7 Nachum T. Gross, "An Estimate of National Product in Austria in 1841," *The Journal of Economic History* 28, no. 1 (1968): 80–101 (here 81).

8 Rudolf Agstner, *Austria (-Hungary) and Its Consulates in the United States of America Since 1820*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des österreichischen auswärtigen Dienstes, vol. 4 (Vienna: London: Global Book Marketing, 2012), 224.

task, in 1828 Lederer carried out orders from Vienna in negotiating a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Austria and the United States. That treaty foresaw the opening of a consular post in Austria by the United States, which opened in 1830 with the Austrian Johann Georg Schwarz, or more commonly, Georg Schwarz, serving as the American representative, while the treaty itself entered force in 1831.[9] As Consul General, Lederer had been charged to "further existing trade relations," though his actual duties were broadly sketched. Indeed, in noting the uncommon formulations in the consular instructions given to Lederer, Rudolf Agstner observes that much of his job consisted in what today would be called "industrial espionage."[10] And of course, in considering the appointment, state secretary Klemens Metternich always insisted that a consul to the United States required a thorough political education.[11]

Established in April 1829 as a mission to North America, the Leopoldine Society is deeply embedded in this nexus of the Austrian state, economic dynamism, and new global initiatives. Because legal measures to suppress political dissent also prohibited the founding of new religious associations, Emperor Franz himself personally approved the creation of the Society.[12] In step with the emperor, whose foreign policy he greatly shaped, Metternich also conveyed his personal written blessing to the Society, while internal correspondence between Vienna and Leopoldine missionaries abroad moved through the New York consulate he administered.[13] Histories of

9 Nicole M. Phelps, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference: Sovereignty Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 43. Official diplomatic relations began in 1838, with the appointment of Henry A. Muhlenberg as first American minister to Vienna, followed by the establishment of an Austrian legation to the United States by Minister Wenzel Philipp Baron de Mareschal. Of relevance to the present argument, recent research has highlighted the shortcomings of histories that begin with diplomatic relations between the United States and (Habsburg) Austria. See Jonathan Singerton, "175 or 235 Years of Austro-American Relations? Reflections and Repercussions for the Modern Day," in *Austria and America:—20th-Century Cross-Cultural Connections*, eds. Joshua Parker and Ralph Poole (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2017), 13–29.

10 Rudolf Agstner, "Kostproben aus der Anekdotenkiste diplomatischer Beziehungen während der ersten hundert Jahre," in *175 Jahre diplomatische Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und den USA*, ed. Felix Schneider (Vienna: Bundesminister für Landesverteidigung und Sport, 2014): 19–52 (here 21).

11 Ellinor Forster, "Mapping and Appropriating American Regions and Structures with 'Austrian Eyes': Consuls of the Habsburg Monarchy in the United States as Intermediators in the 1820s," *Storia e Regione* 30, no. 1 (2021): 55–85 (here 59).

12 Getrude Kummer, *Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung, 1829–1914: der älteste österreichische Missionsverein*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Wiener Dom-Verlag, 1966), 11.

13 "Antwort Sr. Durchlaucht des Fürsten von Metternich, Haus-Hof- und Staats-Kanzlers Sr. K.k. apostol. Majestät, April 27, 1830," *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserreich Österreich*

the Society generally present it as distanced from, even opposed to, the Austrian state.[14] But on his 1836–37 return visit to Vienna, the celebrated Leopoldine missionary Frederic Baraga had dinner with Metternich, while back in Michigan territory he was believed to be the cousin of Emperor Franz (Joseph).[15] More than that, relationships between the Austrian state and the Leopoldine Society were personal. Joseph Pletz, whom Johannes Thauren calls the cofounder of the Society and who delivered the opening address at its formal launch in May 1829, would soon be promoted to court priest in Vienna, confessor to Emperor Ferdinand, and serve as religious instructor to the future emperor Franz Joseph and his brothers.[16] Whether the Catholic church acted as the long arm of the Austrian state, or the Austrian state operated as the long arm of the Catholic church, the Leopoldine enterprise was deeply connected to both.

Initiatives targeting North America recall that, though Austria ultimately did not become a colonial power, it remained committed to shaping the future of colonial nations.[17] Founded concurrently with the Treaty on Commerce and Navigation, and shortly after the consular office in New York, the Leopoldine Society might be described as the religious complement to secular state diplomacy. But here religious purposes are not so easily distinguishable from the aims of diplomacy—nor from the interests of the captains of Austrian finance and trade. Indeed, the guest list of the May 1829 formal launch of the Society is composed of the men who had guided it into existence—court councilors, church leaders and the Habsburg

zur Unterstützung der katholischen Mission in Amerika, no. 1 (1831): 7.

14 Benjamin J. Blied, *Austrian Aid to American Catholics, 1830–1860* (Milwaukee, WI: pub. by author, 1944), 8–9. For a recent articulation, see Graham MacDonald, "Editor's Introduction," in *Frederic Baraga's Short History of the North American Indians* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 1-45 (here 15).

15 Ivan Čizmić and Matjaž Klemenčič, "Croatian and Slovene Missionaries as Inventors and Explorers of the American West and Midwest," in *Društvena istraživanja—Časopis za opća društvena pitanja* 11, no. 60–61 (2002): 761–83, at 768; Wm. N. Cook, "Kent County," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 26 (1896): 134–46 (here 136). Baraga himself attended the wedding of Franz Joseph and Elisabeth in April 1854—to represent the American (Catholic) church, receiving a chalice from the emperor. Frederic Baraga, *The Diary of Bishop Frederic Baraga: First Bishop of Marquette, Michigan*, eds. Regis Walling and N. Daniel Rupp, trans. Joseph Gregorich and Paul Prud'homme (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 57n90.

16 Johannes Thauren, *Ein Gnadenstrom zur Neuen Welt und seine Quelle: Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung zur Unterstützung der Amerikanischen Missionen* (Vienna: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1940), 30. "Joseph Pletz," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950* (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 125–26.

17 Jonathan Singerton, "An Austrian Atlantic: The Habsburg Monarchy and the Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century," *Atlantic Studies* 20, no. 4 (October 2, 2023): 673–97.

entrepreneurial elite, among them Prince Joseph Schwarzenberg, the founder of the first Austrian joint-stock bank, the estate owner and mine speculator Joseph von Penkler, and the silk ribbon factory and flax mill owner Thaddäus Edler von Berger.[18] Administratively, as well, the prerogatives of commerce were visibly represented. Thaddäus Berger served in the directorate, as did Georg Schwarz, the American consul, leather merchant, and Imperial and Royal Court Master Furrier, while in 1833, the business tycoon Johann Christian Bruchmann, director of the Austrian National Bank and perhaps the wealthiest private individual in Vienna, became the Society's treasurer. Modeled upon the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a French missionary society established in Lyon 1822 by Marie-Pauline Jaricot, the daughter of a local silk magnate and other silk factory owners, the Leopoldine Society expressed the interests of its stakeholders.[19]

At the outset, the Leopoldine Society fused an Old World zeal for converting Indigenous peoples with modern Austrian state ambitions in geopolitics, commerce, and knowledge transfer. This chapter concerns the place of the Leopoldine Society circle in those ambitions. But it also concerns the Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes region, who had centuries-long experience with European geopolitics and who, themselves agents of commerce, traded artifacts collected by the members of Leopoldine Society circle. In the next section, I briefly characterize the North American artifacts in the Weltmuseum collection before turning to the geopolitics of the Great Lakes region where that collection was acquired. In section three, I situate the artifacts obtained by the Leopoldine Society circle within the larger framework of exchange modalities among Indigenous peoples. To convey this framework, I present the circumstances surrounding Indigenous artifact collections of British officers who were active in the region, as well as the document gift-giving of the Odawa leader Jean-Baptiste Assiginack. In section four, I call attention once again to Georg Schwarz, whose inventory of Indigenous artifacts remains the centerpiece of the North American collection in Vienna. In Schwarz, the issues of this chapter converge—the bold Habsburg turn to North America, the Leopoldine Society, and the complex overlays among the ambitions of Austrian traders, practices of Indigenous exchange, and the contemporary Weltmuseum collection. Today, the Indigenous artifacts

18 Economic history of this period remains under-researched, but on Schwarzenberg see Herman Freudenberger, "The Schwarzenberg Bank: A Forgotten Contributor to Austrian Economic Development, 1788–1830," *Austrian History Yearbook* 27 (January 1996): 41–64, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0067237800005816. The (partial) guest list is reproduced in Thauren, *Ein Gnadenstrom*, 70.

19 John F. Laffey, "Roots of French Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Lyon," *French Historical Studies* 6, no. 1 (1969): 78–92.

held in Vienna represent an essential contribution to an understanding of the material relationship between Austria and North America in the nineteenth century. But what can such artifacts still tell us about the Great Lakes region of the 1820s and 1830s? And what might Indigenous histories still have to say about the Habsburg Austria of those decades?

Anishinaabe Trading, The Leopoldine Society Circle, and the Schwarz Collection

Many artifacts located in the North American collection at the Weltmuseum in Vienna, as well as in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, may be traced to priests, officers, and other figures active in the early years of the Leopoldine Society. Older scholarship, particularly by Christian Feest and Sylvia Kasprycki, has greatly clarified the pedigree and ethnographic context of these artifacts, while the 2019 publication of *Around Lake Michigan: American Indians 1820–1850*, provides a contemporary reassessment of the collection.[20] That volume, coedited by Gerard van Bussel and Eric Hemenway—curator of the North American collection at the Weltmuseum and archive director of the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians, respectively—brings forward the aforementioned Georg Schwarz as the catalyst in mobilizing Leopoldine Society missionaries to acquire Indigenous artifacts.[21] The objects assembled by Schwarz, together with those collected by the Bavarian religious painter and restorer Martin Pitzer, today form the focal point of the Weltmuseum collection.

The Schwarz collection, it might fairly be said, is surrounded by an absence of controversy. The roughly ninety specimens of North American origin in the museum inventory are well-documented. They are known, for example, to have been acquired by Schwarz between 1820 and 1867—the date of his travel to the United States and the year of his death, respectively—while careful study of the artifacts has made them a reference point for comparative stylistic analyses.[22] That is, the objects—birch bark

20 Gerard W. van Bussel and Eric Hemenway, eds., *Around Lake Michigan: American Indians, 1820–1850* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2021).

21 Exchanges and lending arrangements between Vienna and the Little Traverse Bay Bands at Harbor Springs began in the 1980s under the museum leadership of Christian Feest. See *Beadwork & Textiles of the Ottawa,* ed. Harbor Springs Historical Commission (Harbor Springs, MI: Harbor Springs Historical Commission, 1984).

22 For an overview of the Schwarz collection, especially its history once in Austria, see Sylvia S. Kasprycki, "A Devout Collector: Johann Georg Schwarz and Early Nineteenth-Century Menominee

boxes, leggings, moccasins, pouches, war clubs, and other items—are not the spoils of what were, especially in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, described as scientific expeditions or research trips to collect botanical, zoological, and ethnographic objects.[23] Neither is this collection tied to the later nineteenth-century scramble for ethnographic artifacts, especially on the Northwest coast, fueled by European and North American museums and their agents.[24] Nor are human remains or exceptional claims for repatriation tied to the Schwarz North American collection, or indeed to any of the Leopoldine missionaries.[25] Such claims, to be sure, have been made against the Weltmuseum, most notably, perhaps, in connection with the Māori skulls, mandibles, and other remains collected by the Austrian adventurer and taxidermist Andreas Reischek.[26] But these are unrelated to the North American collection.

Of course, to characterize the collection as surrounded by an absence of controversy points to the broader question raised by that characterization. Namely, what social, historical, and other circumstances are presupposed by the acquisition of this collection? Or, to put it differently, what circumstances made it possible for the Leopoldine Society circle to come into possession of the great number of artifacts that remain today? And in what ways would the Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous groups of the Great Lakes region

Art," in *Three Centuries of Woodlands Indian Art. A Collection of Essays.*, ed. J. C. H. King and Christian F. Feest (Altenstadt: ZKF Publishers, 2007), 113–22. For provenance research in the North American museum collection by its now-retired director, see Christian Feest, "Historical Collections Research. Some Experiences from the Past Decades," in *Provenienzforschung zu ethnografischen Sammlungen der Kolonialzeit. Positionen in der aktuellen Debatte*, eds. Larissa Förster et al. (Berlin: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2018), 123–32, https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/19769. Feest recalls how, in the 1960s, the "two important missionary collections (Schwarz and Pitzer) from the Great Lakes region," together with the James Cook collection from the Pacific Northwest were a "tabula rasa." Feest, "Historical Collections," 124.

23 Christa Riedl-Dorn, "Forschungsreisen im Geist des Eurozentrismus. Erwerbungen für das Naturhistorische Museum Wien im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Das Museum im kolonialen Kontext: Annäherungen aus Österreich*, ed. Pia Schölnberger (Vienna: Czernin Verlag, 2021), 199–229.

24 Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).

25 Cressida Fforde, Timothy McKeown, and Honor Keeler, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation: Return, Reconcile, Renew* (London: Routledge, 2020).

26 In 2013, the New Zealand Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Program requested from the Weltmuseum the return of a *toi moko*, or shrunken skull, collected by Schwarz, which was subsequently returned. Coralie O'Hara, "The Andreas Reischek Collection in Vienna and New Zealand's Attempts at Repatriation," in *The Routledge Companion to Indigenous Repatriation* (London: Routledge, 2022), 438–51 (here 48). For more on Reischek, see Erich Kolig, "Umstrittene Würde. Andreas Reischek, Der Neuseeland-Forscher aus dem oberösterreichischen Mühlviertel (1845–1902)," *Wiener Ethnohistorische Blätter* 41 (1996).

have seen the Leopoldine circle as recipients? In response to such questions, it is often suggested that the missionaries were—like other European visitors—simply ethnographically curious and thus eager to acquire Indigenous objects. And indeed, from the outset, Leopoldine priests expressed an interest in these objects and envisioned a repository for their collection. Already in January 1830, for example, General Vicar Friedrich Rese of the Cincinnati Diocese informed Society benefactor Joseph von Penkler that he had assembled "a lot of antiquities and other Indian objects." Such objects, he added, would be sent to Vienna when he possessed a "more complete collection" in order to "create a museum for the Leopoldine Society." Apparently, these could be easily acquired. Rese wished to know from Penkler what type of objects would be best-suited for this "Indian museum."[27]

In his letter to Penkler, Rese sought advice as to the type of objects desired in Vienna. But this request, which is also an offer, calls for contextualization. That is, what is the background to this certainty that whatever objects needed can be acquired? One explanation is that Rese implies that the local wilderness and accompanying backward condition of the nearby Indigenous peoples is such that modern market-oriented and profit-driven motives of exchange do not obtain. This explanation is, at least partially, invoked by the authors of the recent Weltmuseum publication, which cites a description from the *Detroit Free Press* around 1830 to represent the Great Lakes region as "a wilderness in the possession of Indians and wild animals," adding, in their own voice, that "By general consensus, the forests of the region's interior were, for the most part, held to be impenetrable—at least to European Americans."[28]

In fact, similar passages may be found across early Leopoldine reports from North America, as missionaries described a boundless territory without history, inhabited by savages. Thus, in January 1830, Friedrich Rese expresses his hopes of establishing a "collegium for the education of young Indians, which would serve for the conversion of their brothers in the forest."[29] To these brothers in the forest and the collegium, Rese returns again in his 1832 letter to Vienna—and this example must stand for many others—writing of "the savages who have been taken in the lap of our church … I cannot repeat it enough that savage humans could be brought to such an excellent

27 "Letter from Friedrich Rese to Joseph von Penkler, January 20, 1830," in Joseph Pletz, "Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung, Sammt Briefen aus der Mission," *Neue Theologische Zeitschrift* 2, no. 3 (1830): 319–36, at 336.

28 Van Bussel and Hemenway, *Around Lake Michigan: American Indians, 1820–1850*, 42.

29 Friedrich Rese, "Excerpts from Letters from Friedrich Rese to the Central Direction of the Leopoldine Society in Vienna," *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*, no. 1 (1831): 11–14 (here 13).

piety."[30] Awakened to missionary service, in part, by the lively descriptions of Rese, Fredric Baraga also shared the vision of a primeval wilderness. In his 1831 report, completed while assigned to Waganakising (near contemporary Harbor Springs) on the northeast coast of Lake Michigan, Baraga explains that he now finds himself "smack in the middle of the savages, of whom many are converted, but still more are in the original condition of their savagery."[31] A gifted writer, Baraga was greatly drawn to the idea of "original conditions." Reflecting upon his success in 1832, he writes that "if one day everything is converted, I will, with the consent of my bishop, go to another missionary post … where no missionary has ever been … far away from here in the north."[32]

Such passages capture the experiences of Leopoldine missionaries. But a more historically grounded contextualization for Rese's offer to acquire "Indian objects" for a planned Society museum is that these objects could be easily obtained through exchange. After all, in the Great Lakes region, early Leopoldine missionaries placed themselves among the Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous groups in whom trade practices were highly evolved and for whom neither Europeans nor missionaries were a novelty. Indeed, the Anishinaabeg had encountered the French explorer Samuel Champlain more than two centuries previously, in 1615, at the mouth of the French River in present-day Ontario. Through extended contact, moreover, these groups had developed situationally elastic practices, including trade behaviors and changing religious affiliation, in response to various circumstances.[33] Indeed, Baraga himself entered into just this long and tangled history, when he brought missionary Catholicism to Waganakising in 1831. Upon arrival, he was met by Jean-Baptiste Assiginack, who would instruct him in Odawa and serve as his interpreter. Among the many Odawa already converted to Catholicism, Assiginack had learned in 1827 of the mission planned for Waganakising and left his quarters at Drummond Island to join it. Disappointed to find no priest in residence, Assiginack began to

30 Friedrich Rese, "Untitled," *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*, no. 3 (1832): 1–21 (here 6).

31 Frederic Baraga, "Letter from Frederic Baraga to His Sister, Amalia Gressel, March 19, 1831," *Berichte der Leopoldinenstiftung*, no. 3 (1832): 30–33 (here 32).

32 "Zweites Schreiben des Hrn. Baraga an die Stiftungs—Direktion," *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*, no. 4 (1832): 13–16 (here 14).

33 On religious affiliation, see Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1983); Tracy Neal Leavelle, *The Catholic Calumet: Colonial Conversions in French and Indian North America* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) especially 59–90.

preach and teach the catechism—three years before Baraga landed in North America.[34]

Around the Great Lakes, where French and British imperial ambitions first clashed, then collided with an increasingly assertive United States where furs, weapons, cloth, and other goods circulated, trade and trade networks were the region's shared lifeblood. Of these rivalries and trade networks, Arthur Ray has noted how Indigenous complaints regarding the quality of trade goods they received increased during periods of elevated tension between the British and the French, while falling at other times.[35] Already in 1785, Frederick Eugen de Beelen-Bertholf, the first official representative of the Habsburg monarchy to the United States, met with Oneyoteaka (Oneida) Nation leaders to seek a direct trade deal with the Oneyoteaka to import furs, via Trieste, to Austria. Though Beelen reached no agreement, Jonathan Singerton has described the reports Beelen sent to Vienna, in which he linked emerging political alliances among Indigenous groups to future trade possibilities.[36] From this perspective, if Austrian elites of the 1820s had set their sights on North America intending to improve both their geopolitical outlook and their trade ledger, it must be said that early Leopoldine missionaries encountered Indigenous leaders whose experience in geopolitics and trade rivalled the Habsburgs. Looking back, after all, it was the regional power the Haudenosaunee (Five Nations Iroquois Confederacy) that drew upon its own diplomatic customs to negotiate the Treaty of Montreal in 1701, running a middle course between French and the English.[37]

In the decades that followed, new political alliances were formed, shattered, and reestablished with gift giving, exchange of goods, and trade preferences cementing these alliances. During the Seven Years War (1756–63), the Anishinaabe had sided with the French against the English,

34 Andrew J. Blackbird, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan* (Ypsilanti, MI: Ypsilanti Job Printing House, 1887) 47; Theodore J. Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song: Andrew J. Blackbird and the Odaawaa People* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2012), 51.

35 Arthur J. Ray, "Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century," in *Old Trails and New Directions* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980), 255–71 (here 266).

36 Jonathan Singerton, *The American Revolution and the Habsburg Monarchy, The Revolutionary Age* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2022), 177-78.

37 Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 122. On Haudensaunee diplomacy, see Timothy Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York, NY: Viking, 2008). For a study of Anishinaabe diplomacy, Alan Ojiig Corbiere, "Anishinaabe Treaty-Making in the 18th and 19th Century Northern Great Lakes: From Shared Meanings to Epistemological Chasms" (PhD diss., York University, 2019).

then turned in the War of 1812 to side with the English against the Americans. The Seven Years War would be called the first global war, and conflicts in this region were multilateral. Nor were Catholic clergy always viewed as neutral bystanders in these conflicts. The French Sulpician priest Gabriel Richard, whom Friedrich Rese met on his 1830 tour, had been imprisoned by the British during the War of 1812.[38] The Haudenosaunee divided the outside world into two groups: those with whom they traded and those with whom they fought.[39] And when early Leopoldine missionaries arrived, traditions that affirmed political and personal loyalty via the presentation of objects were far from ancient history. To recognize their continuing bonds, the British annually distributed gifts each year to their former Indigenous allies at Drummond Island, with as many as 4,500 travelers making the journey annually.[40] Though Great Britain ceded the island to the United States in 1828, this ritual persisted into the 1840s.[41] Indeed, the 1831 Leopoldine Society report notes that when Rese arrived at Mackinac Island, not far from Waganakising, the Milanese priest Samuel Mazzuchelli had established a mission among Othâkîwa (Sauk) and Meskwaki (Fox) groups, coincided with the preparation of many there to make their annual trek to receive gifts from the British.[42]

Exchange Modalities in the Great Lakes Region

The Anishinaabeg and other Indigenous peoples knew much more about the newly-arrived Catholic priests—Franz Xaver Hätscher, Simon Sänderl, Theodoor J. van den Broek, and others—than these priests knew about them.[43] Under the patronage of Emperor Franz and Prince Metternich, Leopoldine missionaries brought with them an understanding of Indigenous peoples. This understanding was drawn from many sources, including popular discourse, church teachings, and the Leopoldine Society's own

38 "Diocesan-Bericht aus Cincinnati de dato 11. Februar 1831," *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*, no. 2 (1831): 1–10, here 7. Chrysostom Verwyst, *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga* (Milwaukee, WI: M. H. Wiltzius, 1900), 54.

39 Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*, 22.

40 Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 26.

41 Samuel F. Cook, *Drummond Island: The Story of British Occupation 1815–1828* (Lansing, MI: Robert Smith Printing, 1896), 121.

42 "Diocesan-Bericht aus Cincinnati de dato 11. Februar 1831," 4.

43 Early priests were generally assigned to their posts by Cincinnati Bishop Edward Fenwick. See Sylvia S. Kasprycki, *Die Dinge des Glaubens: Menominees und Missionare im kulturellen Dialog, 1830–1880*, vol. 23 (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2006): 32–38.

reports, to name a few. But what a contemporary assessment of early Leopoldine missionaries, together with their collecting activities in the Great Lakes region, would do well to confront is that for cultural artifacts to circulate, no shared agreement concerning the meaning of that circulation is required. Indeed, today, it is difficult to conjure the labyrinthine world of circulating currencies, commodities, and other trade objects encountered by these early missionaries. In the United States, a place where wampum had once been legal tender, monetary multilingualism obtained. Of the $23,000,000 circulating as coin in 1830, as Marc Shell notes, $9,000,000 was in foreign coin.[44] Shaped by many factors, including regional traditions, group experiences, and local contingencies, Indigenous peoples also brought with them an understanding of gift relationships and exchange modalities.[45]

In his celebrated account of the upper Great Lakes region, the historian Richard White has introduced the term "middle ground" to characterize a particular historical space in which social actors could retain their own understanding of their interactions with other social actors.[46] As White argues, beginning in the early seventeenth century, imperial or state regimes and non-state forms of social organization in the *pays d'en haut* were engaged in a deadlock. A provisional balance of power obtained, where each actor desired something of what the other had, yet no actor could compel another to act in accordance with their wishes. In response, social actors sought cultural congruences, "either perceived or actual," that enabled them to negotiate, strike alliances, and conduct exchanges without being required to sacrifice their own self-understanding of what was taking place.[47] The "middle ground," White underscores, did not entail an accomplishment in "mutual understanding and appreciation between Europeans and Indian people," but rather represented a "creation, in part through creative misunderstanding, of a set of practices, rituals, offices, and beliefs that although comprised of elements of the group in contact is as a whole separate from the practices and beliefs of all of those groups."[48]

44 Marc Shell, *Wampum and the Origins of American Money* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 12.

45 For some considered reflections on these exchange modalities by a pioneer of their study, see "Introduction to the 1998 Edition," Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660–1870; with a New Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), xi–xxxii.

46 Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, 20th anniversary ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

47 White, *The Middle Ground*, xii.

48 White, *The Middle Ground*, xxi, xiii.

Drawing attention to the *pays d'en haut* as a middle ground recalls that missionaries were not the only members of the Leopoldine circle with an interest in acquiring Indigenous artifacts. Indeed, beginning around 1820 in the Great Lakes region, Georg Schwarz had begun collecting such artifacts during his travels to North America. Born in 1800 as the scion of a fur and leather merchant family, Schwarz would later become secretary of the Leopoldine Society. But as a young man, Schwarz was situated squarely within that Austrian generation of the 1820s, previously encountered, committed to exploring trade opportunities abroad. In Detroit sometime around 1821, with his older brother who had become a naturalized American citizen in 1817, Schwarz founded a trading company devoted to buying and selling furs and to supplying goods to the fur trade.[49] Here, it is believed, Schwarz met with Anishinaabeg, the Mamaceqtaw, and Potawatomi, among other groups, and began acquiring Indigenous artifacts.[50] Though Schwarz returned to Vienna within a few years, these objects formed the basis of his growing collection. Of the circumstances surrounding these early acquisitions, little is known, including in what ways these participated in the circulatory system of artifacts in the middle ground. The *Biographical Lexicon of the Austrian Empire* simply reports that "on his far travels he obtained the most remarkable and often highly interesting objects, which were mostly obtained at little cost, or were simply there for the taking."[51]

To be sure, the arrival of the early Leopoldine missionaries coincided with the dissolution of the multipolar standoff that had underpinned the historical space of the middle ground. The 1795 Treaty of Greenville ceded Indigenous lands, except in the northwestern corner of Ohio, to the United States and contributed to a decoupling of the British and Indigenous compact. That compact had been built on the old linkage between alliance and commerce—Indigenous peoples would only trade with allies. For Indigenous peoples, trade partners and commerce were the casus belli of the War of 1812.[52] After its victory, the United States expelled French and British trading—and thus influence—from the region, while the 1830 Indian Removal Act replaced Indigenous political independence with dependence. Still, into

49 Gerard van Bussel, "Of Collectors and Collections," in *Around Lake Michigan: American Indians, 1820–1850*, eds. Gerard W. van Bussel and Eric Hemenway (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2021), 41–56, here 44.

50 Van Bussel, "Of Collectors and Collections," 43.

51 Constant von Wurzbach, "Johann Georg Schwarz," in *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1876) 296–99, at 297.

52 Pekka Hämäläinen, *Lakota America: A New History of Indigenous Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 152.

the 1830s, old ways of conducting exchange survived, and the older habits of the middle ground persisted. In the missionary endeavor, Leopoldine priests, like other missionaries, found greater success when Indigenous peoples were in a relationship of dependency.[53] But the missionary enterprise itself is protean, as James Axtell has noted, calling for its practitioners to become all things to all people so that some might be saved. Indeed, it was this self-understanding that led Leopoldine missionaries to learn local Indigenous languages, immerse themselves into local cultures, and adopt local customs.

Alliances between Indigenous groups and other categories of social actors in the middle ground offer one reference point for thinking about exchange relationships between the Anishinaabe and the early Leopoldine missionary circle. In the second half of the eighteenth century, for example, British forces and Indigenous peoples forged partnerships, expressed through objects, to counter the increasingly assertive French and American presence in the Great Lakes region. In his memoirs, the New York-born British "chief" Arent Schuyler DePeyster recalls an occasion in 1776, upon which he received wampum belts from the Haudenosaunee accompanied by a speech, whose purpose was to invite the Ojibwe to meet at Connesedaga village.[54] As British Deputy Governor on Michilimackinac Island, DePeyster later acted as judge in the case of a local Ojibwe who confessed to being told by a spirit in the shape of a white beaver, while asleep on Beaver Island, to kill the commandant (DePeyster). As punishment, DePeyster sentenced the man to spend the winter on Beaver Island, but also to find the white beaver, kill it, and bring him the skin.[55] Today, that albino beaver pelt, together with other Indigenous artifacts preserved by DePeyster, is held in the King's Regiment Collection at National Museums Liverpool.[56]

Such were the compass of events, range of circumstances, and modalities of exchange in the middle ground. Indeed, in examining the decades following the Seven Years War (1756–63), scholars have shown how fully British soldiers were integrated into Indigenous object economies. Like DePeyster, the Anglo-Irish Lieutenant John Caldwell sustained the British and Indigenous alliance against the Americans through a military diplomacy grounded in the circulation of goods. His father summarized

53 James Axtell, "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 1 (1982): 35–41 (here 37–39).

54 Arent Schuyler De Peyster, *Miscellanies*, ed. J. Watts De Peyster, vol. 1, 2 vols. (New York, NY: A. E. Chasmer, 1888): 4.

55 De Peyster Arent Schuyler, *Miscellanies*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (New York, NY: A. E. Chasmer, 1888).

56 Simon Jones, "Caldwell and DePeyster: Two Collectors from the King's Regiment on the Great Lakes in the 1770s and 1780s," in *Three Centuries of Woodlands Indian Art*, 32–43.

this diplomacy, writing that from 1776–80 the young Caldwell had been "principally employed in delivering the King's presents to the Indians, and exchanging with them the war hatchet and wampon [*sic*]."[57] Empowered by profession to negotiate for the loyalty of Indigenous groups, Caldwell amassed the largest surviving collection of Indigenous artifacts from the Revolutionary War years, a collection that now resides in the Canadian Museum of History. For a consideration of the Leopoldine Society circle, more specifically, the Caldwell collection indicates an alternate path to acquiring artifacts, what Ruth B. Phillips has called the "participatory paradigm," in contrast to the paradigm of acquiring Indigenous "curiosities."[58] Thus, in the exercise of his profession, Caldwell himself utilized many of the artifacts that have been preserved—a feathered headdress, a calico shirt, brooches, moccasins, leggings, and a belt pouch, among others. A portrait of the lieutenant, adorned with many of these objects, offers testimony to their use, as do other signs, including indications of habitual wear. Caldwell was tasked to preserve British alliances with linguistically and culturally diverse nations in the unstable Ohio Valley, and Phillips suggests his grasp of "aboriginal metaphorical language and protocol" contributed to the success he achieved.[59] Moments of participatory acquisition, such as a holy water container of birchbark and perhaps the leggings worn by Georg Schwarz or the *Arbre Croche Sketchbook*, might be identified among the items preserved by the Leopoldine circle, though such moments remain in need of additional exploration.[60]

According to its people, the name Odawa derives from an Anishinaabe word meaning "trading, selling, or doing business."[61] The early Leopoldine circle, in obtaining Indigenous artifacts, may be said to have learned to trade from the Anishinaabeg. Objects, as DePeyster and Caldwell understood, were

57 Cited in Jones, "Caldwell and DePeyster," 41.

58 Ruth B. Phillips, "Reading and Writing between the Lines: Soldiers, Curiosities, and Indigenous Art Histories," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, no. 2/3 (June 2011): 107–24, here 123. Following the naming convention that ascribes intent to the European receiver of an object from an Indigenous person, the rubric "collector" is most often applied to DePeyster and Caldwell. But, of course, what is known is that the objects were obtained and subsequently preserved.

59 Phillips, "Reading and Writing between the Lines," 116.

60 For a slightly different perspective on the holy water container, consult Sylvia S. Kasprycki, "The Native American Collection of Frederik Baraga: The Missionary as Ethnographic Collector," *Ethnolog* 8, no. 59 (1998): 331–55. On the Sketchbook, see Christian F. Feest, "The 'Arbre Croche Sketchbook,'" in *Beadwork & Textiles of the Ottawa*, 61–83.

61 Frank Ettawageshik, "My Father's Business," in *Unpacking Culture. Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999): 20–29 (here 21).

the traditional currency among allies. But loyalties, homage, and a multitude of other personal bonds between individuals were also expressed through objects. It seems unlikely, for example, the Leopoldine priest Frederic Baraga did not exchange gifts with Jean-Baptiste Assiginack, the Odawa leader who served as his interpreter and taught him Odawa at Waganakising, though there is no record of what these might have been. But a gift made by Assiginack, who fought on the British side in the War of 1812, given to a British friend around 1820, has survived and resides in the Canadian Museum of History.[62] A miniature canoe, thirty-seven inches in length, the boat is occupied by a war party composed of six (originally seven) chiefs and warriors. Assiginack wished to memorialize a historical event, probably a war party departing from Waganakising in 1815, as the identity of each figure can be corroborated by period sources.[63] Richly detailed, the tattoos, hair, and painted faces of the figures suggest active warriors, and the side of the canoe depict two spirits (*manidoog*), an Underwater Panther and a Thunderbird.[64] As what messages this gift of Assiginack conveys, like other such exchanges, little can be said with certainty. The British had made large promises to their Anishinaabe allies, but the British had lost the war. Gifts could call due past commitments, take stock of the present, express wishes for the future, and a great deal else.

Trade Missions and Trading Secrets: Georg Schwarz

The gift of a canoe by Assiginack highlights the connection between Indigenous artifacts held in contemporary museum collections and the scrambled dynamics of the exchange economy in the Great Lakes region. But it also suggests how fully practices of Indigenous exchange were integrated in global networks of missionary activity, trade, and statecraft. Born in 1768, the canoe-giver Assiginack would fight in seven battles with the British, and serve as chief interpreter for the Indian Department in the Manitoulin Island region, presenting a sizable band of Anishinaabe dressed in full

62 Cecil King notes that Assiginack and his wife, Theresa Kebeshkamokwe, worked together carving canoes. Cecil King, *Balancing Two Worlds: Jean-Baptiste Assiginack and the Odaawaa Nation, 1768–1866* (Saskatoon: Dr. Cecil King, 2013), 183.

63 J. Gareth Taylor, "Assiginack's Canoe. Memories of Indian Warfare on the Great Lakes," *The Beaver: Magazine of the North* 66, no. 5 (1988): 49–53.

64 Michelle K. Cassidy, "'Both the Honor and the Profit': Anishinaabe Warriors, Soldiers, and Veterans from Pontiac's War through the Civil War" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2016), 57.

regalia to Bishop Edward Fenwick upon his visit to Waganakising in 1829, before teaching Odawa to Baraga there two years later.[65] Assiginack would subsequently acquire the status of an Indigenous senior statesman (*ogimaa*), leading negotiations for the 1836 Manitoulin Treaty, and the 1850 Robinson Huron Treaty, and the 1862 McDougall Treaty, before his death in 1866 at Manitoulin Island.[66]

The Austrian entrepreneur and collector Georg Schwarz might well have met Jean-Baptiste Assiginack through the provisions company in Detroit he had established with his brother in 1821. Gerard van Bussel notes that, for fur traders, contacts with "Indian chiefs" were essential, and that "Schwarz met the Odawa, Ojibwe, Menominee, Potawatomi and other tribes."[67] Whatever the case, the North American trip of Schwarz represents an unmistakable foreshadowing of the Austrian state and Leopoldine missionary ventures that would follow a decade later. Upon his arrival in Detroit, for example, Schwarz lodged with the local tycoon Joseph Campau, and it was his brother, Louis Campau, who would host Frederic Baraga in Grand River (Grand Rapids), while Baraga founded his mission there in 1833.[68]

Indeed, in Detroit, Schwarz established relationships that looked ahead to opportunities for future cooperation. He struck a friendship, for example, with Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan territory, the authorized US representative for trade negotiations with the Odawa and Ojibwe in 1820, who would soon become the American ambassador to France. Such relationships pointed beyond Detroit, to New York, where the Campau family traded through commission houses, and still further, to France and Europe. But these relationships were largely among mercantile elites, aggressive capitalists, with skills cut to fit the singular demands of the region. Having relocated from Montreal, for example, the Campau family had acquired a vast fortune, first through the fur trade, and then by investing their gains in urban real estate. Like Louis Campau, Joseph Campau could

65 Alan Ojiig Corbiere, "Jean Baptiste Assiginack: The Starling Aka Blackbird," Active History, n.d., https://activehistory.ca/blog/2014/11/12/jean-baptiste-assiginack-the-starling-aka-blackbird/#2, accessed 24 April 2024; King, *Balancing Two Worlds*, 157–187; Frank A. O'Brien, "The Diocese of Detroit. What It Was. What It Is," in *Report of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan*, vol. 9 (Lansing, MI: State Printers, 1908), 128–37 (here 133); Karamanski, *Blackbird's Song*, 51.

66 The role of the Odawa *ogimaa* is described as "helping his band members reach consensus decisions, and for carrying out the wishes of his band members within the band and through the interactions of band members with others outside of the community." James McClurken, *Our People, Our Journey: The Little River Band of Ottawa Indians* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 15.

67 Van Bussel, "Of Collectors and Collections," 43.

68 MacDonald, "Editor's Introduction," 18.

Figure 8.1 Jean-Baptiste Assiginack (1768–1866)

Figure 8.2 Johann Georg Schwarz (1800–67)

speak several Indigenous languages. After all, one did not become the wealthiest man in the Michigan territory without knowing how to negotiate in local languages. But that wealth also came by negotiating treaties that led to "loss of Indian land and substantial profit for the traders," and it is said that Louis Campau—who had hosted Baraga and may have given Schwarz an Iroquois ball-headed club now in the Weltmuseum—earned $100,000 by closing a treaty in 1836.[69] In Detroit, Schwarz secured a foothold in North America for the Leopoldine missionaries, for the trade ambitions of Habsburg Austria, and—it must be said—for himself, the Indigenous artifact dealer and collector. To the Great Lakes region, others would follow.

The patriarchs of the Campau family were, in effect, entrepreneurial analogues to DePeyster and Caldwell in a now vanishing middle ground. Unlike Lewis Cass, they were widely seen as friends to local Indigenous groups, and their adoption of certain Native practices surely enhanced their positions as negotiators. But in some ways, Georg Schwarz also auditioned for such a role—albeit from Vienna. With neither his memoirs nor a travel account preserved, it may be in his 1828 lithographic portrait by

69 Jay Gitlin, *The Bourgeois Frontier: French Towns, French Traders, and American Expansion* (Yale University Press, 2017), 78, 141. On the means by which traders could profit from serving as intermediaries in treaty negotiations, also see Gitlin, 67. On the Grand River Iroquois ball-headed club, see Kasprycki, "A Devout Collector," 14.

Josef Kriehuber that Schwarz expresses most directly his adoption of North American Indigeneity (Figure 8.2). Here, centered in the foreground, facing the observer, the still young Schwarz offers himself as a man of global trade. The wide ocean and, one supposes, the distant lands beyond it, occupy the background. A different portrait, one believed to represent Jean-Baptiste Assiginack (Figure 8.1), references the dual claims of the Odawa leader, who displays both the septum piercing of an Odawa leader and the cross of a Christian.[70] Partly obscured by the right arm of the Viennese global trader is Schwarz's own claim to Indigeneity—a feather-decorated pipestem and an otter skin fur cap ornamented with feather. To be sure, something of the nineteenth-century collector might be detected in the Schwarz portrait, though also, surely, in that of the Latin cross collector Assiginack. Schwarz himself would use his position as secretary of the Leopoldine Society to acquire Indigenous artifacts, which have eventually become part of the Weltmuseum collection.[71] But he would also continue to express broader identifications with the United States, particularly in the area of commercial exchange. Indeed, in January 1829, President Andrew Jackson nominated Schwarz to serve as the American consul in Vienna, and he was officially recognized as such by the Habsburg government in November 1830. His primary task was to promote trade on behalf of the United States in Austria.

Traditions of Indigenous exchange taught Europeans in the Great Lakes region that exchange renewed and reaffirmed relationships, binding together those who participated. Relationships sustained in this way, scholars have argued, were the antithesis of the relationship proposed by the European treaty and its claim to permanently fix relationships in writing.[72] Exchange among Indigenous allies needed to be repeated because relationships were understood to be impermanent. Such an understanding also recognized that personal loyalties and individual reputations were subject to revision. With his public speech in favor of the 1862 McDougall Treaty, which would open Manitoulin Island for non-Indigenous settlers, Assiginack became an outcast

70 Anishinaabeg historians now consider the portrait figure to be Assiginack, rather an earlier identification, even as some uncertainty persists. See Bimadoshka Pucan, "The Anishinaabeg of Chief's Point" (PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 2019), 106.

71 Carlo Krieger, "Christian Kauder, ein Luxemburger Missionar bei den Micmac-Indianern in Kanada," in *Le Luxembourg et l'étranger: présences et contacts*, eds. Jean-Claude Muller and Wilhelm Frank (Luxembourg: Association SESAM, 1987), 88–114, here 107–8. Here, I follow the conventional description of Schwarz as Society "secretary," though his position as *Comtur* might today be rendered as "chief administrative officer." Equipped with assistants, though his own position was honorary, Schwarz signed bills, made payments, did accounts, and maintained an overview of the organization.

72 John Borrows, "Negotiating Treaties and Land Claims: The Impact of Diversity within First Nations Property Interests," *Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice* 12 (1992): 179–234 (here 191–92).

among his people. A younger Odawa chief, one among many chiefs who refused to sign the Treaty, declared that Assiginack was not a pure Odawa, but one whose ancestor had been adopted into the nation, and a "slave."[73] In the Mann Affair of 1849, the American Consul Georg Schwarz likewise forfeited something of his reputation and self-image. But here, in matters of wealth, proximity to political power, and statecraft, the parallels end. In 1862, Assiginack was ninety-six years old, and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs William McDougall simply excluded those leaders who would not negotiate. In 1849, by contrast, Georg Schwarz was a prosperous Viennese merchant, director of a fur and leather goods business in the *Schönlaterngasse*, who would be lavishly decorated by church and state in the coming years. Still, the Mann Affair represents the first of only two meaningful breakdowns in the relationship between the post-1776 United States and the Habsburg monarchy before the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy.[74] More importantly, with its ruinous consequences, the Mann Affair recenters for the current discussion the combustible mixture of geopolitics, trade, and shifting alliances that not only characterized the Great Lakes region, but led Habsburg Austria and the Leopoldine Society to North America in the first place.

An Austrian citizen with close ties to the Catholic church and the Habsburg government, the title of American Consul meant that Georg Schwarz had been appointed an agent of the United States. Because consular duties primarily concerned matters of commerce, Schwarz had little to do with diplomatic and political affairs. But in the stalemate that followed the 1848 Hungarian uprising against the Austrian imperial government, Lajos Kossuth asked William Henry Stiles, the American Chargé d'affaires in Vienna, to inform the imperial government, on behalf of the Kingdom of Hungary, that Hungary remained open to negotiation. When Habsburg leaders rejected the Hungarian overture, the American administration of Zachary Taylor decided to open its own negotiations with Hungary. In June 1849, Secretary of State Clayton instructed Paris-based diplomat Ambrose Dudley Mann to travel to Hungary, via Vienna, in order to ascertain the status of revolutionary movement and to assess the chances of forming commercial arrangements with an independent Hungary favorable to the United States. Such was the

73 Alan Ojiig Corbiere, "Jean Baptiste Assiginack: The Starling Aka Blackbird," Active History, n.d., https://activehistory.ca/blog/2014/11/12/jean-baptiste-assiginack-the-starling-aka-blackbird/#2, accessed, 24 April 2024.

74 The second crisis, according to T. Mills Kelly, occurred in 1885, when the Austrian government refused to accept Anthony M. Keiley as Minister to Austria because his wife was Jewish, and a virtual break in relations ensued. T. Mills Kelly, "America's First Attempt at Intervention in East Central Europe," *East European Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1995): 1–17 (here 15).

resolve behind this mission that in the possession of Mann was a letter, signed by Taylor, authorizing him to "agree, treat, consult and negotiate of and concerning all matters and subjects interesting to both nations, and to conclude and sign a treaty or treaties, convention or conventions."[75]

When Mann arrived in Vienna, William Stiles had departed on a family trip through Switzerland to Paris. In his absence, Consul Schwarz had taken charge of the American legation. Stiles recalled in his memoirs that he had always exercised caution around Schwarz. To be sure, he could hardly have written otherwise, as once in Vienna, Mann entrusted the documents to Schwarz, who promptly read them and shared their content with Austrian Minister President Felix Schwarzenberg.[76] As a high bourgeois tradesman and entrepreneur in the Great Lakes region of the early 1820s, Schwarz had fused his own commercial pursuits with Habsburg foreign policy. In late 1840s Vienna, trade interests and global politics reconverged. For his part, Georg Schwarz collected both Indigenous artifacts and political intelligence. But where the Leopoldine Society is concerned, as I have argued, these two practices are never far apart. With his role in the Mann Affair exposed, the career of Consul Schwarz ended. In April 1853, the American government appointed George Lippett as his replacement in Vienna, also replacing consuls in Trieste and Venice with American citizens. Thereafter, in 1855, with reference to the Schwarz espionage incident, the US Congress passed a law henceforth prohibiting foreign nationals from serving as American consuls abroad.

Conclusion

Missionary activity, as historical anthropologists have observed, has its own history and is not constant across time.[77] Founded by Habsburg and Catholic leaders, the early Leopoldine Society acquired shape during a

75 Cited in Kelly, "America's First Attempt," 3.

76 Ambrose Dudley Mann to Secretary of State, John Clayton, No. 13, Paris, 8 October 1849. *Despatches from Special Agents of the Department of State, 1794–1906*, Microfilm 7, National Archives, Record Group 59. On Schwarz as an "Austrian police informer," also see Sándor Szilassy, "America and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 44, no. 102 (1966): 180–96 (here 183). The most detailed account of the Mann Mission remains Daniel Thomas Goggin, "The Mann Mission: A Study of American Diplomatic Relations with Austria, 1849–1851" (Master's thesis, American University, 1961).

77 Gerald Faschingeder, "Missionsgeschichte als Beziehungsgeschichte. Die Genese des europäischen Missionseifers als Gegenstand der historischen Anthropologie," *Historische Anthropologie* 10, no. 1 (April 2002): 1–30.

period of increased Habsburg state engagement in economic expansion, especially around global trade, together with a reinvigorated Catholic church committed to unleashing its potential through a "mobilization from below."[78] The transatlantic Catholic network to be built by the Society would thus not only extend the global reach of the monarchy and herald a new age of economic opportunity. It would strengthen the church as well.[79] Or, as Friedrich Rese, a founding figure of the Society, put the anticipated outcome of the endeavor, the "unification of the spirit and the prayer between the Catholics of the Austrian monarchy and those of America brought about by the Leopoldine Society will bring down the lavish blessings of God upon us."[80]

From a contemporary perspective, to be sure, it seems inevitable that among the legacies of Habsburg global ambitions should be collections of Indigenous objects held by Central European museums.[81] What might be less recognized, however, is that such objects enable multiple points of access into Austrian and Indigenous histories. Today, a reconsideration of the Weltmuseum North American collection illuminates Habsburg geopolitical ambitions and accompanying trade ideals, but also deeply-rooted traditions of Indigenous exchange. In reaching across the Atlantic to secure a future for Austrian commercial enterprise, Habsburg leaders sent Leopoldine missionaries to the Great Lakes regions, where they would encounter Indigenous masters of geopolitics and some of the most skilled traders on the planet.

Indigenous artifacts held by museums stimulate the writing of narratives that offer a coherent context for these artifacts in the present. With respect to these artifacts, stories of authenticity have often held a particular grip on the imagination of ethnographers and collectors.[82] For their part, given the role of the Leopoldine Society circle in their acquisition, many of the Indigenous objects in the Weltmuseum have been plotted within a story about the Indigenous adoption of Christianity. As Sylvia Kasprycki has suggested, for example, prayer mats with Indigenous symbols were incorporated into churches, such that Christian sites of worship became an Indigenous

78 Siegfried Weichlein, "The Missionary Movement and the Catholic Revival in Germany before 1848," in *Religiöse Grenzziehungen im öffentlichen Raum—Mechanismen und Strategien von Inklusion und Exklusion im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011), 263–76 (here 268–69).

79 Leopoldine Society histories generally call attention to the endangered position of Catholics in the United States as an impetus for its launch and activities. See Kummer, 131–32; Thauren, 22.

80 Friedrich Rese, "Excerpts from Letters," 14.

81 Joy Slappnig and Claudia Augustat, "A Colonial Thing. Booklet" (Weltmuseum Wien, s.d.).

82 Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press,1998) 49–71.

place.[83] But I say that inscribed in these artifacts is also the history of the relationship between Habsburg Austria and North America, and very notably, the histories of Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes region. In retrospect, the encounter between the Leopoldine circle and Indigenous peoples that resulted in the possession of so many Indigenous objects by Austrian missionaries existed only briefly. Perhaps the significance of gift-giving and object exchange—for Indigenous peoples no less than Leopoldine priests—receded with the middle ground. In 1835, after just five years of missionary activity, Baraga dispatched his objects to Europe where they were donated to the predecessor of the current Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. Returned to Vienna, Georg Schwarz acquired a public persona as a collector of Indigenous artifacts; though as an enterprising broker of these artifacts, together with commercial commodities and state secrets, Schwarz seems to have carried the history, if not the lessons, of the Great Lakes region with him.

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83 Sylvia S. Kasprycki, "The Native American Collection of Frederik Baraga: The Missionary as Ethnographic Collector," *Ethnolog* 8, no. 59 (1998): 340.

9. The Seljan Brothers, Native Americans, and the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb

Marija Živković

Abstract: The chapter examines practices of collecting and presenting native South American objects from the perspective of the curator currently in charge of the non-European collection at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb. The focus is on the collection gathered by brothers Mirko and Stevo Seljan in the early twentieth century, mostly in Brazil, as well as their records of encounters with Indigenous peoples and the ways in which the topic is approached through the activities of the Ethnographic Museum. The chapter presents the curator's dilemmas about the possibilities of decolonizing the museum in the specific context of the periphery of European colonialism.

Keywords: Mirko Seljan, Stevo Seljan, travel, Brazil, Croatia, museum studies, decolonizing, curation

> Under the title "Croatian scientific mission" we conducted the honorable mission to penetrate the jungle and parts of South America, on which no civilized creature has ever set foot. Only the Indians, snakes, and wild animals live in these lands, marked on geography maps as "*terrenos desconocidos*."
>
> Mirko and Stevo Seljan, 1906

In recent decades, a lot has been written about the role of nineteenth-century explorers, the participation of anthropology in (neo)colonialism, museums as products of colonization (as they grew out of cabinets of curiosities), and as producers of binary discourses (as sources of racist stereotypes and prejudices). The debate over the ways of museum decolonization continues to

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occupy many museums as they attempt to find solutions to set their course in concert with their internal circumstances. This text seeks to explore the origins of the non-European collection at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb within the context of a country without overseas colonies yet shaped by global developments. It will also examine the encounters of the museum's donors, the Seljan brothers, with Native Americans in the early twentieth century and the representation of Native American objects at the museum for the last hundred years. Since power relations are created through the various processes of collecting and exhibiting, self-reflection is an inevitable step in the attempt to decolonize a museum collection in the future. Therefore, the chapter reflects the dilemmas and challenges faced by the curator currently responsible for the collection of non-European cultures.

The Non-European Collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb

Since its establishment, Croatian ethnology has focused on researching its own national culture.[1] The Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb was founded in 1919 to represent the lives and culture of peasants, primarily those from Croatian regions, and of all other cultural peoples, especially the Slavic ones, but also of so-called semi-cultured and primitive peoples.[2] At that time, the non-European collection (in the beginning it was called the Exotic Collection) was formed with about 1,300 objects that were donated to the National Museum in Zagreb during the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

The National Museum was founded as part of the Croatian national revival and donating objects was considered a patriotic and noble act that aimed to augment the nation's cultural capital. Not only objects of national provenance served in the formation of Croatian national consciousness in the context of the Austro-Hungarian empire but also those from non-European cultures, as we read from the donor letters to friends and the National Museum: "I am happy to go into the unknown depths of the vast African

1 Jasna Čapo Žmegač, "Antun Radić i suvremena etnološka istraživanja," *Narodna umjetnost* 34, no. 2 (1997): 27, writes: "Antun Radić—the founder of Croatian ethnology criticized the first ethnographic attempts motivated primarily by curiosity and the exoticism of the unknown (Herodotus et al.), and then by Christian missionaries who instrumentalized the acquaintance of non-Christian peoples 'only to be able to destroy them as soon as possible and as successfully as possible.'"

2 Vladimir Tkalčić, "Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu 1919–1929," *Narodna starina* 9, no. 22 (1930): 139.

forests, helping to turn on the light of civilization in that black night. And I rush even more willingly because I live in the hope that I will also collect … to complete the collection of African objects for our Croatian museum."[3]

Although the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which included present-day Croatia, did not have overseas colonies, the local people assumed certain cultural stereotypes of the European colonial order, including social roles such as those of travelers, explorers, and collectors, which related to lifestyles of higher social classes in western Europe[4]. Croatia had a dual position in global processes: it was exoticized and designated as the Other by the West, but at the same time was involved in the global formation of concepts of race. Individuals were involved in the export of cultural artifacts from non-European countries. As Benoit de L'estoile writes: "Although colonial projects were to a large extent organized as national enterprises, the colonial personnel were more cosmopolitan, at least before the 20th century."[5] So, the initial collection of 1,300 objects is almost entirely the result of individual participation in colonial and imperial affairs.[6] The objects were brought by colonial officials, sailors who served in the Austro-Hungarian Navy, consular officials, and merchants, bought at the Paris World's Fair, or donated by the wife of the governor of the former French protectorate over the Society Islands. The two largest collections donated in this period are the collection of Dragutin Lerman[7] from the Congo, and the Seljan

3 Julije Kempf, *Novi listovi iz Afrike od Dragutina Lermana* (Požega: Brzotiskom Lavoslava Kleina, 1894), 73.

4 Ana Sladojević, *Muzej afričke umetnosti konteksti i reprezentacije* (Muzej afričke umetnosti, 2014), 62, http://mau.rs/images/publications/Epublications/Muzej_africke_umetnosti_konteksti_i_reprezentacije/Ana_Sladojevic_Muzej_africke_umetnosti_konteksti_i_reprezentacije.pdf, accessed 14 October 2024.

5 Benoît de L'Estoile, "The Past as It Lives Now: An Anthropology of Colonial Legacies," *Social Anthropology / Anthropologie Sociale* 16, no. (3) (2008):; 267–279, accessed February 15, 2024, doi-DOI: https://www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/saas/16/3/j.1469-8676.2008.00050.x.xml, accessed 15 February 2024.

6 For example, donor A. M. Dowleans worked in Calcutta as the secretary of the Central Commission for Bengal in the time of British rule in India, Admiral Victor Wickerhauser participated in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion in Beijing as part of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, Stjepan Tišljar served in the Austro-Hungarian Navy, then transferred (in 1890) to the civil service and was sent to China (Shanghai) as a consular officer.

7 In 1882, at the age of nineteen, Dragutin Lerman joined the expedition of the African explorer Henry Morton Stanley in Congo. Later he held several high offices for the Congo Free State. His task was to explore the area, make treaties with local rulers, and establish stations from which the surrounding areas were explored and controlled. Upon his return to Croatia, he donated almost five hundred objects, as well as his diaries, to the museum, so we can trace his involvement in the colonial project.

brothers from Ethiopia and South America. As researchers, Lerman and the Seljan brothers are best known among the Croatian public and are taught about in primary schools. Later, the Collection was filled with gifts from missionaries, foreign governments, travelers, and other individuals. Some objects came from citizens who worked and lived in the so-called Third World countries during the Yugoslav era. Today, the collection contains more than 3,500 objects, with the largest number of them coming from Africa, then Asia, Australia, and Oceania, and about three hundred objects originating from South America. It is mostly based on donations as field surveys by museum experts and targeted acquisitions have never taken place. The Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb has been offering students lectures on non-European topics almost since its beginning, but the researchers in the department focused almost exclusively on domestic topics.

The non-European collection has always been a small and separate yet visible part of the museum since its objects have been displayed in all permanent exhibitions separately from objects of national culture. In the 1960s, the period of more intensive exhibition activity commenced in the museum and the non-European collection was a starting point for collaborations with various museums, private collectors, and embassies, but also with the Africa Research Institute in Zagreb[8] and the International Student Friendship Club that gathered foreign students in Yugoslavia, which was one of the forms Yugoslavia's nonalignment policy took. Although Yugoslavia advocated an anti-colonial policy, the attitude towards colonial heritage in the museum did not change. The anti-colonial discourse was accepted, but not the postcolonial one. So, colonialism was condemned, but the non-European collection was not considered to be the result of the European colonizing expansion of the nineteenth century: "The non-European collection in our region differs conceptually from the identical collections in other parts of the world in terms of its origin. It is neither the result of the European colonizing expansion of the 19th century nor the product of the passion of a professional collector who irresponsibly ravages the cultural treasury of a self-confident community in search of curiosities."[9]

The collection was systematically worked on only between the 1960s and the late 1980s. In 1972, a new permanent exhibition was presented which,

8 Africa Research Institute was founded in 1963 to coordinate scientific and research work in the field of economic and sociopolitical issues.

9 Jelka Radauš-Ribarić and Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević, *Vodič kroz stalnu izložbu Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1972), 18.

with some changes, existed till July 2024. Therefore, when I took over the collection in 2015,[10] the most important thing for me was to bridge the gap that arose in the previous period: to determine a large number of objects with very little or no information, to revise the existing records and try to give visitors some new information about the collection. So, I followed the leads that took me from items and their donors to different historical events, whether it's something about contact zones in Congo, the activity of missionaries in West Bengal, the decimation of the Rapa Nui population, or the Aboriginal Memorial that commemorates all the Indigenous people who have lost their lives defending their land. We included these findings in the permanent exhibition from 1972 via QR codes or through museum texts.

A long period of digitization of museum objects followed, including the material the Seljan brothers left us. In addition to objects from Ethiopia and South America, they left diaries, books, articles, letters, photographs, and geographical maps that they made by hand. In a desire to make material publicly available, we published everything on the website.[11]

The Seljan Brothers

Mirko (1871–1913) and Stevo (1875–1936) Seljan were born in the Croatian town of Karlovac, which at that time was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After attending military school, Mirko worked as an assistant geodesist, land surveyor, and geodetic accountant in Orșova, Budapest, Vienna, and Saint Petersburg, and Stevo served in the Austro-Hungarian Navy for four years.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the brothers set off for their journey as adventurers, as they cared to present themselves. During the trip, they held concerts and lectures; thus, the brothers earned the finances for their travel. Their journey to Ethiopia was conditioned by available traffic roads, geographic barriers, and state borders. The Seljans arrived in Ethiopia after three months and introduced themselves as Russians because they wanted to reach the emperor Menelik II. And they did. Menelik gave them a task to consolidate his empire in the south, explore the border areas, and collect

10 A more significant change in the permanent exhibition wasn't possible because of the 2017 documentation for the complete renovation of the building and the creation of a new permanent exhibition. While waiting for the finances, it was not possible to make changes that required larger financial resources.

11 http://bracaseljan.emz.hr/DefaultEN.aspx.

Figure 9.1 Mirko and Stevo Seljan on departure from Karlovac, 1889.

taxes in ivory and gold, which is how the local population acknowledged the authority of Menelik II.[12] The Seljan brothers mapped the spacious area between the river Omo and Lake Rudolf (today Turkana) and Lake Stefanie (today Chew Bahir).

12 Stevo Seljan, "Documentation of the Ethnographic Museum" (EMZ DOK-1030), wrote the following about their work in Southern Provinces: "As we arrived in Addis Ababa, we managed to gain the trust and sympathy of Negus Menelik in a few months. Poor travelers, who overcame the Somali desert and Abyssinian hills on foot, are now leading three hundred armed soldiers. Our camp is a real little town, each of our soldiers is traveling with his wife, children, and slaves. Following the command of Negus, we headed for Central Africa … For almost two years we lived in those provinces, and we had the power to decide the destiny of native tribes of Olamu, Male, Chankal, etc. In the name of the Abyssinian Negus, we ruled the land, or to be more precise, Mirko was the governor, and I was his lieutenant governor. We were the only two whites among the thousands of savage and semi-tamed negroes, who hated us as French (whites) from the bottom of their hearts, but the fear from Menelik and their hate and envy for each other allowed us to dominate them. The old formula divide et impera succeeded here marvelously."

Figure 9.2. Expedition of the Seljan brothers, Brazil, 1903.

In 1903, the Seljans headed for South America. In Rio de Janeiro they met with Croatian immigrants and representatives of Brazilian governments and established the company "Croatian Scientific Mission Mirko and Stevo Seljan." For the first two years, the Seljans explored the navigability of rivers in Brazil. The Brazilian government hired them to explore the river network and the possibility of construction of trade routes in the direction east–west. They were instructed to find the nearest place to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean as a starting place for sailing towards the river Parana, and further to the river Paraguay.

From May to August of 1903, the Seljans explored the navigability of rivers in the southeastern areas of the Brazilian state of São Paulo and the border areas of the Paraná state. They researched the river Itararé, measured the width and the depth of the river, and descended to the carsick caves, etc. One of the Seljan brothers' tasks was to discover whether the rivers Peixe and Aguapeí meet the Paraná, or whether they might be tributaries of a larger neighboring river. They concluded that the rivers have independent flows and that they are not navigable. In the report to the Brazilian government, they recommended the construction of a railroad through the hill areas, which was implemented much later.

The following expedition started in Salto Grande. The Seljans measured, described, and photographed the Salto Grande Falls and continued their

Figure 9.3 Mirko Seljan with entourage, Brazil, 1903.

travel downstream since they were instructed by the Brazilian government to research the unexplored lower flow of the Paranapanema River to its delta in the river Paraná. The journey lasted for twenty-one days, and they crossed 367 km of the river in a rowing boat. During the trip, they made notes about animal and plant species, air temperature, depth and speed of the river, shore features, etc.

The Seljans continued sailing through the rivers Ivinhema and Brilhante and ended the expedition in Asunción from where they went to Guairá Falls and took detailed measurements, photographs, and maps. The journey is described in the book *El Salto del Guayrá*, published in 1905 in Buenos Aires. Along with information about waterfalls, the book also provides tourist information: directions to inns, lists of possible day trips, notes on prices, etc. The publishing of the book was facilitated by Croatian immigrant Nikola Mihanović, who is the founder of the Argentinean merchant navy.

In 1905, an agreement was made between the government of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso and the Croatian scientific mission with financial support of Croatian immigrants in Chile. The Seljan brothers committed to paving the way for the future route for international trade from Cuiaba to Santarem on the Amazon and to creating detailed maps of the areas. In return, the government would provide all the necessary equipment, and an armed company of ten to twelve people for the expedition. After

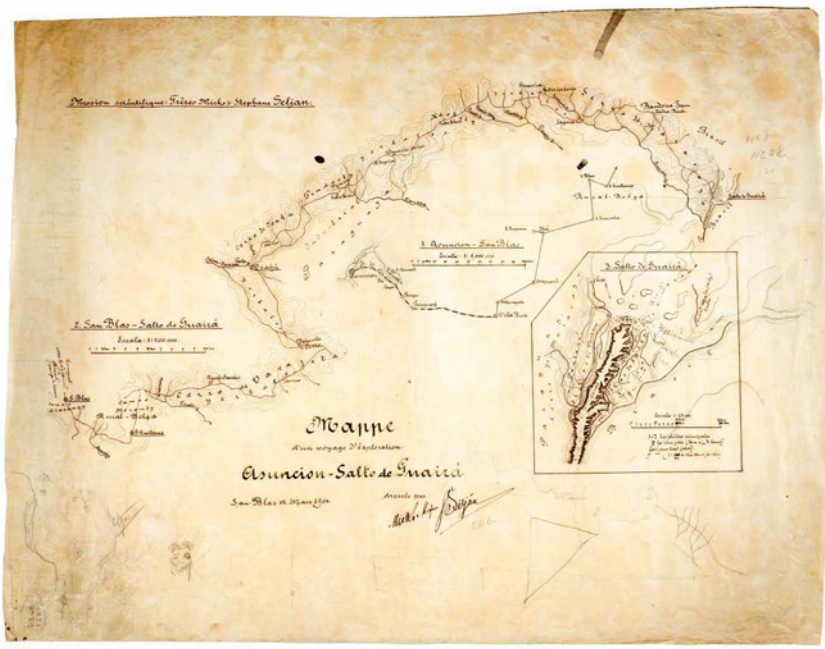

Figure 9.4 Geographical map of the area from Asuncion to Guaíra Falls, Paraguay, 1904.

the work was done, they would gain eighty thousand hectares of land of their choice, and the rights to exploit it for goods since the area was rich with gems and gold. They would also have the concession rights for the construction of trade routes.[13] Upon their arrival in Cuiaba, they realized that the equipment promised by the Brazilian government was not there, so they acquired it at their own expense, and the government agreed to reimburse the invested means. The expedition was not carried out due to the armed conflict that broke out in May 1906.[14] An expedition member doctor Pammer, with the help of the Seljans, set up a Red Cross hospital in a Silesian monastery, where they accepted the wounded.[15] The conflict

13 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. Put u centralnu Braziliju," *Prosvjeta* 4 (1908): 116.

14 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. 20. ožujak," *Prosvjeta* 7 (1908): 214 wrote: "We have received a written instruction from the president of the state to remain in the city. At the same time, the government took away all the materials we prepared for the expedition. Farewell to our labor and preparations of almost a year, our great mission is ruined with grace!"

15 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. Revolucija," *Prosvjeta* 8 (1908): 243, wrote: "In the evening, we buried 6 dead soldiers and a body of a woman. The war is everywhere. Cannons are constantly rumbling, killer missiles are whistling, and golden rays of the setting sun light the bodies surrounded with blood and their painful facial expressions. Requiescant!"

Figure 9.5 Calvary, Mato Grosso, Brazil, 1906.

ended with the death of the president of Mato Grosso. The Seljans led an administrative litigation against the Brazilian government for many years, demanding compensation for the belongings that were misappropriated during the conflict, though unsuccessfully.[16]

The failed expedition burdened the Seljan brothers financially, so Mirko sent a letter to the Foreign Office in London with the offer to sell his geographic map of South Ethiopia and sent a report under the title *Table of Abyssinian Garrisons to the War Office in London*. His offer was refused. Shortly after Mirko was offered to join the English expedition to Africa in 1908. Mirko gave some data about the parts of Ethiopia he traveled through to the government in London, but he did not accept to participate in the expedition.[17]

In 1908, the Seljan brothers were hired by the government of the Brazilian state of Pará to explore the delta of the Amazon River and the surrounding areas. They started the expedition in Belém, traveled by boats and on foot, made various measurements (depth of water, speed of flow, temperature, pressure, etc.), and noted locations rich with minerals and hevea.

In 1911, the Seljans founded in Lima a stock company with Croatian immigrants who agreed with the Peruvian government to design and construct

16 This long and difficult process was described by Mirko in his brochure "El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos del Brasil y La misión Científica," published in Buenos Aires in 1909.

17 Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević, *Braća Seljan na crnom i zelenom kontinentu* (Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1991), 44–45.

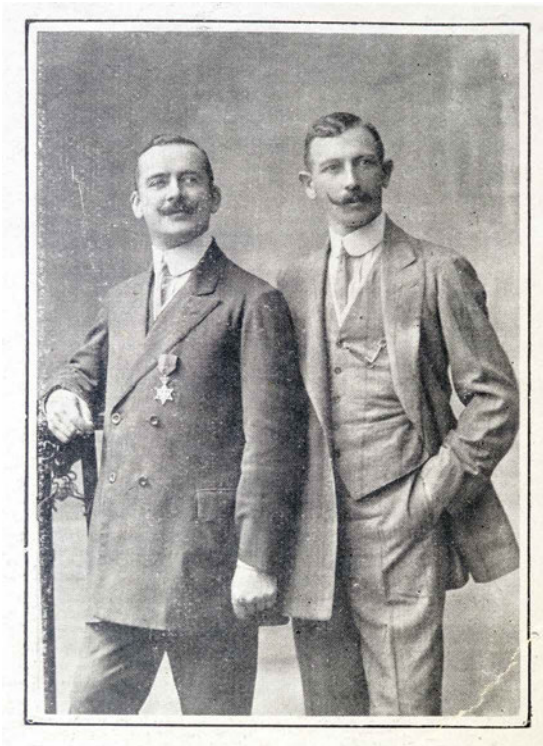

Figure 9.6 Mirko and Stevo Seljan in Chile, 1911.

a trade route to facilitate the transport of goods between the Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean. They also found private financiers in Chicago to support their project. In the contract, the Peruvian government undertook to give the contractors 11,550 m^2 of land for every two crowns (one sol) of money spent; they would provide free transportation for every colonist that the Seljan brothers would import and give 50 ha of land for every colonist.[18] This contract was not realized, since all the members disappeared during the expedition in 1913, including Mirko Seljan. After his brother's death, Stevo lived and founded a family in Ouro Preto, Brazil, where he died in 1936.

The Seljan Brothers' Newspaper Articles

The Seljans held numerous lectures and published articles in European and American newspapers. They were very skillful in using the media for

18 Zvonimir Keler, "Život i rad braće Mirka i Steve Seljana," *Zbornik Historijskog arhiva* 2 (1970): 437–38.

self-promotion and were aware of the importance of presentation: "The writer wants to be brilliant, if he writes coldly and didactically, he will have but a few friends. This is true for Africa as well. If there is no dangerous hunting, no night attacks, etc., it is not interesting. Thus, every explorer is forced to invent something, to make the world happy."[19]

As Mary Pratt wrote, the discoveries of the explorers became relevant only after they were back in their homelands, through the names they were inscribing in the geographic maps, reports to their ministries of foreign affairs and geographic and missionary societies, and through their diaries, lectures, and travelogue books.[20] The Seljan brothers sent texts and photos at their initiative to the Croatian newspaper *Prosvjeta*. Those are travel articles that were published in sequels in which the Seljans noted the specificities about local climate, geography, plant and animal life, social life, local legends, and historical information about the country they were visiting, as well as current political circumstances, etc. In addition to numerous descriptive data on geographical features and ethnographic records on eating habits, housing conditions, and the customs of the local population, I would like to highlight a few themes that may shed light on the worldview of our heroes and the ideology to which they adhered.

The Seljans are sometimes very critical of local people: "There are few cities where alcoholism and nightlife are as developed as in Rio de Janeiro."[21] Or while describing the Brazilian diet: "The type of food fits the people, who hate all hard work and work like the devil's incense and love every job to be postponed until *amanhã* (tomorrow), and the good Mother Earth is so fertile, that almost without cultivation feeds his lazy sons."[22] They are also critical of the position of Brazilian women: "Women and girls sit alone on one side, and men on the other. There is no conversation or socializing. Poor woman! Her position is a bit better than with the followers of Muhammad."[23]

Patriotism is one of the most important factors that define them.[24] In several of their notes, they question the current situation in their homeland

19 Marija Živković, *Braća Seljan kroz prašume i pustinju* (Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 2018), 7–8.

20 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York, NY and London: Routledge, 2008), 200.

21 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. Brazilija," *Prosvjeta* 1 (1904): 34.

22 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. Prema vodopadu Salto Grande de Paranapanema i izlet na rio Aguapehi," *Prosvjeta* 5 (1904): 157

23 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 57.

24 For example, in 1910, on the occasion of the centenary of the "free Chilean nation," the Seljans published a patriotic poem in a Croatian magazine published in Chile.

as well as the notions of nation and identity. After they arrived in Sao Paulo in 1903, *Zenta*, a warship of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, arrived: "The ship in question was engaged in examining the relations of the Austro-Hungarian colonists in South America. God regrets that the officers were more worried about the Germans from the empire gathered there than about the society of the Hungarian colony. They did not find it worthwhile to respond to the society's invitation to visit him on their premises! That is of course. The Austro-Hungarian consul is a German from Germany, the secretary is a Slovene or a Croatian, who, after we persuaded him to speak Croatian, told us: '*Non capisco, signore, croato*.'"[25] Later, in a letter from 1910,[26] they wrote that they received an offer from the Austrian minister for financial support for their work in exchange for changing the name "Croatian Scientific Mission" to "Austrian Scientific Mission." They refused the offer because it would have meant that they should send the items to Vienna and spread Austrian ideas among Croatian emigrants. They also wrote the following in a letter dated 4 May 1910: "We are happy about the political change in our home country. We are not sleeping either—as far as possible we are spreading patriotic thoughts and harmony among the Slavs as one-blood brothers of the Serbs and Croats."[27] The change they refer to is the resignation of Baron Pavao Rauch who was tasked by the central authorities in Vienna with strengthening the dualist regime in Croatia and weakening the Croatian-Serbian coalition.

Among the Croatian and other Slavic immigrants in South and North America, the Seljans held many lectures, published articles in their newspapers, and worked on their financial and sociopolitical connections: "It is understood that we organize travel and political lectures, with the slogan 'Harmony between the brothers of the great mother Slavia.'"[28] In San Francisco, at a banquet organized by the Slavic Association in honor of the Seljan brothers, Stevo Seljan proposed in his speech to commemorate "the children of our threatened regions, our Istria" and suggested raising money to "save our youth."[29] Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, and Croats made donations. With the Croatian emigrants in Chile, they associated to gain financial support for the expeditions to the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso and Peru.

On their travels, they often came across the big plantations and noted: "It is worthy to mention landlords of the great hacienda estates, who use the

25 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. Brazilija," 34.

26 Documentation of the Ethnographic Museum (EMZ H-663).

27 Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević, *Život i djelo braće Seljan* (Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1977), 82.

28 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 92.

29 Lazarević, *Život i djelo*, 86.

emigrants, working and slaving for them, and they reap the fruits. This is the so-called modern slavery."[30] South of the Itararé River they met members of the Croatian people at a coffee and malt cane plantation:

> The affection of those people was beyond description when we spoke to them in our native language.
> – How's life – we asked – and when are you planning to return to the homeland?
> – How's life! We can't say bad since we suffer no hunger and the work is not too exhausting, but to return to the homeland is impossible! Where can we find money for transportation? Even if we returned home empty-handed, it would mean suffering hunger and misery, and here we have more than enough corn and pork.[31]

Just like Pratt's imperial "seeing-man"—whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess[32]—the Seljans write down which areas are suitable for settlement, but also try to gain possession of land on which they could settle and exploit the natural resources. As in the colonial period, when interior exploration correlated with an expanding search for commercially exploitable resources, markets, and lands to colonize,[33] the Seljans were commissioned by the Brazilian and Peruvian authorities to find the best routes into the interior of the country for the exploitation of raw materials. In keeping with the civilizing mission, Stevo writes that Mirko went "into the unknown rainforests in the service of civilization and human progress" and concludes on the occasion of his death that he "fell in the service of science and humanism."[34]

The Seljan brothers and Native Americans

The Seljans showed special interest in Native Americans. In travel articles, they describe their encounters with members of indigenous groups, often pass on the information obtained from local guides about their ways of life, clothing, diet, weapons, social relations, etc., and use data from the

30 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 57.
31 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 57.
32 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 30.
33 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 30.
34 Lazarević, *Život i djelo*, 92.

literature. Information about the Native Americans is intertwined with other information and impressions during their travels. Some of their records will be mentioned here.

The first encounter was during the trip along the Itarare River in Brazil. They bring general information about the Tupi people and refer to the information of the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Vieira. Then a trip two miles outside the city took them to a dense rainforest where there are "sparsely sown houses of tame Guarani Indians. But these are not the Indians we expected! People firm, strong, without clothes, hunters, true sons of nature. No, they are a malicious copy of the whites. They are dressed in rags, with no energetic expressions on their faces, creatures who think of nothing except how to get some of that dear alcohol. They knew to adopt all the faults of the whites, but none of their virtues. … They steal, beg, hunt, and fish to make a living."[35]

Further along the way, in the town of São Pedro do Turvo, Luiz da Sete—"the first priest worthy of mention on our journey"[36]—joined them and they headed north. They spent the night on a plantation and the owner told them about the Guaraní and Coroados people who lived in the vicinity. The Seljans decided to visit them:

> The first huts (*rancho*) are covered partly by bamboo and partly by palm leaves, and they belong to the Guaraní tribe. They tend to imitate the Brazilians with their clothes, furniture, and way of life. If indeed they spent a longer time in contact with the whites, they speak some Portuguese, since they speak to each other always in their language. Without any difficulty, we photographed their image. This happened for the first time in their lives. With the same readiness they translated a few words to their language … they preferred the priest's schnapps to the rosary and the pictures of saints. And, like Gypsies, they asked for presents. To see what we would gift to their neighbors the "Coroados," they followed us there. Even the building methods of the huts are more neglected by the Coroados than those of their cousins. Only during the rain they stay in their homes, otherwise, they sleep by the fire under the stars. They are dressed very simply, but cleanly. The women especially dedicate great care to their dense black hair, which they decorate with special wooden

35 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. Prema vodopadu Salto Grande de Paranapanema i izlet na rio Aguapehi," *Prosvjeta* 8 (1904): 248.

36 Mirko and Stjepan Seljan, "Kroz Južnu Ameriku. Prema vodopadu Salto Grande de Paranapanema i izlet na rio Aguapehi," *Prosvjeta* 9 (1904): 280.

Figure 9.7 Mirko and Stevo Seljan with members of the Guarani people, Brazil, 1903.

> calms. The men wear straw hats, made from bamboo by their wives. It took a lot of work and schnapps before we got them to stand in front of the camera. They didn't want the pictures of saints and the rosaries, and they liked the little mirrors and knives. To learn a few words of their language, we paid for each word with a sip of schnapps.[37]

During an expedition up the Aguapeí River, they gained information from a local guide about the Coroados people living in this area, again about the way of life, diet, clothing, weapons, and tools. Around the campfire, the guide tells them about the campaign of revenge against the Coroados group, who attacked the Miranda farm seven years ago, and how they have been living in constant fear of another conflict ever since. The data the Seljans left us witnesses the stratification and complexity of the relationships between the native groups and the immigrants.

The next encounter took place as they sailed down the Paranapanema River:

> The most beautiful hut belongs to the chief of the Cayuas tribe and the smaller one to their priest. With the help of our followers, who are from

37 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 58–59.

> the same tribe, it was easy to speak with them. They are not that different from the Guaraní Indians, but a pierced lower lip with a long thick needle from the resin of the jatuba trees caught our attention. To our question why they use "shurumbeta" jewelry, their priest replied that even the God "Niandijara" wears the same jewelry, and they have to follow him.
> – Have you seen God, so you know that he wears the "shurumbeta"?
> The faces of the chief and the priest became serious, and the servant of the church said:
> – Every night, when we pray to him hitting the balaka (rattle, similar to a child's toy, i.e. dry dumbbell with a short handle, half filled with pebbles), Niandijara descends from the skies to us. He is small and his face is white, he has no beard nor mustache, but his lower lip is decorated with a large shurumbeta!
> We realized that it would be fruitless to doubt the truth of their faith; generally, why should we cast doubts in their simple hearts! After we traded old clothing for various ethnographic objects, we said goodbye as good friends and continued through the water.[38]

The next mention of the acquisition of objects occurred during their visit to Caaguazú, Paraguay, when they became aware of the collection of ethnographic and ornithological objects in their host's house, which the Seljans later donated to the museum. They wrote: "We were even more interested in the girl from the Guayakí tribe, captured in the forest and raised in the house. She is about 12–13 years old, and she is not taller than 110 cm."[39]

Objects Donated by the Seljan Brothers

The Seljan brothers sent to the Zagreb museum objects from South America between 1905 and 1907. The donation was a patriotic act, as Mirko Seljan wrote: "Your patriotic idea about Croatian Ethnographic Museum has been on our minds for a long time. We collect diligently and we will not back down even in the face of financial sacrifices."[40]

The Seljans brought home collections of animal species and material culture objects of Indigenous peoples. The desire to collect and classify large objects from nature or different cultures is in line with the principles

38 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 66.
39 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 72.
40 Lazarević, *Braća Seljan*, 98.

of the Enlightenment, which influenced the development of museums and science in the nineteenth century. If we understand that objects become ethnographic by virtue of being defined, segmented, detached, and carried away by ethnographers,[41] what do the objects brought by the Seljan brothers tell us about their collecting practice?

From the travel certificates and three letters[42] sent to the National Museum, we learn what objects the Seljans sent: books, photographs, geographical maps made by hand, collections of birds and fossils, a collection of Native American objects, etc. Some objects they designated for the zoological department of the National Museum such as a vial of various spiders, a vial of snakes, a vial of centipedes, and a "very valuable" insect which they believe is not yet classified. They note its local name and characteristics and recommend zoologists to study the animal, which may be one of the rarest specimens in Europe. Some of these objects were later handed over to the Museum of Natural History in Zagreb including a skull which the Seljans mentioned in two letters. They wrote that it was the head of a person (Coroados) who was killed during the attack on their expedition at the foot of the mountain do Diabo in the valley of the Paranapanema River. Since the victim fell into the water, the body was found after three days. They placed the head in an anthill, which "is the best way of embalming in these parts of the world."[43] They further write that even the museum in Rio de Janeiro does not have such a copy because the Coroados carry their dead brothers from the battlefield at the cost of their lives.

A collection of Native American objects ended up in the Ethnographic Museum after its establishment[44]. But for some objects that the Seljan brothers mention in their letters, such as stone axes, vessels, pipes from Paraguay, a straw fan attributed to the Bororo people, etc., I do not know if they even arrived or where they ended up. In one of the letters,[45] they give a classification of the collection of objects belonging to Native Americans. They suggest that the top name of the collection should be Tupi-Guarani and then classify the objects into four categories according to affiliation:

41 Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 387.

42 Letters written on 20 December 1904, 6 January 1905 (EMZ DOK-1673), and 10 November 1905 are in the documentation of the Ethnographic Museum.

43 A letter written by Mirko and Stevo Seljan on 20 December 1904. The Ethnographic Museum's documentation.

44 Today, the Ethnographic Museum has 232 items from South America donated by the Seljan brothers.

45 Documentation of the Ethnographic Museum (EMZ DOK-1673).

Guarani Cayuas (Cainguas), Coroados (Caingang), Xavante, and Guayaqui. For each group, they provide "a few scientific data," that is, they briefly describe their language, define the area they live in (which they again show with a drawing at the end of the letter), habitations, clothing, etc. They also give their opinion about the nature of those people. For Guarani Cayuas (Cainguas) people they write: "History teaches us that the Spaniards decimated the natives barbarically and cruelly—from once huge population, only a small number has remained, which will go completely extinct in time. Their nature is calm, and they are not enemies of civilization."[46] The Coroado (Caingang) people are wild and cruel, the Xavante people are great cowards, and the Guayaquis are not dangerous for the white inhabitants.

Representation of Native Americans in the Ethnographic Museum

If we understand the non-European collection of the Ethnographic Museum as a contact zone for introducing different cultures to the Croatian public, let's consider the representation, that is, the museum life of Native American objects "because objects are not what they are made to be but what they have become."[47]

In the first three permanent exhibitions, objects brought by the Seljan brothers from South America were exhibited with very few differences in approach. A guide to the first permanent exhibition was published in 1927. In the part that refers to the Americas, the immigration of the first people to American soil is briefly indicated. People are presented through the opposition between "complete primitivism (Indians)" and the "relatively high culture" of Peru and Mexico. The author notes that the Ethnographic Museum has a fine and relatively rich collection of South American Indian objects, donated by the Seljan brothers, which provides an overview of the material culture of the Tupi–Guarani people and their relatives in South America. He then lists objects made of rushes and flame leaves decorated with feathers, as well as weapons—"while the predatory Coroados have large and massive bows and arrows, the Xavantes, tame and harmless inhabitants of the south of the state of Mato Grosso, have small bows and arrows."[48] He concludes that the Indians are "retreating into the interior

46 Documentation of the Ethnographic Museum (EMZ DOK-1673).

47 Nicolas Thomas, *Entangled Objects* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvmd86bt, accessed 20 January 2024.

48 Mirko Kus Nikolajev,. *Šetnje kroz Etnografski Muzej u Zagrebu. Privremni vodič* (Zagreb: Direktor S. Berger, 1927), 71-–77.

and dying out" under the influence of ever-increasing colonization.[49] In terms of "salvage ethnography," he concludes that the moment is not far off when it will be possible to find the last Mohican for the whole of America, the last representative of a people who have sunk into the past and whose memory is only preserved in museums.[50]

The permanent exhibition from 1972 is organized according to the geographical key. The Native American objects are displayed in a showcase entitled Latin America, next to which was a text[51] stating that the Native American objects belonged to the tribes of the once numerous Tupi–Guarani people. In addition to brief explanations, the weapons and tools used (bows and arrows, spears, throwing clubs), and the raw materials for making clothing, utensils, and feather jewelry are listed. Along with forty objects donated by the Seljan brothers, there are also eight objects from later acquisitions on display, including (fake) tsantsa, with the following explanation: "The warlike Jivaro Indians are known for their unique war trophy of the 'tsantsa' or 'uma,' a diminutive head of a fallen enemy. According to the Jivaros belief, this trophy protects the one who owns it."

In 1977, the exhibition "The Life and Work of the Seljan Brothers" was set up in the museum and the book of the same name by the author Aleksandra Lazarević, who was the head of the non-European collection, was published. The author gives a chronological overview of their activities in Ethiopia and South America and lists the donated objects, which she groups according to their function. The second, revised edition of this book was published in 1991, and here we are interested in the part entitled "Scientific Appreciation of the Seljan Brothers' Work" in which the author compares the Seljans' writings on Native Americans with the scientific literature. First, she attempts to clarify the classification of Native Americans given by the Seljans (in this text in the previous chapter) and concludes that they located certain groups well but did not name them accurately. Then each of their records is confirmed or denied by comparison with the statements of the anthropologist Alfred Métraux. For example, she compares Seljan's record that the Coroado people attack in the evening and at dawn, rarely during the day and never at night, with Métraux's statement that "the Caingang people, like all Indians, confine themselves to sudden attacks at dawn."[52] It seems that the purpose of these comparisons is to find confirmation of the scientific contribution of the

49 Nikolajev, *Šetnje*, 71-–77.

50 Nikolajev, *Šetnje*, 71–77.

51 The introductory texts were removed in the 1990s, so visitors were left with only short descriptions of the objects. Original texts are stored in a depot of the non-European collection.

52 Lazarević, *Braća Seljan*, 123–28 and 141–42.

Seljan brothers, which the author emphasizes in the introduction to the book when she locates their activities in the fields of geography, ethnology, anthropology, and so on.

However, although the Seljans systematically recorded data, we cannot speak of scientific production. Lazarević states that the Seljan brothers, along with Dragutin Lerman, are "pioneers and founders of our non-European ethnology,"[53] and this information was later reproduced by other authors as well; their ethnographic records rather tell us about the development of anthropology as a science. The Croatian ethnologist and sociologist Lydia Sklevicky pointed out this connection in her review of Aleksandra Lazarević's book immediately after its publication: "A particular omission seems to be the lack of an adequate interpretation of the quoted positions, which reflect the essential connection of their ethnological records with the development of non-European ethnology."[54] She then cites several quotations of the Seljans, including this one during one of their visits to the Native Americans' settlement, which describes "the priest with rosaries, saints, and rakija (schnaps); landlord with gun and hunting dogs, and the two of us with a pen, paper, and a photo-camera."[55] She then says: "These quotations provide us with a vivid example of the combination of a scientific approach to an 'exotic' subject with a colonial approach. And indeed, the first steps of non-European ethnology were taken with guns, rifles, but also with pencil, paper and a camera."[56]

Exhibition "Seljan Brothers in Wilderness and Desert" (2018)

Forty years after the exhibition mentioned above, I was confronted with the request to organize an exhibition about the Seljan brothers. Although it would be a logical continuation of the (self-initiated) work on the digitization and availability of their materials, the pressure to organize the exhibition came from outside the museum. It was therefore necessary to determine what we wanted to achieve with the exhibition and which audience we wanted to address. It is primarily a domestic audience who (at least some of them) have an idea of the Seljan brothers—we assume that it is the idea constructed in the media of the noble explorers who carried the Croatian

53 Lazarević, *Život i djelo*, 108.

54 Lydia Sklevicky, "Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević, Život i djelo braće Seljan, Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu, 1977," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 9, no. 3 (1977): 147.

55 Lydia Sklevicky, "Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević", 147.

56 Lydia Sklevicky, "Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević", 147.

name to the world. So, the goal would be to fill in the gaps in the prevailing romanticized portrayal of their lives. Also, the majority of our audience consists of school-age children, so (at least some of) the content should be adapted to their age.

Although, as a consequence of the ascendancy of postcolonial studies, a cross-cultural curiosity has been stigmatized, we wanted visitors to feel the curiosity that motivated the Seljan brothers and the physical strain of their travels.[57] Thus, their diary entries while traveling on the Paranapanema in a rowing boat could be heard, as the sound recording started with rowing on the indoor rower. The names of the cities that Mirko Seljan passed through on his one-hundred-day journey on foot from Saint Petersburg to Paris were listed while walking on the ergometer. The exhibition title also had to remind us of an adventure from a bygone era, so it paraphrased the title of their book *In Wilderness and Desert*, which was published in the United States in 1912.

But, at the same time, it was important to underline that behind their actions was the desire for the exploitation of natural resources. So, the exhibition was centered around the chronological presentation of their life with additional information interwoven to emphasize background historical processes. For example, in the part that refers to their stay in Ethiopia, we explain the political situation in Ethiopia at the time, the idealization of researchers in the Age of Imperialism, the unenviable position of the Black population in the Boer wars, and what position the Seljan brothers took. The objects also served for contextualization. For example, with objects made of ivory, we pointed out the tax levy of conquered people—the Seljan brothers would collect the tax in ivory and hand it over to Menelik and the spears served as a backdrop for Stevo's romanticized story about the encounter with "the bandits of the Gadabuursi tribe" while crossing the Somali desert, when after Mirko's negotiations "the blades of the spears in the hands of amazed savages drooped."[58]

When it comes to the Native American objects, a dilemma arose whether and how to present them in the twenty-first century. What can objects offer us that were separated from their culture and whose creators were trapped in a fleeting moment in the past by the museum presentation? So, instead of the objects belonging to Bororo people serving to represent them, a decision was made to borrow the film *Mato Grosso* (1931) from the Penn Museum to help us understand the way objects for European and American museums were

57 Nicolas Thomas, *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums Are Good for in the 21st Century?* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016), 12.

58 Živković, *Braća Seljan*, 17.

obtained—in this case also from the Bororo people. Without the illusion that this exhibition brought anything new in its presentation, I still hope that it did not perpetuate the discourse of exoticism and discovery, but rather placed the Seljans in the very unflattering time in which they operated, but someone else will be the judge of that. However, in the communication with the exhibition audience, some told me they didn't want me to spoil their image of the Seljan brothers; clearly giving up your heroes isn't easy.

When I received the opportunity to present the exhibition in South America,[59] an initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, I felt great excitement, but also discomfort. I was uncomfortable because the Seljan brothers (tried to) open paths that resulted, especially in the last fifty years, in the brutal devastation of the environment, and because I would be addressing an audience whose relationship to the past I knew of only indirectly, if anything at all. However, it was necessary to deepen the knowledge of local history so that there would be no inadvertent mistakes, a task with which my colleagues from Brazil and Paraguay helped a lot.

In the exhibition text, I made it clear that I am aware of the problematic points and that I see this exhibition as an opportunity for new interpretations. And there were truly wonderful meetings and exchanges of knowledge. For example, the scientist from the University of São Paulo who published the book about the conflicts in Mato Grosso has never come across photos from that time, and the Seljan brothers had about twenty of them. Additionally, their diary entries offered her a new perspective on the circumstances in which the president of that Brazilian state was killed. In Asunción, the Seljan brothers' photos are useful for studying the city's history and the Guarani architecture, so a professor from the Faculty of Architecture included them in his monograph.[60] These meetings also opened up some new topics for research. In Ouro Preto, Brazil, we organized a lecture about Stevo's daughter Zora Seljan, who was a Brazilian writer and who donated some objects to the Ethnographic Museum in the 1970s, mostly belonging to Karajá people. Her field of work was Afro-Brazilian heritage, so I included a text about Zora's work by a Brazilian theatre expert Priscila Mesquita in the exhibition. Alongside the exhibition, colleagues from Buenos Aires organized a round table on the decolonizing of museum collections. My impression is that they too are trying to find some new ways of presenting

59 The exhibition was opened in twelve cities in South America during 2022 and 2023.

60 Silvio Ríos Cabrera. La Vivienda Guaraní. Aproximación a la Vivienda Guaraní en las cuencas de los ríos Paraguay, Paraná y Uruguay (Asuncion: Facultad de ARQUITECTURA, DISEÑO y ARTE. Universidad Nacional de Asunción: 2016), 52–53.

collections from that time. After all, we are dealing with collections with which you are always on a slippery slope.

Conclusion

I would agree with Canadian curator Lynn Maranda that the anthropologist working as a curator in a museum is not in a comfortable position, although for different reasons. In her context, face-to-face interaction with Indigenous populations does not take place in a "remote" location but rather where public scrutiny is an immediate reality.[61] What makes me uncomfortable is the impossibility of interaction, so it is inevitable to ask myself whether I have the right to represent the material culture of others (from South America to Africa, Asia, and Australia) especially since I live in a society that was exoticized by foreign travelers and researchers. Is the solution to store the objects in a depot, or can they help us shed some light on some topics, as was the attempt with the exhibition about the Seljan brothers?

Although Croatian ethnologists are keeping up with the latest knowledge in the field, and the Ethnographic Museum has made a big turn in the methods of presentation in the last twenty years through temporary exhibitions, objects from the collection of non-European cultures have been silent and frozen in a permanent display for decades, just like the people who made them. After unsuccessful attempts to realize a new concept of a permanent exhibition, it was finally decided to remove the permanent exhibition in 2024 (after fifty-two years) and open a long-term exhibition that contextualizes the non-European collection.[62] This was the museum's opportunity to give a broader meaning to the previous practice of collecting, categorizing, and representing through self-reflection.

About the Author

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61 Lynn Maranda, "Decolonization within the Museum," ICOM—International Council of Museums, https://journals.openedition.org/iss/3863, accessed 31 January 2024.

62 The exhibition ‚*Travelers*' opened in November 2024.

10. Staged Representation: The Perception of Native Americans, "Ethnological Expositions," and Wild West Shows in the German-Speaking Austro-Hungarian Press (1870–1918)

Florian Ambach and Maximilian Gröber

Abstract: The arrival of Wild West shows in fin-de-siècle Vienna sparked media frenzy, revealing a complex interplay between entertainment, societal discourse, and racial stereotyping. This chapter explores how media representations contributed to the construction of public perceptions of Native Americans in Austria-Hungary, often framing them as exotic attractions rather than individuals with agency. Through an analysis of German-language newspapers (1870–1918), the chapter highlights the fascination with the Other and the simultaneous reinforcement of colonial attitudes, while also addressing critical voices that questioned the authenticity and morality of these representations. The findings underscore the role of the press in shaping narratives around race and identity in the late Habsburg empire, revealing how these performances mirrored broader societal anxieties and aspirations.

Keywords: newspaper analysis, ethnographic expositions, Wild West shows, social criticism, Othering, Native Americans

An extraordinary wave of excitement arose in the spring of 1890, when newspapers announced that William F. Cody, better known as Buffalo Bill, and his entourage of seventy-two Native Americans, mostly Očhéthi Šakówiŋ (Lakota Sioux), would come to Vienna. Starting from the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889, the tour stopped in Milan and finally led via Munich

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH10

to the capital of the Habsburg empire.[1] Already during the transit from northern Italy to Bavaria, the Austrian media landscape became aware of the touring Wild West show. This can be seen, for example, in the coverage of regional newspapers, which reported on the passage of the special train through Innsbruck.[2] Furthermore, the newspapers described the enthusiasm of the audience in Munich in connection with sold-out performances and the appearance of prominent guests.[3] Numerous articles along the same lines show that this enthusiasm did not end with the group's arrival in Vienna at the beginning of May. One report even spoke of a "jungle of feudal family trees" (*Urwald feudaler Stammbäume*[4]) that could be admired in the lodges with members of various noble families such as the Metternichs, Schwarzenbergs, Liechtensteins, Schönborns, and Hohenlohes—an aspect that was repeatedly emphasized in the promotion of the performances.[5] An encounter between the imperial family and Native America can be found, for instance, in the case of Stéphanie of Belgium, the widow of Crown Prince Rudolf, who also went to see the show during this period.[6] Apart from these personalities, up to eight thousand visitors witnessed "Buffalo Bill's Wild West" at the arena in the Vienna Prater.[7] It is therefore fair to speak of mass events, which naturally caught the attention of the press. By presenting curated spectacles of Indigenous culture and history, these performances and the narratives constructed around them contributed to the formation of specific images of Native Americans that resonated with audiences across the Habsburg monarchy.

While earlier research treats such events as curiosities, several publications have appeared since the late 1980s that have analyzed the exhibition of non-Europeans, or those classified as less civilized, from an interdisciplinary perspective and sometimes against the background of postcolonial concepts. A particularly prominent role in the study of this topic has been taken by

1 We would like to express our deep gratitude to Jonathan Singerton (Amsterdam), Michael Burri (Philadelphia), and Markéta Křížová (Prague), whose ideas and feedback have been a significant inspiration to us in working on this article. Colin G. Calloway, "Historical Encounters across Five Centuries," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 47–81, 71.

2 *Innsbrucker Tagblatt*, 19 April 1890, 3; *Tiroler Stimmen*, 21 April 1890, 4.

3 *Bozner Zeitung*, 24 April 1890, 3; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 May 1890, 5.

4 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 9 May 1890, 5–6.

5 Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, "Buffalo Bill and Patriotism: Criticism of the Wild West Show in the Polish-Language Press in Austrian Galicia in 1906," *East Central Europe* 47 (2020): 313–33, 321.

6 *Neue Freie Presse*, 28 May 1890, 4.

7 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7 May 1890, 4.

researchers examining ethnographic exhibitions and shows in east-central Europe.[8] Despite the fact that recent postcolonial approaches allow for a greater reinterpretation, historical newspapers (especially in comparison to a large amount of studies highlighting these issues in the context of literature)[9] have been underappreciated as sources that significantly influenced the othering of Native Americans in the public sphere. The following systematic analysis of German newspaper articles from 1870 to 1918 is not only aimed to take this into account, but also to demonstrate the interdependency between the societal discourses of the late Habsburg Empire and the staged representation of Native Americans.

How to Imagine a Native American?—Indigenous Images and Their Forms of Mediatization

Conceptions about Native Americans did not only emerge with the advent of Wild West shows. Especially James Fenimore Cooper's[10] novels, such as

8 Dagnosław Demski et al., eds., *Visual Encounters with Alterity in Central and Eastern Europe* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2013); Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, "Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy: The Representation of European and Non-European Peoples in an Early-Nineteenth Century Schoolbook of Natural History," in *Competing Eyes: Visual Encounters with Alterity in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. Dagnosław Demski et al. (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2013), 40–66; Dagnosław Demski et al., eds., *The Multi-Mediatized Other: The Construction of Reality in East-Central Europe, 1945–1980* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2017); Izabela Kopania, "Popular Landscape of Entertainment in East-Central Europe, 1850–1939. An Introduction," *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 64, no. 1 (2019): 9–18; Dagnosław Demski and Dominika Czarnecka, eds., *Staged Otherness: Ethnic Shows in Central and Eastern Europe, 1850–1939* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2021). See also a forthcoming article, forwarded to us kindly by the author: Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, "Attractions and Repulsions: Knowledge Production and Transfer in Ethnographic Shows (*Völkerschauen*) in Hungary, 1873–1928," in *The Fabrics of Anthropological Knowledge: Changing Perspectives in Europe and Beyond*, eds., Hande Birkalan-Gedik and Fabiana Dimpflmeier (New York, NY: Berghahn, 2025).

9 Besides the vast scientific debate about the works of James Fenimore Cooper mentioned below, there are not only a number of individual studies, but also bibliographies on this subject. Joan Beam and Barbara Branstad, *The Native American in Long Fiction: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996); Roger O. Rock, *The Native American in American Literature: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

10 On Cooper, see the biography Wayne Franklin, *James Fenimore Cooper: The Early Years* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2007); Wayne Franklin, *James Fenimore Cooper: The Later Years* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2017). See also the monograph on his characterization of Native Americans in Anna Krauthammer, *The Representation of the Savage in James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2008). An excellent survey of pre-Cooper material in German is offered by Christian F. Feest, "The Indian in Non-English Literature," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 4, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 582–86.

his Leatherstocking Tales, often served as a reference regarding the native way of life[11] and were therefore repeatedly mentioned in various newspaper articles. Also, contemporary carnival events frequently adopted elements of these fictional images. Alleged everyday scenes, dances, and warlike confrontations were performed by the Innsbruck gymnastics club during the season of 1880. Such events provided entertainment and demonstrated the skills of the performers.[12] In addition to people dressed up as Native Americans, other stereotyped characters were also present at the carnival parades.[13]

However, such stereotyping entertainment was not limited to the carnival, but also accompanied the display of Native Americans from the 1870s at the latest. In 1874, a Native American chief—at least according to the newspaper advertisements—appeared in Innsbruck, staged himself as a strongman, and offered chants to the audience.[14] Another entertainment program was presented by Routh Goshen, the so-called North American giant, who was actually born as Arthur James Caley on the Isle of Man, and led a small group that included a handful of Native Americans. During their stay in Vienna in the winter of 1875/76, the troupe performed plays which themed around the Wild West at the Stadt Orpheum, a variety theater in the city center.[15] The *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt* also reported that Goshen visited the Metternich family in their residence, accompanied by two Native chiefs. However, their customs and traditions, which attracted the interest of the aristocrats, were not communicated by the Natives themselves, but by Routh Goshen, who engaged in direct conversation with the aristocratic society.[16] This can be seen as a prelude to the productions that will follow in the coming years, in which supposed aspects of Native life will always be staged by impresarios who are not part of these communities.

In addition to these smaller performances, a great wave of enthusiasm and attention from the press was given to a group of Dakota who were

11 Irene Lottini, "When Buffalo Bill Crossed the Ocean: Native American Scenes in Early Twentieth Century European Culture," *European Journal of American Culture* 31, no. 3 (2012): 187–203, 189.

12 *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 6 February 1880, 383–84; *Bote für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 5 March 1881 (Extra-Beilage), 1.

13 These were stereotypes of African or Asian people (especially Chinese), but also of certain occupational groups such as farmers or police officers. *Bote für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 3 February 1883, 216.

14 *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 25 July 1874, 1862.

15 Sabine Damböck, "'Indianerschauen' in Wien von 1875 bis 1906" (diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2010), 13–16.

16 *Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt*, 11 December 1875, 4.

performing at the Vienna Rotunde[17] beginning in July 1886. The Rotunde had been built for the 1873 World's Fair and had since established itself as a location for major events. It offered space for several thousand people—a space that was also needed during the Dakota's stay. According to reports, over five thousand spectators attended one of the first performances.[18] This popularity is also reflected in the numerous performance dates, two of which took place on weekdays and as many as three on Sundays and holidays.[19] Likewise, the presence of numerous other groups that visited Vienna in addition to the Dakota and Buffalo Bill's troupe demonstrates the increasing interest in the shows. In the twenty years between 1886 and Buffalo Bill's second and final visit to Vienna in 1906, the media reported on eight other shows in which Native Americans participated.[20] These were often run by Cody's former business partners, for example William Frank "Doc" Carver, whose 1889 show in Vienna included a group of one hundred performers. In contrast, the show by John Omohundro, known as "Texas Jack,"[21] who also used to tour with Cody, only included eighteen people, of whom six were Natives.[22]

In order to understand the self-image of the shows as well as their differentiation and similarities to the ethnological exhibitions that have prevailed so far, press advertisement is particularly useful. Adverts offered their readers not only a concise overview of the hard facts such as location, price, and time of admission to the performances, but also of their content. The Dakota group's program contained nine acts called "Indians on the Move," "The Warriors' Procession," "The Buffalo Dance," "Shooting with Bow and Arrow," "The Kiss Dance," "The Lasso Throw," "The Raid of an Emigrant Family on the Prairies of North America," "The Abduction of a

17 Their appearance in Budapest a few weeks earlier is covered in Miklós Létay, "'Redskins at the Zoo': Sioux Indians in Budapest, 1886," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 375–81.

18 *Morgen-Post*, 7 July 1886, 5.

19 *Morgen-Post*, 9 July 1886, 8.

20 A concise overview of the ethnographic exhibitions and performances that have taken place in Vienna is provided by Werner Michael Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel: Zur Schaustellung "exotischer" Menschen, Wien 1870–1910* (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2001), 223–44; Damböck, "Indianerschauen," 13–61.

21 The appearances of Texas Jack in Vienna 1895 are covered by Damböck, "Indianerschauen," 45–49.

22 Here, contemporary newspaper articles generally refer to six "Siox." This composition of Texas Jack's staff seemed to change in later years, however, as he toured with the Deer family, who were Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), from 1903 onwards. David Blanchard, "Entertainment, Dance and Northern Mohawk Showmanship," *American Indian Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1983): 2–26, 16.

Girl," and "The Medicine Man." Quite a few of these titles already provide a template for later criticism, which accuses the shows of glorifying violence and having a negative influence on the youth. From the advertisers' point of view, however, the postulated claim was to portray the life of the Sioux "true to life" (*naturgetreu*).[23]

A similar wording can be found in the advertisements to "Buffalo Bill's Wild West" four years later. Cody claimed to show exact reenactments of historical events: "Magnificent scenes and pictures from the history of the settlement in the Far West, Indian wars and raids, etc. are depicted, which are performed true to life by people who actually experienced them."[24] In the 1906 performance, the Battle of the Little Bighorn (1876) was also included under this agenda. That such depictions were viewed through the lens of white settlers rather than that of the Lakota, for whom the battle was a significant moment in their history, is evident in the emphasis on the heroism of the US cavalry and the supposed cruelty of the Natives mentioned in the press coverage of this scene.[25] Although the credibility of these presented narratives is never fundamentally questioned, some newspaper articles indicated a dichotomy between the documentary and entertaining character of the shows:

> The caravans of peoples traveling the world to display people and animals, customs and traditions, natural and artistic productions of their homeland in other countries are becoming more and more in vogue. They represent the latest form of exhibition—wandering ethnographic exhibitions that meet the current lively interest in all exotic folklore in an inviting way. … One really gets [at Buffalo Bill's] a vivid picture of the life of the hunters and Indians on the North American prairie, whose figures are perhaps a little more garishly colored and sharply characterized than in reality, but which nevertheless appear with gripping immediacy and reality.[26]

Remarks like these point out that contemporaries already noticed that attempts at an apparently authentic representation were being blurred in favor of showmanship. The latter were widely reported in the newspapers. One article, for example, spoke of a performer referred to as "Hampa" or "The Wet Shoe," receiving a watch from a lady in the audience because of his

23 *Morgen-Post*, 9 July 1886, 8.
24 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7 May 1890, 17.
25 *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung*, 19 July 1906, 4; *Freie Stimmen*, 9 May 1906, 4.
26 *Neue Freie Presse*, 8 May 1890, 5.

Figure 10.1 Various skills of the Native American as depicted in a Viennese magazine © Courtesy of ANNO/Austrian National Library, *Wiener Spezialitäten*, 11 July 1886, 5.

skills with a lasso, bow, and arrow.[27] With the demonstration of such skills and the general increase of entertainment elements, the press also focused more and more on the individual performers of the shows. A significant number of Native Americans are mentioned by name in the newspapers,

27 *Morgen-Post*, 10 July 1886, 5.

sometimes even with illustrations of them. One of the most detailed articles on this was published by the *Wiener Spezialitäten*, where in addition to the aforementioned Hampa, three other Dakota are pictured with a description of their role in the shows of 1886. Again, their excellent shooting and riding skills are emphasized.[28]

Even if these tendencies towards individualization and the enthusiasm for the skills of the Natives temporarily eclipsed the aspect of the display of otherness,[29] there is no question that the show's performers were racialized in the press reports.[30] This becomes clear, for example, in a satirical newspaper report that drew parallels between the archery skills of the Sioux and those of the mythical Swiss national hero Wilhelm Tell, who is considered as a symbol of marksmanship in German-speaking countries. However, this comparison should not be seen as a tribute to a striving for self-independence, but was rather meant ironically, as the article's concluding pun shows: "Even the savages want to aim high these days!"[31]

As media reactions to a painting by the well-known Tyrolean artist Franz Defregger[32] illustrate, this was not limited to articles commenting on the immediate content of the Wild West shows. His portrait of Chief Rocky Bear,[33] a member of Buffalo Bill's troupe, was criticized in the press, which otherwise celebrated Defregger for his artistic depictions of peasant life. In comparison to the latter, the newspapers judged that the Rocky Bear painting lacked aesthetic taste and satirically remarked that Defregger had "gone among the savages."[34] In addition to Defregger, a number of other German-speaking painters, among them Lukas Vischer, Adolf Hoeffler, Johann

28 *Wiener Spezialitäten*, 11 July 1886, 4–6.

29 Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, "Buffalo Bill and Patriotism," 318.

30 Andreja Mesarič, "Racialized Performance and the Construction of Slovene Whiteness: Ethnographic Shows and Circus Acts on the Habsburg Periphery, 1800–1914," in *Staged Otherness: Ethnic Shows in Central and Eastern Europe 1850–1939*, eds. Dagnosław Demski and Dominika Czarnecka (Budapest/Vienna/New York, NY: Central European University Press, 2021), 257–94, 271.

31 *Die Bombe*, 11 July 1886, 224.

32 A recent short biography of Defregger can be found in Angelika Irgens-Defregger, "'…zwey Monate nicht weniger als 62 Porträt gezeichnet…' Franz von Defregger—sein Leben in Text und Bild," in *Defregger: Mythos—Missbrauch—Moderne*, eds. Peter Assmann et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2020), 33–51.

33 The Oglala Sioux Chief Rocky Bear (1836–1909), whose real name was Inyan Mato or Eya Matao, met Defregger during Buffalo Bill's first European tour, which stopped in Munich from 19 April to 4 May 1890. There he was not only portrayed by the artist, but also gave a speech to the local anthropological society. Barbara Wolf and Christina Zenz, "Kurzbiographien der Künstler und Dargestellten," in *Defregger: Mythos—Missbrauch—Moderne*, eds. Peter Assmann et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2020), 292–96, 295.

34 *Bote für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 11 August 1890, 1675; *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 1 August 1890, 10.

Baptist Wengler, and Rudolf Friedrich Kurz, depicted Native Americans in the nineteenth century, but their work enjoyed little recognition.[35]

Finally, it should be mentioned that, in contrast to the entertaining parts of the shows, hardly anything was written about those aspects that were supposed to represent Native culture. The performance of elements that could be seen as such an attempt—for instance dances—were described as amusing at most.[36] Compared to the ethnological exhibitions, Native Americans were seen not so much as exhibits but as characters in a play, or as the *Wiener Spezialitäten* formulated it in case of the Dakota: "you can see that the Sioux Indians are good for something else than just being gawked at by the many thousands who come down to them every day."[37] Yet this new, entertaining, and, above all, acted mode of representation was also followed by criticism of its authenticity. Some articles even implied that the Natives were making fun of the gullibility of the Europeans.[38]

To summarize, this overview of the portrayal of Native Americans in contemporary newspapers in the context of various Wild West shows not only makes it clear that the power of interpretation was never held by the performers themselves but was transferred to their community from the outside. This happened in several ways: on the one hand through the impresarios who conceived the shows, and on the other through their (re-)interpretation in the press. Despite the partial appreciation of individual performances in the context of these shows, which were generally perceived as spectacles, the image of the "savage" was never seriously called into question.

Critical Voices against Wild West Shows

Amid the general excitement surrounding the Wild West shows, a number of critical voices also surfaced. In some cases, critics aimed their scorn against the show itself, but at times bemoaned the organizers, participants, and even the spectators. In several instances, critics also addressed wider social issues but, in doing so, inadvertently borrowed tropes, analogies, clichés, and metaphors from the Wild West shows. The following sections

35 Christian F. Feest, "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 25–43, 38. See also the article by Julia Secklehner on Hans Larwin in this volume.

36 *Die Bombe*, 11 July 1886, 224.

37 *Wiener Spezialitäten*, 11 July 1886, 6.

38 *Neue Freie Presse*, 8 May 1890, 5.

explore these different controversies and conflicts that accompanied the newspaper coverage of Wild West shows.

"Cholera Buffalobillica"

One major area of criticism concerns the role of the audience and the entertainment industry. The first ethnological exhibitions in Vienna which involved living people[39] (such as the Sami people of Northern Scandinavia in 1872) were still dominated by skepticism in view of the scientific pretensions of the public and the organizers—this was countered by scientists who were supposed to ascertain the authenticity of the people on display.[40] Consequently, certifications of authenticity were soon added to the advertisements—for example, the linguist Prof. Friedrich Müller,[41] after examining

39 Vienna hosted some ethnological exhibitions even before that. However, most of these focused on overseas objects and artifacts, not on people. In this context, the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, such as the one in Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck, played an important role. See Robbie Richardson's afterword to this volume. Particularly in the course of the Austrian expedition to Brazil (1817–35), under the leadership of Johann Natterer, Heinrich Wilhelm Schott, and Johann Baptist Emanuel Pohl, as well as during later expeditions such as the circumnavigation of the world by the SMS *Novara* (1857–59), extensive ethnological, zoological, and botanical collections were assembled and exhibited in Vienna. Cf. Bettina Kann, "Die österreichische Brasilienexpedition 1817–1836 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der ethnographischen Ergebnisse" (diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 1992); Christa Riedl-Dorn, *Johann Natterer und die österreichische Brasilienexpedition* (Petrópolis: Edition Index, 2000); Kurt Schmutzer and Christan Feest, "Brazil in Vienna. Encounters with a Distant World," *Archiv Weltmuseum Wien* 63/64 (2013/14): 266–85; Renate Basch-Ritter, *Die Weltumsegelung der Novara 1857–1859. Österreich auf allen Meeren* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlags-Anstalt, 2008). An exception is certainly the case of Angelo Soliman/Mmadi Make (c. 1721–96), who was probably born in the Kanem-Bornu Empire in the northeast of present-day Nigeria and served as a valet in various families of the Habsburg monarchy (Liechtenstein, Lobkowitz). He attained a reputable position in Enlightenment and Freemasonry circles in Vienna and had excellent social connections. After his death, the skin was peeled off his body, preserved and displayed as a half-naked savage in a vitrine in the Kaiserliches Naturalienkabinett—despite the vehement complaints of his daughter, Baroness Josephine von Feuchtersleben. During the Vienna Uprising of October 1848, Soliman's mortal remains fell victim to a fire. Cf. Iris Wigger and Spencer Hadley, "Angelo Soliman: Desecrated Bodies and the Spectre of Enlightenment Racism," *Race & Class* 62, no. 2 (2020): 80–107; Heather Morrison, "Dressing Angelo Soliman," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no 3 (2011): 361–82; Philipp Blom, "Solimans Körper, Angelos Geist. Anmerkungen zur Erschließung eines Einzelschicksals," in *Angelo Soliman: Ein Afrikaner in Wien*, eds. Philipp Blom and Wolfgang Kos (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2011), 13–23; Philipp Blom, "Straußenfedern, Muscheln und Glasperlen. Soliman und andere menschliche Präparate in Museen, zwischen Wissenschaft und Ideologie," in *Angelo Soliman*, 107–19; Walter Sauer, "Angelo Soliman. Mythos und Wirklichkeit," in *Angelo Soliman*, 133–43.

40 Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 21–32.

41 M. Mayrhofer, "Müller, Friedrich (1834–1898)," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, vol. 6, ed. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), 414–15; Rüdiger Schmitt, "Müller, Friedrich,"

"their race and their language," attested that the Native Americans in the rotunda on the Prater were indeed Dakota (Sioux or Nadowessioux).[42] This helped to overcome the general tone of some newspaper articles, which humorously claimed that the Native Americans would only be played by Viennese actors.[43] In Austrian Galicia, for instance, several Polish-language journals accused the actors of redfacing and blackfacing.[44]

Although questions of authenticity had been at least partially dispelled by scientific certificates, impresarios and Native Americans continued to be tainted with a stigma of fraudulence and greed. "He Crow,"[45] a chief who had fought against General George Armstrong Custer in the Battle of the Little Bighorn,[46] always carried a sack of coins with him—with the aim of someday buying a cannon that would help to restore the "old Dakota Empire."[47] The price, however, was to be gazed at like a "clown,"[48] according to a report in the *Wiener Spezialitäten*. In an article about the killing of Sitting Bull in 1890, the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* laconically commented: "Wouldn't it have been more practical for Sitting Bull to become a section chief at Buffalo Bill instead of being shot to death back home as the Hadji Loja of the Indians!"[49]

Neue Deutsche Biographie, vol. 18, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Duncker & Humblot, 1997), 378–79.

42 *Morgen-Post*, 8 July 1886, 8. Already at the Vienna World's Fair of 1873 the newspapers emphasized the authenticity of a group of eight Chatiks si chatiks (Pawnee), who were advertised as "unadulterated Redskins" (*unverfälschte Rothhäute*). See *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* (Beilage Unterhaltungsblatt), 11 January 1873, 8. Strategies of verifying the authenticity of the people on display increasingly became a hallmark in show performances. See Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 70–99.

43 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 July 1886, 4.

44 Baraniecka-Olszewska, "Buffalo Bill and Patriotism," 329; Bartosz Hlebowicz, "'They Stepped on Their Toes.' Reception of the Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World in Polish Press of Galicia, 1906," *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 64, no. 1 (2019): 153–76, 169

45 His identity cannot be verified with certainty. The German-language newspaper *Wiener Spezialitäten* calls him "He Crow," which probably refers to a member of the Apsáalooke, who were called "Crow" in English.

46 Jeffry D. Wert, *Custer: The Controversial Life of George Armstrong Custer* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1996); Debra Buchholtz, *Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Bighorn: Custer's Last Stand in Memory, History, and Popular Culture* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

47 *Wiener Spezialitäten*, 11 July 1886, 4–6, here 4.

48 *Wiener Spezialitäten*, 11 July 1886, 6.

49 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 18 December 1890, 4. Hadži Loja (1834–87), born as Salih Vilajetović, was a Bosnian dervish who fought against the Austro-Hungarian invasion of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878). His role in the Bosnian revolt and his depiction in the Austrian press is analyzed

The flipside of this greed-for-money and trickster argument was the audience's receptivity to show business. The satirical newspaper *Der Floh*, for example, referred to the crowd as a frenzied "anthill."[50] In the context of Doc Carver's 1889 performances in Vienna, a columnist in the *Meraner Zeitung* painted a culturally pessimistic picture: the "feverish foreignerism" was interpreted as a symptom that Europe had become "Europe-weary," as a result of which it was now swimming in a "sea of exoticism."[51] Even notable politicians like Minister-President Eduard Taaffe,[52] Minister of Commerce Olivier de Bacquehem,[53] and member of the Imperial Council Engelbert Pernerstorfer[54] would stay away from labor chamber meetings to watch the spectacle.[55] The *Czernowitzer Tagblatt* ironically proposed its own disease name for the public's sensationalism: "Cholera buffalobillica, epidemica, americana, sporadica."[56] After the dashed expectations, owing to the swindle that the cowboy was actually a choir singer from Przemyśl and the Sioux a shoemaker from Kolomyja, people would only complain to the newspapers and even raise claims for the reimbursement of the entrance ticket.[57] Reports such as these clearly demonstrate that, in the late nineteenth century, the general public of the Habsburg monarchy had already developed a pronounced sensitivity for distinguishing between real and fake Native Americans.

Essentially, however, many authors of the newspaper articles and large parts of the broader public were not interested in Native Americans at all. Rather, they were used as a vehicle for a discussion about Europe. This becomes particularly apparent in instances where some articles completely inverted the narrative, portraying Europeans as the true barbarians.

in Amira Žmirić, *Karikaturen über Bosnien-Herzegowina in deutschen und österreichischen satirischen Blättern 1878 bis 1908*, vol. 2, Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, vol. 48 (Bielefeld: Athena bei wbv, 2022), 28–34.

50 *Der Floh*, 18 July 1886, 3.

51 *Meraner Zeitung*, 4 October 1889, 1–2.

52 Hans-Peter Hye and William D. Godsey, "Taaffe, Eduard Graf (1833–1895)," *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 25, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2013), 749.

53 "Bacquehem, Oliver Marquis de (1847–1917)," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, vol. 1, ed. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1957), 42.

54 Wolfgang Maderthaner, "Pernerstorfer, Engelbert (1850–1918)," *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 20, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), 193–94.

55 *Glühlichter*, 31 May 1890, 3.

56 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 29 July 1906, 5.

57 *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, 29 July 1906, 5.

Following Buffalo Bill's 1890 tour of Europe, the *Tiroler Stimmen* reported that US immigration authorities felt that Native Americans were being "morally and physically" corrupted in Europe.[58] Proof of this was seen in the case of a "Viennezed Indian" (*verwienerter Indianer*) who stayed in Vienna after 1890 and had since become addicted to gambling in order to get money for his forty cigarettes a day.[59] *Kikeriki* leapt on this discourse once again in 1911, issuing a satirical article that the Nde (Apache) had petitioned the US government to change their name to distance themselves from the brutality of those Native Americans who were part of the Wild West shows.[60]

Violence and Intolerance

Another frequent connotation associated with the Wild West shows was violence. In June 1895, newspapers in Austria were concerned with an episode of violence between the Texas Jack troupe and the public. As reported by the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, thirty-five-year-old Roaming Wolf of the "'seventh nation' of Caledonia"[61] and a stableman named Händel got into a fight. After provoking each other, Roaming Wolf allegedly went with his

58 *Tiroler Stimmen*, 10 November 1890, 4.

59 *Meraner Zeitung*, 4 February 1891, 3. That the press so emphatically highlighted the contact of Native Americans with goods that are emblematic of a modern consumer society, such as in the case of the "Viennezed Indian," or, above, the watch presented to Hampa/The Wet Shoe as a gift by a woman attending the show in Vienna, may be related to the journalists' conviction of the alleged superiority of Western civilization. This claimed civilizational gap produced the idea that Native Americans had to remain stuck in the past as it were, and that they could not be seen to progress into modernity. Although many adopted modern comforts such as watches á la Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 74, there was a difficult acceptance that this could be equated with Indianness. See H. Glenn Penny, "Elusive Authenticity: The Quest for the Authentic Indian in German Public Culture," *Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48 (2006): 798–819; Kevin C. Armitage, "Commercial Indians: Authenticity, Nature, and Industrial Capitalism in Advertising at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Michigan Historical Review* 29 (2003): 70–95. Jonathan Singerton deserves our thanks for pointing us to this idea.

60 *Kikeriki*, 12 January 1911, 3.

61 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 5 June 1895 (*Abend*), 3. The journalist probably refers to the Native American people of Caledonia in Ontario, Canada, as the communities along the Grand River in Ontario were known as the Six Nations of the Grand River. See Timothy C. Winegard, "Your Home on Native Land? Conflict and Controversy at Caledonia and the Six Nations of the Grand River," in *Blockades or Breakthroughs? Aboriginal Peoples Confront the Canadian State*, ed. Yale D. Belanger and P. Whitney Lackenbauer (Montreal/Kingston/London/Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 411–44. In all likelihood, the author of the newspaper article confused the expression with the literal translation of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ (Sioux), which means "seven council fires," the symbols of its seven nations. James R. Walker, *Lakota Society* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 10–12.

knife after Händel, who hit the attacker with an armchair, inflicting severe head injuries.[62] The atmosphere did not cool down in the following days, as Texas Jack lassoed some demonstrators at a social democratic workers' demonstration for the extension of voting rights, helping the police thereby to crush the demonstration. The press reacted strongly to these incidents. Even the *Grazer Tagblatt*, which otherwise often railed against social democracy, demanded the immediate expulsion of Texas Jack—pointing out that it was highly inappropriate to unleash the "manners of the rough West" in the capital of the Habsburg monarchy, because "the Prater is not yet a prairie."[63] Not without a certain irony, the author commented that workers were "to some extent also human beings" and not buffaloes.[64] As the troupe moved on to the Styrian capital city Graz, over a hundred workers pelted them with stones and insulted them as "manhunters."[65] Some people were injured and several factory workers arrested.[66] The factory worker Franz Rath claimed to have been severely beaten by a Graz police officer. But the public prosecutor turned the tables and charged him with defamation.[67] From this conflictual situation and from his debts due to missing payments to the members of the troupe and the transport company Adler from Budapest, Texas Jack fled to Milan at the end of June.[68] Even an official summons by the provincial and commercial court was without consequence.[69]

During Buffalo Bill's second tour across the Habsburg monarchy in 1906, newspaper journalists became outraged not solely about clashes between members of the troupe and spectators from Budapest, but also addressed the issue of violence against animals. The *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, for instance, mentioned the situation of the "bucking bronchos," who were

62 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 5 June 1895 (*Abend*), 3.

63 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 11 June 1895, 2. This comment may come with some surprise, especially considering that the Prater in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was already regarded as a place of light entertainment, sexual encounters, and exuberant celebrations. Cf. Philip Mansel, *Prince of Europe: The Life of Charles-Joseph de Ligne* (London: Phoenix, 2005), 56; Johannes Süßmann, *Vom Alten Reich zum Deutschen Bund 1789–1815. Seminarbuch Geschichte* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), 89–90; Roland Girtler, *Streifzug durch den Wiener Wurstelprater: Die bunte Welt der Schausteller und Wirte* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2016), 50–53. This demonstrates once again that there were double standards for European and non-European people.

64 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 11 June 1895, 2.

65 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20 June 1895 (*Abend*), 4; *Grazer Tagblatt*, 20 June 1895 (*Abend*), 2–3; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 21 June 1895, 5; *Tiroler Tagblatt*, 22 June 1895; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 28 November 1895, 3.

66 *Grazer Tagblatt*, 20 June 1895 (*Abend*), 2–3.

67 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 23 November 1895, 6.

68 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 25 June 1895, 7; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 3 July 1895, 6.

69 *Grazer Tagblatt*, 24 July 1895, 4.

tortured with whiplashes, wire loops, and nails.[70] In an environment where there was a massive upsurge in awareness of animal welfare at that time, sensitivity against violence against animals increased, so that the Tierschutzverein Wien (Vienna Animal Welfare Association) wanted to take action against the torture of animals in Wild West shows in response to messages from several viewers.[71]

Overall, it can be concluded that performances of Wild West shows in the Habsburg monarchy were often situated in a highly confrontational context. Not least because the audience's perceptions were already shaped and prefigured by the media before their first contact with Native Americans, stereotyped ideas and intolerance towards Native Americans often erupted into acts of violence in the moment of their encounter. As can be seen from the newspaper reports, outbreaks of violence were also exploited by the media to discredit certain political groups within the Habsburg monarchy, for example the supporters of the Social Democratic Party.

Bad Influence on Youth

Besides these conflicts directly related to the shows, the press reported on the alleged bad influence, especially on children. The reenactment of cowboys and Native Americans soon enjoyed great popularity among them, because the roles were clearly delineated.[72] Initially, it was just a lament about the imitated howling,[73] but within a few weeks, several unfortunate incidents found entry into the newspapers: the strangulation of a boy by a lasso,[74] a graze shot in the chest,[75] and an arrow hit in which the ironworker Martin Bolehal lost an eye.[76] In April 1911, there were reports about the youth gang "Buffalo Bill Gesellschaft" in Budapest. Under this name, several schoolchildren blackmailed money from classmates—the culmination was the killing of six-year-old Alexander Hohl by a pistol shot from the twelve-year-old gang leader Bela Bazsonyi.[77] A similar gang operated in

70 *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 22 June 1906, 8.

71 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 August 1906, 5.

72 Karl Markus Kreis, "Indians Playing, Indians Praying: Native Americans in Wild West Shows and Catholic Missions," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 195–212, 202; Katrin Sieg, "Indian Impersonation as Historical Surrogation," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 217–42, 223.

73 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 31 May 1890, 7.

74 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 8 June 1890, 17.

75 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 19 June 1890, 4.

76 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20 June 1890, 4.

77 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 14 April 1911, 10; *Erlaftal-Bote*, 16 April 1911, 6.

the Tyrolean Stubai Valley in the summer of 1917. Six Innsbruck teenagers aged between fifteen and seventeen were accused of shoplifting to the tune of 2,000 kronen; the loot included chocolate, candy, sardines, socks, shoe cream, and cigarettes. For the judiciary and the newspaper author, it was a foregone conclusion that the reading of novels about Native Americans was the decisive trigger for this juvenile petty crime—not the precarious conditions during the World War, which were not mentioned at all.[78] After the Second World War, however, in post-1945 Austria, the US occupation forces used Buffalo Bill tales to promote the democratic reeducation of children and adolescents.[79]

Wild West shows also seem to have fostered a certain escapism in the Habsburg monarchy. The motives could be manifold: push factors like harsh living conditions in Austria-Hungary as well as pull factors like the desire for adventure in the romanticized Wild West. Shortly after the Buffalo Bill troupe had left Vienna in 1890, the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* wrote about a fifteen-year-old officer's son who had sold books from his parents' library and intended to use the profits to escape to America. After three months they found him in a Hungarian village, where he was working in a circus to earn money for the crossing.[80] In 1897, the *Vorarlberger Volksblatt* and the *Bozner Zeitung* reported on three young people who had left Europe, including high school students from Bregenz (Vorarlberg), Hall (Tyrol), and Kočevje (Carniola).[81] In 1887, two fourteen-year-olds who had attempted to escape allegedly committed suicide in Maria-Enzersdorf out of remorse for their breakaway.[82] Some Europeans had been attracted to the Wild West long before the first ethnological exhibitions and shows: In 1896, the *Bozner Zeitung* announced the death of seventy-one-year-old Peter Wöth in the district St. Pauls in the Tyrolean village Eppan,[83] who was said to

78 *Neueste Zeitung*, 5 July 1917, 3–4.

79 Christopher Max Van Demark, "Sketch of a New World: US Occupation and the Politics of Childhood in Postwar Austria," in *Journal of Austrian-American History* 6, no. 2 (2022): 154–73, 160–63.

80 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 22 June 1890, 3.

81 *Bozner Zeitung*, 4 March 1897, [3]; *Vorarlberger Volksblatt*, 7 March 1897, 2–3.

82 *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 1 April 1887, 5.

83 Peter Wöth was born on 13 December 1824 and died on 23 January 1896. Parish Register St. Pauls, Deaths, 1884–1922, 205. A mixture of disillusionment after the revolutions of 1848, religious conviction from the radical pietist ideas of Johann Georg Rapp (1757–1847), who had established communist settlements in Pennsylvania and Indiana, and the promises of the California gold rush, convinced Wöth to move to the United States of America in 1851. After his return, even the Prince-Bishop of Trent Johann Nepomuk von Tschiderer zu Gleifheim was concerned with his case. Karl Franz Zani, *200 Jahre Pfarrei Girlan: Ein Dorfbuch und Quellenwerk* (Eppan: KARO-Druck, 1987), 284–310.


Ein Exemplar 2 kr. – 4 h.
VII. Jahrgang. Nr. 2324.
Illustrierte
Monatlich 1 Krone
mit Zustellung ins Haus.
Kronen Zeitung
1900
Der angekündigte Doppelselbstmord eines Liebespaares.
Administration:
Stadtbureau:
Wien, Donnerstag den 21. Juni 1906.
Redaktion: Wien, IX/1, Prammgasse 28.
Monats-Abonnement:
1 Krone 60 Heller.
Aurelia, die Indianerbraut.

Figure 10.2 Front page of an illustrated newspaper showing the teenage Aurelie Beresch as a captive bride © Courtesy of ANNO/Austrian National Library, *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 21 June 1906, 1.

have spent several years among Native Americans where he "adopted their customs and, in some cases, their traditions."[84]

The coverage of this escapism clearly has a gender-related aspect too, with the narrative of sexual seduction. This fear of sexual encounters is not limited to the Wild West shows, but is also found in the context of reporting

84 *Bozner Zeitung*, 28 January 1896, 3.

on other ethnographic exhibitions within the Habsburg monarchy.[85] On multiple occasions, the newspapers reported that women were attracted by the Native Americans as well as by "cowboys."[86] The case of fourteen-year-old Aurelie Beresch even made it to the front page of the *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung* as "the Indian's bride."[87]

After seeing Buffalo Bill in Vienna and allegedly beginning an affair with a Native American, she followed the group to Budapest.[88] Even the US press took notice of the relationship between the teenager (in this version named Aurelia Bernstoff) and the Native American James Spotal, and included details of her letter to her mother, in which she warned that she would poison herself with "some stuff James has given me—the stuff with which the Indian fellow poisons his arrows" if the police were to come searching for her.[89] Finally, she was picked up by a detective and was handed over to the police.[90] The satirical newspaper *Wiener Caricaturen* picked up on this case: The Austrian girl "Agnes" hoped that the sexual union with "redskins" would regenerate "the weak, rotten *Kulturgeschlecht*."[91] The sketch, inspired by the pedophile author Peter Altenberg, ends with the self-revelatory, voyeuristic remark: "Do something for humanity and let me watch."[92]

To avoid such cases, they launched a campaign against so-called *Schundliteratur* (pulp fiction), which at the latest with Buffalo Bill's second tour of the Habsburg monarchy had already spread throughout Europe and strongly polarized society.[93] This debate also encompassed the works of Karl May (1842–1912),[94] whose bestseller novels about the American frontier, featuring

85 Mesarič, "Racialized Performance," 273–74.
86 *Neue Freie Presse*, 8 May 1890, 5.
87 *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 21 June 1906, 1, 11.
88 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 June 1906, 5.
89 *The Evening Statesman*, 7 July 1906, 1.
90 *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 22 June 1906, 7–8.
91 *Wiener Caricaturen*, 24 June 1906, 5.
92 *Wiener Caricaturen*, 24 June 1906, 5.
93 Feest, "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective," 35–36.
94 For biographical information, see Helmut Schmiedt, *Karl May oder die Macht der Phantasie: Eine Biographie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2011); Claus Roxin, "May's Leben," in *Karl-May Handbuch*, eds. Gert Ueding, 2nd ed. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001), 67–111. For aspects of May's reception and the connection to Wild West shows, see Hartmut Lutz, "German Indianthusiasm: A Socially Constructed German National(ist) Myth," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, eds. Colin G. Calloway et al. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 167–84; György Tóth, "Tracing Karl May in the History of Transatlantic Indian Imagery. Review essay of the exhibition titled *Po stopě Karla Maye/Tracing Karl May* in the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague, October 25, 2012–April 30, 2013," *Studia Territorialia* 13, no. 3 (2013): 103–20; Martin Kuester, "American Indians and German Indians: Perspectives of

iconic characters like Winnetou and Old Shatterhand, were particularly popular among youth. Despite May's alleged intention to promote moral values and mutual respect between cultures, his stories were often criticized for romanticizing violence and adventure, making them targets in the larger discourse about the dangers of mass-produced popular literature.[95] May's own biography, which included imprisonment for theft, fraud, and imposture, was often invoked to cast doubt on the moral legitimacy of his works. Contemporary critics argued that such novels distorted young readers' perceptions of reality and promoted an unhealthy fascination with the exotic and violent, further fueling the moral panic around the influence of Wild West fiction on juvenile behavior.[96] The president of the Klub der Kinderfreunde (Children's friends club), for instance, appealed to Vienna's kiosk owners to refrain from selling Wild West novels—an issue that *Kikeriki* satirically mocked.[97] In October 1906, the government of Lower Austria even issued a decree banning twenty-three authors, books, and series, including stories about Texas Jack, Buffalo Bill, and William Frank "Doc" Carver.[98] Also, social democrats like Amalie Pölzer[99] pushed for the banning of this literary genre.[100] In the face of World War I, the tenor became even more negative. Immediately after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his

Doom in Cooper and May," *Western American Literature* 23, no. 3 (1988): 217–22; Georg Jäger, "Der Kampf gegen Schmutz und Schund. Die Reaktion der Gebildeten auf die Unterhaltungsindustrie," in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 31 (1988): 163–91.

95 The widespread distribution of fiction became increasingly difficult to control due to the success of the book trade run by peddlers. Gabriele Scheidt, *Der Kolportagebuchhandel (1869–1905): Eine systemtheoretische Rekonstruktion* (Stuttgart: M & P Verlag für Wissenschaft, 1994); Reinhard Tschapke, "Der literarische Markt im 19. Jahrhundert. Verlag, Vertriebs- und Verbreitungsformen," in *Karl-May Handbuch*, ed. Gert Ueding, 48–60; Jessica Ellen Plummer, "Selling Fiction. The German Colportage Novel 1871–1914" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2016). For the German Empire, see the study by Kaspar Maase, *Die Kinder der Massenkultur: Kontroversen um Schmutz und Schund seit dem Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt/New York, NY: Campus, 2012).

96 Martin Kohlrausch, "Zwischen Star-Schriftsteller und Hochstapler: Der 'Fall May' als wilhelminischer Skandal," in *Karl May: Brückenbauer zwischen den Kulturen*, Kultur und Technik 17 (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011), 197–214. Among May's most pronounced critics were Rudolf Lebius, Ferdinand Avenarius, Paul Rentschka, and Carl Muth. See Roxin, "May's Leben," 103–9. For an emblematic example of criticism of May as a producer of *Schundliteratur*, see Ferdinand Avenarius, "Karl May als Erzieher," *Der Kunstwart* 15, no. 12 (1901): 585–86.

97 *Kikeriki*, 2 August 1906, 2.

98 *Der Tiroler*, 23 October 1906, 4.

99 R. Klucsarits, "Pölzer Amalie, geb. Baron (1871–1924)," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, vol. 8, ed. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), 142.

100 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 29 November 1908, 5.

wife Sophie Chotek in Sarajevo, several Native Americans were suspected of being Serbian or Russian spies, resulting in their expulsion from Germany and Austria.[101] Some newspapers argued that the omnipresence of violence in dime novels made soldiers dull in the face of real danger in the trenches and on the battlefields.[102] Especially after the US entered the war in 1917, Austrian and German propaganda across the political spectrum mocked the Allied powers as ethnically heterogeneous (and therefore inferior) forces, as the title "37 races against the Central Powers" suggests.[103] Against this discursive backdrop, criticism of Wild West novels continued with similar arguments far into the 1920s, thereby outlasting the Habsburg monarchy.[104] Even after 1945, campaigns against *Schundliteratur*, which essentially included Karl May's works, continued.[105] Although some tragedies can be traced back either directly or indirectly to the experiences of the Wild West shows, the discourses about them are embedded in the broader context of youth critique, which also existed independently of this issue.

Racism and Supremacism

Not surprisingly the shows were used within existing discourses of anti-Semitism and racism. Satirical newspapers in Austria-Hungary repeatedly drew on a racist reservoir of analogies and clichés to disseminate anti-Semitic statements. At the same time, racist discourses about Native Americans were occasionally invoked to criticize anti-Semitism itself. The ambiguous character of satirical representations of Native Americans in the Austro-Hungarian press is particularly evident in the comparison of the following two caricatures. *Kikeriki*[106] featured a Jewish man, depicted with racialized characteristics, expressing to a Sioux his desire for the scalping of Vienna's mayor, Karl Lueger.[107] Since the Sioux refused the proposed assassination

101 Kreis, "Indians Playing, Indians Praying," 195–96.

102 *Tiroler Wastl*, 30 April 1916, 3.

103 *Meraner Zeitung*, 11 November 1916, 2. Similar arguments can be found in *Wiener Caricaturen*, 29 April 1917, 2; *Tiroler Stimmen*, 6 August 1918, 1–2, and even about British, Canadian, and French troops in *Neueste Zeitung*, 11 November 1914, 1; *Kikeriki*, 10 January 1915, 3; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 27 April 1915, 1. On Native Americans in World War I, see also Thomas Anthony Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Calloway, "Historical Encounters," 73–74.

104 *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* 23 October 1921, 7; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 15 October 1922, 10–11; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 24 November 1925, 10; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 September 1927, 7.

105 Matthew Paul Berg, "Schmutz, Schund and Sittliche Gefährdung: The Politics of Children's Morality Legislation in Early Postwar Austria," *German Studies Review* 21, no. 3 (1998): 447–67, 451.

106 *Kikeriki*, 14 April 1895, [2].

107 The interconnection between Lueger's anti-Semitic populism and satirical newspapers are the subject of several publications: Robert S. Wistrich, "Karl Lueger and the Ambiguities of

Figure 10.3 Vienna mayor Karl Lueger and the Sioux © Courtesy of ANNO/Austrian National Library, *Kikeriki*, 14 April 1895, 2.

order of the Jewish man with the words "No, we Indians are the better humans," the main criticism here is aimed at the Jew.

In the caricature in *Die Bombe*, we see a father asking his son to look up in the dictionary whether Native Americans belong to the "race [of] Semites," because he does not want to be accused of being a "Jew's servant."[108] The boy reads out that they belong to the "copper-red race," which relieves his father, as he thinks he is therefore related to them because of his red nose.[109] This allusion targets anti-Semites' inclination to alcoholism. Nonetheless, racial-biological terminology is used here to categorize the Native Americans as well. Some satirical newspapers also invoked old stereotypes[110] such as cannibalism to menace disliked persons, particularly from the world of politics and the press—such as feuilletonist Eduard Mautner,[111] who in one

Viennese Antisemitism," *Jewish Social Studies* 45, no. 3/4 (1983): 251–62; Christian A. Bachmann, "Der Wiener *Kikeriki* und die Causa Karl Lueger—Visuelle und mechanische Satire im Dienst des antisemitischen Populismus," in *Populismus—Kontroversen und Perspektiven. Ein wissenschaftliches Gesprächsangebot*, eds. Marina Fleck et al. (Munich: Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft München, 2020), 163–86.

108 *Die Bombe*, 15 September 1889, 8.

109 *Die Bombe*, 15 September 1889, 8. On anti-Semitic caricatures in the magazine *Kikeriki*, see Sarah Holzinger, "Die Darstellung von Juden und Jüdinnen im humoristischen Volksblatt *Kikeriki*" (diploma thesis, University of Graz, 2015).

110 For characterizations of Native Americans in Europe from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century with special focus on Hungary, see Ildikó S. Kristóf, "Before Fieldwork: Textual and Visual Stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples and the Emergence of World Ethnography in Hungary in the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Palgrave Handbook of the History of Human Sciences*, ed. David McCallum (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 1620–50.

111 Valerie Hanus, "Mautner, Eduard (1824–1889)," in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, vol. 6, ed. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), 164.

caricature was described and depicted as a *fettes Bratel* ("fat roast chicken") who was being chased by two Native Americans with distorted grimaces, equipped with a knife and fork.[112]

Finally, comparisons with Native Americans were also used to impose civilizational discourses on internal power hierarchies. For a journalist of *Der Bote für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, a parade of East Galicians evoked the image of ethnological exhibitions of Native Americans and of the victorious emperor—Lueger—leading the defeated peoples behind the triumphal chariot into the metropolis.[113] The alleged wildness of the West was transferred to the discursive inferiorization of the Eastern provinces of the Habsburg monarchy, which evoked a civilizational gradient.

These discourses are embedded in a broader discourse of comparison between East and West, which was also linked to a second axis of center and periphery. Not only the eastern (semi-)periphery of the Habsburg monarchy, but also the territories beyond the imperial borders were Orientalized: This was true of the East, which had always played an important role in the geopolitical setting of the Habsburg monarchy,[114] and increasingly also of the Indigenous West, whose Orientalized images gradually seeped into the empire. Open plains, endless resources, and inferior inhabitants hallmarked the imagination about both places.[115] This image of primeval forests even found expression in place names in the West (Pennsylvania) and the East (Transylvania). Reporting on the Wild West shows in the Habsburg monarchy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shows that these elements were often linked to frame the own state as an empire with a center and (semi-)peripheries. The Native Americans who appeared on stage were used in the media to transfer tropes of the Wild West to the

112 *Kikeriki*, 18 May 1873, [7].

113 *Bote für Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 19 December 1895, 2227–28.

114 In particular in the case of the Crown Land of Galicia and after the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1878), Orientalizing strategies were frequently used. Cf. Klemens Kaps, "Jenseits von Ost-West: Räumliche Entwicklungshierarchien in der Habsburgermonarchie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 31, no. 2 (2020): 43–71; Klemens Kaps and Andrea Komlosy, "Centers and Peripheries Revisited: Polycentric Connections or Entangled Hierarchies?," *Review* 36, no. 3/4 (2013): 237–64; Andre Gringich, "Orientalismus," in *Habsburg neu denken: Vielfalt und Ambivalenz in Zentraleuropa. 30 kulturwissenschaftliche Stichworte*, eds. Johannes Feichtinger and Heidemarie Uhl (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2016), 156–62; Clemens Ruthner, "Habsburg's Little Orient. A Post/Colonial Reading of Austrian and German Cultural Narratives on Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918," *Kakanien revisited* (22 May 2008), https://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/CRuthner5/?page=15, accessed 10 February 2024.

115 Richard V. Francaviglia, *Go East, Young Man: Imagining the American West as the Orient* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2011).

(semi-)peripheries in the East. This is apparent in headlines such as "Wild East"[116] and not least in the composition of Buffalo Bill's 1906 show "Rough Riders of the World," which featured not only Native Americans but also American and English soldiers, Mexicans, Cossacks, and other equestrian warriors from Africa and Japan.[117]

Conclusion

In newspaper coverage focusing on Native Americans, three broad lines of perception can be identified: The first revolves around the entertaining element that was rooted in contemporary fiction and manifested itself in events such as the carnival. On the other hand, reports on ethnographic exhibitions suggested a seemingly scientific view of the Natives and thus introduced an educational element. Finally, the Wild West shows occupied an ambiguous space, oscillating between these two poles of entertainment and purported authenticity. This was particularly evident in advertisements that sought to create the impression that they were not staged representations, but rather documentary depictions of the past. The claim was to transfer a true-to-life image with real Native American protagonists from the so-called Wild West to the cities of the Habsburg monarchy.

As a result, Native Americans were often used as a projection surface and reservoir of topoi for societal conflicts. The reference to Native Americans was exploited by a great variety of political, social, and ethnic groups to indicate social grievances. The fascination for non-European peoples in Austria-Hungary may in some instances have been motivated by scientific interest but was also often fueled by the desire to claim a civilizational and racial superiority over the people on display, whether they were Native Americans, Sinhalese, Nubians, or others.

The genre of the shows, as the newspapers noted upon Cody's death in 1917, increasingly faded into an anachronism of a world that had perished or at least was perishing—thereby creating a parallel between the Native Americans and the Habsburg monarchy. However, the transfer to the medium of film[118] ensured that the Wild West, already romanticized and

116 *Bukowinaer Post*, 26 July 1906, 1–2.

117 Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 213; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 26 May 1906, 11; *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 26 May 1906, 7.

118 Lottini, "When Buffalo Bill Crossed the Ocean," 199–200; Schwarz, *Anthropologische Spektakel*, 202–3.

musealized by the shows, was adapted to new tastes—countless advertisements demonstrate that throughout the Habsburg monarchy and in its successor states, cinema audiences were transported to the Wild West, now projected onto celluloid.[119]

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119 *Bozner Zeitung*, 4 April 1908, 14; *Der Tiroler*, 20 September 1913, 10; *Tiroler Wastl*, 20 September 1919, 11; *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 13 March 1920, 11; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 23 October 1921, 7.

11. "Rothäute von Heute": Deskaheh's Petition for Recognized Indigenous Sovereignty at the End of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

Michael P. Taylor

Abstract: In 1923, amid Europe's post-WWI restructuring of governmental forms, nation-state boundaries, and political sovereignties, hereditary Haudenosaunee chief Deskaheh (Levi General) traveled to Geneva, Switzerland to seek international recognition of Haudenosaunee nationhood from the League of Nations. Although he was barred from officially petitioning the league, he met with diverse civic leaders and spoke to the European public throughout Switzerland and neighboring countries, garnering substantial—if not legally binding—international support. Placing Deskaheh's petition and concurrent address, "Rothäute von Heute," in conversation with corresponding German-language newspapers demonstrates how Deskaheh's assertion of the intergenerational continuance of Six Nations sovereignty led some former Austro-Hungarians to reconsider traditional forms of Indigenous governance as revolutionary models of modern political thought and action.

Keywords: Indigenous, modernity, Deskaheh, sovereignty, Haudenosaunee, nationhood

In 1923, Deskaheh (Levi General), a Cayuga hereditary chief and the designated speaker of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy,[1] travelled to Geneva,

1 Throughout this piece, I will be referring to Levi General by his hereditary title, Deskaheh, as an acknowledgment of the ongoing rights and responsibilities of Haudenosaunee sovereignty that he represented. Haudenosaunee, Iroquois, and Six Nations will also be used interchangeably.

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH11

Switzerland to declare, "The constituent members of the State of the Six Nations of the Iroquois, … have been for many centuries, organized and self-governing peoples, respectively, within the domains of their own, and united in the oldest League of Nations, the League of the Iroquois, for the maintenance of mutual peace."[2] While Deskaheh's written petition of the Six Nations circulated among certain League of Nations delegates, he was ultimately not allowed to speak in person to the full league.[3] As Canadian peace activist Edith Ballantyne described in her 1977 address to the International NGO Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations in the Americas: "Deskaheh travelled to Geneva to plead the case of his people before the League of Nations. He tried for a year but never succeeded in breaking through that fortress. Nevertheless, he was received with sympathy by the people of Geneva, who provided a platform from which he was able to speak to the world about the case of his nation against the governments of the US, Canada, and the UK."[4] Deskaheh's was an attempt to petition the League of Nations for international recognition of Haudenosaunee sovereignty as Canada was in the process of militarily overthrowing the Haudenosaunee government. Despite being disallowed from directly petitioning the league for recognition and league membership, Deskaheh travelled throughout the region, embodying the survivance of Indigenous self-governance in ways that demonstrably influenced important sectors of modern European political thought.[5] Deskaheh was not the first transatlantic Indigenous traveler to raise issues of Indigenous sovereignty internationally, as some sources claim,[6] nor was he the last; rather, his travels, petition, public speaking, and resulting reception grew out of more than a century of continuous transatlantic Indigenous exchange of goods,

2 Deskaheh, "The Red Man's Appeal."

3 "Complaint of the Six Nations Indians against the Government of Canada." United Nations Library & Archives Geneva. R612/11/34286/28075.https://archives.ungeneva.org/complaint-of-the-indian-tribe-of-the-six-nations-against-the-government-of-canada-department-of-external-affairs-ottawa-transmits-copy-of-the-statement-prepared-by-the-department-of-indian-affairs-of-canada-respecting-the-six-nations-a.

4 Edith Ballantyne, "International NGO Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations in the Americas." UNOG Registry, Records and Archives Unit, WILPF/112_03, https://archives.ungeneva.org/reel-112-3-9, 12.

5 Gerald Vizenor (Anishinaabe) coined the term *survivance* as "an active sense of presence, the continuation of Native stories" that "are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry," see Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (Lincoln, NB: Bison Books, 1999).

6 "Exhibition Deskaheh and March of Indigenous Peoples." https://www.geneve.ch/en/actualites/exhibition-deskaheh-march-indigenous-peoples.

peoples, and ideas.[7] Yet, the timing, location, and reception of Deskaheh's transatlantic declaration of Indigenous sovereignty position his representation of modern Indigenous nationhood as central to understanding the limits and possibilities of Indigenous autonomy in an increasingly global world at the turn of the twentieth century.

Two decades prior to Deskaheh's diplomatic mission to Europe, on 3 December 1901, US president Theodore Roosevelt delivered his first annual message to the US Senate and House of Representatives, outlining the so-called Indian problem and his vision for federal Indian policy moving into the twentieth century. His vision was to build upon what he celebrated as the successful privatization of Indigenous land set into motion by the 1887 General Allotment Act: "In my judgement the time has arrived when we should definitely make up our minds to recognize the Indian as an individual and not as a member of a tribe. The General Allotment Act is a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass. It acts directly upon the family and the individual."[8] He went on to connect the privatization of Indigenous lands to the simultaneous assimilationist strategy of federal Indian boarding school and a rationalization of moving away from treaty-based obligations to tribal nations:

> In the school the education should be elementary and largely industrial. … The need of higher education among the Indians is very, very limited. … There is no use in attempting to induce agriculture in a country suited only for cattle raising, where the Indian should be made a stock grower. The ration system, which is merely the corral and the reservation system, is highly detrimental to the Indians. It promotes beggary, perpetuates pauperism, and stifles industry. It is an effectual barrier to progress. … The Indian should be treated as an individual—like the white man.[9]

Roosevelt's rhetoric of individualizing, assimilating, and thereby freeing Indigenous peoples from their longstanding, land-based kinship networks and systems of self-governance sought to absolve the federal government from treaty obligations through the ostensibly generous argumentation of

7 Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000–1927* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016). as but two histories of transatlantic Indigenous presence.

8 Theodore Roosevelt, "First Annual Message," https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/first-annual-message-16.

9 Theodore Roosevelt, "First Annual Message."

individual rights and equality. Yet, Roosevelt's "pulverizing engine" was simply the next iteration of federal Indian boarding school system architect General Richard Henry Pratt's 1892 educational motto to "kill the Indian in him, and save the man."[10]

US federal Indian policy at the turn of the twentieth century influenced, and was influenced by, Canadian Indian policy, both becoming bedfellows in the legislative—at times literal—dislocation of Indigenous families, homes, and communities in the attempt to forever eradicate Indigenous title to North American lands and waters. Whereas allotment and assimilationist boarding schools became the dual strategy of US federal Indian policy, the dominant legislation that wrestled control from Indigenous nations at the turn of the twentieth century in Canada was the 1876 Indian Act. This infamous act was the culmination of nineteenth-century "assimilationist policies that intended to terminate the cultural, social, economic, and political distinctiveness of Aboriginal peoples," thereby absorbing Indigenous peoples into the mainstream Canadian populace and opening up Indigenous lands and waters to settler ownership and exploitation.[11] Perhaps Deskaheh described the sister North American Indian policies best in his famous 1925 final speech given just three months before his passing: "Over in Ottawa, they call that Policy 'Indian Advancement.' Over in Washington, they call it 'Assimilation.' We who would be the helpless victims say it is tyranny."[12]

The clear purpose of Indian policy throughout the United States and Canada was to absolve federal obligations to sovereign tribal nations and to remove constitutional barriers to settler colonial expansion. As Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee) and Jean O'Brien (Ojibwe) argue, "Privatization is more than policy or practice—it is a storied dispossessive process. So, too, is its restorative resistance."[13] Deskaheh's direct engagement with Europe, as one of many transatlantic Indigenous travelers and thinkers, represents a desire to maintain authorship in the storying of modern Indigenous presents and futures, retaining "rhetorical sovereignty" in the fight to ensure the

10 Richard Henry Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians With Whites," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1892), https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/default/files/docs-resources/CIS-Resources_1892-PrattSpeech.pdf, 46.

11 Erin Hanson, "The Indian Act." *Indigenous Foundations*, https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/the_indian_act/#:~:text=The%20Indian%20Act%20is%20a%20part%20of%20a%20long%20history,mainstream%20Canadian%20life%20and%20values.

12 Deskaheh, "The Last Speech of Deskaheh—Adress on WHAM Radio in Rochester, N.Y. (Mar. 10, 1925)," in *Basic Call to Consciousness* (Mohawk Nation via Rooseveltown, NY: Akwesasne Notes, 1978), 25–33.

13 Daniel Heath Justic and Jean M. O'Brien, eds. *Allotment Stories: Indigenous Land Relations Under Settler Siege* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2021), xi.

continuance of land-based Indigenous autonomy. As Richard Scott Lyons (Ojibwe/Dakota) suggests, "rhetorical sovereignty is the inherent right and ability of peoples to determine their own communicative needs and desires …, to decide for themselves the goals, modes, styles, and languages of public discourse."[14]

As settler states expanded and solidified their legislative, physical, and storied efforts to dislocate Indigenous communities and extinguish modern Indigenous nations across North America, sovereign Indigenous peoples like Deskaheh began crossing the Atlantic with increased frequency to represent their nations as performers, diplomats, and soldiers. In other words, while settler North American states sought to forcefully eradicate Indigenous cultures, separate Indigenous families, dislocate Indigenous communities, and thereby remove Indigenous nations from participation in the makings of Western modernity, Indigenous peoples expanded their efforts to participate in and thereby simultaneously shape both transatlantic and local Indigenous modernities.[15] As a result, Europe was becoming increasingly fascinated by North American Indigenous peoples. On the one hand, Europeans celebrated the widely popular Wild West shows' depiction of US settlers subduing the ostensible savagery of the American frontier. On the other hand, Indigenous performers and other transatlantic travelers entered "popular and public spaces … to negotiate long-standing audience expectations" to encourage them to become more critical of US and Canadian efforts to eradicate American Indigeneity.[16] Deskaheh was but one prominent figure in an expansive host of transatlantic Indigenous travelers at the turn of the twentieth century, who chose to directly engage—rather than be alienated from—Western modernity in order to ensure the continuance of modern Indigenous nationhood. Returning to Deskaheh's nation-specific advocacy in Europe in the 1920s is a call to (re)center Indigenous-produced modern literary, material, performative, and visual texts as instrumental in the formation of transatlantic modernity and in the continuation of self-determining Indigenous nations.

Scholarship on this late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century influx of transatlantic Indigenous travel has become much more focused and

14 Richard Scott Lyons, "Rhetorical Sovereignty: What Do American Indians Want from Writing? *College Composition and Communications* 51 (2000), 449.

15 Throughout this piece, I use the term "modernity" to signify the economic, legal, and political realities at the turn of the twentieth century. I use the term "modern" then to refer to the diverse aesthetics, ethics, and forms of expression employed to shape modernity.

16 Christina Bold, "*Vaudeville Indians" on Global Circuits, 1880s to 1930s* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022), 166.

provocative over the last decade with such Indigenous studies scholars as Jace Weaver documenting how Indigeneity has been central to the transatlantic world and worldmaking since the advent of transatlantic mobility,[17] and Coll Thrush remapping London as a generative hub of global Indigenous exchange.[18] Others, such as Christine Bold, have transformed the fixation on transatlantic Indigenous performance to evince lasting networks of Indigenous agency, artistry, relation building, and intercultural exchange.[19] Building upon the foundation that Weaver, Thrush, Bold, and others have established, Deskaheh's transatlantic travel, writings, and reception points readers to Indigenous assertions of modern Indigenous self-governance, of autonomous Indigenous nationhood a decade prior to the advent of federal recognition policies in North America. Deskaheh's post-World War I assertion of Indigenous sovereignty, at a time that would forever define Western modernity, offers an opportunity to analyze how Indigenous travelers' performances, representations, and diplomatic declarations of modern, national Indigenous autonomy spoke to and affected the revolutionary democratization at the heart of modern Europe.

North American Indians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire

Indigenous peoples of North America engaged readers, viewers, and hosts of the Austrian and later Austro-Hungarian empire from the very beginning. As Thrush documents, semi-regular Indigenous travelers have been engaging Europe since at least as early as the sixteenth century.[20] Specifically in Austria, decades before Karl May's Winnetou novels swept through Europe, producing the still-ongoing phenomenon of what Hartmut Lutz calls "Indianthusiasm," Austrians were already becoming enthusiastic about "all things Indian, a fascination with American Indians, a romanticizing about a supposed Indian essence."[21] From early on, Austrian Indianthusiasm was expressed in diverse ways and adapted across ever-shifting religious and political ideologies that moved, at least in the minds of some Austrian

17 Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*, 16.

18 See Thrush, *Indigenous London*.

19 See Bold, "*Vaudeville Indians*".

20 See Thrush, *Indigenous London*.

21 Hartmut Lutz, "German Indianthusiasm: A Socially Constructed German National(ist) Myth," in *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*, ed. Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Germünden, and Susanne Zantop (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp. 168–169.. 168–69.

thinkers and writers, from pagan Indigenous nobility to ideological mentors of modern progressivism.

In the early 1800s, the Vienna-based newspaper *Österreichischer Beobachter* began publishing regular reports on *Indianer* in the United States (see the chapter by Ambach and Gröber in this volume). Other Austrian newspapers, Catholic missionary journals, and adventurers' travelogues would soon follow as news of Indigenous North American began to become a common feature across nineteenth-century Austria. On 17 April 1812, for example, the *Beobachter* reported on what would become known as Tecumseh's War. In it, the author begins by invalidating Shawnee spiritual authority and evaluating Indigenous cowardice: "The self-proclaimed prophet is a Shawnee Indian of about forty years. … He has a brother of about fifty years, named Tecumseh, who has established himself as a warrior; the prophet, on the other hand, has never demonstrated even the slightest amount of individual courage. For five to six years, he has been preaching a type of new religion, in which Christian morals are mixed with the ancient superstitions of the Indians."[22] The author goes on to describe Tecumseh's brother, Tenskwatawa, as a failed prophet, describing how his promises of protection failed against the onslaught of European weaponry: "He had ensured his followers that no American bullets would wound them, and the thick night would cover the Americans while his troops would enjoy the most beautiful sunshine. Encouraged by these promises, the Indians moved forward with courage, but as they felt the effect of American weapons, they heaped bitter accusations on the prophet. … The prophet was one of the first to flee and he fled with extraordinary speed."[23] In this brief report on Shawnee resistance, the *Beobachter* offers—perhaps republished from elsewhere—a narrative of Indigenous North America that dismisses Shawnee spirituality as unable to protect Shawnee peoples against the violent onslaught of settler colonial expansion. By so doing, the author leans into a rhetoric of racial hierarchy, a narrative strategy that would later become central to what Dakota scholar Philip Deloria describes as "the new modern [which] staked and naturalized its claim to superiority—and even as it embraced racial hierarchies and social evolution—it also established the grounds for a binary opposition: the Indigenous."[24] Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee) describes this naturalized

22 For consistency and broader readability, original German-language sources have been translated into English by the author and found through the Austrian Newspaper Online (ANNO) database; "Vereinigte Staaten von Nordamerika," *Österreichischer Beobachter,* April 17, 1812, 462.

23 "Vereinigte Staaten von Nordamerika" (1812), 462.

24 Phillip Deloria, "Preface," in *The Routledge Handbook of North American Indigenous Modernisms*, eds. Kirby Brown, Stephen Ross, and Alana Sayers (New York, NY: Routledge, 2023), xvii.

binary narrative as the still-oft-repeated story of "Indigenous deficiency," which repeats "the self-justifying rhetoric of Euro-western 'civilization' over Indigenous 'savagery,' core to the subsequent policies and practices of assimilation, displacement, replacement that undergird settler colonialism."[25]

Such renderings of Indigenous American spirituality blended an exoticized wonder of ancient nobility with an assumed Christian superiority, rhetorically reducing Indigenous North America to a singular story of primitive paganism similar to what Bernd Hausberger discusses in this volume. Yet, Austrian writers simultaneously attended to the particularities of Indigenous peoplehood. While Indigenous peoples of North America were, as one 1813 journal described, the *Wilden Nordamerikas* (wild ones of North America),[26] the leading Austrian newspapers simultaneously maintained a narrative aesthetic—or ethic—of accurate tribal specificity and sovereignty with a coinciding critique on the methods of settler land acquisition. In August 1818, the *Beobachter* reported on General Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida: "The Creek Indians were the most warlike people, whose numbers and courage had been depleted by the terrible war of 1813; … the Seminoles, with whom we are now at war, occupy lands, a small part of which is in Georgia, and the larger part is in Florida."[27] The article then shifts from tribally specific descriptions, though rendered through a racist rhetoric and collective "we" allyship similar to popular discourse on the other side of the Atlantic, to a criticism of Andrew Jackson's invasion: "General Jackson pushed into the land of the Indians, destroyed their villages, moved into Florida and took possession of St. Marks. The Indians fled and the Spanish did not dare to resist his advance."[28] Unlike the dominant popular rhetoric of nineteenth-century North America, the mainstream Austrian press seemed much more willing to render American expansion as unjustified settler colonial violence. The *Beobachter* describes the Creek and Seminoles as having self-governed lands, and the newspaper presents Jackson as an invader, a war criminal. In September of the same year, the *Beobachter* reiterated its declaration of US invasion and land-based Indigenous sovereignty: "These Indians are owners of the land and soil; … on this land, they have

25 Daniel Health Justice, "Afterword: Troubling the Indigenous Modern," in *The Routledge Handbook of North American Indigenous Modernisms*, eds. Kirby Brown, Stephen Ross, and Alana Sayers (New York, NY: Routledge, 2023), 295.

26 "Die Wilden Nordamerikas am Mississippi," *Minerva: Ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts*, January 1813.

27 November 1, 1818.

28 Vereinigte Staaten von Nordamerika" (1818).

the right of sovereignty, and they exercise this right at every opportunity, to declare war or to make peace. They are absolutely the Lords of the land that they occupy; it is their land."[29] As the Habsburg empire expanded throughout the nineteenth century and eventually into the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and as the United States was becoming much more of a geopolitical concern for Austrians, the Austrian press largely moved away from direct declarations of Indigenous sovereignty and criticisms of US colonization toward publishing a mixture of eye-witness accounts of Indigenous depravity,[30] reports of frontier violence,[31] and short fiction about Indigenous America,[32] which set the stage for the later Karl May-induced fever of Indianthusiasm. As problematic as these decades of Austrian renderings of Indigeneity in North America are, in their frequent exoticization or reduction of Indigenous identities, as well as their lasting impacts on European imaginings—and enactments—of Indigenous North America, they simultaneously presented Europe with an alternative worldview, an alternative set of socio-politics and structures of self-governance, preparing a European audience to eagerly receive later, transatlantic Indigenous travelers.

"The Redman's Appeal for Justice"

On August 16 1923, *Der Bund*, a leading Swiss newspaper, announced, "Deskaheh, the chief of the Six Nations, which are known as the Iroquois, has arrived, to press charges against the assault of the Canadian government, which dares to treat them as subjects."[33] News of Deskaheh's arrival spread quickly to Austria with the *Allgemeiner Tiroler Anzeiger* announcing, "The Indians request recognition of their autonomy."[34] Despite the eagerness with which the local press received Deskaheh's arrival, leaders of the League of Nations, to whom Deskaheh had hoped to present the Six Nations' petition

29 "Auslandische Nachrichten," *Österreichischer Beobachter*, September 15, 1818.

30 See, for example, "Nordamerikanische Zustände," *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, November 4, 1832.

31 See, for example, "Ein Kampf um's Dasein," *Süddeutsche Post*, April 24, 1873; or "Der Sieg der Sioux-Indianer," *Die Neue Zeit: Olmüzer politische Zeitung*, July 13, 1876.

32 See, for example, "Der weisse Jäger," *Der Sammler. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt*, May 31, 1831; "Tahmiroo," *Wiener Zeitschrift*, July 3, 1832; or "Skalpirt," *Salzburger Chronik für Stadt und Land*, February 16, 1886.

33 "Die kanadischen Indianer unter der Völkerbund," *Der Bund*, August 16, 1923.

34 "Die Indianer verlangen Anerkennung ihrer Unabhängigkeit," *Allgemeiner Tiroler Anzeiger*, September 7, 1923.

for international recognition, moved quickly to bar him from officially addressing the league. Deskaheh received support from Ireland, Estonia, the Netherlands, Panama, Japan, and Persia, but England used its post-World War I influence to remove these smaller nations' request from the agenda, arguing that Deskaheh's petition was "an internal concern of the British Empire."[35]

Undeterred, Deskaheh spent the next eighteen months meeting with cultural and political leaders throughout Switzerland, Austria, Germany, and surrounding areas, sharing versions of the Six Nations' petition, and gathering support for his assertion of Haudenosaunee sovereignty. Returning to the original petition, "The Redman's Appeal for Justice," and the local reception of the international politics it declares, asserts a distinct continuation of Haudenosaunee land- and nation-based sovereignty into modernity, assertions that in turn informed the end-of-empire political consciousness of Austria. Written in the legalese of early twentieth-century international politics, Deskaheh's appeal begins by announcing "a dispute and disturbance of peace" between the "State of the Six Nations" and the British Empire and Canada.[36] At a time when North American settler states were unilaterally privatizing Indigenous lands and thereby destabilizing longstanding systems of self-governance, Deskaheh's Appeal speaks through the authority and delegatory obligation of the Six Nations. The appeal maintains the rhetoric of reciprocal obligations throughout each section, continuously reiterating a modern nation-to-nation relationship, and seeking an "invitation to accept the obligations of Membership of the League."[37]

In this rhetoric of international obligations, the appeal establishes a two-tier argumentative approach: a repeated declaration of land-based Haudenosaunee sovereignty, and of international treaties made and unilaterally broken. First, the appeal names each of the six nations, which "now are, and have been for many centuries, organised and self-governing peoples, respectively, within domains of their own, and united in the oldest League of Nations."[38] Even as the British had diminished these original domains throughout the eighteenth century, as the appeal explains, the Six Nations "have ever since held the unceded remainder thereof as a separate and

35 Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 32–36.

36 Deskaheh, "The Redman's Appeal for Justice," August 6, 1923. https://law.lib.buffalo.edu/pdf/Redmanappeal.pdf, 1.

37 Deskaheh, "The Redman's," 1.

38 Deskaheh, "The Redman's," 1.

independent people, established there by sovereign right."[39] The appeal then outlines how such sovereign rights had been recognized through international treaties with the Dutch, the French, the British, and the United States, arguing that despite Canada's military "menace to international peace," blatant neglect of Six Nations' laws, and misappropriation of Six Nations' funds held in trust, "The Six Nations have at all times enjoyed recognition by the Imperial Government of Great Britain of their right to independence in home-rule."[40] The appeal concludes with six rights that the Six Nations sought to secure, the first of which being the "recognition of their independent right of home-rule."[41] By documenting the active settler colonial encroachments on Haudenosaunee territories and sovereign rights, Deskaheh unravels what Yin Paradies (Wakaya) names as the fundamental framework of Western modernity: "a set of self-serving and fictional narratives that hide and disguise coloniality, such that 'the end of modernity would imply the end of coloniality.'"[42] In its repeated declaration of Haudenosaunee nationhood, Deskaheh's appeal presents the most "unsettling truth" of settler modernity: self-governing Indigenous nations continue to exist against the increased forces of settler modernity.[43]

The very assertion of Haudenosaunee sovereignty that had unsettled the League of Nations enough to disallow members from hearing Deskaheh's appeal, however, was received and reproduced by some in the Austrian press as a form of progressive politics that promoted a more equitable distribution of civil rights and responsibilities. Although Deskaheh could not be heard in any official capacity by the League of Nations, at least nine Austrian newspapers, as well as four German-language newspapers from Austro-Hungarian territories, carried stories of his visit and the Indigenous politics he preached. While newspapers in Prague and Budapest maintained a critical tone about Deskaheh's claimed sovereignty,[44] progressive Austrian newspapers echoed his claims as inspirational to their own efforts of post-empire democratization. On 17 January 1925, *Die Unzufriedene* (*The discontented*), an Austrian suffragist weekly magazine, outlined current developments in international women's movements throughout North and South America.

39 Deskaheh, "The Redman's," 2.

40 Deskaheh, "The Redman's," 4, 3.

41 Deskaheh, "The Redman's," 6.

42 Paradies, Yin. "Unsettling truths: modernity (de-)coloniality, and Indigenous futures," *Postcolonial Studies* 20 (2020): 442.

43 Yin Paradies, "Unsettling," 442.

44 See, for example, "Der Indianer Häuptling in Bern," *Pester Lloyd*, November 11, 1923.
; or "Deskaheh, der Irokese," *Prager Tagblatt*, December 30, 1923.

The author then concluded "with a curiosity, which is in no way a current development, but is rather over three-hundred years old, and is therefore even more important."[45] Turning to Deskaheh's visit to Europe, the author contrasts the emerging women's rights of Western modernity with the longstanding traditional rights of Haudenosaunee women: "In the Iroquois nation, women have had the right to vote for at least three centuries; no man has the right to vote for members of parliament, because 'there the women raise the children and can best evaluate the different qualifications.' In contrast, women [in Austria] are unable to be voted into parliament because they do not possess the 'necessary qualification, because they concern themselves only with domestic matters, and not with public affairs.'"[46] In articles like this one, Austrian suffragists demonstrate how certain groups in Austria-Hungary had developed an increasingly sophisticated understanding of some Indigenous societies, how such understanding had moved toward a recognition of modern Indigenous nationhood, and how Austrian suffragists turned to the matrilineal sociopolitical power of Indigenous nations as a revolutionary model that they sought to adopt—co-opt—in direct contrast to postimperial Austrian parliamentarianism.

News of this longstanding Haudenosaunee right of women's suffrage—a right not secured by Austrian women until 1918,[47] only five years prior to Deskaheh's visit—spread across Austria during Deskaheh's time in Europe. The expressed respect for what was seen as the traditional progressivism of the Haudenosaunee coincided with the beginning of a recognizable terminological shift in Austrian newspapers from their nineteenth-century narratives of romanticized chiefs toward a rhetoric of equal recognition. In early 1924, the *Neue Grazer Tagblatt*, *Reichspost*, *St. Pöltner Bote*, and *Ybbser Zeitung* all carried reports of Deskaheh's visit in a widely reprinted article titled "Where the men have no right to vote." Although this oft-reproduced article carried a less-combative tone than *Die Unzufriendene*, the article returned to the issue of women's suffrage and amplified the press's developing recognition of Indigenous sovereignty: "Deskaheh offered various statements about the role of women among the Indians and emphasized that even he had been chosen by the women. … There is a longstanding commitment to the rights and responsibilities of women in the state. … As the 'federal president' Deskaheh emphasized, the women, namely the mothers, choose

45 "Die Frau Steigt auf!" *Die Unzufriedene*, January 17, 1925.

46 "Die Frau Steigt auf!"

47 Austrian women's suffrage came in 1918, resulting in the first eight women elected to parliament in 1919.

the chiefs, while the man has no right to vote."[48] Republished across Austria, this article recognizes the Six Nations as a sovereign state with Deskaheh as the *Bundespräsident* (federal president) of a nation that had been protecting the political rights and responsibilities of women since at least one thousand years prior to such rights had been given to women in the United States and other modern Western nations.[49] Together with more overtly feminist-leaning publications, this article presents a longstanding—but revolutionary for modern Europe—matrilineal structure of self-governance. In some ways, these post-empire recognitions of Indigenous sovereignty echo some of the transatlantic ethics of recognition published in the early stages of the Austrian empire, but in the first decade after World War I such recognition was now entering popular discourse as an alternative form of modern democracy.

Deskaheh's "Rothäute von Heute"

On 12 October 1923, in the initial months of Deskaheh's visit and the coinciding rise in post-empire recognition of Indigenous political autonomy and the progressive politics that such modern Indigenous nations maintain, the Vienna-based newspaper *Der Tag* carried an article attributed to Deskaheh titled "Rothäute von heute" (Indians of today).[50] Although the authorship—or translation—cannot be verified, I turn to this otherwise forgotten article to engage, albeit mediated through an unknown source, how Deskaheh spoke directly to the Austrian public. The article's editorial preface reads, "The Iroquois chief, who attended the League of Nations gathering in Geneva to advocate for the recognition of his people as an independent nation, publishes the following article in 'Answers' about the present life of the Canadian Indians."[51]

Deskaheh's article begins by naming each member of the Six Nations, providing the number of living citizens, delineating the ancestral and present borders of the nation's land base, and documenting the broken British promise of protection in exchange for land. Having asserted the

48 "Wo die Männer kein Stimmrecht haben," *Grazer Tagblatt*, February 25, 1924.

49 "Wo die Männer."

50 While the direct translation of "Rothäute" would be today's racial slur "redskins," I have translated the term as "Indians" because of how nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Indigenous writers often adapted such terms as "red Indians," "red race," and "red man" as a rhetorical collective describing Indigenous peoples of North America.

51 "Rothäute von heute." *Der Tag*, October 12, 1923.

continuation of land-based Six Nations sovereignty, Deskaheh then moves to describe their modern nation: "If you were to visit our nation, you would, I fear, be disappointed—especially if you expect to find the Red Man from Cooper and other books about Indians. We continue to wear our nation-specific regalia for important occasions, but otherwise, we are absolutely no different in clothing, lodging, food, and so on than our white neighbors."[52] After describing the adaptations of the Six Nations, Deskaheh describes to his Austrian readers the depletion of traditional Haudenosaunee homelands and outlines the ongoing matrilineal system of self-governance in which women exercised political authority "long before their paleface sisters received suffrage."[53] Deskaheh refuses to allow his people to be, as Justice writes to describe modern settler rhetoric, "rendered in past-tense terms, when contemporary Indigeneity is seen as somehow less authentic or relevant than that of a stereotyped and imagined nineteenth century or a romanticized and reductive twentieth and twenty-first, when futures are envisioned that are absent any Indigenous presence at all."[54] Deskaheh goes on to describe the Six Nations' self-sustaining administrative, legislative, judicial, and economic systems that continue despite broken treaties, promises, and ongoing encroachments on Haudenosaunee lands, lifeways, and ways of being.

Deskaheh moves from the larger structures of self-governance to a brief but cutting condemnation of the assimilationist Indian residential school system, specifically designed to "kill the Indian in the child":[55] "One goes to school at eight years old and stays there until sixteen or sometimes eighteen. The curriculum is controlled by the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs, although we do not recognize its authority."[56] After reversing the directionality of recognitional authority, Deskaheh offers but one anecdote to represent the larger residential school system: "I do not want to say more about this issue, except that the Indian Department once sent us a teacher, who 'taught' our children nothing but the imitation of animal

52 Deskaheh, "Rothäute von heute."

53 Deskaheh, "Rothäute von heute."

54 Justice, "Afterword," 296.

55 Although the original source of this expression has not been adequately verified, most attribute the phrase to Canadian poet and deputy superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs (1913–32) Duncan Campbell Scott. Others source the phrase to an American military officer. Regardless, Canadian Prime Ministers used the expression—or something similar—before and throughout the Indian residential school system, providing a settler vision of the forced assimilation of Indigenous youth. For further reading on this statement and subject, see Bryanne Young, "Killing the Indian in the Child."

56 Deskaheh, "Rothäute von heute."

sounds. The real education happens at home, where the child learns to love God, to be a good neighbor, and to never break a promise."[57] In this simultaneous condemnation of the residential school system and reassertion of matrilineal education systems, Deskaheh dichotomizes the competing pedagogical ethics and results of modern Indigenous learning and restates the continuation of the Six Nations' sovereign right and ability to educate and care for their children in ways that may have also resonated with Austrian readers who shared similar worries about the concurrent efforts to institutionalize traditional Austrian education—though Austria's push for a national identity through institutionalized education can in no way be equated with the genocidal project of the Canadian Indian residential school system.[58]

Having alluded to what his Austrian readers would recognize as a code of Christian ethics and a critique of institutionalized education, Deskaheh makes a final rhetorical move to present the plurality, what he describes as complementarity, of diverse Haudenosaunee spiritualities and religious practice. At a time when the Canadian government was enforcing Euro-Christian indoctrination under the guise of education and actively encouraging the division of First Nations communities along the ostensibly incompatible lines of traditionalism and modernism, Deskaheh embraces the sovereign right of religious expression and honors individual Haudenosaunee agency as fundamental to the continuity of collective Haudenosaunee autonomy: "Many of our people are Christians, but those—like myself—that are not, believe in God, in an afterlife, in heaven and hell. Our divinity is pure goodness. In our heaven, there is room for all good people, regardless of race, color, or confession. … We do not have priests. In the 'long house' anyone can stand and preach, but he must hold to certain themes. He may not criticize other religions or discuss politics."[59] Similar to the rights of Haudenosaunee women championed throughout the Austrian press, here Deskaheh describes the progressive diversity of Christian and Six Nations traditional spiritualities, in which oft-contradictory religiosities become complementary, rather than exclusive. He preaches a nondiscriminatory present and afterlife, directly challenging the ongoing forced Christianization of Indigenous children in Indian residential schools across North America.

57 Deskaheh, "Rothäute von heute."

58 Matthäus Wehowski. „Education in Habsburg Borderlands: The K.u.K. Staats-Oberrealschule in the Austrian Silesian Town of Teschen (1900–1921)," *Language Diversity in the Late Habsburg Empire*, eds. Markian Prokopovych, Carl Bethke, and Tamara Scheer (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 196–217.

59 Wehowski, "Education in Habsburg Borderlands."

Deskaheh then returns to a final declaration of the stakes of sovereignty: "Independence for us is a matter of life or death."[60] Deskaheh challenged his Austrian readers to recognize that the narrative strategies of settler colonialism "inform political action, legal decisions, bureaucratic decision making—and all these things have real, material impact on Indigenous well-being."[61] Deskaheh understood, as Justice reminds readers, that "the question of the modern is very much about Indigenous survival."[62]

Conclusion

Remembering the urgency of Deskaheh's declaration of Six Nations sovereignty at the end of the Austro-Hungarian empire argues for a simultaneous recognition of two documentable truths about transatlantic Indigenous travel at the turn of the twentieth century: Indigenous travel to Europe, whether as performer, preacher, or politician, evinces a continuation—even extension—of modern Indigenous nationhood; at the same time, transatlantic Indigenous relations directly affected and informed the emerging political consciousness of post-empire European modernity.

While the League of Nations refused to hear Deskaheh's petition, and some historians have viewed his attempt as idealistically ill-informed,[63] he encountered a Swiss and later Austrian public that were prepared—through decades of prior transatlantic Indigenous travel—to amplify Deskaheh's petition for international recognition of Indigenous nationhood. Deskaheh's petition, and adjoining writings, as Penelope Kelsey (Seneca descent) suggests of the living tradition of Haudenosaunee beadwork, employed a "rhetoric of equivalences (nation to nation, sovereign to sovereign) … capable of adaptations and permutations" that exceeded the expectations and overcame the limitations of settler modernity. Returning to Deskaheh's writings, and their Austrian reception, places "Haudenosaunee intellectualism, one that supports and heals the nations" at the center of the modern world.[64]

60 Wehowski, "Education in Habsburg Borderlands."

61 Justice, "Afterword," 296.

62 Justice, "Afterword," 296.

63 Laurence M. Hauptman, *Seven Generations of Iroquois Leadership: The Six Nations Since 1800* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).
124–42.

64 Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hodinösön:ni' Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2014).
110–11.

Deskaheh refused to become a victim of the internal and external forces of North American settler modernity, which unilaterally enforced the dislocation of Indigenous families, the privatization of Indigenous lands, and thereby the attempted extermination of Indigenous nationhood. In Austria, Deskaheh encountered a public whose press had recognized tribal distinction and sovereignty, decried the violent injustice of ongoing US expansion, and accepted the continuation of modern Indigenous nationhood much more willingly than Deskaheh's Canadian and US audiences. Deskaheh engaged transatlantic modernity not as a "tragic victim[…] of civilization and progress, but as [a] central contributor[…] to and co-creator[…] of some of the most important political currents, aesthetic movements, and intellectual conversations of their time."[65] Whilst scholarship on Indigenous American-Austrian interactions leans largely toward ethnographic studies or analysis of the transactional agency and authority of Austria,[66] Deskaheh demonstrated that such agential authority has always been, though at times forcefully limited, multilateral. Travelling through post-World War I Europe on a Haudenosaunee passport, Deskaheh asserted the continuance of Six Nations sovereignty, a declaration that some of his Austrian audience received as an aspirational model of modern political thought and action.

About the Author

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65 Kirby Brown, Stephen Ross, and Alana Sayers, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Indigenous Modernisms* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2023).
", 2.

66 Exemplary scholarship on Indigenous North American-Austrian scholarship includes Van Bussel, Gerard W. „The Visualization of Native-American Peoples in a Late-Nineteenth-Century Sculpture Program in Vienna, Austria," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 31.3 (2007): 99–119: Christian Feest, *Indianer: Ureinwohner Nordamerikas* (Freiburg: Herder, 1998). and *Beseelte Welten: Die Religionen der Indianer Nordamerikas* (St. Pölten: Schallaburg, 2008); Dagmar Wernitznig, *Europe's Indians, Indians in Europe: European Perceptions and Appropriations of Native American Cultures from Pocahontas to the Present* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007); and Jonathan Singerton, *The American Revolution and the Habsburg Monarchy* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2022).

12. Who Are the Indians? Hans Larwin and the Visualization of the Roma and Native Americans in Interwar Austrian Popular Art and Visual Culture

Julia Secklehner

Abstract: This chapter examines the visual representation of marginalized communities in central Europe, particularly the Roma, alongside Native Americans in the works of Viennese artist Hans Larwin (1873–1938). His art highlights the role of popular practices in reinforcing a colonial gaze on non-white communities. Larwin's images illustrate how artist explorers saw themselves as insiders within these communities to gain market advantage. However, he depicts both Roma and Native Americans through similar lenses, blurring the line between fascination for the exotic near and far. Both groups are portrayed within stereotypes of noble savages, merging high culture, popular culture, and adventure narratives. Ultimately, the chapter contends that these visual stereotypes preserved a continuous colonial gaze across time and continents.

Keywords: Roma, colonial gaze, interwar, visual arts, primitivism, romanticism

Calls to decolonize art history have reached central Europe not too long ago as a region that long claimed an exceptional status from the colonial system for its lack of overseas colonies.[1] Yet, a closer look at cultural practices in

1 This research was supported by the Czech Science Foundation Grant no. GA24-10997S. Matthew Rampley, "Decolonizing Central Europe: Czech Art and the Question of 'Colonial Innocence,'" *Visual Resources* 37, no. 1 (2021): 1–30; Filip Herza, "Colonial Czechoslovakia? Overseas and Internal Colonization in The Interwar Czechoslovak Republic," *Interventions* (2022), DOI: 10.1080/1369801X.2022.2157309, accessed 8 December 2023.

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH12

the region reveals that artists were just as entangled in colonial practices as elsewhere, tied to the Habsburg colonial mission in Bosnia and ranging from primitivist depictions of non-European cultures to commodity racism in the form of racialized domestic interiors and advertising material.[2] These sources underline that central Europe was by no means free from a colonial worldview and, by relation, make it necessary to reassess cultural production in the region through a lens that critically assesses the underlying power structures that have formed the backbone to representing the cultural entanglements between central Europe and the rest of the world. On the one hand, this approach demands a reconsideration of the region's global relations, a process that has found particular attention in relation to artistic practices during the Cold War.[3] On the other hand, the colonialist frameworks of cultural production do not only pertain to examples that look overseas: for example, Filip Herza and Stanislav Holubec have shown that Czechoslovakia's easternmost province Subcarpathian Ruthenia was treated and conceptualized in light of a "civilising mission" of the eastern parts of the First Republic (1918–38), which positioned "internal colonisation as a governmentality project that was on many levels connected to that of the external, overseas colonisation."[4] With a focus on the visual arts in the early twentieth century, this essay takes this colonial gaze between internal and overseas contexts as a point of departure. Specifically, it considers how the representation of marginalized local communities, the Roma, was entangled with that of non-European others—Native Americans—in the work of a popular Viennese artist, Hans Larwin (1873–1938). His art not only shows a different side to Austrian cultural production in the first half of the twentieth century but also allows an assessment of the role of popular art practices in affirming a colonial gaze on non-white communities at home and abroad.

Art historian Hans Bisanz described Larwin's work in a 1989 exhibition catalogue as bearing "the special gift of capturing the sad beauty of human

2 Walter Sauer, "Habsburg Colonial: Austria-Hungary's Role in European Overseas Expansion Reconsidered," *Austrian Studies* 20 (2012): 5–23, DOI: 10.5699/austrianstudies.20.2012.0005; Johannes Feichtinger et al., eds., *Habsburg Postcolonial: Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis. Gedächtnis—Erinnerung—Identität* (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2003); Ulrich E. Bach, *Tropics of Vienna: Colonial Utopias of the Habsburg Empire* (London: Berghahn, 2016); Clemens Ruthner, "Colonial Lessons to Learn from Habsburg: Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918," *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 50: (2024), 571–83, DOI: 10.1177/01914537231219912; Anne McClintock, "Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising," in *The Body*, eds. Mariam Fraser, Monica Greco (London: Routledge, 2020), 271–76.

3 Beáta Hock and Anu Allas, eds. *Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2018).

4 Herza, "Colonial Czechoslovakia?"

subcultures … not from a superior but from an equal point of view."[5] He presented the artist as someone sympathetic to marginalized people, who dedicated much of his work to depicting social outcasts. Yet, who was this artist of subcultures? Even for readers closely familiar with the art of early twentieth-century Vienna, the name Larwin will most likely draw a blank. Born in the same generation as Vienna's great master Gustav Klimt, Larwin today has fallen almost entirely into oblivion, which Bisanz explains by the fact that he worked "entirely in opposition to the leading artists of the Klimt group of the Vienna Secession, with their precious art intended to appeal to society's upper classes."[6] Unlike the Klimt group, Larwin can be described as an artist of the middlebrow, specializing in quaint genre scenes on the one hand and social portraits of war veterans and people living at the margins of society on the other. His work was reprinted frequently and circulated on postcards, in music books, and in illustrated magazines, giving high visibility to this work beyond the official channels of Vienna's art establishment. Larwin's preference for the social margins also had a strong ethnic angle: letters from the 1910s, for example, give evidence of many requests by female clients ordering so-called Gypsy paintings.[7] By the 1920s, images of Roma figures had become Larwin's trademark, and Gypsy stereotypes featured in his genre paintings and portraits and gained wide popular appeal.

While largely forgotten today, Larwin was well known during his lifetime. He began to study at the Academy of Applied Arts in 1891 and, in 1893, won the Füger Medal, which marked his entrance into the Academy of Fine Arts where he studied with Christian Griepenkerl, August Eisenmenger, and Kazimierz Pochwalski, all specialists in large scale historical paintings and allegorical scenes. After some training in Italy, Germany, France, and the Netherlands, Larwin returned to Vienna, where he became a member of the Künstlerhaus and *Alte Welt* (Old World) artists' associations, both conservative institutions supported by the Viennese and imperial governments.[8] Yet, at this time, Larwin's paintings of Vienna's suburbs found criticism among governmental officials. They were deemed

5 Hans Bisanz, *Hans Larwin* (Vienna: Galerie Peithner-Lichtenfels, 1989), n.p.

6 Bisanz, *Hans Larwin*.

7 Hans Larwin, letter to Mizzi Schreiner, Vienna, 5 June 1911. AC15769928, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus. In this text, I am using the word Gypsy to refer to to the highly abstracted and stereotyped depictions of Roma communities in majority society.

8 Wiener Künstler-Club, *1915. Klub bildender Künstler "Alte Welt"* (Vienna: M. Munk, 1915); Peter Bogner, Richard Kurdiovsky, and Johannes Stoll, *Das Wiener Künstlerhaus: Kunst und Institution* (Vienna: Lehner, 2015).

"uncomfortable" for their depictions of hunger and poverty, according to the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1904.[9] In other words, the artist's focus on the social margins was well recognized by the turn of the twentieth century, and even though Larwin moved among artistic circles that generally found greater official support than the Klimt group, his perspective on social hardships made him an outsider of the artistic establishment based on his choice of subject—so much so that Archduke Franz Ferdinand intervened with calls to make Larwin a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts repeatedly between 1911 and 1914.[10] During the First World War, Larwin worked as a war artist on the Eastern Front. With the sociopolitical shift from the Habsburg Empire to the Austrian Republic in 1918, the artist's work gained new significance: at a time when social hardship was felt not only among the poor but erupted among a large part of the population as a consequence of economic collapse and the effects of war, Larwin's work entered the popular culture on an unprecedented scale, circulating as documents of hardship that many people were facing. Although Larwin had begun to establish his career some decades before the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, his work found renewed contemporary significance in the 1920s and 30s.

Larwin's work showed remarkable consistency from the turn of the twentieth century until his death in 1938, defying any sense of teleological progress that art historical narratives traditionally insist upon.[11] His genre paintings, in particular, were set to evoke the good old times, if we may call it that, on different levels: on the one hand, his depictions framed non-white rural communities as a glimpse into a premodern world. On the other hand, his close references to popular genre paintings from the nineteenth century evoked a sense of Habsburg nostalgia. His paintings were, therefore, governed by a strong sense of continuity in style and subject matter, reinforced through a focus on marginalized groups and geographic peripheries. The continuity and popularity of Larwin's paintings brought forth a different kind of focus aside from artistic progress, one that formed an essential part of modernity in the first half of the twentieth century: nostalgia.[12] In particular, the artist expressed this nostalgia for a romanticized time past in reference to communities considered non-European. In doing so, he constructed a specific

9 R.d.F., "Feullieton," *Neue Freie Presse*, 5 April 1904, 1.

10 Bisanz, *Hans Larwin*.

11 Hal Foster et al., *Art Since 1900, vol. I: 1900–1944: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (London: Electric Books, 2016 [2004]).

12 Stacy Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 85–118.

colonial gaze that pertained both to rural areas and ethnic minorities in central Europe and abroad, using archaic settings as a leveler.

Two cultures merged through such references in Larwin's depictions: Roma communities on the one hand and Native Americans on the other. Representing close and distant others in Austrian popular culture, both groups gained high visibility in the first half of the twentieth century. Even though their popular presentation widely differed, Larwin emphasized some common features that show how depictions of minorities were fashioned into quaint images in popular visual culture. The artist's visual alignment of Roma communities and Native Americans suggests parallels between perceptions of non-white communities in central Europe and the United States, which have found little attention to date. Yet, associations between the two were very much of his time. For example, Alexander Berghold, a Catholic missionary in Neu-Ulm, Minnesota, from 1864 to 1918, noted in *The Indian's Revenge*, "If you never have had an opportunity to see an Indian, you may look at a gipsy; there is a great similarity between them."[13] Fashioned as highly abstract types, images of the Roma and Native Americans entered the popular press with full force in the nineteenth century. Both were entangled with identity-building processes that presented them as an Other to modern, "civilized" society.[14] Despite distinctions in their representations, Larwin's focus on both groups related to the late Romanticism that his genre paintings encompassed, which gained renewed significance amid the social and political instability of the First Austrian Republic.[15]

His renderings can thus be understood as the continuity of a Romantic painting tradition on both sides of the Atlantic, in which non-white communities shown to be living outside the frameworks of modernity affirmed the hegemony of white Western culture. Central to this discussion is the notion of time, or more specifically, the multiple times this exchange appears to be embedded in and in which different realities collide.[16] The apparent anachronism of non-European peoples living in harmony with nature

13 Alexander Berghold, *The Indian's Revenge; or, Days of Horror. Some Appalling Events in the History of the Sioux* (San Francisco, CA: P. J. Thomas, 1891), 55.

14 Francis Flavin, "The Adventurer-Artists of the Nineteenth Century and the Image of the American Indian," *Indiana Magazine of History* 98, no. 1 (2002): 1–29; Victoria Shmidt and Bernadette Nadya Jaworsky, *Historicizing Roma in Central Europe: Between Critical Whiteness and Epistemic Injustice* (London: Routledge, 2020).

15 Gernot Heiss, "Pan-Germans, Better Germans, Austrians: Austrian Historians on National Identity from the First to the Second Republic," *German Studies Review* 16, no. 3 (1993): 411–33.

16 Jonathan Murdoch, "Networking Rurality: Emergent Complexity in the Countryside," in *The Handbook of Rural Studies*, eds. Paul Cloke et al. (London: Sage, 2006), 178.

zu interessieren, im selben Maße, als diese Umgebung sich für sie zu interessieren aufhörte.
Onkel Theodor, der wieder einmal zufällig mit Klara zusammenkam, sagte:
„Liebe Klara, du gibst dich deinem guten Herzen zu sehr hin, Rosa gehört zu den Leuten, die kein Gefühl besitzen für die Güte, die man ihnen entgegenbringt. Du hast auf die Baronin einen vorzüglichen Eindruck gemacht und ich will dich gerne bei ihr einführen."
Und nun kamen die Tage, wo das Tränenkrüglein völlig leer war. Tante Betti, die es als erste konstatierte, bekam einen hysterischen Anfall und gebärdete sich, als sei es ihre (Tante Bettis) Tochter, die sie (Tante Betti) vergessen hatte.
Rosa mußte sich zu ihr setzen und sie trösten.
Klara zeigte sich selten und die Begrüßung fiel dann ziemlich fremd aus. Rosa aber schien die allgemeine Kälte nicht zu merken, und wenn sie das leere Krügelchen ihrer Tochter sah, dann vergoß sie zwar einige Tränen — aber mehr aus Freude.
Trafen sich die Angehörigen der Familie Elsner, so vermieden sie es, das peinliche Thema zu berühren — sie sahen sich an und seufzten.
Bloß Onkel Theodor sagte:
„Kinder, man läßt sich nicht hinreißen — ins Armenviertel geht man nicht, man erlebt nur Enttäuschungen."
Und so war Rosa bald vereinsamt. Allmitternächtlich saß sie auf ihrem schlichten Grabstein und beobachtete mit Freude und ein ganz klein wenig Sentimentalität die Anzeichen einer beginnenden Verwahrlosung ihrer Ruhestätte. Und dann setzte sich ihr alter Nachbar, der armselige Magistratsbeamte, zu ihr und zündete sich sein Pfeifchen an. Sie schwiegen.
Aber ihre Seelen begannen zu sprechen und erzählten sich die wunderschönsten Dinge.

Die schöne Zigeunerin
Ein Typus, den Maler Hans Larwin in vielen seiner Werke verewigt hat

Figure 12.1 Hans Larwin, *The Beautiful Gypsy*, printed in *Die Muskete*, 12 September 1935, 6.

supported constructions of an authentic culture in which backwardness and timelessness became the prerequisites for nostalgic fantasies. Larwin's work provides a case in point here. It underlines how a picturesque image of non-white cultures was framed in popular culture through a colonial gaze that could easily cross the boundaries between local and overseas depictions.[17]

17 Jeanne van Eeden, "The Colonial Gaze: Imperialism, Myths, and South African Popular Culture," *Design Issues* 20, no. 2 (2004): 18–33.

The "Bedouins of the Great Plains": Gypsy Imagery as a Local Exotic

Larwin's *The Beautiful Gypsy* (Fig. 1) was published in the illustrated humorous magazine *Die Muskete* in September 1935. The work is strikingly realistic, showing a young Roma girl standing upright in a richly embroidered dress, with braided hair and delicate necklaces and rings, avoiding the viewer's gaze. With this strong focus on costume and accessories, the girl is presented as a stereotype rather than an individual, confirmed by the image's short description: "A type, which the painter Hans Larwin has eternalised in many of his works."[18] Dry as the description is, it is equally disturbing. The painting clearly shows a young girl, still with childlike features. Yet, the description "the beautiful Gypsy" seems to refer to a woman, particularly in light of the fact that a whole genre developed around this topic in early twentieth-century central Europe.[19] Circulating widely on postcards and in the illustrated press, eroticized depictions of young Roma women, often half-dressed, were a popular motif that left no doubts about the implied sexual availability of the women and girls in focus. Nancy Wingfield has shown that many prostitutes in Vienna in the late nineteenth century came from the Empire's eastern rural provinces such as Galicia, often as a result of trafficking from poverty-stricken areas with large ethnic minorities.[20] In this light, the positioning of Roma women as highly eroticized others fits into a broader context of prostitution, trafficking, and urban sexual fantasies, which were amply catered to in the growing boulevard press of the day.[21] The publication where Larwin's *The Beautiful Gypsy* was reprinted, *Die Muskete,* perfectly fit into this category. Although it was initially presented as a humorous cultural magazine, it transformed in the 1920s into a gentleman's magazine in which sexual innuendos were commonplace and women were heavily stereotyped and frequently depicted in line with jokes about sexual availability. Quite clearly, *The Beautiful Gypsy* was more than a simple genre portrait.

Another sexualized image of Roma women by Larwin, *Motherhood/ Gypsy with her Two Children* (1921; Figure 12.2), also circulated as a postcard motif, showing a breastfeeding mother who lies sprawled out in the hay

18 *Die Muskete*, 12 September 1935, 6.

19 Jana Horvathová, *Devleskere čhave—svedectvom starých pohľadníc* (Poprad: Vydavateľstvo Region Poprad, 2006), 48.

20 Nancy M. Wingfield, *Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 176.

21 Wingfield, *Prostitution,* especially Chapter I "The Riehl Trial," 17–46.

in ecstasy, two cherub-like infants sucking on her breasts. Rather than a nurturing figure, therefore, the mother in the image is highly eroticized. Combined with the barn setting, the woman's bare feet and her ragged clothes, and the second woman in the dark background, sleeping upright, the image presents a view of motherhood in the periphery. Hidden away in a barn without any comfort, Larwin's Gypsy mother seems far removed from a safe setting of care. Simultaneously, however, the woman's strong body and her well-nourished children imply that she does not suffer from this environment but, on the contrary, thrives within it. By comparison, *Beautiful Gypsy* is not as sexual, yet the description sets the work among stereotypical depictions of Roma women as exotic beauties, emphasizing their "double minority" position.[22]

It is important to emphasize here that Larwin, the Gypsy painter, made his name with this perpetuation of stereotypes, which romanticized a group highly ostracized across central Europe. In doing so, he tapped into an imagery that, by the time his postcard and magazine illustrations circulated, had already gained their own life: featuring in popular advertising, cigarette brands such as Cigane, as well as diverse aspects of entertainment culture, most famously through figures such as George Bizet's *Carmen* or Victor Hugo's Esmeralda, the beautiful Gypsy stereotype had become established as an enticing figure. Bizet's Gypsy image was particularly well-established in Viennese culture, owing to a translation by Julius Hopp and highly successful performances at the Vienna State Opera.[23] By extension, the famous type in Larwin's painting would easily be understood within the connotations of a deviant, sexually available female other cultivated in the preceding decades. *Motherhood* visualizes this point explicitly. With regards to the girl's portrait in *Die Muskete,* moreover, a further indication of the conflation between female Roma figures and sexual availability is provided within the page design itself, through which the girl's gaze is directed at an erotic cartoon to the right of the image, in which a semi-dressed woman jokes about the fast advances of her lover. Even though the pictures bear no direct relation to each other, the positioning of the images draws a connection guided by the girl's gaze.[24] Readers of the publication would also have been familiar with

22 Timea Junghaus, "Towards a New Art History: The Image of the Roma in Western Art," *RomArchive*, https://www.romarchive.eu/en/visual-arts/roma-in-art-history/towards-a-new-art-history/, accessed 8 December 2023.

23 Laura Moeckli, "Carmen's Second Chance: Revival in Vienna," in *Carmen Abroad: Bizet's Opera on the Global Stage*, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 26–44.

24 *Die Muskete*, 12 September 1935, 6.

Figure 12.2 Hans Larwin, *Motherhood/Gypsy with Her Two Children*, 1921.

such Gypsy stereotypes because Larwin built on a legacy of Austrian painting that manifested a decisive image of Roma communities as a close exotic that allowed artists' construction of orientalist stereotypes in their own backyard.

Larwin was the second generation of artists who became interested in Gypsy images and contributed to their popularization as part of the Romanticist movements of the nineteenth century. The painters August von Pettenkofen and Lajos Deák-Ébner, for example, spent prolonged periods each summer in Szolnok in the Hungarian Puszta landscape, where they painted Gypsy scenes in the nineteenth century.[25] As the example of Pettenkofen's paintings—canonical works of Austrian Romanticism—indicate, images of Roma communities were well-established as a part of central European art and visual culture in the first half of the twentieth century. Aside from Pettenkofen, his contemporary Alois Schönn, for example, was often mentioned as a "Gypsy painter" in the Austrian press.[26] In line with their romanticized representations of Roma communities, the sociologist Éva Kovács has argued that "'gypsies' become pendants of the African and

25 Éva Kovács, "Black Bodies, White Bodies—'Gypsy' Images in Central Europe at the Turn of the Twentieth Century (1880–1920)," *Critical Romani Studies* 3, no. 2 (2020): 82.

26 "Kunstbericht," *Die Presse*, 15 December 1866, 1.

Asian 'primitives' of Western Europe."[27] Beyond showing that the depiction of female Roma bodies was used to imply sexuality much in the same way as Black (female) bodies were instrumentalized in French art with reference to Edouard Manet's *Olympia*, for example, Roma communities were, quite literally, promoted as a "close exotic."[28] The art historian Dezső Rózsaffy, for instance, called the Roma "the Bedouins of the Great Plain" in a text referring to Pettenkofen's work, while artist Lajos Kunffy wrote to fellow painter Albert Besnard about the latter's travels to India that "there was no need to travel great distances as you can paint figures like that in Hungary."[29] By likening the Roma to non-European communities, artists thereby contributed to a broader discourse that promoted central Europe's geographic and social peripheries as a replacement for travels further afield. By extension, the region's rural peripheries became central in perpetuating an orientalist gaze built on a combination of seemingly timeless depictions of rural areas and the exoticization of marginalized communities.

It is essential to highlight here, too, that the Gypsy trope was closely connected with Hungary specifically, which had both demographic and cultural roots. As the examples of Kunffy and Pettenkofen indicate, there were larger Roma settlements on the outskirts of Hungarian towns, which became popular among artists in search of exotic motifs. At the same time, the nineteenth century also saw the integration of Gypsy stereotypes into Hungarian identity, particularly in music. For the composer Franz Liszt, for example, Gypsy music was part of the Hungarian national style, and Roma songs were eagerly collected by figures such as Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartok.[30] The "white-washing of Romani Magyar relations" that was a consequence of these adaptations popularized the "Hungarian-Gypsy" image abroad and found its way to Vienna and Berlin in popular operettas such as Johann Strauss II's *The Gypsy Baron* and Emmerich Kálmán's *Countess Maritza*.[31]

27 "Gypsies" (*Zigeuner*) is a derogatory term, which was commonly used by non-Roma to describe Roma communities.

28 Kovács, "Black Bodies, White Bodies," 80.

29 Dezső Rózsaffy, "Pettenkofen Szolnokon," *Művészet* 6 (1905): 386–99; Lajos Kunffy, *Visszaemlékezéseim*, ed. János Horváth (Kaposvár: Somogy Mezei, 2006). English translations in Kovács, "Black Bodies, White Bodies," 81 and 82.

30 Marian Zăloagă, "Germans, Hungarians and the *Zigeunerkapelle*: Performing National Enmity in Late Nineteenth-Century Transylvania," *Patterns of Prejudice* 47 (2013):4–5, 379–94, DOI: 10.1080/0031322X.2013.851061; András Németh and Béla Pukánszky, "Life Reform Efforts in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Their Impact on Hungarian Cultural and Pedagogical Reforms," *Paedagogica Historica*, 56, no. 4 (2020): 429–46, DOI: 10.1080/00309230.2019.1586736.

31 Petra Gelbart, "Franz Liszt and the Making of Legends," *RomArchive*, https://www.romarchive.eu/en/music/classical-music/franz-liszt-and-making-legends/#:~:text=Although%20he%20was%20not%20Romani,%2C%20the%20other%20a%20Franciscan%27, accessed 22 April 2024.

The role of visual artists played a central role in fashioning this Gypsy image in an accessible manner, simultaneously erasing the real plight of the Roma as a highly discriminated people and constructing a highly recognizable set of stereotypes. Mike Sell has traced how modern artists began to seek out Roma communities all across Europe in the nineteenth century as an accessible exotic, whose romanticization as nomads they sought to appropriate to position themselves as revolutionary outsiders.[32] The best-known example in the interwar period for this practice is the German expressionist painter Otto Müller, who published a so-called Gypsy album of lithographs in 1928 and spent prolonged periods visiting Roma communities in central and eastern Europe, even claiming Gypsy heritage, which he underlined by wearing a mystical amulet.[33] Even though in formal artistic terms Larwin's traditionalist approach to painting markedly differs from Müller's, the establishing of his position as a painter of the social peripheries and of Gypsies took a similar trajectory: from 1919 to 1921, Larwin travelled extensively in Croatia and Hungary, including Szolnok, where he appears to have lived with Roma communities, even attempting to learn the Romani language.[34] Much like Müller's Gypsy story of self-exoticization, the extent of his encounters and engagement with Roma communities are hardly verifiable yet, regardless, they serve to fuel the artist's positioning as someone who experienced the social peripheries firsthand to give credibility to his work. So much so that Larwin's "picturesque depictions of gypsies" were still lauded in his obituary that appeared under National Socialism in December 1938.[35] Stylized as an artist defined by great social responsibility and honesty, Larwin's reputation as a specialist of social peripheries and their rendering into heartfelt scenes thus continued from the late Habsburg years to National Socialism. The continuity with which the artist depicted romanticized versions of social hardship, coupled with Gypsy stereotypes, was the key to this, and his talent as a painter of social realism was repeatedly emphasized.[36]

Yet precisely this presentation also jars with the artist's building on and perpetuation of stereotypes of marginalized communities. While photographic realism sought to secure the artist's intimate knowledge and engagement with these communities, his repetition of stereotypes reduced

32 Mike Sell, "Bohemianism, the Cultural Turn of the Avantgarde, and Forgetting the Roma," *TDR* 51, no. 2 (2007): 41–59.

33 See Tanja Pirsig-Marshall, *Otto Mueller and the Gypsies* (PhD diss., University of Essex, 2004).

34 Bisanz, *Hans Larwin*.

35 Hans Ranzoni, "Hans Larwin," *Österreichische Kunst* 12 (1938): 10.

36 Ranzoni, "Hans Larwin," 8–11.

these communities to a set of types, affirming a comprehensible image to popular (white) audiences. Building on ideas of freedom and the nostalgia of a place lost in time through references to works such as Pettenkofen's of Szolnok, Larwin's talent was to produce typical renderings of suburbs and rural areas that were inhabited by people living at the margins of society. Set in relation to the fact that his works on social hardship during and after the First World War presented a relatable situation to a vast part of the Viennese population, one may assume that this also lent credibility to his work about ethnic minorities. In other words, the persistence and continuity with which Larwin painted and circulated Gypsy images alongside his other popular genre illustrations gave heightened visibility to Roma in popular culture. However, it did so through the construction of stereotypes that affirmed an abstract image of Gypsies as erotic women, good musicians, and nomadic people that had little to do with the social realism for which his work was praised. Moving to the United States in 1922, Larwin could easily adopt his vision of social and ethnic outsiders to other cultural contexts and, in doing so, forged a visual lineage through stereotypes that not only stylized him in the fashion of a nineteenth-century artist traveler but also built links to a Romanticist legacy on the other side of the Atlantic.[37]

American Encounters: Larwin in the United States and "Indians" in Austrian Visual Culture

Larwin opened Hans Larwin's School of Painting at the Palette and Chisel Club in Chicago in 1922, which operated until 1924.[38] He also joined the conservative artist association The Painters and Sculptors of Chicago which split from the Chicago Society of Artists in 1923 to "encourage the best standards of craftsmanship, to cultivate high ideals, and to develop American art."[39] Led by sculptor Loredo Taft, the society's artists primarily focused on impressionist landscape painting of the landscape surrounding Chicago and historical sculpture. Significantly, the group also included the Chicago-based painter Frank V. Dudley, who dedicated much of his work and life to the preservation of the nearby Indiana Dunes in collaboration with the Prairie Club, a touristic and hiking association founded in 1908.[40] This

37 Flavin, "The Adventurer-Artists of the Nineteenth Century," 3–4.

38 John William Goodward, "Studio Notes," *American Art News*, 21, no. 14 (13 January 1923): 6.

39 "Modernism Divides Artists of Chicago," *The Art News* 21, no. 27 (1923): 3.

40 *The Prairie Club*, https://www.theprairieclub.org, accessed 23 April 2024.

context not only puts Larwin in contact with preservationist movements and American Impressionism but also locates him in a time and place where Native Americans had become "symbols linking … the natural environment and its aboriginal people to romantic notions of morality, exceptionality and national racial heritage."[41] This is illustrated, for example, by the Indian play of Dudley and his wife Maida, who would perform as "Chief Paint-in-the-Face" and "the songbird Squaw" in the Indiana Dunes.[42] While there are no explicit records of his direct involvement in such practices, the activities of other members of the The Painters and Sculptors of Chicago, such as Dudley, place Larwin into a context where Native American cultures had become highly representative of a Romantic national tradition, abstracted to the point where the plight of the actual Indigenous population had become invisible. A similar sense of trying to preserve an idyllic national landscape with reference to an idealized non-white group is also visible in the work of the Romantic Habsburg tradition Larwin followed, which presented the Hungarian Puszta landscape and Roma communities within it. His portraits of (presumably) Indigenous peoples of the Great Plains thus offered a point of connection between painting traditions he followed on both sides of the Atlantic.

During his time in the United States, Larwin prolifically participated in exhibitions, including shows at the Art Institute of Chicago, as well as in Memphis and Milwaukee, and his paintings of precarity in postwar Austria were quickly used as a means of promoting a pro-Austrian mood in the American and Austrian exile press for expositing "the inhumane conditions brought upon by Versailles and St Germain."[43] Larwin's paintings sold at high prices in Chicago: American collector William B. Booth bought the original oil painting of *Motherhood* for $3,000 in April 1923, one of the highest prices ever achieved by resident artists in the area.[44] A brief note on the painting in the sales notice published in *The Art News* describes the central figure as "a beautiful Galician Gypsy mother," evoking a fascination for the Gypsy topic tied to a location that had long been fashioned as Europe's exotic periphery.[45]

41 Gareth E. John, "Cultural Nationalism, Westward Expansion and the Production of Imperial Landscape: George Catlin's Native American West," *Ecumene* 8, no. 2 (2001): 177, DOI: 10.1177/096746080100800203.

42 James R. Dabbert, *The Indiana Dunes Revealed: The Art of Frank V. Dudley* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 36–37.

43 Bisanz, *Hans Larwin*.

44 *The Art News* 21, no. 28 (1923): 1.

45 *The Art News*, 1; Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 6; Christoph Mick, "Reisen nach 'Halb-Asien'.

Figure 12.3 Irene Bliss, Frank V. Dudley, and Maida (Lewis) Dudley, 30 July 1922—Chesterton, Indiana, 1922. Postcard.

The work was sold at an exhibition at the Art Institute in Chicago, in relation to which it received special mention as a particularly "strong painting" in press reports.[46] Although he only spent a limited time in the United States, Larwin thus had a successful stay, which manifested his standing as a genre painter of social margins on both sides of the Atlantic. Little may it come as a surprise, then, that based on the genres in which he had specialized in Europe and the circles in which he moved in Chicago, the artist also showed an interest in the representation of Native Americans. While his direct motivations for these portraits are unclear, Larwin's strong connection to nineteenth-century painting traditions and his focus on the social and urban margins give a good indication of his motivations. Indeed, the work of American genre painters known for their portrayals of Indigenous peoples of the Great Plains, such as George Catlin, was well-known through illustrations in the Austrian press, as were the North American portraits of Karl Bodmer, a Swiss-French painter who published *North American Indian*

Galizien als binnenexotisches Reiseziel," in *Zwischen Exotik und Vertrautem*, eds. Peter Stachel and Martina Thomsen (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014), 95–112.

46 *The Art News* 21, no. 25 (1923): 9.

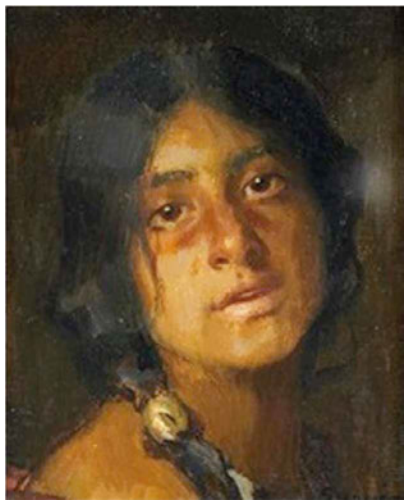

Figure 12.4 Hans Larwin, *Indigenous Girl of the Americas*, n.d.

Portfolio in 1844.[47] Thus, even though there is little direct information on how Larwin's interest in Native American communities was manifested, tentative explanations can be found in reference to both his established interests as a painter, with particular reference to his Gypsy paintings, and the work of American artists he would very likely have encountered while in Chicago and through the broader circulation of American painting by artist explorers such as Catlin. Whilst only a few works from his stay in the US have survived, they reveal how Larwin's approach to Native American communities showed a continuity to his Gypsy paintings and a broader tradition of American nineteenth-century painting. They also reveal how the continuity in the painter's style and figural depictions erased differences between non-white communities in his work, presenting them as nostalgic stereotypes made for popular consumption.

Indigenous Girl of the Americas (Fig. 4) is a close-up image of a young girl looking at the viewer with large, shiny, dark eyes and a half-opened mouth. Her facial expression resembles *The Beautiful Gypsy* in *Die Bühne*, even though she is portrayed from a different angle and framed much more closely. Her dark hair merges with the background and is held together by a metal clasp—no name, no further details, not even a date. Given this lack of details, leaving us with nothing but the artist's name and the girl shown, the painting resembles Larwin's Gypsy paintings formally through

47 Flavin, "The Adventurer-Artists of the Nineteenth Century," 1–29; Elizabeth Hutchinson, "From Pantheon to Indian Gallery: Art and Sovereignty on the Early Nineteenth-Century Cultural Frontier," *Journal of American Studies* 47, no. 2 (2013): 313–37, DOI: 10.1017/S002187581300008X.

an emphasis on typification, which renders the sitter in a place removed from a specific place in time while giving viewers no sense of the individual identity of the portrayed. While the work formally resembles a portrait, therefore, the sitter is anonymized, in this case even erasing her closer origins with the broad designation Indigenous. On the most basic level, this is a strategy of othering that repeatedly comes into play in the depiction of non-white peoples in Larwin's work: whether it is *The Beautiful Gypsy*, a seemingly timeless scene of Hungarian folk life in which Gypsy musicians provide entertainment by candlelight, or *Indigenous Girl*, his works are continuously realistic in style yet set in an unspecified temporal and spatial setting. This process of visual displacement into an unspecified time (and place) recalls the anthropologist Johannes Fabian's concept of the "denial of coevalness," according to which the institutionalization of linear time by modern "civilised" Western culture positions non-Western cultures as anachronistic and "belated," consequently legitimizing their superiority over them and justifying colonial processes.[48] Similarly, Cheryl A. Wells has argued that Americans used Native American cultures as an affirmation of their own modernity, "creating an authentic past in order to imagine, idealise, and racialise 'the real, the traditional, and the organic in opposition' to the anxieties unleashed by modernisation."[49] Here, too, the Indigenous' positioning as other strongly depended on their presentation outside linear, modern time. Accordingly, Larwin's pleasing, idealizing genre pictures and portraits of non-white peoples removed them from a contemporary context, suggesting a nostalgic timeless idyll based on nineteenth-century painting conventions from America and the Habsburg Empire. Another example is his *Portrait of a Native American Man* (Figure 12.5), which shows a man with a red headscarf and long braided hair looking towards the viewer with a neutral facial expression, eyes sunken in. The background is left blank save for a white plane to accentuate the portrait, and the man's dress appears unfinished, like in a quick sketch. The concept of the portrait remains the same as that of *Indigenous Girl* and *The Beautiful Gypsy*, as a highly abstract rendering of an Indigenous stereotype. Indeed, in both Native American portraits, it is unclear which nation the sitters come from, although the artistic traditions in which Larwin's American work can be

48 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2014), 32.

49 Cheryl A. Wells, "'Why[,] These Children Are Not Really Indians': Race, Time, and Indian Authenticity," *American Indian Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 1, DOI: 10.5250/amerindiquar.39.1.0001.

contextualized suggest that they represent Indigenous peoples of the Great Plains. Given the nostalgic representation of American landscapes and Indigenous communities that the artists of Larwin's Chicago circle were involved in, his depictions of two figures who cannot be fixed in space or time in this context match the romanticization of a vanquished nation.

Parallels also emerge here to another European artist's work in Chicago at approximately the same time, Ivan Meštrović, who was commissioned to create the Bowman and the Spearman sculptures in 1928. As historian Hayley Negrin has noted, the sculptor "had never met a Native American when the Art Institute of Chicago asked him to create the Bowman and the Spearman."[50] Instead, his practice can be aligned with the rich imagery of Native Americans circulating in visual culture on both sides of the Atlantic, which offered a highly idealized anachronistic view that obscured the violent histories that these communities experienced. Larwin's portraits fit into this context, too, extending his repertoire as the artist of social margins with a strong ethnic angle to the United States. Given the positive reception of his Gypsy paintings in Chicago, this points towards a carefully constructed continuity between his Roma and Native American depictions, shaped by the artist's reliance on late nineteenth-century painting traditions. In this light, it is noteworthy that Larwin's images of Native Americans have more similarity with a conservative trend of genre painting than they do with stereotypes that circulated in entertainment culture at the time. They serve as an important reminder of the multiplicity of stereotypes at work in the representation of non-white others in central European visual culture. There is, for example, also a notably gendered dimension to Larwin's depictions: the subjects of his paintings are mostly women, children, and the elderly, while young men rarely feature. In line with the artist's reputation as a painter of the social margins, this reinforces a sympathetic and non-threatening view.

Entering mainstream popular culture with highly popular adventure novels about the Nde (Apache) hero Winnetou (1893) by Karl May, as well as mass entertainment events such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, which visited Vienna with much public attention in 1906, adventure stories primarily mediated stereotypes of Indigenous peoples of the Great Plains in Austria, several steps removed from the real people they ought to represent.[51] These

50 Hayley Negrin, "Some Representations of Native Americans Erase Their History," *Washington Post*, 21 May 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/05/21/some-representations-native-americans-erase-their-history/, accessed 22 April 2024.

51 Christoph Kühberger, "Indianer spielen. Eine kulturhistorische Perspektive auf Österreich in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Mit Geschichte spielen*, ed. Christoph Kühberger (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 227–58. See also the chapter by Ambach and Gröber in this volume.

Figure 12.5 Hans Larwin, *Portrait of a Native American Man*, n.d.

images quickly entered the popular imagination as a highly visible aspect of mass culture.[52] The stereotypes that were perpetuated in this light referred to Indians as feather-crown-bearing warriors, closely connected to notions of noble savages and highly recognizable in visual culture.[53] One example is the poster "The Indians Are Coming!" analyzed for its great potential for advertising in *Seidel's Reclame* in 1931 (Figure 12.6). The poster shows an abstracted figure of an Indian man wearing a Plains Indian feather headdress, the forms of the figure resembling primitivist artwork as if to affirm the figure's positioning as part of a "natural people."[54] Below, a large-lettered serif font announces, "The Indians are coming!" without further explanation. In *Seidel's Reklame*, it is argued that the advertising "could have been designed more journalistic and thus more interestingly" with a change of slogans that successively announce how "the Indians are coming"—"The Indians are already in Berlin!"—"The Indians will conquer the city in the coming days!"[55] Positioned as an element of threat, evoking a sense of savagery based on the figure in the feathered headdress with a

52 John Mihelich, "Smoke or Signals? American Popular Culture and the Challenge to Hegemonic Images of American Indians in Native American Film," *Wicazo Sa Review* 16, no. 2 (2001): 129–37.

53 Georg Bergthaler, "Wessen Tomahawk? Problematiken von (Miss-)Repräsentationen," in *Mit Geschichte spielen*, ed. Christoph Kühberger (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), 203–26. See also the chapters by Křížová (Chapter 4), McCargar (Chapter 2) and Ambach and Gröber (Chapter 5) in this volume.

54 *Seidels Reklame* 1 (1931): 186. Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

55 *Seidels Reklame*, 186.

Figure 12.6 "Die Indianer kommen!" printed in *Seidels Reklame* 5 (1931), 186.

raised arm, the idea of Indigenous peoples of the Great Plains as warriors is abused in this case to cause a stir for advertising purposes. The product in question—cigarettes going by the name of "Indians"—cannot be deducted from the poster per se but is constructed in the interplay of several stereotypes about Native Americans as calumet (peace pipe) smoking warriors as a broader twentieth-century trend.[56] Larwin's portraits had comparatively

56 Maureen Trudelle Schwarz, *Fighting Colonialism with Hegemonic Culture: Native American Appropriation of Indian Stereotypes* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press 2013), 74.

little in common with such Indian abstractions. Instead, the artist chose a way of representation that related to his Gypsy paintings in style to affirm his position as a painter of the social margins.

Since Larwin followed the tradition of artist travelers in central Europe with stays in Szolnok and romanticized depictions of the rural backwaters of the former Habsburg Empire, his depictions of Native Americans point towards a practice of visual alignment of racial and ethnic stereotyping of different groups under the guise of romanticizing popular depictions of social realism. These built on continuity both in an artistic sense and concerning the presentation of non-European cultures at home and abroad. In the end, of course, the figures were just as stereotyped. However, within the panorama of non-Europeans as part of mass spectacles and entertainment, Larwin added a different nuance, which was unique in interwar painting: relating to the Gypsy painters from the nineteenth century, his work can be understood as a continuation of a tradition that drew from the composite nature of the Habsburg monarchy and its available reservoir of registers and perspectives. At the same time, the artist's encounters with American Impressionism and the visual references in his portraits to the work of artists such as Catlin indicate his interest in marginalized groups on the American continent, presented through a similarly nostalgic lens as his Gypsy paintings. In doing so, his work implicitly affirmed shared stereotypes between Roma and Native American communities as nomadic tribes whose culture was fixed outside modernity.[57] By and large, they were both presented as groups whose coherence was threatened by modernity: forced to settle, to submit to the laws of majority society, and to assimilate. The visual similarities indicated by Larwin and others of Roma and Native American cultures find parallels in their positioning as non-white minorities, looking back at a history in which Roma were defined as European Indians in the nineteenth century.[58] In this sense, too, Larwin's portraits and genre paintings provoked a conflation built on the romanticizing depiction of marginalized groups, which widely circulated in popular culture.

In contrast to the adventure stories and shows presenting Indigenous peoples from the Great Plains as proud warriors, illustrations in ethnographic travel reports purported a different set of stereotypes to the broad public.

57 Edo Banach, "The Roma and the Native Americans: Encapsulated Communities within Larger Constitutional Regimes," *Florida Journal of International Law* 14 (2001): 353.

58 Ronald Lee, "Roma in Europe: 'Gypsy' Myth and Romani Reality—New Evidence for Romani History," in *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture: Studies in European Culture and History*, eds. Valentina Glajar and Dominica Radulescu (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2008), 1–28.


DIE BÜHNE

Zwischen Wasser und Durst

Reise in Bolivien

Von H. S. Becker

„Manuel", Häuptling der Lenguas.

Die Gegend, um die es sich handelt, ist tatsächlich eine der unbekanntesten — nicht nur Südamerikas, sondern der Erde.

Wenige Jahre sind es her, daß die Terra incognita einige hundert Meter hinter dem grauen Ufersaum des Paraguaystroms im Osten, hinter den dornenverstrüppten Hügeln von Yacuiba im Westen begann.

Ein ungeheures Land liegt dazwischen, mit Tausenden von Quadratmeilen, im Großteil noch unerforscht, nach Norden übergehend in die ebenso unbetretenen Niederungen des oberen Amazonasgebietes. Eine einzige Wegroute durchzieht diese weißen Stellen der Landkarte, der Postweg von Puerto Suarez, der einzigen bolivianischen Niederlassung am Para-

(Fortsetzung auf Seite 51.)

Jüngst gingen wieder einmal durch den Zeitungswald der Erde Nachrichten vom Konflikt der Schwesterrepubliken Bolivien und Paraguay um den Chaco: Kämpfe mit einigen Dutzend Toten, genommene und zurückeroberte Stützpunkte, Intervention der Nachbarstaaten und Washingtons! Dunkle Geographieerinnerungen verblassen neuerlich, Bolivien und Paraguay kehren in ihre Weiten zurück, letzteres vermischt mit dem so ähnlich klingenden Uruguay und vom Namen „Chaco" (sprich Tschako) wissen eigentlich nur die Kreuzwort- und Frag'-mich-was-Interessenten.

Kazike (Häuptling) der Chotiagais-Indianer.

Rechts: Ein „Soldat" der Lenguas.

Unten links: Ufer eines Flüßchens. Unten rechts: Indianer beim Reinigen von Baumwolle.

44

Figure 12.7 Hans Sidonius Becker, "Zwischen Wasser und Durst," *Die Bühne* 219 (1929), 44.

Artist ethnographers like Hans Sidonius Becker or Margarete Duivinage offered reports of communities in Peru and Bolivia, such as the Mapuche in *Die Bühne*, comparable to Larwin's sketches.[59] These reports did not aim to replicate the images of proud Native Americans. Instead, they emphasized

59 Hans Sidonius Becker, "Zwischen Wasser und Durst," *Die Bühne* 219 (1929): 44; Margaret Duivinage, "Ein Besuch bei Maputsche Indianern," *Die Bühne* 56 (1925): 52–53.

the social inequalities and marginalization these groups faced (Figure 12.7). Indeed, *Die Bühne*, alongside progressive newspapers such as *Neues Wiener Journal* and *Die Stunde* increasingly reported on the mistreatment of Indigenous communities, warned of the consequences of violence, illness, and civilizing missions, and traced how their lives were changing through the growing influence of European and white American culture.[60] In other words, rather than engaging with heroic images, Larwin, Becker, and Duivinage presented images of Indigenous populations, emphasizing realism rather than adventure as a different facet of the colonial gaze.

"Gypsies" and "Indians": Merging concepts in the Austrian Imagination?

Building on his reputation as a Gypsy painter and genre artist relating strongly to nineteenth-century painting traditions, Larwin's work took a particular position in interwar Austria, which mediated between Habsburg and post-Habsburg visual culture and North American painting. In combination, these artistic stimuli led to an engagement with depictions of Roma and North American Indigenous communities through quaint genre painting. As highly popular images, these works can be read as a continuous visual affirmation of superiority, circulating in such a way that they required a relatively low level of engagement, were widely accessible, and showed strong continuity in their formulaic depictions from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century in line with central European and North American painting traditions alike.[61] A productive approach to understanding the role of central European modernity in a dialectic with the apparent "timelessness" of Native American and Roma cultures in this context is Ernst Bloch's notion of "the non-simultaneity of the simultaneous." Bloch has argued that "history is not an essence advancing linearly, in which capitalism, for instance, as the final stage, has resolved all previous stages, but is rather a polyrhythmic and multi-spatial entity with enough unmastered and as yet by no means revealed and resolved corners."[62] Larwin's paintings,

60 Silvia Rodríguez Maeso, "'Civilising' the Roma? The Depoliticisation of (Anti-)racism within the Politics of Integration," *Identities* 22, no. 1 (2015): 53–70; Andrew Boxer, "Native Americans and the Federal Government," *History Review* 64 (2009): 7.

61 "Buffalo Bill und seine Truppe in Wien," *Die Presse: Wiener Tages–Bericht*, 7 May 1890, William F. Cody Archive, https://codyarchive.org/texts/wfc.nsp13680.html, accessed 8 December 2023.

62 Ernst Bloch, *Erbschaft dieser Zeit, Werkausgabe,* vol. 4, (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985), 68–69. Translation from Frederic. J. Schwartz, "Ernst Bloch and Wilhelm Pinder: Out of Sync," *Grey*

just as much of the racial stereotypes in visual culture and advertising of his time, draw on this notion of the polyrhythmic, placing Roma and Native American communities simultaneously in relation to modernity and outside it. Significantly, this practice seems to have had particular success in the visual context: more nuanced textual reports and discussions about both Roma and Native American communities had little impact on these depictions. Visual images upheld an easily comprehensible fantasy world, which functioned in an accessible sphere of entertainment that consistently affirmed the modernity of Central European civilization in opposition to the timeless peoples who seemed to live outside it, at home and abroad.

In this light, what can Larwin's work tell us about Habsburg (or Austrian) encounters with Native Americans in the visual arts? As someone who was neither part of a specific official mission, commissioned by someone for these portraits, or notably engaged with Native American communities during his time in the United States, Larwin may seem an odd case study here. Yet, it is precisely his rendering of seemingly exchangeable types of non-white marginal communities that make a point. On the one hand, his images remind us of how artist explorers positioned themselves as insiders of non-white communities to carve out a place for themselves in a competitive market. On the other hand, Larwin's similar treatment, both in terms of physiognomy and setting, of Roma and Native American subjects indicate that, for popular visual culture, no difference was made between a fascination for the exotic, near or far. Subsumed within similar stereotypes of noble savages, Native Americans and Roma alike became a highly recognizable visual surface of projection, merging high and popular culture, ethnographic documentation, and adventure stories, and it was the visual stereotypes, precisely, that maintained a sense of continuity in the colonial gaze, across time and across continents.

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Room 3 (Spring, 2001): 63.

13. Richard Erdoes, Red Power's Ally

György Tóth

Abstract: Austro-Hungarian visual artist and author Richard Erdoes (1912–2008) provided support to some of the most radical segments of the Red Power struggle, leading members of the American Indian Movement (AIM). This chapter interprets Erdoes's role as an Austrian ally to the radical wing of the Red Power movement. Scholarly studies of figures like Erdoes can help not only improve our understanding of non-Native involvement in Red Power but also inform non-Natives' current discussions of the ideal characteristics of allyship, solidarity with Indigenous causes, and interracial coalition building. Erdoes's trajectory is an example of how one individual transformed the legacy of Habsburg encounters with Native Americans in the crucibles of the twentieth century and forged it into an intercontinental network for the struggle for Indigenous rights on Turtle Island.

Keywords: Native American rights, Red Power movement, photography, authorship, publishing, autobiographies, social movements, the long 1960s

Austro-Hungarian visual artist and author Richard Erdoes (1912–2008) spent the last half of his long life being an ally and providing support to some of the most radical segments of the Red Power struggle, leading members of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Born in Vienna, and raised and educated there and in Berlin, Erdoes increasingly became active as an anti-fascist art student, and as a result became marginalized in the lead-up to World War Two. He migrated to New York before the outbreak of the war. For the next several decades, Erdoes worked as an illustrator and photographer for major US magazines such as *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Time*. He had also begun a career as an author and illustrator of children's books. Several assignments in the 1960s took Erdoes to major hubs and events of the emerging Red Power movement, and he developed close relations with several major families in

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_CH13

the struggle, including the Lame Deers (Miniconjou Lakota) and the Crow Dogs (Sicangu Lakota) of the Rosebud Sioux Reservation. Over the following decades, not only was Erdoes tasked with heading the team defending AIM medicine man Leonard Crow Dog in court from an indictment over the standoff at Wounded Knee in 1973, but he also coauthored a series of autobiographical books that fixed the insiders' meaning of the radical Native sovereignty struggle and Native spirituality—with Archie Fire Lame Deer, Mary Crow Dog subsequently Brave Bird, and Dennis Banks. He also helped the movement build a transatlantic network of central European solidarity groups. Thus, Erdoes subtly but materially and powerfully contributed to both the movement and the amplification of its voices and meanings.

Studies of alliances for Native American sovereignty rights and related causes have started to map out the particularities and some more general patterns in interracial coalition building. Ethnic studies scholar Andrea Smith, whose own claims to Cherokee ancestry were repeatedly called into question and remain unsubstantiated,[1] theorized how and why Native women activists' skills and approaches have made for especially fruitful coalition building for social justice across ethnicities, races, ideologies, and other social categories.[2] Analyzing some of the same case studies, non-Native veteran activist and geographer Zoltán Grossman explained their success in Native-non-Native alliance building with an ability to frame their locality as a place of shared identity and their resources worthy of preservation against an outside, often corporate, threat.[3] Most recently, non-Native historian Luca Falciola traced how the National Lawyers Guild served as a clearing house for "radical lawyers" who not only worked pro bono for the major US social movements in the long 1960s, but became

1 Sarah Viren, "The Native Scholar Who Wasn't," *New York Times*, May 25, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/25/magazine/cherokee-native-american-andrea-smith.html; also as "The Sunday Read: 'The Native Scholar Who Wasn't,'" *The New York Times* podcast, 6 June 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/06/podcasts/the-daily/andrea-smith-native-american.html; ICMN Guest Editorial, "Cherokee Women Scholars' and Activists' Statement on Andrea Smith," *Indian Country Today Media Network*, 12 September 2018, https://ictnews.org/archive/cherokee-women-scholars-and-activists-statement-on-andrea-smith; Samantha Allen, "Meet the Native American Rachel Dolezal," *Daily Beast*, 12 July 2017, https://www.thedailybeast.com/meet-the-native-american-rachel-dolezal; Scott Jaschik, "Fake Cherokee?" *Inside Higher Education*, 5 July 2015, https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2015/07/06/scholar-who-has-made-name-cherokee-accused-not-having-native-american-roots. Accessed November 14, 2023.

2 Andrea Smith, *Native Americans and the Christian Right: The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2008).

3 Zoltán Grossman, *Unlikely Alliances: Native and White Communities Join to Defend Rural Lands* (Seattle, WA and London: University of Washington Press, 2017).

activists themselves and redefined legal theory, strategies, and practice in the process.[4]

Yet, all these worthy studies have focused on social justice coalitions as intergroup relations, and not as the trajectory of individual lives—a biographical approach that can unearth and reveal a single person's decisions and relationships in alliance building. Emerging from my earlier research and aiming to refine its focus and analysis, this chapter interprets Erdoes's role as an Austrian ally to the radical wing of the Red Power movement. My argument is that such extensive contributions by allies in the Native American sovereignty rights struggle call for extensive and interdisciplinary research that carefully maps out and critically examines their relationships and output. Scholarly studies of figures like Erdoes can help not only improve our understanding of non-Native involvement in Red Power, including the history of former Habsburg involvement, but also inform non-Natives' current discussions of the ideal characteristics and attitudes of allyship, solidarity with and support for Indigenous causes, and interracial coalition building for shared struggles. Erdoes's trajectory is an example of how one individual transformed the legacy of Habsburg encounters with Native Americans in the crucibles of the twentieth century and forged it into allyship and an intercontinental network for the struggle for Indigenous rights on Turtle Island.

Red Power: The Native American Sovereignty Movement in the Late Cold War

Native American sovereignty evolved as a group of concepts in the history of relations between Native nations and European and North American governments. Between the sixteenth and the mid-twentieth century, Native rights were dramatically curtailed not only in law and federal policy, but also in the actual practices of Indian relations on the ground, which began with trading and treaty making, and lasted through Indian removal, reservations, and boarding schools, and reached their nadir with the termination policy of the post-World War Two era.

The termination policy meant the ending of the federal protection of Native Americans. Since its own birth in the late eighteenth century, the US government had developed both a rationale (the federal trust relationship)

4 Luca Falciola, *Up against the Law: Radical Lawyers and Social Movements, 1960s-1970s* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2022).

and a bureaucracy for the administration of its policies (including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, its Indian service, reservation agencies, and other entities) that kept Native communities as wards of the US federal government, a peculiar status with exemptions from local and state laws. Termination meant that this federal relationship and services would be withdrawn, and Native Americans would be made into average US citizens, subject to all the laws, having all the rights and obligations (including taxation) of any other US citizen. This also meant that the members of the terminated tribes also lost the federal recognition of their tribal affiliation, and all the assistance and sense of identity that accompanied that affiliation.

Beginning with congressional legislation in 1953, the termination policy had disastrous effects on the nations that it involved. Over a hundred tribes were terminated. These Native people now had to assume federal, state, and local tax burdens, compete with non-Native enterprises in the marketplace, and obey state laws that conflicted with their treaty rights. Termination meant the withdrawal of virtually all federal services, including food and health assistance, treaty annuity payments—everything. Without federal assistance and with inadequate means to support themselves, the terminated Native communities further sunk into poverty, crime, and disease. Termination also ended tribal affiliation for many Native people, which contributed to a sense of hopelessness and uprootedness. Native land, Native communities, and individual Native people now had to rely on the services of the individual states, who had no extra resources to assume jurisdiction and provide for them—this created tension between states and the federal government.

It was against this policy and its results, the full economic and cultural annihilation of Native nations as collective entities, that Native groups had to mobilize. Indigenous Americans have always asserted their sovereignty rights in various forms, but in the late Cold War their goals included not only the reinstatement of the pre-termination status quo—some aimed for the full scope of collective rights, extending to those of fully independent countries. Whilst older and more moderate Native bodies such as the National Congress of American Indians lobbied for the overturning of termination, the radical sovereignty struggle was spearheaded by a variety of Native American organizations, the most assertive of which was the American Indian Movement and their allies. During this period, their ideas of what was desirable, feasible, and realistic in terms of sovereignty changed. Much of what North Americans understand as Native self-determination today—Indigenous or jointly controlled tribal police, courts, educational and cultural institutions, off-reservation hunting and fishing rights, tax-exempt casinos, and more

cultural awareness on the part of majority North Americans—were achieved or strengthened during this period by the sovereignty movement.

The late Cold War was a period of opportunity for Native Americans to pursue a militant campaign for sovereignty rights in the United States. Native communities were struggling against the US government's termination policy already in the 1960s.[5] In the same decade, a variety of social movements—civil rights, feminism, gay liberation, the Chicano movement, free speech, the struggle against the US war in Vietnam, and others—had also swept the country and beyond, and they inspired some of the forms of Native activism. The global contest between the US and the USSR had kept American race relations and rights on the agenda, and this issue became even more charged once President Jimmy Carter adopted human rights as a pillar of US foreign policy in 1976. Advances in news media technology allowed Native Americans to forcefully stage their own performances of identities and rights in front of cameras that beamed their protests into households not only in the United States, but around the world. Jet travel enabled Indigenous American activists and their non-Native allies to visit each other in a variety of countries, including on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

An Austrian Accent in the Native Sovereignty Movement: Richard Erdoes and AIM

In his book on Native American activism before the radical sovereignty movement, Daniel Cobb discusses Indigenous American involvement in Martin Luther King, Jr.'s May-June 1968 Poor People's Campaign in Washington, DC. One of these marches took the Native people and their allies to the State Department, where they forcefully expressed their views on current US foreign policy.[6] The Poor People's Campaign was the same protest event that brought together the Indigenous delegation with Richard Erdoes, an Austro-Hungarian-German émigré who would serve as a chronicler of the radical sovereignty movement, and would also shape that struggle in subtle ways.

5 See Ada Deer, "How the Good Guys Won," *Journal of Intergroup Relations* 3 (1974), 41–50; Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *An Assumption of Sovereignty: Social and Political Transformation Among the Florida Seminoles, 1953–1979* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 23–50.

6 For more, see "Many Roads" in Daniel M. Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 147–70.

Richard Erdoes was born in Vienna in 1912 to an Austrian mother and a Jewish Hungarian opera singer father with the family name Erdős.[7] The boy grew up in central European cities like Vienna, Berlin, and Frankfurt, where his family periodically moved for stage performances. An avid young journalist and cartoonist, Erdoes incurred the wrath of the Nazis in the early 1930s, and had to move to Austria, where he continued his studies in art and worked for anti-fascist newspapers. After the Anschluss of 1938, Erdoes fled to Paris, London, and eventually to New York, where he lived in the city's exile German community and worked as an illustrator and photographer for magazines such as *National Geographic* and *Life*. The latter magazine sent him to Washington, DC to cover the Poor People's Campaign in 1968. It was there that Erdoes met the Lame Deers, a traditionalist family of the Pine Ridge Lakota Sioux Reservation of South Dakota. Through the Lame Deers, Erdoes befriended both Dennis Banks and the Crow Dog family, prominent political and spiritual leaders of the American Indian Movement. In the following four decades, Erdoes coauthored a total of five memoirs with Banks, the Lame Deers, and the Crow Dogs, shaping the perception of the radical Native sovereignty movement.[8]

From Stereotypes to Allyship

Being interviewed by Erdoes in the late 1980s, Lakota medicine man Archie Fire Lame Deer pointed out that, "if you talk about the respect for our people in East Germany, when you walk there, I have to thank this man called Karl May, even though it was a world of fantasy that he had written

7 "E. Richard, operaénekes," in *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon*, ed. Újvári Péter (Budapest, 1929): 237. https://mek.oszk.hu/04000/04093/html/0245.html; Obituary, *Világ* 3, no. 137 (1912), 11, Arcanum, https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/Vilag_1912_06/?query=Erd%C5%91s+Rich%C3%A1rd&pg=246&layout=s; Aladár Schöpflin, *Magyar Színházművészeti Lexikon* 1, 1929, Arcanum, https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/Lexikon_MagyarSzinmuveszetiLexikon_01/?query=Erd%C5%91s+Rich%C3%A1rd&pg=534&layout=s. Accessed November 14, 2023.

8 These included Lakota medicine man John Fire Lame Deer's autobiography, *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* (1971); with Mary Brave Bird, *Lakota Woman* (1990) and its sequel *Ohitka Woman* (1993); with Archie Fire Lame Deer, *The Gift of Power: The Life and Teachings of a Lakota Medicine Man* (1992); with Leonard Crow Dog, *Crow Dog: Four Generations of Sioux Medicine Men* (1995); and with Dennis Banks, *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement* (2004). Biographical note, guide to the Richard Erdoes papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, http://hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/beinecke.erdoes, accessed 27 April 2024.

about, never seen Lakotas, and made ridiculous things as Navajos with Mohawk haircuts—but he still raised the consciousness of the people of the Indian people."[9] Here Erdoes, the interviewer, cuts in to explain his own positionality as a child in Germany and Austria: "I can tell you all about that! We were all born and raised pro-Indian, all the German, and Austrian, and the Swiss and French kids clapped when they see the Indian [in western films]—going 'Boo!' when the cavalry come."[10] The case of Richard Erdoes is one instance when Habsburg cultural deployment of claims about Native Americans as well as age-old transatlantic white fantasies about being in an alliance with, or even finding a home among American "Indians" and being adopted into their communities were both transcended and transformed into a joint struggle for social justice.[11] Growing up in central Europe in the 1920s, Erdoes was certainly familiar with the transatlantic visual, literary, and performance forms of 'playing Indian,' including the Western dime novels, the Wild West show spinoffs, the Völkerschau ethnic exhibitions, and Karl May's Winnetou stories. In his first career as an artist in the United States, Erdoes may have channeled this naïve European fascination with American "Indians" into his publications of Native American folklore, myths, and stories.[12] His photographs of his early involvement with the Crow Dog and Lame Deer families suggest a shift from classical white Euro-American depictions of American Indians to a more overt acknowledgement of Native agency and participation in US modern urban life. During the Lakota medicine man's visit to New York City in 1969, Erdoes posed Henry Crow Dog wrapped in a blanket, sporting traditional head gear, and holding a fan and pipe—studio poses reminiscent of the classical Anglo-American portraiture of Indian headmen and delegations by George Catlin, Charles Bird King, McClees

9 Box 135, Folder 631, "Archie Fire, Tape 3; Wolakota," Audio recording, 1/2, 2 March 1986, Richard Erdoes Papers. Transcription by the author.

10 Ibid.

11 In the light of the fraught morality and ethics of Native American identity politics and non-Native cultural appropriation, it is important to emphasize that despite his personal—almost intimate—involvement in both substantively supporting and shaping the meaning and memory of the radical Native American sovereignty movement, as far as I can tell, Richard Erdoes himself never claimed any Native ancestry, status, or identity.

12 These included Erdoes's first book about a Native American tribe, *Pueblo Indians*, for the Young Readers' Indian Library series (1967), as well as his *American Indian Myths and Legends* (1984) and *American Indian Trickster Tales* (1998), both coedited with Alfonso Ortiz. "Guide to the Richard Erdoes Papers WA MSS S-2609," Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, Yale University, last exported on 24 April 2024, https://ead-pdfs.library.yale.edu/1286.pdf. Accessed November 14, 2023.

and Brady, and Edward Sheriff Curtis. Of the ten shots, Erdoes selected for publication a half profile with an expression of gravity on Crow Dog's face.[13] In contrast, Erdoes's photos taken a year later show John Fire Lame Deer on tour—getting on a plane, sitting in a city park and in a newspaper office, smoking a cigarette, giving an interview, and looking out the window over the skyline of a metropolis.[14] Even in their ambiguity—Erdoes produced a 'classical Indian' profile in the window shot—the photographs recognize both the subject's idiosyncrasy (Crow Dog's cowboy hat and cigarette) and the agency suggested by the appearance of "Indians in unexpected places."[15] Taken together, these images are visual evidence of Erdoes's transformation as portraitist and photojournalist, and clues of his attitude toward his Native collaborators. His photographs attest that Erdoes was both shaping and documenting the self-representation of traditionalist Native individuals.

The peculiarity of the urban setting notwithstanding, Erdoes initially acted on his white and central European sensibilities when he sought out Native Americans from the reservations. As it circulated across the Atlantic, the age-old trope of the 'vanishing native' had located 'Indians' on the reservations, and not in contemporary urban relocation programs, or in other settings where their presence and activities contradicted this cultural and social prophesy. During the years when the urban militant American Indian Movement was emerging in Minneapolis, Richard Erdoes was building relationships with the families of the traditionalist factions of the Lakota Sioux reservations. This also positioned him in a peculiar way in the politics of Native America. His friends the Lame Deers and Crow Dogs had been marginalized and become part of the opposition to reservation tribal governments established after the passage of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, which imposed a US democratic model on Indigenous American governance, and at the same time further divided Native communities into haves and have-nots in terms of economic and political power.

13 "Portraits of Henry Crow Dog, Rosebud Sioux, done at 251 W89 NYC 1969," photo contact print, Richard Erdoes Papers, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2052893. Accessed November 14, 2023.

14 "John Fire Lame Deer on tour with me, fall 1970; Jackie riding at Crow Dog's place; Rachel Strange Owl's baby in cradleboard," photo contact print, Richard Erdoes Papers, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2052887. Accessed November 14, 2023.

15 For more on scholarship on Native modernities and engagement with twentieth century US life, see Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

Erdoes and European Solidarity with Native American Sovereignty

The event that catalyzed the transatlantic alliance for Native sovereignty was the spring 1973 occupation and siege of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. In late February 1973, the village was taken over by Oglala Sioux traditionalists and the militant activists of the AIM. During the ensuing three-month long standoff, the occupiers held their ground in the face of overwhelming pressure—and firepower—from the Pine Ridge Reservation tribal police, South Dakota state troopers, the FBI, federal marshals, and the American military—the full force of the United States government. The demands of the occupiers—a federal investigation into the wrongdoings of tribal chairman Dick Wilson, the reinstatement of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty as the basis of relations between the US government and the Sioux nation, and amnesty for all in the village—were at best partially met by a government that stalled, negotiated, hedged its bets, and tried to wear out those in the Knee by sealing the roads, imposing a media blackout, and keeping the village under withering gunfire that killed two activists. The government's subsequent wholesale legal prosecution of all the occupiers notwithstanding, the protest camp proved to be a momentous event that galvanized Native activism, garnered national and international solidarity, and became a milestone on the road to further US and international legislation on Indigenous rights.

After the 1973 siege of Wounded Knee, the US government embarked on a large-scale legal campaign against the AIM. Their strategy was to prosecute the leaders, members, and allies of the movement regardless of the expected outcome, simply to deplete their coffers with the court costs, tie up their human resources, and wear down their energy and spirit. The federal and state governments charged hundreds of sovereignty activists, and the trials were held in several locations around the US Midwest, which necessitated the creation and moving around of offices by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLD/OC), a group of lawyers and volunteers dedicated to the defense of AIM and their allies. As AIM was founding support groups in Europe and opening an office in West Berlin, WKLD/OC was struggling to keep up with trial expenses and other bills. These years proved to be a supreme test for the resilience and resourcefulness of the radical Native sovereignty movement in the face of overwhelming pressure from the US government. It was during this period that European solidarity groups came to play a crucial role in the survival of the radical Native sovereignty movement.

As European solidarity groups did much to support the Native sovereignty struggle across the Atlantic, one Austro-German ally directly contributed to the movement from within the United States. After participating in the protest takeovers of Mount Rushmore in 1971 and the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building in 1972,[16] Erdoes and his wife Jean (née Sternbergh) had opened their home in New York City to their Native friends and provided members of the radical Native sovereignty movement with a logistical base during their visits to the East Coast.[17] In May 1975, Richard Erdoes was asked to head the defense committee for AIM medicine man Leonard Crow Dog.[18] For the next two years, the Erdoeses hosted the family in New York City, provided moral support to Crow Dog behind bars, and maintained a logistical base and communications center for the defense work. Yet it was not Richard Erdoes's personal lobbying that eventually swayed Judge Robert Merhige, who had originally sentenced Leonard Crow to prison. The judge summoned the defense team to his court in Virginia, showed them some of the petitions he had received from around the world, and re-sentenced Crow Dog to time already served.[19]

As he devoted much of his life to the members of AIM and their cause, Erdoes was working to build a transatlantic alliance. While he hosted and travelled with Germans in the United States,[20] they were not all in the solidarity movement. However, the fact that his papers contain newsletters and publications from German solidarity organizations suggests that he at least followed the work of the transatlantic alliance for Native American sovereignty. Most importantly, in 1974 Richard Erdoes hosted author Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, who had become a literary spokesperson for Native

16 "Lame Deer at Mount Rushmore Black Hills, S. Dakota, Late summer 1971 with Lee Brightman," photo contact prints, Richard Erdoes Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2052891; "Take over of BIA Bldg Nov. 1972," photo contact prints, Richard Erdoes Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2052892 . Accessed November 14, 2023. Mary Brave Bird with Richard Erdoes, *Ohitika Woman* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1993), 201.

17 Biographical note, guide to the Richard Erdoes papers, online, accessed 19 June 2023; Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes, *Lakota Woman* (New York, NY: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), 112, 197, 226; Brave Bird with Erdoes, 205.

18 Brave Bird with Erdoes, 86–88.

19 Crow Dog and Erdoes, 238–39. While there were solidarity groups in other European and non-European countries, West Germany was of special importance for the officials of the US government due to that nation being an experiment in postwar reeducation in democracy and it being a major frontline ally against Soviet Communism.

20 "With Werner and Hannelore at Wounded Knee August 1977," "Kirchmeiers, Rolf + Ruth Ohlhausen, Erdoeses (Erich), Crow Dog's Leonard, Francine, Little Ina 1970," photo contact prints, Richard Erdoes Papers.

American issues in East Germany.[21] In this, at least, Erdoes served as an important node in the transatlantic alliance in the making.

The immediate and personal European response to these Indigenous American calls for support must have given hope to Native sovereignty activists. It certainly spurred efforts within AIM to strengthen and make more permanent the existing transatlantic relations, as well as to build new ones. At the invitation of the World Council of Churches, AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt toured Europe in 1974,[22] and the following year Dennis Banks and Vernon Bellecourt visited author Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich in East Berlin. This was an important development. As a university professor and popular author of "Indian"-themed novels, Welskopf-Henrich had been recognized by the East German government as a sort of literary spokesperson for Indigenous Americans and commanded a wide following in the GDR and the Eastern Bloc. Moving away from her earlier historical treatments even as she continued consulting for the Marxist historical adventure *Indianerfilme*, by the mid-1970s Welskopf-Henrich had been writing a fiction pentalogy titled *The Blood of Eagles*, focusing on current Indigenous American issues.[23]

By late 1974, Welskopf-Henrich herself had visited the United States, where she met Richard Erdoes. In her letters written to Erdoes in November 1974 and April 1975, Welskopf-Henrich thanked him and his family for their hospitality, fondly recalling the nights that she had spent on the Pine Ridge Reservation of South Dakota. Welskopf-Henrich also shared her hopes that she would be able to publish Erdoes's latest book in German, and reported that she had asked her readers to send petitions to the US on behalf of Russell Means, currently in custody on charges stemming from a shooting.[24] As Glenn Penny documented, by the time of her death in 1979, the East German author had been using her full stature and range of resources spanning the iron curtain to promote German solidarity with Native Americans, including the circulation of information, connecting activists, petition writing, and material support.[25] Through their visits and correspondence, the AIM

21 Letters to Richard Erdoes from Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, 8 October 1874 and 1 April 1975, Richard Erdoes Papers. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Yale University.

22 Bernd C. Peyer, "Who is Afraid of AIM?" in Christian F. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. (Aachen: Edition Herodt-Rader Verlag, 1987), 551.

23 Friedrich Von Borries and Jens-Uwe Fischer, *Sozialistische Cowboys: Der Wilde Westen Ostdeutschlands* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2008), 44, 47.

24 Letters to Richard Erdoes from Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, 8 November 1974 and 1 April 1975, Richard Erdoes Papers.

25 For more on Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, see Glenn Penny, "Red Power: Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich and Indian Activist Networks in East and West Germany," *Central European History* 41

leaders, Erdoes and Welskopf-Henrich were building a Rapid City–New York–Berlin axis for the transatlantic sovereignty alliance.

By the mid-1970s, the transatlantic sovereignty alliance was circulating along a US Heartland–Mitteleuropa axis not only ideas and information, but also material support, and in some cases the bodies of travelers. The transatlantic coverage of the spectacular protest performances of the radical Native sovereignty movement now combined with an older central European fascination with Native Americans, and it generated continental interest in the current struggle of Native Americans. Circulating copies of the Native press and the calls by visiting Native sovereignty leaders for support prompted Europeans to respond in several ways. Whilst petitions were sent from various European countries, most messages of solidarity arrived from East Germany, where this was one of the few officially sanctioned ways of engaging with the culture and society of the United States. On the other side of the iron curtain, Western Europeans initiated a stream of financial donations, which proved to be crucial to the morale and the logistical success of WKLD/OC. This European support helped the WKLD/OC, which represented hundreds of defendants, to achieve an acquittal rate of over 92 percent.[26] The release of AIM activists and their allies in turn confirmed for supporters in former Habsburg Mitteleuropa that their solidarity and donations had made a difference right in the US heartland—and thus it further strengthened the transatlantic alliance for Native sovereignty.

Erdoes as Ally and Coauthor

The only two photographs by Richard Erdoes that show him at Wounded Knee in 1973 were taken at the Gildersleeve trading post, which was left at the disposal of the occupiers after its managers were moved out. After a series of shots of the store interior that feature three different "cigar store Indians", two pictures show the store through the convex mirror hanging from the ceiling in the corner. The clinically bright neon lights and the distorted geometric perspectives of the fisheye glass almost hide the figure

(2008), 447–76; and H. Glenn Penny, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 188–98.

26 William Sayer, *Ghost Dancing the Law: The Wounded Knee Trials* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 228; "Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee: An Inventory of Its Records at the Minnesota Historical Society," online finding aid, http://www2.mnhs.org/library/findaids/00229.xml, accessed 27 April 2024.

of Erdoes himself taking the photographs.[27] Yet it was the photographer whose decisions determined what the images show. The experience of Native American sovereignty activists of their struggle for justice was already subjective and has since been mediated through the agendas of the tellers and writers. The ways in which these veterans have made meaning of their own life histories are visible to us in the fisheye mirror of Erdoes's coauthored books.

Erdoes's role in shaping the perception and historical record of the radical Native sovereignty movement itself deserves a study, a careful examination of his research and writing process as coauthor. Until this is undertaken, two examples will have to suffice. As interviewer and coauthor, Erdoes's subtle presence shaped both the telling of oral histories and the final product. The oral history of Lakota medicine man Archie Fire Lame Deer's experiences and teachings, recorded on audio tapes for their book together, is punctuated by Erdoes's thick Austro-Hungarian-German accent. Pronouncing "th" as "z" and either dropping or nasalizing his "r"s, Erdoes occasionally asks some questions or comments on the story, at one point taking center stage as he relates how he had to spend one of his book advances on a lawyer after being arrested on drug charges because Pennsylvania police had found in his car a Lakota gift pipe, herbs, and tobacco.[28]

In both of her books coauthored with Erdoes, Mary Crow Dog first explains that the boarding school she attended was run by German nuns who cut off the braids of Native girls and rubbed them in medical alcohol, but then "for the sake of objectivity" she expresses her respect for the German priest who had earlier written Lakota dictionaries and grammars.[29] Here

27 "Wounded Knee 1973 Inside Gildersleeve trading post," photo contact print, Richard Erdoes Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2052888, accessed 27 April 2024.

28 Implicitly, Erdoes's story also serves to prove he had suffered and sacrificed for his Native friends, and the causes of cultural revival and sovereignty. This proof of his devotion also shores up his own performance-based movement identity. "Archie Lame Deer," recording, includes Archie Fire, Erdoes, and "Andy" talking about teaching and traveling in Europe, 1 Oct 1988, side 1/2, Richard Erdoes Papers.

29 Crow Dog and Erdoes, 35; Brave Bird with Erdoes, 19. It is a curious coincidence that during the same period that Richard and Jean Erdoes were hosting in their New York City home Mary Crow Dog and her children during her husband Leonard's trial and imprisonment, in 1975 the Museum of Modern Art staged an exhibition of German Jesuit priest and educator Eugene Buechel's photographs (1922–42) of the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations. Did Erdoes and Mary Crow Dog visit the exhibit of the photos made by the German Jesuit priest who passed away the same year she was born, about her own reservation, her old St. Francis Indian Mission school, and her people some thirty years before? We can speculate about what Mary would have said to Erdoes at the exhibition, if in her book she addressed the issue as we see above. Records

Erdoes's mere presence influenced his coauthors to reflect on the role of central Europeans in Native American history, including his role in their memories and lives. Even as he comes across as unassuming and hands-off, Richard Erdoes was a player in the politics of allyship and authorship in the radical Native sovereignty movement. As they recall, Mary Brave Bird/Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes cleared the air in their own relationship thus. Erdoes explained that "[Mary Brave Bird] once caught me looking at her and at once confronted me, saying: 'I know you are sexually attracted to me.' I told her that, being an artist and photographer, I could not help studying people's faces, whether they were men or women, young or old, pretty or ugly. She stared back at me for a moment, shrugged, and said: 'Okay, I half believe you.' We laughed and I was never suspected harboring designs against her virtue, but the remark was typical of her blunt way of confronting situations."[30] While his artistic positioning (and his age) enabled Erdoes to dispel the suspicion that he was doing solidarity work because he was sexually attracted to Native American activists—a sexual politics established elsewhere by veterans and scholars[31]—due to the long-standing context of colonialism by even do-gooder "Indian reformers", as well as the recent influx of well-meaning but ignorant or fantasist non-Natives into the movement, Erdoes did exercise power in his relationships with his Native coauthors.

Conclusion

Did Erdoes's own experience of resistance to and exile from oppression in Europe play a role in his solidarity work for the rights struggles of other ethnic groups? Did his Jewishness? These are questions yet to be answered by more thorough research. This chapter has tried to make a case for a biographical approach to examining the cultural historical contexts, personal trajectory, decisions, and relationship politics of Richard Erdoes as an

of the exhibition include Eugene Buechel, SJ, Rosebud and Pine Ridge, photographs, 1922–42, 29 Nov 1975–8 Feb 1976, MoMA [Museum of Modern Art], https://www.moma.org/artists/853, https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2480. Accessed November 14, 2023.

30 Brave Bird with Erdoes, xii.

31 Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Blood on the Border: A Memoir of the Contra War* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005), 44–45; Brave Bird with Erdoes, 97, 100; also see György Tóth, "The Politics of Solidarity in the Transatlantic Sovereignty Alliance," in György Tóth, *From Wounded Knee to Checkpoint Charlie: The Alliance for Sovereignty between American Indians and Central Europeans in the Late Cold War* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2016), 95–116.

Austrian-born and central European-raised and educated ally of the Native American sovereignty movement of the mid- to late-twentieth century. In his life, interpersonal relations, and work, Erdoes transcended the former Habsburg cultural deployments of claims about Native Americans, and in the crucibles of the US rights movements he transformed this legacy into meaningful encounters of allyship to Red Power. A project like this can enrich studies of non-Native allyship and inform discussions about praxis and supporting activism.

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Afterword: The *Kunstkammer* as Contact Zone—Understanding Indigenous Objects and Histories in Habsburg Collections

Robbie Richardson

Central European depictions of Indigenous North American people and understandings of our cultures are often based on static nineteenth-century images of a tragic yet romantically appealing noble savage; this representation, as I have explored elsewhere in the eighteenth-century British context, tells us less about Indigenous cultures than about the fears and desires of the cultures utilizing these representations.[1] Yet, despite this frequent lack of engagement with our living and enduring cultural presents, there is an historical relationship between various Indigenous nations and the lands once ruled by the Habsburgs. This volume begins the work of unpacking this relationship in various productive sites.

European museum collections are one such site where this relationship is clearly evidenced. The Habsburgs played a key role in shaping European collecting practices, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in producing the conceptual model for the modern museum itself at Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck.[2] Further, non-European objects or exotica were incorporated into Austrian collections and displays at a much earlier historical moment than elsewhere, and it is in these collections and their inventories that we can attempt to assess the epistemic changes wrought by the influx of Indigenous goods into Europe.[3] A significant collection of

1 Robbie Richardson, *The Savage and the Modern Self: North American Indians in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018).

2 Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995), 31.

3 See Mark Meadow, "The Aztecs at Ambras: Social Networks and the Transfer of Cultural Knowledge of the New World," in *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der*

Singerton, Jonathan, Markéta Křížová, and Michael Burri, eds. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2025.
DOI: 10.5117/9789048571802_AFTE

Indigenous North American objects were later brought to Austria in the nineteenth century by Catholic missionaries working in the Great Lakes region, when the most concerted settler colonial efforts in North America to "kill the Indian in the child" and eliminate Indigenous cultures through assimilation had begun, which allows for a look into a later grammar of collecting and at Indigenous survival through creativity.[4] Marija Živković and Michael Burri provided important analysis of these later collections in the Croatian and Austrian context in their respective chapters in this volume.

While the Austrian Habsburgs may have had little direct power in the scramble for North American territory, the historical and continued existence of material culture from Indigenous nations in Austria indicates a longstanding relationship, fraught though that might be, which needs to be unpacked and understood. However asymmetrical or top-down, the private, imperial, and state collections of Austria have long functioned as a contact zone. By this I mean Mary Louise Pratt's well-known formulation of the contact zone as a "social space where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today."[5] Pratt argues that the "'contact perspective' emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other," emphasizing "co-presence, interaction, [and] interlocking understandings and practices."[6] James Clifford notes that "when museums are seen as contact zones, their organizing structure as a *collection* becomes an ongoing historical, political, moral *relationship*—a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull."[7] In bringing this perspective to Habsburg collections, both historical and in the present, we can recover Indigenous agency in the face of colonialism and dispossession, while also recognizing the violence behind that dispossession.[8]

Frühneuzeitforschung, ed. Michael North (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 349–68.

4 On Indian residential schools, or Indian boarding schools as they are called in the US, see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *A Knock on the Door: The Essential History of Residential Schools* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016) and Mary A. Stout, *Native American Boarding Schools* (London: Bloomsbury, 2024).

5 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4.

6 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

7 James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188–219, 192.

8 Stó:lō scholar Dylan Robinson offers an important critique of the possibilities of Indigenous agency in museums, describing them instead as fundamentally carceral and participants in the fragmentation of Indigenous kinship connections. Dylan Robinson, "Shxwelí Li Te Shxwelítemelh

In Innsbruck in 1582, celebrating the occasion of his second marriage, Archduke Ferdinand II plucked some feathers from a pre-Columbian Aztec headdress in his cabinet at Schloss Ambras and placed them in his helmet.[9] Ambras itself, as Horst Bredekamp notes, was built a decade or so earlier and was a complex of buildings that "for the first time in the history of post-antiquity architecture, was designed specifically for the purpose of housing a collection."[10] Today it is generally understood that the Habsburgs possessed and displayed such things as a show of power, and in their cabinets they imagined America as a Habsburg domain.[11] The reality of colonization must always inform the consideration of these early items, which are irrefutably marked by histories of violence and loss, yet at the same time, as Bredekamp suggests, while the worldwide territorial claims of the Habsburgs no doubt contributed to their desire to collect and document other cultures, "interest in *exotica* signified more than simply the wish to subjugate other peoples"; he claims the Habsburg collections provide the first evidence "of a kind of ethnology that viewed foreigners with a certain respect," in which their beautiful things were integrated visually in a non-hierarchical fashion.[12] Over the course of the sixteenth century, particularly following the initial introduction of Mexican art to Europe by Cortés in 1519, there was a rising European interest in Indigenous featherwork. Within a few months of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, Indigenous artisans known as *amantecas* or feather artists were producing works, predominantly with Christian iconography, for export to Europe and beyond; by 1602, Mexican featherwork had reached China, and Japan a short time later, incorporating aspects of those countries' aesthetics and belief.[13] A Chinese map from 1602 declares that "The land of Mexico produces bird feathers of all colors. The people collect them and make them into paintings. The landscapes and human figures [they do] are all marvelous."[14] Even in the face of brutal invasion,

Xíts'Etáwtxw: The Museum's Confinement of Indigenous Kin," *American Anthropologist* 126, no. 2 (2024): 233–47.

9 Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 83.

10 Bredekamp, 30–31.

11 Bredekamp, 663.

12 Bredekamp, 35.

13 Serge Gruzinski, "Mexican Feathers for the Emperor of China: Towards a Global History of the Arts," in *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe, 1400–1700*, eds. Alessandra Russo, Gerhard Wolf, and Diana Fane (Munich: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, 2015), 191–99.

14 Alessandra Russo, "A Contemporary Art from New Spain," in *Images Take Flight*, 22–63, 60.

Indigenous artisans participated in and helped produce one of the first global art markets.[15]

Over four hundred years after Ferdinand's wedding, the last surviving pre-Hispanic Aztec feathered headdress, once kept in the cabinet at Schloss Ambras, is still in Austria. Now known as Moctezuma's headdress or *El Penacho de Moctezuma*, it is perhaps the most renowned of all Indigenous objects from the Americas held in Europe; Mexico commissioned a copy in 1940, and indeed most pre-Hispanic featherwork items in Mexico are copies based on objects in European museums.[16] In 2022, Mexican activists hacked the audio guides at the Weltmuseum, and an Indigenous man declared to museum visitors through the device, "Kopilli Ketzalli [the Aztec name for the headdress] is a precious royal crown, not a plume. It means spiritual power. It is like the Pope's miter … The history written by Hernán Cortés speaks of an emperor who prostrated himself at his feet, but the truth is that it was an invasion that exterminated an entire civilization."[17] The Indigenous objects from the *Kunstkammer* continue to signify and participate in their fraught histories.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries acquired Indigenous objects through their work with the Leopoldine Society, founded in 1829 to support Catholic missions in North America, and sent them back to Vienna. The chapters in this volume by Jonathan Singerton and Michael Burri each explored the impact and legacies of the Leopoldine Society in this period, and its reception by different Indigenous groups. Today the Weltmuseum holds a collection of early nineteenth-century Woodlands Indigenous objects that art historian Ruth Phillips notes constitutes "one of the earliest and most splendid collections of nineteenth-century Great Lakes quillwork on bark."[18] Much of this collection consists of what has often been called "tourist art" or "souvenirs" such as Menominee maple sugar boxes made of quillwork and birchbark, which is noteworthy because these objects have historically been excluded from museum

15 See Fabien Ferrer-Joly, *Feathers: Visions of Pre-Columbian America* (Paris: Somogy Art Publishers, 2016).

16 See Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll, *The Contested Crown: Repatriation Politics between Europe and Mexico* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2022).

17 Anny Shaw, "Mexican Activists Hack Viennese Museum's Audioguide in Protest over Its Ownership of the Montezuma Headdress," *The Art Newspaper*, 24 February 2022, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/02/24/mexican-activists-hack-viennese-museums-audioguide-in-protest-over-its-ownership-of-the-montezuma-headdress.

18 Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art in the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1998), 179.

collections.[19] Items made for trade with Europeans are often seen as lacking the authenticity of precontact items, and they depict, so colonial logic suggests, a period of decline. As Phillips and Christopher Steiner write, "until recently, both art historians and anthropologists have resoundingly rejected most commoditized objects as spurious" because of "stylistic hybridity" and "their production for an external market, which conflicts with widespread ideas of authenticity."[20] But for Indigenous nations, tourist art represents continuity and creativity in the face of catastrophic change, or what Anishinaabe writer Gerald Vizenor famously calls "survivance."[21] Evoking survival, resistance, resurgence, and growth all at once, survivance stories understand there is tragedy in the past, but Indigenous people are not the tragic subjects of history. Contemporary Indigenous artists such as Ursula Johnson (Mi'kmaq) and Brian Jungen (Dane-zaa) today honor these traditions and like their ancestors play with notions of art as commodity, as transcultural object, and as bearer of cultural meaning at the same time.

There are a number of Mi'kmaw objects in Vienna which, like the Anishinaabe and Menominee items, are tourist art, which had been made by Mi'kmaw artisans for trade beginning as early as the seventeenth century.[22] These objects were collected by Father Christian Kauder, a Luxembourg missionary who played an important role in Mi'kmaw cultural history.[23] Kauder was funded by the Ludwig Missionary Society and the Leopoldine Society, for whom he compiled a book of prayer called *Buch das Gut, enthaltened den Katechismus* (*The Good Book, Containing the Catechism*). This is written in Mi'kmaw hieroglyphic script, known as *gomgweju'gasit* or "suckerfish writing," evoking the marks left by those fish on silty or muddy riverbeds. Suckerfish writing is the oldest written form of an Indigenous language north

19 Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 3–19.

20 Phillips and Steiner, "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage." They cite Swedish archaeologist Knut Hjalmar Stolpe, who complained in 1896 that Native objects were "spoiled by European importations"; looking at the bead and quillwork floral designs popular with Native women artisans at the time, he reflected "in all those plant designs I see nothing but the debasing influence of a vicious style of drawing on the white man's gaudy bartered wares."

21 Gerald Vizenor, "Aesthetic of Survivance," in *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*, ed. Gerald Vizenor (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 1.

22 See Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 A.D. to the Present* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1980).

23 See Carlo Krieger, "Culture Change in the Making: Some Examples of How a Catholic Missionary Changed Micmac Religion," *American Studies International* 40, no. 2 (2002): 37–56.

of Mexico in the Americas, at least 144 years older than Cherokee syllabary. Jesuit missionaries claimed to have introduced Mi'kmaw hieroglyphics to aid in Catholic conversion, but many Mi'kmaq insist that we already had our sucker fish writing before the Jesuits codified it. Long after the Jesuits left Mi'kma'ki in the eighteenth century, the Mi'kmaq continued to use hieroglyphs, primarily in religious worship and Catholic rites, but beyond that too: there are 2,700 unique ideograms. Kauder learned suckerfish writing and produced his *Good Book* in Vienna in 1866 using the Imperial and Royal Printing Press. However, most of the books were lost at sea in a shipwreck en route to Mi'kma'ki. It was reissued in 1921 at the request of Mi'kmaq communities who wished to preserve and renew the language, and Kauder's text became their standardized form.[24] The Mi'kmaq objects in Vienna are relics of this historical relationship between the Leopoldine Society and my people.

In 2021, the Weltmuseum collaborated with the Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians in Michigan to produce the book *Around Lake Michigan: American Indians, 1820–1850*, which is an account of the museum's missionary collections. While no work on such a large collection can encapsulate all the possible voices and perspectives, it does well as an attempt to engage in the responsibilities that museums who hold Indigenous cultural heritage have to living communities. The book includes words from Odawa master quillwork artist Yvonne Walker Keshick, who notes that quillwork boxes were once functional and thus didn't last long, but in Vienna, "The quillwork survived … by becoming works of art."[25] Walker Keshick's own work is now also in the museum along with those of her ancestors, a reminder that the Indigenous objects in Europe, from featherwork to quillwork, spanning over five hundred years, may be sometimes locked away from history but are always waiting to be brought back into relation. This present volume is a similar attempt to engage in restorative history, to understand and historicize the enduring central European "Indianthusiasm" while also attending to actual moments of conflict, exploitation, and solidarity. It contributes to the important work of assessing the global impact of Indigenous peoples and cultures beyond North American settler states, often locating this influence in surprising and previously unaccounted places.

24 Murdena Marshall and David L. Schmidt, *Mi'kmaq Hieroglyphic Prayers: Reading in North America's First Indigenous Script* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2006), 14.

25 Gerard van Bussel and Eric Hemenway, eds., *Around Lake Michigan: American Indians, 1820–1850* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2021), 29.

About the Author

Robbie Richardson is Assistant Professor of English at Princeton University, and is the author of *The Savage and Modern Self: North American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (University of Toronto Press, 2018). His next book is an account of the collection and intellectual reception and intervention of Indigenous objects in Europe up to the end of the eighteenth century. He is a citizen of Pabineau Mi'gmaq First Nation.

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The central European lands of the Habsburg monarchy have long shared an intertwined past with the Indigenous inhabitants of the Americas. This volume focuses on the process of encountering these peoples as a continual action across several centuries that has produced numerous and varied instances of cultural dialogues, perspectives, and understandings. Moreover, this central European element is something that has not been considered in its own right before now and has been overshadowed by the focus on a wider Germanic fascination for Indigenous cultures. Breaking away from this wider narrative allows us not only to recover a more distinct historical connection but also uncovers the particular dynamics of direct and indirect contact between Indigenous worlds and that of the Habsburg monarchy.

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