



Jules Tavernier and the Elem Pomo

Elizabeth Kornhauser and Shannon Vittoria Preface by Robert Joseph Geary

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Director's Note

In 2016, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a remarkable painting by the French-born and -trained American artist Jules Tavernier. Previously believed to have been lost, Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake, California (1878) was the first work by Tavernier to enter the Museum's collection. The following year, The Met received a landmark gift from pioneering collectors Charles and Valerie Diker of 91 works of Native American art, including significant holdings of historic California basketry. These two momentous acquisitions inspired the conception of the present exhibition and Bulletin.

Jules Tavernier and the Elem Pomo explores the cross-cultural interactions between Tavernier and the Indigenous Pomo community of Elem at Clear Lake, in Northern California. Investigating Tavernier's adventurous life and career, the exhibition is anchored by the artist's masterwork, which upon its completion was hailed in the San Francisco newspapers as "by far the most remarkable picture ever painted on the Pacific Coast." Commissioned by San Francisco's leading banker, Tiburcio Parrott, the painting celebrates the rich vitality of Elem Pomo culture while also exposing the threat posed by White settlers, including Parrott, who was then operating a toxic mercury mine on the homelands of the Elem Pomo. The exhibition includes other major works by Tavernier, which are shown alongside examples of historic and contemporary Pomo basketry and regalia, revealing the resiliency of the Pomo peoples and highlighting their continued cultural presence.

Our understanding of Tavernier's work has been greatly enhanced by contemporary Indigenous voices and perspectives. The exhibition is presented in collaboration with Elem Pomo cultural leader and regalia maker Robert Joseph Geary, president of the Clearlake Pomo Cultural Preservation Foundation; Sherrie Smith-Ferri, Dry Creek Pomo scholar; and Meyo Marrufo, Eastern Pomo artist and curator. Additional insights into Tavernier's work in the Great Plains and

on Hawaii were provided by Arthur Amiotte, Oglala Lakota artist, historian, and educator, and Healoha Johnston, Curator, Asia Pacific American Women's Cultural History, Smithsonian Asia Pacific American Center.

The exhibition is organized by Elizabeth Kornhauser, Alice Pratt Brown Curator of American Paintings and Sculpture, and Shannon Vittoria, Senior Research Associate, at The Met, in partnership with Christina Hellmich, Curator in Charge, Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Enriched by the art and stories of contemporary Native communities, with a focus on the Elem Indian Colony, the exhibition and *Bulletin* aim to amplify Indigenous voices and histories, drawing connections between settler and Indigenous artists, past and present, in order to develop a more inclusive history of American art.

At The Met, the exhibition is made possible by Jan and Warren Adelson and The Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz Foundation for the Arts, with additional funding from Robin and Julie Graham. The opening celebration for the exhibition is supported by the Friends of the American Wing. For underwriting the related education programs, we thank the Clara Lloyd-Smith Weber Fund and Barry Appleton. The presentation at the Fine Arts Museums is generously supported by the exhibition's Lead Sponsor, Denise Littlefield Sobel. This *Bulletin* is made possible by the William Cullen Bryant Fellows of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, with additional support from The Candace Cartwright Fund and The Isaac Fletcher Fund. The Met's quarterly Bulletin program is supported in part by the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of *Reader's Digest*.

> —мах ноцівім Marina Kellen French Director The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PREFACE

Robert Joseph Geary

VIVIDLY remember the first time I saw Jules Tavernier's Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake, California. A researcher inquiring about the work had contacted a linguist, who then emailed me an image of the painting, as I am one of the few remaining speakers of Xaistnoo (Southeastern Pomo), the language of the Elem Pomo people. I was immediately excited and intrigued by the instant connection to my relatives, to the Xe-xwan (roundhouse), and to the landscape I know so well. Overwhelmed by a feeling of harmony, I sat for hours staring at the painting on my computer screen, absorbing the smallest of details. My first thought was, "Wow! These are my relatives, who can I identify?" Seeing the women dressed in their regalia brought to life not only the beauty and strength of the women of my village, but also, through the intricacies of their dresses and headpieces, their patience and skill. I was filled with pride and nostalgia for this sacred space, whose painted image evoked a powerful sense of the smell of the fire and the sound of the pounding drum. "I am very fortunate," I thought, "to see my relatives in this state." This snapshot in time, which shows my ancestors in performance more than 140 years ago, is very special to me, all the more so because we continue to perform the same ceremonies to this day.

Tavernier's painting depicts the *mfom Xe*, or "people dance," a newer ceremony that was introduced to our community in the post-contact period by a prophet from a neighboring village northeast of Elem. It was decided that the world-renewal process that had been prophesied, and which is the subject of the dance, needed to be practiced immediately because at the time the *oomthimfo*, or "native people," were dying in record numbers from destruction and diseases brought by new settlers. This prophecy also

came with instructions for the *Xe-xwan*—the ceremonial roundhouse—which, along with the *mfom Xe* dance itself, would serve to protect both the people and the land. This dance was the only one that all members of the village, young and old alike, were allowed to partake in and perform together. Prior to this, ceremonies were for adults only, and ceremonial leaders determined when one was strong enough to assume the attending responsibility and sacrifice. The *mfom Xe* thus combined the power and medicine of the young with that of the old, as children and adults of the village danced together to create a power that would ensure our existence.

The women in the painting are wearing cloth dresses decorated with designs called asoon thooni-koo, as envisioned by the village's ab'qo, or "dreamer." As the women danced, they would have alternated their hands and swayed the cloth sash. The men wear ba'qotheth xnoo ("headbands made from the red-shafted flicker") and a kisil ("feathered condor cape") around the waist, and they are shown blowing a bird-bone whistle called mpoo. The singers and audience are likewise clad in decorated shirts and dresses envisioned and made by the ab'qo specifically for this ceremony. Today, we at Elem continue to reside at the location depicted in Tavernier's painting, and we have sustained these and other ceremonial and cultural practices.

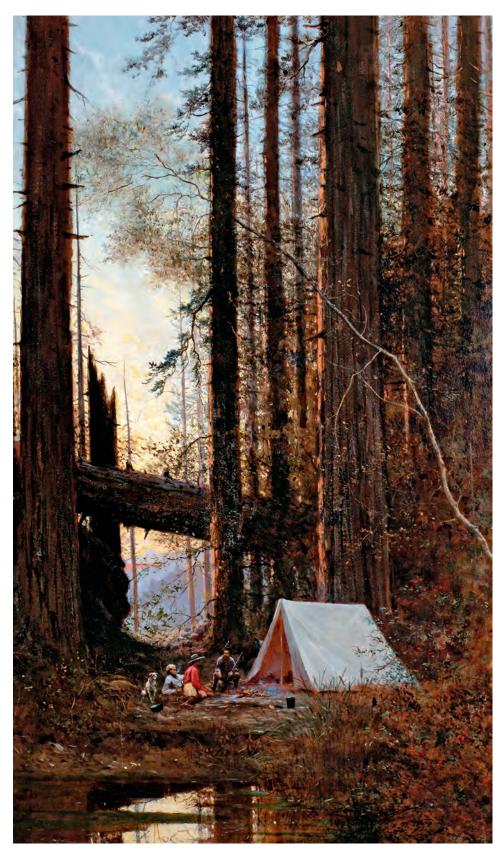
Tavernier's likeness of a ceremonial *Xe-xwan* is impressive in terms of how he was able to capture the grandeur of the building's interior. The specific details of its unique structural features and designs, which were gifted to the *ab'qo*, imbue his painting with a strong sense of realism. The stories from our elders about how we made these structures—knowledge that is passed down from generation to gener-

ation—ring true as you look closely at Tavernier's canvas, such as how my Elem ancestors secured the poles with grapevines. Indeed, the hard work of creating such an underground structure reflects a strong faith in our traditional knowledge and use of our environment. The comfort evident in the faces of the audience can still be seen in the people who attend the ceremony today. The Pomo are world renowned for their basketry, moreover, and Tavernier made sure to illustrate that aspect of our culture in the foreground, where we see a *beki* (burden basket) and a *sek a't* (basket tray).

As a Pomo oomthiwi ("Native man"), I was fortunate to be raised by my grandparents, Ermadine and Herbert Geary. They believed in the old ways and were active in our ceremonies along with my elder aunts and uncles, who took the time to pass down our cultural practices, songs, and language. Together, they gave me knowledge of our history and ceremonies that is now my responsibility to pass on to my children and the next generation. For this reason, I feel it is important to note some of the inconsistencies in Tavernier's painting, in particular to provide a better understanding of the cultural beauty of the people and the place he illustrates. The gold jewelry, hats with feathers, bandannas worn around the head, and vests, for example, were not indicative of my village but, rather, were more prominent among Indigenous communities in the Southwest. The women's dresses, while very vibrant, would originally have been white with designs and trim in yellow, red, or black. Some of these dresses have survived and are held in public collections today. I notice, too, that the placement of the fire is incorrect; it should be directly beneath the smoke hole in the roof, and the dancers would have danced around it. The singers around the center pole should be standing in a straight line behind it, and there would be only one drummer on the foot drum behind them. This would put the singers closer to Tavernier as the dance depicted in the painting unfolded. It is taboo to stand in the doorway when the ceremony is taking place, so the people shown standing or sitting there would have been told by the ceremonial leaders to clear the area so that the ceremony would turn out well and no one would be hurt.

Today, I am one of the ceremonial leaders at Elem. I have been given this role through vision and training from my elders. My responsibility is to ensure the continuity of the ceremonies and the rules that go with them, and to pass these teachings to the next generation of traditional leaders. Four times a year we hold ceremonies in the *Xe-xwan*, where our people gather to celebrate new life in the spring and to provide protection for the people through the harsh winters. While many Native communities have lost their traditional lands, culture, and language with the arrival of new settlers, the dynamic is somewhat different in California, which has the highest Native American population in the United States: 109 federally recognized tribes and about 43 others that have filed for federal recognition, a total of 152 different tribes altogether. Even though the Elem community maintained our ceremonial knowledge, we almost completely lost our language. For the past twenty years, I have worked with the last two fluent speakers of Xaistnoo, the Elem language, to revitalize it among our people. Our priority is to ensure that knowledge of our culture and language extends to younger generations as an essential component of their Elem identity.

I am gratified and honored that Tavernier's Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse is on regular public display at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and that it will also be seen at the de Young Museum, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, when the exhibition travels there this winter. Through this exhibition and publication, I hope to educate the world about the beauty of my people and my village. The Elem Xexwan still exists today, as do the ceremonies and the Elemfo (Elem people), whom Tavernier painted in 1878. In the Elem language: a Jules Tavernierthbuk asoonthib bo'shtotsith ("I am thankful for Jules Tavernier's painting").



1. Jules Tavernier (French, 1844–1889). Around the Campfire (Encampment in the Redwoods), 1875. Oil on canvas, 30×18 in. (76.2 \times 45.7 cm). Collection of Fern Van Sant

JULES TAVERNIER

A French Bohemian in the American West

Elizabeth Kornhauser

N 1876, the expatriate French-born painter Jules Tavernier (1844-1889), then living in San Francisco, received the most important commission of his career from the city's leading banker, Tiburcio Parrott. That painting, Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake, California (see fig. 16), commemorates an extraordinary experience Parrott had shared with his Parisian business associate Baron Edmond de Rothschild. Earlier that year, both men had been privileged to witness a ceremonial dance of the Elem Pomo, an Indigenous community on the southeastern shore of Clear Lake, one hundred miles north of San Francisco. In his masterwork, Tavernier celebrates the rich vitality of Elem Pomo culture but also underscores the existential threat posed by White settlers, including Parrott himself, who was then operating a toxic mercury mine on the Elem Pomo ancestral homelands. The rediscovery of the painting in recent times has inspired this new analysis of Tavernier's career alongside an investigation of the resilience of Pomo communities in the wake of White settlement.

PARIS AND LONDON

Tavernier was born in Paris to a British confectioner, John Tavernier, and his wife, Marie-Louise-Rosalie Woillaume, a French citizen. At the age of seventeen, he entered the Parisian studio of Félix-Joseph Barrias, an academic painter attached to the court of Emperor Napoleon III. Barrias, who notably taught Edgar Degas, was known for his Neoclassical history paintings, following in the school of Jacques Louis David. A significant example of his work in that genre, *The Exiles of Tiberius* (fig. 2), won an award at the

Paris Salon of 1850. Tavernier spent four years in Barrias's atelier (1861–64) perfecting his skills as a draftsman, printmaker, and painter. His later figural works benefited from the life-drawing classes he took there, as glimpsed in Barrias's *Life Class in a Paris Studio* (fig. 3). Tavernier quickly gravitated toward more avant-garde circles, however, traveling to Fontainebleau and embracing the Barbizon style, which promoted plein air painting and the direct observation of nature.



2. Félix-Joseph Barrias (French, 1822–1907). The Exiles of Tiberius, 1850. Oil on canvas, $60\frac{1}{4} \times 168\frac{3}{4}$ in. (153 × 416 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris (2428)

From 1865 to 1870 Tavernier exhibited five works at the Paris Salon and, in so doing, became aware of the appetite in Europe for landscapes of the American West and depictions of Native Americans.² The 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, for example, included many American Western subjects by both European and American artists, but only two American paintings received favorable notice: Albert Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak (1863; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)—which depicts



3. Barrias, *Life Class in a Paris Studio*, 1869. Oil on canvas, $15\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{3}{4}$ in. (40.2 × 35.3 cm). The Cummer Museum of Art and Gardens, Jacksonville, Florida

a Shoshone community as a mere pictorial element, overshadowed by a majestic Western landscape shown as ripe for White settlement—and Frederic Church's Niagara (1857; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), which garnered the sole American medal. The French, by comparison, received thirty medals for works by Ernest Meissonier, Alexandre Cabanel, and Jean-Léon Gérôme, among other leading artists. The American landscape painters, later dubbed the Hudson River school, were, evidently, increasingly seen by many as too conventional or passé. Instead, it was photographs of the American West, such as those of Yosemite Valley by Carleton E. Watkins (see fig. 35), that gained critical recognition in the American section of the fair.4 In the 1869 Salon, when Tavernier exhibited his painting Fantaisie (location unknown), Bierstadt's A Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mt. Rosalie (1866; The Brooklyn Museum) received acclaim.⁵ Perhaps inspired by these and other encounters with images of the American West, within a few years Tavernier would apply his French training to similar scenery and to depictions of Native peoples.

Before he could do so, Tavernier was caught up in the approaching Franco-Prussian War. In November 1867, having made known his opposition to the government of the Second Empire, he was arrested for taking part in a republican gathering in Montmartre. Toward the end of the conflict, Tavernier enrolled in the 84th Battalion of the infantry, dubbed the "Artists' Brigade," and fought in the second Battle of Buzenval, near Paris, where a friend, the painter Henri Regnault (1843-1871), was killed. At the war's close, and with the surrender of Paris to the Prussian army on January 28, 1871, Tavernier took advantage of his father's British nationality and left for London, where he worked as an illustrator and met the engraver and printmaker Allen Measom (1841-1903), who became a close friend, colleague, and companion during his subsequent travels in America.

NEW YORK CITY AND THE WESTERN TERRITORIES

Tavernier and Measom left London together and arrived in New York on August 29, 1871. Tavernier soon found work as an illustrator for The Aldine (a monthly arts magazine) and The New York Graphic (a tabloid newspaper), creating scenes of daily life and views of the American wilderness. Following a sketching trip to Niagara Falls in the summer of 1872, his rendition of the iconic natural wonder appeared on the cover of *The Aldine*, where one writer predicted that Tavernier would "make a broad mark for himself in the history of American art." ⁶ He worked, often in collaboration with Measom, on many other popular illustrations (fig. 4), including contributions to William Cullen Bryant's Picturesque America (2 vols., 1872, 1874), a publication whose aim was "to celebrate the entire continental nation" and help Americans "after the trauma of the Civil War, to construct a national self-image based on reconciliation between North and South and incorporation of the West." 7 In the process, Bryant's influential compendium fueled tourism and westward expansion and also influenced the nascent historic preservation movement.

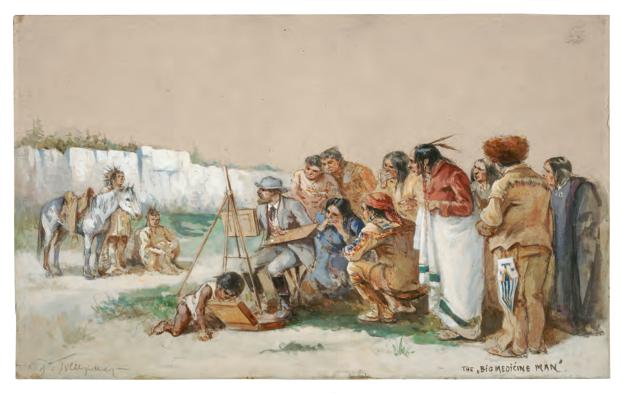


4. Tavernier, Skating in Central Park, published in Harper's Weekly, February 17, 1872. Wood engraving, $13\frac{1}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{8}$ in. $(33.7 \times 51.1 \text{ cm})$

Tavernier's career quickly advanced after his talent was recognized by *Harper's Weekly*, which hired him along with fellow French artist Paul Frenzeny. Seeking to capitalize on the American public's demand for images of the West following the 1869 opening of the Transcontinental Railroad, *Harper's* announced a

partnership of "our artists," who "will tell the story of an extensive tour ... intended to include the most interesting ... regions of the Western and South-Western portions of this country." This high-profile assignment took the pair across the Mississippi and the plains to Wyoming and beyond, eventually landing them in San Francisco. En route, they traveled on horseback, by stagecoach, and, like many artists before them, most notably Albert Bierstadt, via the railroads, which paid them to illustrate their operations in exchange for free passes to enable their journey.

Tavernier filled his sketchbooks with field studies of the conflicts he and Frenzeny witnessed resulting from the encroachment of White settlement and the U.S. government's forced relocation of Indigenous communities from their ancestral lands to reservations. They also sought out direct encounters with Native Americans, as seen in Frenzeny's *The "Big Medicine Man"* (fig. 5), a watercolor painting that depicts Tavernier at work on a portrait of a Native



5. Paul Frenzeny (American, born France, 1840-1902). The "Big Medicine Man," ca. 1873-74. Transparent and opaque watercolor over graphite, $12\frac{1}{2}\times18\frac{5}{8}$ in. (31.8 × 47.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Watercolors and Drawings, 1800-1877 (57.256)



6. Tavernier, Red Cloud's Camp, Nebraska, ca. 1874. Watercolor on paper, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ in. (21.6 \times 33 cm). Collection of Nancy and David Ferreira

American chief, along with his wife and horse. Tavernier wears formal European traveling attire and is shown with his portable easel, palette, and artist's box as he works before a watchful audience on a sketch of (most likely) Plains Indians.

Tavernier parted ways with Frenzeny in May 1874 to begin a month-long journey that would take him to Camp Robinson—a major U.S. military fort in what is now western Nebraska—and from there to the Red Cloud Agency on the Platte River, downstream from Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Established in 1871, the agency issued supplies to Native Americans who had been forced to cede their lands to the U.S. government in 1868. It was named after Chief Red Cloud (1822–1909), leader of the Oglala Lakota Nation, who oversaw dealings with U.S. government officials. His successes as a warrior and statesman in confrontations with the government had distinguished him as one of the most gifted leaders of the

Plains Indians and, as a result, one of the most photographed.

In a rare letter to his mother, written on May 7 from Cheyenne, Tavernier anticipates the opportunities the trip would afford him as an artist but also hints at some of the dangers he might face:

My friend Paul left yesterday for Salt Lake where the Mormons are and from there to San Francisco. I will meet him whenever I return from the tour I am about to go on with Colonel Stanton, the Pay Master ... I will be crossing one of the wildest areas around here, no artist has ever been there since it would be impossible to venture alone in the midst of Indians.... I will meet [Red Cloud], one of the most important Indian chiefs, as well as two or three others, as you see, I will see the real wild life.... I hope if I return in one piece. I will earn a small fortune with my sketches.¹⁰

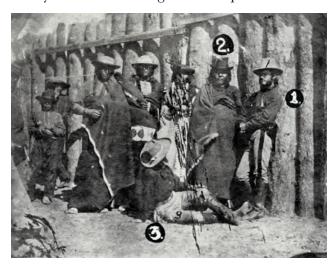
Tavernier reached Camp Robinson under the es-

cort of Major Thaddeus H. Stanton and ninety men from his heavily armed cavalry unit. In a series of drawings and watercolor sketches, he captured the provisional nature of the camp in vivid detail. Red Cloud's Camp, Nebraska (fig. 6), which the artist dedicated to "my little friend Woolworth," referring to the camp's physician, depicts the latter working at a desk in his tent surrounded by shelves of medicine bottles, a buffalo hide, and, at lower left, a human skull. Tavernier's arrival in camp coincided with the annual Sun Dance, a week-long ceremony of the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho for which thousands gathered in jubilant reunion to honor the sun and seek renewal. A tintype taken during the visit by Lieutenant Thomas Wilhelm of the 8th Infantry shows Tavernier seated on the ground in front of standing Native leaders and military officers (fig. 7). By this time the artist had abandoned his European attire for that of a frontiersman, including a cowboy hat, fringed rawhide pants, and knee-high boots. At right is Lieutenant William Harding Carter, commander of Camp Robinson, who had secured the rare invitation for the artist, as he noted in a letter: "With considerable difficulty I obtained consent to let Tavernier view the proceedings of the Sun Dance." 11 Tavernier spared no effort in providing Harper's with one of his most successful illustrations, which was engraved by Measom back in New York. The vividly detailed and complex composition (fig. 8), accorded a rare double-page spread in the magazine, shows a massive gathering of tribal members crowded under a constructed lodge encircling the ceremony:

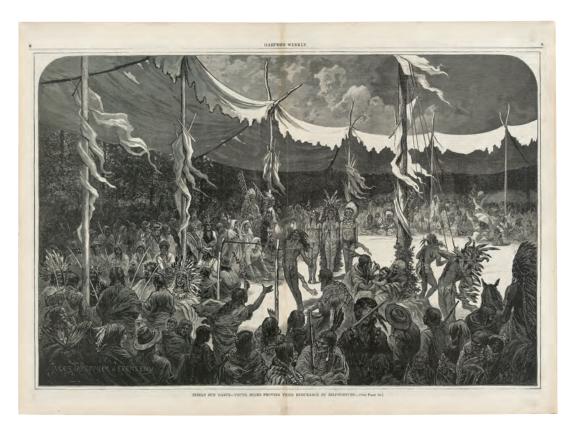
Our illustration shows the ... last day of the ceremonies, when the young warriors of the tribe undergo various self-inflicted tortures for the purpose of proving their powers of endurance—such as piercing the skin and sticking into the wounds pieces of wood to which stout cords running from the central pole are attached.¹²

In an act of endurance, each warrior then jerked against the strips until the pieces of wood (or bone) were released. The young men blew into an eaglebone whistle as the warriors beat drums and sang to encourage them.¹³ Tavernier conflated several other events that took place during the course of the celebrations into this one image, such as the piercing of an infant's ears, "thus sanctifying them with visible, life-long distinction."¹⁴

As Arthur Amiotte, an Oglala Lakota historian and educator, has noted, illustrations of the period like Tavernier's "sensationalized what was perceived to be the 'savagery' of the western tribes," affecting public opinion about how "the 'Indian Problem out West' should be dealt with." 15 In fact, the Sun Dance ceremony was an expression of faith and a solemn occasion. Keenly aware of his rare opportunity to witness this sacred ceremony, Tavernier took pains to convey specific visual information—from the construction of the circular enclosure to the densely packed figural groupings—and in many cases captured accurate likenesses of individuals and their attire. This attention to detail, along with the dramatic dark surround and the bright "center stage," anticipate similar aspects of Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse. On the last day of the ceremony, Carter reported that a "violent storm came up and lightning struck the center pole." The outsiders were warned to leave immediately, as "many of the hostiles alleged that our presence ... had



7. Thomas Wilhelm (American, 1839–1922). Jules Tavernier with Sioux Chiefs and Military Officers, June 1874. Tintype. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.



8. After Tavernier, *Indian Sun Dance—Young Bucks Proving Their Endurance by Self-Torture*, published in *Harper's Weekly*, January 2, 1875. Wood engraving, 13⁵/₈ × 20¹/₄ in. (34.6 × 57.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser, 2020 (2020.369.4)

caused the Supreme Being to register his disapproval by sending lightning." ¹⁶

Tavernier retained a fascination with Native Americans for the remainder of his relatively short career, eventually making more than thirty paintings of Indigenous peoples, 17 and in many of them he directly addressed intercultural encounters between Native Americans and White settlers. In A Disputed Passage (In the Days of '46) (fig. 9), he observed the U.S. centennial of 1876 with a scene from the Gold Rush, which had drawn large numbers of White settlers to the region and greatly disrupted, in violent and devastating ways, the lives of Native Californians. The narrow vertical format enhances the drama of the scene, which shows a wagon train making its way through a narrow gorge in the mountains as armed Native Americans hide in the foreground. One of Tavernier's grandest depictions of Native Americans, Gathering of the Clans, also known as Lakota Encampment

(fig. 10), was based on his firsthand experience of the events leading up to the Sun Dance ritual he had witnessed in June 1874 (it was painted several years later, after he had established himself in San Francisco). Consulting his field sketches and collection of Native American attire, Tavernier set the scene with a background looking east toward the Crow Buttes, Nebraska, bathed in sunlight. 18 As participants arrive in a seemingly endless stream, we can see within the encampment in the right foreground what may represent Red Cloud's tent, marked by a chief's headdress and shield hanging on a pole. The man seated next to the open tepee, shown wearing three feathers, may be Red Cloud himself. Hanging meat and white bags of flour from the agency are stacked in front of the temporary structure, at right. The figure addressing the group of women at left was the Oglala lieutenant headman Sitting Bull of the Southern Lakota (not the more famous Sitting Bull of Little Bighorn). Although



9. Tavernier, A Disputed Passage (In the Days of $^{\prime}46$), 1876. Oil on canvas, 50×24 in. (127 \times 61 cm). Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa (0136.1223)

the large canvas remained unfinished, it was soon purchased by the French banker Henri Barrhoilet, who accepted the artist's (ultimately unfulfilled) promise to complete it.¹⁹

SAN FRANCISCO AND MONTEREY

In 1874, following his visit to Camp Robinson, Tavernier continued west by Union Pacific train to San Francisco, where he arrived in July with his collection of Native American objects-including buffalo robes, beaded moccasins, and his own buckskin suit—which he intended to use not only as aides-mémoire for future paintings but also to establish "authenticity" in his studio for prospective patrons.²⁰ He was quickly welcomed, along with Frenzeny, by the city's arts community and its large colony of French expatriates. Tavernier did not expect to stay long, having laid plans to travel to Japan and then back to Europe to be with his mother by Christmas.²¹ But his ambitions changed after he discovered that he and Frenzeny had become nationally recognized through the popularity of his engravings of the Western frontier in Harper's Weekly (between them they had produced some one hundred sketches). 22 The pair gained further local renown after participating in flights over San Francisco in a hot-air balloon commanded by the French-born Étienne Buisley. On their initial ascent, on September 9, 1874, they rose just twenty feet before descending rapidly and crashing on a roof near Mission Street. A second trip on October 4 proved more successful and was captured by Tavernier in A Balloon in Mid-Air (fig. 11), which he exhibited at Roo's Beaux-Arts Gallery to great acclaim. One critic compared Tavernier's "painting of the cumuli" to "the cloud studies of [John] Ruskin."23

Both artists were admitted to the Bohemian Club of San Francisco, a group founded in 1872 that exalted the tradition of unconventional lifestyles that had first emerged in France in the early nineteenth century. Local poet Dan O'Connell, a charter member of the club, turned to the words of the early French poet Louis-Henri Merger, who had launched the concept of bohemianism, to describe the ideal San Francisco bohemian as "a man of genius who refused to cramp his life in the Chinese shoe of conventionality, who loved art more than filthy lucre ... who lived generously,



10. Tavernier, Gathering of the Clans (Lakota Encampment), ca. 1876. Oil on canvas, 41×69 in. (104.1 \times 175.3 cm). Oakland Museum of California, The Oakland Museum of California Kahn Collection



11. Tavernier, A Balloon in Mid-Air, 1875. Oil on canvas, 30 × 50 in. (76.2 × 127 cm). Private collection

gayly, free from care, and as far from the sordid, scheming world of respectability as the south pole is from the north." ²⁴ With his love of social gatherings, heavy drinking, and avoidance of creditors, Tavernier fit the definition to perfection. ²⁵ The club's earliest members were journalists and artists, but soon enough, in order to finance their ambitions, the group began admitting industrialists and businessmen.

Tavernier later painted a dazzling pastel, Cremation of Care (fig. 12), that portrays a signature club ritual inaugurated in 1881 at the Bohemian Grove, the club's Russian River campground. More hijinks than spiritual gathering, the "cremation" involved spectators assembling around a bonfire to burn an effigy in a coffin at the foot of an owl statue, symbolizing the end of all worldly concerns.²⁶ Tavernier adopted a vertical format to capture the enormous height of the surrounding redwoods and the dramatic illumination coming from the lanterns, fire, and the moon above. He was likely trained during his student years in Paris in the pastel technique, which he is credited with introducing to the West Coast. 27 Here he mixed mica powder into the pastel to enhance the lighting effects.²⁸ The artist's embrace of this distinctive vertical format for his landscapes of the redwood forests, so closely identified with California, resulted in a series of successful paintings, including Around the Campfire (Encampment in the Redwoods) (fig. 1), which shows Tavernier celebrating his bohemianism by camping among the redwoods with Frenzeny and others as well as their faithful dog, Judy, who had accompanied them across the West.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Tavernier evinced only a passing interest in painting the natural splendors of Yosemite Valley. Instead, the strong influence of France's Barbizon school on his early career, particularly his experiences painting in the artist colonies scattered around the eponymous French village, drew him to California's Monterey Peninsula, where his sustained presence attracted many other artists (it was known as a "veritable Fontainebleau," in fact, referring to the famous forest near Barbizon).



12. Tavernier, *Cremation of Care*, 1881. Pastel and mica powder on paper, $40\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{3}{8}$ in. (102.9 × 61.9 cm). Private collection

Tavernier is considered one of the founders of the Monterey Peninsula Artist Colony, ²⁹ and by 1876 his studio had become a gathering place, lauded by fellow Bohemian Club member Charles Warren Stoddard as "the headquarters of the idle and the hungry ... decked with Indian trophies and the bleached bones of sea birds and land beasts, and lined with studies in all colors under heaven. Here was the oft-lighted peace-pipe; and Orient rugs and wolf-skins." ³⁰ Although depictions of Native peoples remained the artist's primary interest during this period, as seen in *Indian Village at Dawn* (fig. 13), he also painted Orientalist decorative panels as well as other subjects,



13. Tavernier, Indian Village at Dawn, ca. 1875 or 1880–84. Oil on canvas, $24 \times 33\%$ in. (61 × 86 cm). Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa (0136.1222)



14. Tavernier, Artist's Reverie, Dreams at Twilight, 1876. Oil on canvas, 24×50 in. $(61 \times 127 \text{ cm})$. Collection of Dr. Oscar and Gertrude Lemer, on long-term loan to the State of California Capitol Museum, Sacramento

including the enigmatic and visionary self-portrait Artist's Reverie, Dreams at Twilight (fig. 14), which captures the eerie quality of the Monterey landscape and the Pacific Ocean beyond. Overhead is a dra-

matic sunset: an orange-streaked, cloud-filled sky said to resemble an American flag, perhaps in honor of the centennial year when it was painted. The artist seen in the painting has turned from his plein-air oil



15. Jules Tavernier, ca. 1877. Collection of Terry and Paula Trotter, California

study to contemplate a female muse, who coalesces in the smoke from his campfire, as a bottle of champagne stands at the ready.³¹ Other anthropomorphic forms, including several Native figures, animate the surrounding landscape of trees, rocks, and sky, perhaps representations of people and events from the artist's adventurous life but also reminders of his own mortality.³²

DANCE IN A SUBTERRANEAN ROUND-HOUSE AT CLEAR LAKE, CALIFORNIA

In the spring of 1876, Tavernier (fig. 15) received a commission that would have challenged any artist of the day. The assignment came from San Francisco's leading banker, Mexican-born Tiburcio Parrott y Ochoa (1840–1894), a prominent patron of Tavernier's (and other California artists) who had already acquired A Disputed Passage (In the Days of '46) (see fig. 9) and Spring of the Hunter (1876; Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa). Along with his father, John Parrott, one of the wealthiest businessmen in the state, Tiburcio had purchased the defunct California Borax Company at Clear Lake in 1873, forming the new Sulphur

Bank Quicksilver Mining Company. Their success in extracting cinnabar ore (the most common source for the mercury used in mining operations) was legendary, but it came at the cost of the lives of their immigrant Chinese laborers, who suffered from the high temperatures underground and from mercury poisoning.³³ The mine's lands covered areas on the eastern shore of Clear Lake, which, along with nearby Rattlesnake Island, had been inhabited by the Elem Pomo for centuries. Although the Parrott mine largely ceased to operate by 1883, for decades after it continued to pollute the lake's waters and shoreline along with the flora and fauna essential to the Elem Pomo's livelihood and culture. Not until 1990 did the Environmental Protection Agency begin to study the extent of the pollution, declaring it a Superfund site. The clean-up is still in process.³⁴

Ironically, it was the success of the mining business that led to the commission of Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse (fig. 16). In the hopes of supplying them with mercury, Parrott had contacted the Rothschild family in France, whose global business empire included silver- and gold-mining ventures.³⁵ On November 11, 1875, Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845-1934) arrived in San Francisco, where there had been a Rothschild headquarters since the days of the Gold Rush, to meet with Parrott. Like many other members of the Rothschild family, the baron was an avid art collector, and he would later be known for his support of Zionism. He was accompanied to San Francisco by an entourage of French associates, including Comte Gabriel Louis de Turenne d'Aynac (1843-1907), a French military officer and seasoned traveler. Turenne's detailed journal of his trip with Rothschild, Quatorze mois dans l'Amérique du Nord (1875-1876), provides a vivid account of their time together in America. Of particular interest is his

^{16 (}overleaf). Tavernier, Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake, California, 1878. Oil on canvas, 48 × 72½ in. (121.9 × 183.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Marguerite and Frank A. Cosgrove Jr. Fund, 2016 (2016.135)





description of a twelve-hour trip with Parrott north from San Francisco, on which they toured the Sulphur Bank mine and then encountered the nearby Elem Pomo community at Clear Lake. During their mine tour, Turenne noted that "Chinese people are single-handedly carrying out ore extraction," and he admired the mountainous scenery around Clear Lake, comparing it "to what Switzerland can best offer." Turenne's journal entries also contain a detailed description of the dance they witnessed, which was performed in the Sulphur Bank roundhouse, built three years earlier:

About one mile from Sulphur Bank, on the banks of Clear Lake, one finds an encampment of Diggers Indians.... I had paid them a visit and learned that there should be a big dance in the evening. Having expressed the desire to attend it, the chief invited us.... At around nine in the evening, we honor the invitation. The dance room is a permanent structure belonging to ten tribes ... a few hundreds of individuals are gathered here. One reaches it through a long subterranean passage. The room is dug around 9 or 10 feet underground. It is circular and its diameter is about 35 to 36 feet.

A big dry wood fire lights up the spectacle in an eerie fashion and an opening in the roof provides an imperfect escape for the smoke that blinds and chokes us. Three warriors in grand costume, that is merely donning a belt and a feather headdress, tattooed in red and blue, are dancing at a strange pace, with leg flutters and incredible jumps; they hit the ground with their feet in step ... in rhythm, blow into wooden tubes five to six inches long, producing similar sounds to those of our reed flutes ... We are witnessing a war dance.

Women sixteen in total, are wearing white dresses, decorated with red tracings at the bottom of the skirt and at the top of the blouse. Their faces bear blue tattoos. Their hair is maintained by strips of ... fur, stuffed with feathers. Their hands on their breast, they swing sometimes on one foot ... to utter cries that are in no way melodious.

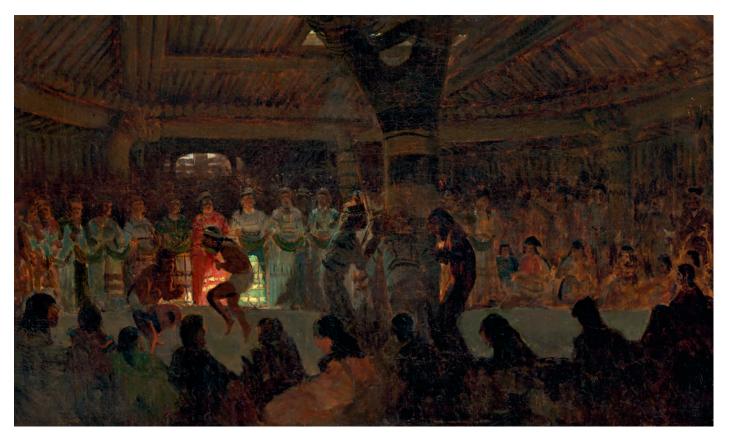
The band comprises ten individuals. One of them carries a clapperboard ... that he hits in rhythm in



17. Samuel Alfred Barrett (American, 1879–1965). *Drum in Front of Dance House*, before 1916.

the palm of his hand ... others jump on hollowed-out tree trunks, producing a muffled sound like that of a drum; others ... join in with their voice. The rest of the tribe, men, women, and children are lined up around the room. There is something truly diabolical about the spectacle, but it is not long before we grow tired of it, and we leave after an hour, after giving the chief a few coins. ³⁶

Although Turenne's description of the roundhouse and most aspects of the ceremony-including the Elem Pomo figures, their attire, and the construction of the roundhouse—is mostly accurate, his account is laced with racist language and misinterpretations informed by his European assumptions about Native Americans as "exotic" or "primitive" peoples. The term "Diggers," for example, was a derogatory stereotype used at the time to refer to all of California's Indigenous peoples.³⁷ The dance itself, known as mfom Xe, or "people dance," was not a call to arms but, rather, a ceremony of resistance intended to protect the community and the land from the devastating ills brought by White settlers, who in this case were actually present in their midst. A second contemporary account of the same dance ceremony in the Elem roundhouse in 1875, by ethnologist Lorenzo Yates, provides more details, identifying the chief as



18. Tavernier, Study for "Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake, California," 1878. Oil on canvas, 14×24 in. (35.6 \times 61 cm). Dentzel Family Collection

"Kal-to-wee or Captain Luis." ³⁸ These descriptions, combined with period photographs of the Sulphur Bank roundhouse (fig. 17), have helped to verify the accuracy of many aspects of Tavernier's painting.

In May 1876, Tavernier—who likely did not witness the ceremony along with Parrott, Rothschild, and Turenne—traveled north to meet with Parrott at the banker's home near Clear Lake to discuss the commission, for which he would be paid the substantial sum of three thousand dollars. Tavernier no doubt understood that his painting would be entering one of the most important art collections in Europe; Rothschild's holdings included works by the Old Masters, most notably Rembrandt, as well as European decorative arts. He would also have recognized that the subject matter would be of great interest to European audiences.

Tavernier devoted two years to the commission, which was first mentioned in the San Francisco press in November 1876 and continued to be reported on

as work progressed.³⁹ Compelled by his French training to execute preliminary drawings and oil sketches, he made numerous return trips to Clear Lake to study the architecture of the roundhouse and to witness a dance ceremony firsthand. He was also determined to make studies of members of the Elem Pomo community, as recounted in a San Francisco newspaper: "The sketches for each figure were taken from life, in order that the physiognomies of this fast dying-out race and their peculiarities of costume might be faithfully preserved." 40 The clothing and regalia, musical instruments, and baskets and blankets visible in the painting are all carefully and, for the most part, accurately rendered. In addition to these studies, Tavernier may also have obtained photographs of individual objects as aides-mémoire, particularly given that he was a colleague and friend of the San Francisco photographers Carleton E. Watkins and Eadweard Muybridge.

Immersed within Tavernier's grand composition

of the dark underground space, the viewer effectively becomes a witness to the dance, which is attended by more than a hundred people. Only one of the dozens of preparatory oils Tavernier executed has come to light: a studio study for the overall composition that establishes the interior scene and the positions of the figures (fig. 18). Evidence of extensive underdrawing in the study reveals some of the artist's thought processes as he refined the composition. In the finished work, a technical tour de force, Tavernier finessed the lighting effects by expanding the opening in the roof and by adding a pit fire on the ground at right. A descending shaft at left, which serves as the entrance to the roundhouse, allows additional light to enter; looking out of it to the south, we can glimpse a sunlit mountain range. Tavernier also expanded the semicircle of figures and the crowded foreground. At center is a large upright tree trunk stripped of its bark and painted with red, black, dark blue-green, and white stripes. At the top of the tree, two truncated branches support a rectangular opening in the ceiling, allowing smoke to evacuate. In reality, smoke from the fire would have filled the roundhouse, but the artist chose to eliminate the haze and depict instead a clear atmosphere. Every detail is thus in focus, and one can see into every corner of the space.

Ultraviolet light and infrared reflectography examination conducted by Dorothy Mahon, conservator at The Met, indicates that Tavernier painted with a heavily loaded brush and made additions to the canvas over a lengthy period of time. As he built up the composition, he painted some figures over others, such as the two male dancers at center, who were added on top of the row of female dancers. There is also evidence of other important changes Tavernier made, from moving the opening in the roof from the left and painting over a large pole there to shifting the positions of some figures. While there is no evidence of an underlying grid system, visible sketch lines in black oil paint were likely used to mark the placement of figures, a process reflecting his French academic training.



19. William Ralganal Benson (Eastern Pomo, 1862–1937). Ear sticks, ca. 1910. Blue heron leg bones, dogbane string, willow shoot foundation for three-rod coiled basketry discs, sedge root weft, feathers (acorn woodpecker and California valley quail topknots), clamshell disc beads and tubular hinge beads, magnesite tubular beads, and abalone pendants, L. 7¾ in. (19.5 cm), Diam. of discs 25% in. (6.5 cm). Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, Ukiah, California

Tavernier honored the matriarchal nature of Elem Pomo culture by highlighting the prominent line of women who surround the young male dancers. Ranging in age, they are dressed in elaborate regalia, including fur and feathered headdresses, abalone and clamshell necklaces, and ear sticks, items known from similar extant examples from nearby Dry Creek Rancheria and by the artist William Benson, respectively (fig. 19). Their long, colorful dresses—which as Robert Geary notes in his preface would actually have been white with red designs—were intended to move along with their sashes as they danced and sang. The

two male dancers, cast in shadow, wear red flickerfeather headbands and blow through double dance whistles. At left, four adult musicians and dancers surround the central pole, illuminated by the light from the fire and from the opening in the roof.

Among the spectators behind the Elem Pomo women dancers are three White men at right, including Parrott, in the middle, and Rothschild, to his left (fig. 21). Further to the left is a second group of White men; at left is Turenne, who appears to be holding a pen in his left hand, which suggests that Tavernier may have known of Turenne's journal account of the ceremony. Several Elem Pomo standing nearby turn their heads to look at the White men with apparent disdain, perhaps acknowledging the tension between the community and the observers (fig. 22). Tavernier may have executed oil study portraits of these men, as indicated by their carefully rendered features. The foreground is likewise filled with spectators who were individualized by the artist.

On the ground at left is a large carrying or "burden" basket (fig. 20) and, at right, a basket tray (fig. 23), which would likely not have been present inside the roundhouse but rather would have been used above ground in the presentation of food. ⁴¹ Tavernier clearly wished to pay tribute to basketry as the art form for which Pomo peoples are best known (the roundhouse itself resembles a round basket form). He also included many woven blankets in the corners of the roundhouse, although his legible details avoid the overfinished quality of works by his mentor, Barrias, evidence of a subtlety that was appreciated by one contemporary critic:

This light strikes boldly on the vivid coloring in the dresses ... and on the beads and metal ornaments of the men, and nothing can be finer than the way in which it is handled. All the details of the picture are marvelous and are yet so broadly treated that there is a perfect avoidance of the wearisome minut[iae] which sometimes proves so tiresome in inferior work.... The drawing of the figures is masterly, and the whole picture is beyond ordinary praise. 42



20. Pomo artist (Northern California). Diagonally twined carrying basket, ca. 1900. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root warp, redbud shoot weft, coiled-on oak rim rod and, split grapevine rim wrap, Diam. 18 in. (45.7 cm), L. 20 in. (50.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Charles and Valerie Diker, 2016 (2016.738.1)

One could argue that Tavernier succeeded in honoring the Elem Pomo by portraying the cultural survival of a sacred ceremony with great care and respect. Tavernier presented them as the primary subject of his painting, at one with their environment, and not simply as elements in a larger landscape, thereby distinguishing himself from other artists of the time. Contemporary reviews generally commended Tavernier's conception and execution, but many used derogatory language and promulgated inaccurate interpretations of the painting, erroneously calling the roundhouse an "Indian Sweat House," for example. Also reported was the great disappointment of the San Francisco arts community, which never had an opportunity to see the finished painting. Parrott insisted that it remain undercover before shipping it to the Paris art dealer Adolphe Goupil, where it received a new frame before entering Rothschild's collection. 43 The painting remained in the Rothschild family, largely unknown—and long thought to be lost, in fact—until its acquisition by The Met in 2016.



Fig. 21. Detail of Parrott and Rothschild in Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse (fig. 16)



Fig. 22. Detail of Turenne and surrounding figures in Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse (fig. 16)



23. Pomo artist (Habematolel Pomo of Upper Lake). Single-rod coiled basket tray, ca. 1905. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, and dyed bulrush root, Diam. 15½ in. (39.4 cm), H. 3½ in. (8.9 cm). Brooklyn Museum; Museum Expedition 1906, Museum Collection Fund (06.331.7983)

HAWAII

Plagued by unpaid bills stemming from his bohemian lifestyle in San Francisco, Tavernier was forced to flee his creditors and seek out new subjects. He left for Hawaii, arriving in Honolulu on December 23, 1884, and declared it "an artist's paradise." 44 Tavernier succeeded in launching what came to be called the Volcano school, painting the island's active volcanoes and emphasizing the destructive and magnificent forces of nature. His sublime nocturnal views of fiery and sulfuric pools of molten lava, such as The Volcano at Night (fig. 25), which shows Kilauea crater surrounded by dark crags and rock, became a favorite subject. He also painted landscapes of the islands and its Native peoples, as seen in Sunrise over Diamond Head (fig. 26) and Wailuku Falls, Hilo (fig. 24), while continuing to reprise Native American subject matter (fig. 27). By November 1886, Tavernier had completed a ninety-foot-long panorama of Kilauea, which was exhibited to great acclaim and went on tour to San Francisco and beyond. 45 The painting was accompanied by an elaborate brochure containing Tavernier's description of the volcano and his

biography. ⁴⁶ Despite the artist's newfound success, his creditors, at the behest of his wife, auctioned off the contents of his San Francisco studio on March 9, 1886, to cover his debts. The sale included dozens of oil studies, unfinished paintings, and the collections of Indigenous items and other objects he had assembled. ⁴⁷

On May 18, 1889, Tavernier died of a heart attack in his Honolulu studio at the age of forty-five, brought on by excessive drinking. Several months later, the Bohemian Club sent a granite headstone to honor their distinguished member. While many memorial tributes celebrated the artist's adventurous life and artistic accomplishments, he was soon forgotten, and his finest work, Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse, which honors the resiliency of the Elem Pomo peoples, would not come to light for more than a century. Having inspired this fresh look at the artist's remarkable career, Tavernier's masterwork now benefits from the insights of present-day Indigenous scholars such as Robert Geary, who have helped revive the significance of this extraordinary painting for contemporary audiences.



24. Tavernier, Wailuku Falls, Hilo, 1886. Pastel on paper, $23\frac{1}{2} \times 35$ in. (59.7 × 88.9 cm). Honolulu Museum of Art; Gift of Anna Rice Cooke, 1994 (12555)



25. Tavernier, *The Volcano at Night*, 1885–89. Oil on canvas, $19\frac{3}{4} \times 36\frac{5}{8}$ in. (50.2 × 93 cm). Honolulu Museum of Art; Gift of Mrs. E. Faxon Bishop, 1959 (2562.1)



26. Tavernier, Sunrise over Diamond Head, 1888. Oil on canvas, $11\% \times 17\%$ in. (29.9 \times 45.1 cm). Honolulu Museum of Art; Gift of Frances Damon Holt in memory of John Dominis Holt, 2001 (9500.1)



27. Tavernier, A Sunset in Wyoming, 1889. Oil on canvas, 20×36 in. $(50.8 \times 91.4 \text{ cm})$. Private collection of Gerald Peters Gallery, Santa Fe



28. Pomo artist (Lake County, California). Fully feathered three-rod coiled plate-form basket, ca. 1905. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, feathers (red-winged blackbird, western meadowlark, mallard, and California valley quail topknots), clamshell disc beads, red abalone pendants, and cotton string, Diam. 12 in. (30.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Ralph T. Coe Collection, Gift of Ralph T. Coe Foundation for the Arts, 2011 (2011.154.131)

CULTURAL RESILIENCY, COLONIAL LEGACIES

Pomo Makers, Settler Artists, and the Survival of Indigenous Culture in California

Shannon Vittoria

BOUT 1900, Elem Pomo weaver Ethel Jamison Bogus (ca. 1880-1939) posed alongside her daughter for a photographic portrait (fig. 29). Wearing Euro-American-style clothing, including dresses and scarves, both mother and daughter look directly at the camera in a powerful moment of intercultural exchange. Taken by John Hudson, a White physician turned ethnologist who settled in Ukiah, California, in 1889, the photograph captures many of the ways in which Elem Pomo life was dramatically transformed by the arrival of White settlers seven decades earlier. Bogus, for instance, is seated before a residence constructed of wood slabs: an adaptation of the traditional Elem Pomo home, which prior to settler incursions was woven from tule, a local bulrush plant.

The image also reveals the cultural resiliency of the Elem Pomo. To the left of Bogus is a woven basket, the art form for which the Pomo peoples are best known. Prior to the arrival of White settlers, baskets were essential to every aspect of Pomo life, used for hunting, fishing, gathering, cooking, and storing food; for carrying babies and as toys; as gifts given to celebrate significant life events, such as marriages; as payment to healers; and for spiritual and ceremonial purposes. Yet as Pomo life changed in the wake of White settlement, so, too, did basketmaking practices. Drawing on intergenerational knowledge, basketmakers such as Bogus often adapted long-held forms and tech-

niques to create works for sale to non-Native collectors, an important means by which many weavers supported themselves and kept basketmaking practices alive within their communities. When weaving this fully feathered, coiled basket (fig. 30), Bogus incorporated multicolored mallard, woodpecker, and western meadowlark feathers as well as decorative clamshell disc beads and abalone pendants. The finished work reveals both her intimate knowledge of plant and animal species and her keen awareness of the art market, where small, colorful, and elaborately decorated baskets proved most popular. Bogus's portrait and



29. John Hudson (American, 1857–1936). *Ethel Jamison Bogus and Her Daughter at Sulphur Bank*, ca. 1900. Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, Ukiah, California



30. Ethel Jamison Bogus (Elem Pomo, ca. 1880–1939). Fully feathered three-rod coiled basket, ca. 1900. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, feathers (mallard, woodpecker, and western meadowlark), clamshell disc beads, red abalone pendants, and cotton string, Diam. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley (1-338)

basket are emblematic of a long and enduring history of Indigenous innovation and adaptation, resistance and resilience. In the face of colonial genocide, disease, land theft, forced relocation, environmental degradation, and cultural destruction, the Pomo peoples developed strategies of endurance and survival that persist today.

CONFRONTING CALIFORNIA'S GENOCIDE

In 1542, when Spanish explorers first made landfall in present-day San Diego, an estimated 310,000 Indigenous peoples were living across what is now California. One of the densest and most diverse areas of the so-called New World, the region was home to hundreds of individual, self-governing communities speaking between eighty and ninety different languages.⁴⁸ Spanish exploration and colonization, followed by Mexican occupation, had catastrophic consequences for California's Indigenous peoples, as disease and forced labor dramatically reduced the Native population to roughly 150,000 people by 1846.⁴⁹ This number continued to plummet after the Mexican-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848, when Mexico ceded 520,000 square miles to the United States, including the Indigenous lands in what would soon become the state of California. Under U.S. rule and with the support of both government officials and the press, unthinkable acts of violence were perpetrated against California's Native peoples by American soldiers, militiamen, and vigilantes in a concerted strategy of state-sponsored genocide, from reservation internment and institutionalized starvation to rapes, massacres, and executions aimed at indiscriminately exterminating Indigenous men, women, and children.⁵⁰

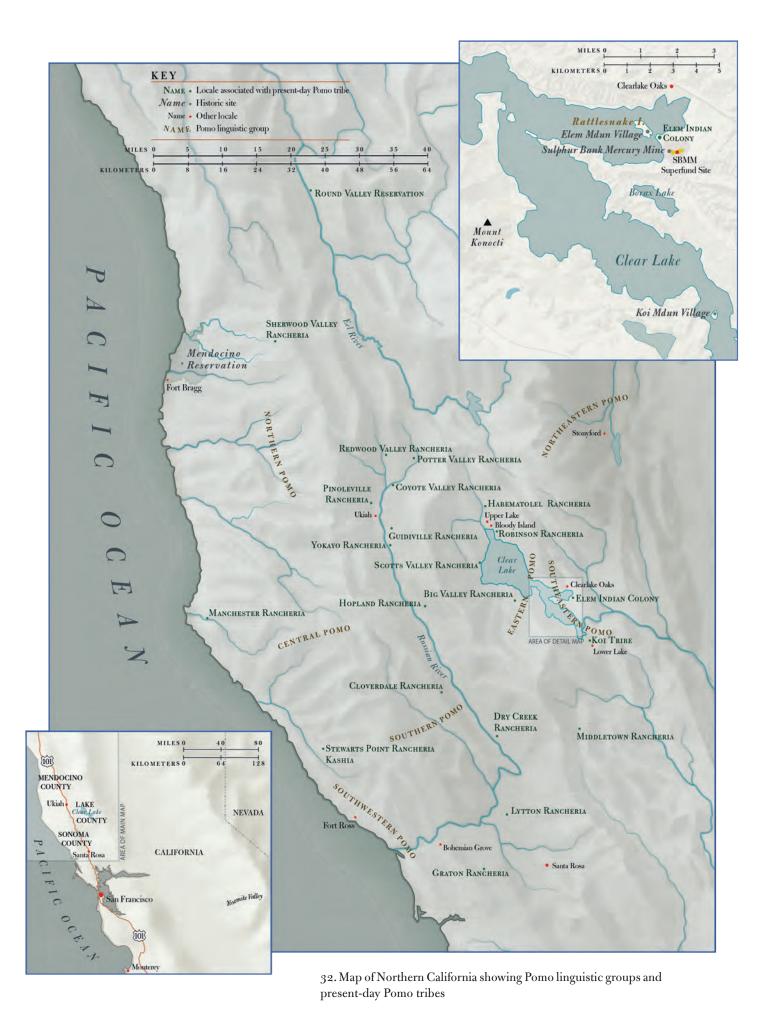
The Pomo peoples of Northern California were among the Indigenous communities that suffered the catastrophic consequences of White settlement, which included land dispossession, cultural imperialism, and a devastating loss of life. Inhabiting the land that now comprises Lake, Mendocino, and Sonoma Counties, the "Pomo," as they were broadly classified by mid-nineteenth-century anthropologists, were not a single unified nation or tribe but instead constituted more than seventy-five small, autonomous village communities speaking seven distinct languages.⁵¹ Each community housed between thirty and two hundred people (often extended family members) who lived on their homelands and sustainably hunted, fished, and tended the region's abundant natural resources. 52 For thousands of years, these communities, like all of California's Indigenous peoples, developed sophisticated systems of harvesting and resource management, practices that were drastically upended by the arrival of White settlers.⁵³

At the time of first contact with colonial intruders, the "Pomo," writes anthropologist Sally McLendon, "did not conceive of themselves as having anything more in common with each other than they had with neighboring groups who spoke totally unrelated languages, such as Yuki, Coast Miwok, or Patwin."54 Nevertheless, in 1908, anthropologist Samuel Barrett organized these communities into seven groups in accordance with their language and geographic location: Southwestern Pomo, Southern Pomo, Central Pomo, Northern Pomo, Northeastern Pomo, Eastern Pomo, and Southeastern Pomo (fig. 32).⁵⁵ Although acknowledging important linguistic differences in the region, these classifications failed to capture the cultural diversity that distinguished individual communities and did not account for intercultural fluidity, movement, or exchange. Today, there are twenty-one federally recognized Pomo tribes, many of which continue to grapple with widespread misconceptions about their homogeneity, despite their cultural diversity and status as independent, sovereign nations.



31. After Alexander Edouart (American, born United Kingdom, 1818–1892). The Headquarters of the Mendocino Reservation. Distribution of Rations to the Indians, 1858. Wood engraving (detail). Yale University Library, New Haven

The earliest sustained contact between the Pomo peoples and White settlers began in 1812, when the Russian-American Company established a fur-trading outpost at Fort Ross, located one hundred miles north of San Francisco on the ancestral lands of the Kashia Pomo. In the 1830s, Russian colonizers began to forcibly kidnap Pomo and Miwok men, women, and children, holding them as captive laborers at Fort Ross and nearby ranches. Violence would unfortunately intensify when the region came under the control of Spain and, later, Mexico, as missionaries and rancheros adopted even more brutal and deadly tactics to coerce Indigenous peoples across California into forced labor. While no Pomo community was left unaffected by these ruthless practices, the Indigenous peoples of present-day Lake County suffered horrific violence at the hands of colonial forces in the mid-nineteenth century. In the 1830s, Mexican settler Salvador Vallejo claimed a large land grant in Lake County, establishing a ranch and forcing members of nearby Eastern Pomo communities to work as vaqueros, or cattle drivers. Vallejo also led an expedition of Mexican troops to Clear Lake, where an



estimated 150 men, women, and children, most likely from Southeastern Pomo communities, were burned to death in a sweathouse after resisting attempts to forcibly relocate to a ranch in Napa Valley. ⁵⁶ Speaking to U.S. Navy Lieutenant Joseph Warren Revere in 1846, Chief Hallowney—a leader of the Pomo community at Hopitse-wah, on the western shore of Clear Lake—described his experiences with Mexican forces, who, he stated, "hunt us down and steal our children from us to enslave them. They are always ready to wage a war of extermination against us ... We desire nothing more than to be allowed to live in peace like our ancestors." ⁵⁷

After California's annexation to the United States, White settlers escalated extermination attempts, perpetrating acts of genocidal violence against the Pomo peoples for decades. In 1847, Vallejo sold his Lake County ranch to American settlers Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone, who continued the ranch's heinous living and working conditions, which included starvation, torture, rape, and the constant threat of forced removal.⁵⁸ Two years later, in 1849, a group of five Pomo leaders rose up against their abusers, murdering Kelsey and Stone. William Ralganal Benson (Eastern Pomo) later discussed the murders and their aftermath with these five leaders, noting that "many of the old men and women died from fear and starvation.... The starvation of the Indians was the cause of the massacre of Stone and Kelsey." 59 When news of the murders reached the 1st Dragoons Regiment of the U.S. Cavalry stationed in Sonoma, a punitive response was planned against "All the Indian tribes upon the lake" in order to "surprise them in their rancherias, and cut them to pieces."60

Over the next five months, and in purported retaliation for the murders of Kelsey and Stone, both the U.S. Army and ad hoc vigilante groups carried out indiscriminate acts of violence against Native Californians, who, they believed, were a homogenous and collectively guilty group. ⁶¹ As a result, White settlers killed an estimated one thousand Indigenous people

in the region who had no connection to the murders. This included the slaughter of upwards of five hundred Pomo peoples on the island of Bo-No-Po-Ti, at the northwestern end of Clear Lake, in what is now known as the Bloody Island Massacre. 62 Although a group of Indigenous men on the island mounted a valiant resistance effort, they were ultimately outnumbered and overpowered by U.S. soldiers. As the Daily Alta California reported: "The troops ... immediately surrounded them and as the Indians raised a shout of defiance and attempted escape, poured in a destructive fire indiscriminately upon men, women and children ... it was the order of extermination fearfully obeyed." 63 Survivors and relatives later told Benson that "it took them four or five days to gather up the dead ... their blood scattered over the ground like water." 64

As state and vigilante violence continued against the Indigenous peoples of California, the U.S. federal government sent three Indian commissioners to the state to negotiate land treaties, which they hoped would mitigate violence by expediting efforts to coerce Native communities onto reservations. In August 1851, U.S. Indian Agent Colonel Redick McKee, accompanied by ethnographer George Gibbs and 122 military auxiliaries, arrived at Clear Lake and held a series of negotiations with various Pomo leaders, including Chief Chi-bec of the How-ku-ma, most likely the chief of the Elem village. 65 Although a treaty was signed and a reservation promised—"the use and possession thereof forever guarantied [sic] to said tribes, [and] their successors"—it was one of the eighteen treaties made between Indian agents and at least 119 California tribes that the U.S. Congress subsequently refused to ratify. 66 Indigenous communities had agreed—often by force or in desperation—to cede their lands in return for reservations and protection as well as for food, tools, clothing, and other necessities. Nevertheless, the U.S. government reneged on all the promises of its Indian agents, stealing Indigenous lands and providing none of the agreed-upon aid or reservations in return.⁶⁷

DEPICTING CALIFORNIA'S GENOCIDE

After taking back the 11,700 square miles of promised reservation lands, the federal government established internment camps, including the Mendocino Reservation, where members of several Indigenous communities throughout Northern California, including Pomo peoples from the Russian River Valley and Clear Lake, were forcibly relocated. Encompassing 25,000 acres along the Pacific Coast, the Mendocino Reservation included the Fort Bragg military post, which opened in 1857. Shortly thereafter, artists and photographers arrived in Mendocino to document the military's operations and the Indigenous peoples they encountered. The resulting images are among the earliest depictions of Pomo peoples made by settler artists, and many were widely distributed in the popular press to the Euro-American audiences of nearby San Francisco and beyond. Such images, along with written descriptions, often presented Native peoples as "primitive" and "other" in an attempt to provide the necessary justification for colonization and genocide.

In 1857, artist Alexander Edouart traveled with the Mendocino Hunting Party to the Mendocino Res-



33. Carleton E. Watkins (American, 1829–1916). *Indian Sweathouse, Mendocino County, California*, 1863. Albumen silver print from a glass negative, 15³/₄ × 20⁵/₈ in. (40 × 52.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gilman Collection, Purchase, The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation Gift, through Joyce and Robert Menschel, 2005 (2005.100.339)

ervation, where he sketched scenes in oil on paper, including its headquarters and a fishing station.⁶⁸ His oil studies were subsequently reproduced as wood engravings in Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine, accompanying a written account of the group's "Reminiscences of Mendocino." 69 The article includes a detailed description of the reservation, which, the author wrote, "is to be considered a great blessing!" 70 The Headquarters of the Mendocino Reservation. Distribution of Rations to the Indians (fig. 31), which serves as the article's frontispiece, visually reinforces the author's attempts to promote the reservation's positive impact on Native communities. Set against a picturesque backdrop of redwood trees, Native peoples gather to receive rations from U.S. Indian agents. In truth, food rations at the reservation were dreadfully inadequate, often causing malnutrition and death. Although intended to publicize the "improvements which the Indians have received," the illustration is a highly sanitized view of institutionalized starvation and the destructive impact of White settlement on Northern California's Indigenous peoples.⁷¹

In addition to describing the reservation's living and working conditions, the article's author noted the presence of "a large mound" with "a mud-plastered roof, covering a round excavation ... On one side is a small hole, for entrance; and another hole in the roof serves for a chimney."72 The structure was most likely a sweathouse and may have been the same one photographed by Carleton E. Watkins when he visited the Mendocino Reservation in 1863 (fig. 33).73 Born in Oneonta, New York, Watkins arrived in San Francisco in 1849, one of the roughly 300,000 settlers who flocked to California following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in January 1848. After teaching himself the new medium of photography, he established a private practice and soon emerged as San Francisco's leading landscape photographer, best known for his sublime views of Yosemite Valley. Images of Native Californians are rare in Watkins's œuvre, but while in Mendocino he photographed



34. Watkins, Basket Making (At the Rancherio, Mendocino County, California), 1863. Stereograph (detail). Yale University Library, New Haven; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Western Americana Stereograph Collection

the Pomo peoples he encountered on the reservation, executing two mammoth plates, including *In*dian Sweathouse, and a series of stereographs, among them Basket Making (At the Rancherio, Mendocino County, California) (fig. 34).

Both photographs reveal the desolate living conditions of the reservation, where residents were forced to construct ceremonial spaces and dwellings using scrap lumber from nearby mills. Yet the photographs also speak to the resiliency of the Pomo peoples, who maintained important aspects of their pre-reservation existence in the face of targeted attempts to destroy their traditional ways of life. Even on the reservation, the sweathouse was an important place for ceremonies, cultural transformation, and healing.⁷⁴ In Basket Making, we see a young woman at work on a twined basket: a technique often employed by Pomo weavers when making functional baskets for everyday use. Behind the weaver sits a young boy, possibly her son, alongside a blanket of recently harvested acorns, a staple food of the Pomo peoples' diet. Although

Watkins's compositions may have been staged or taken against his subjects' will, they nevertheless reveal the important ways in which Native Californians resiliently sustained cultural traditions even during periods of horrific confinement.

Watkins later offered both his mammoth plates and his stereographs for sale in his San Francisco studio, publishing Basket Making as part of his Pacific Coast series. As historian Tyler Green has argued, these stereographs were a form of inexpensive entertainment sold to White audiences and reveal Watkins's "attempt to profit from the whites' subjugation of Indians." 75 Over the next decade, these photographs were widely disseminated in the popular press, reproduced as wood engravings first in the *Illustrated San* Francisco News and later in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, where they accompanied an 1873 article promoting the natural beauty and touristic appeal of Mendocino and Clear Lake. 76 Although the article's author briefly discusses the Indigenous peoples then interned on the nearby Round Valley Reservation, the inclusion of photographs taken a decade earlier on the Mendocino Reservation, including one after Watkins's Indian Sweathouse, speaks to the ways in which settler authors, artists, and publishers contributed to the homogenization and dehumanization of California's Native peoples.

THE LURE OF CALIFORNIA: AMERICA'S "EDEN"

It is tempting to speculate as to whether or not Jules Tavernier, who was then working for *Harper's*, read about Mendocino and Clear Lake prior to arriving in California. Regardless, the article reveals the growing appeal of the landscape north of San Francisco, which it describes as "one of the most interesting and enjoyable spots in California." ⁷⁷ Indeed, California's landscape had been the major attraction for settler artists arriving from Europe and the East Coast in search of wilderness locations unfamiliar to their audiences at home. Despite the density and diversity of the Indigenous population, the vast majority of



35. Watkins, *The Grizzly Giant, Mariposa Grove, Yosemite*, 1861. Albumen silver print from glass negative, 20½ × 16 in. (52.3 × 40.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gilman Collection, Purchase, Gift of The Howard Gilman Foundation, by exchange, 2005 (2005.100.618)

settler landscape paintings depict California's majestic sites as unspoiled and untouched. When Indigenous figures are present, they are often included to provide a sense of scale or as nostalgic emblems of the past.

In the 1850s and 1860s, Yosemite Valley was the primary destination for landscape painters and photographers, who speciously depicted the valley as America's "Eden." Watkins made his first trip to Yosemite in 1861, producing one hundred stereo views and thirty mammoth plates, including *The Grizzly Giant, Mariposa Grove, Yosemite* (fig. 35). His landscapes were subsequently exhibited in New York City, where they introduced Easterners—including painter Albert Bierstadt—to Yosemite's magnificence. ⁷⁸ Arriving in California in 1863, Bierstadt made Yosemite

a subject of his art for nearly three decades, establishing himself as *the* painter of the valley. The widespread popularity of his landscapes created an insatiable appetite for images of Yosemite and led many San Francisco-based artists, including Thomas Hill and Eadweard Muybridge, to paint and photograph there.

When Tavernier arrived in San Francisco in 1874, Yosemite was the landscape most closely associated with California. Although he would soon befriend many of the artists responsible for popularizing the valley in their paintings and photographs, he did not visit Yosemite until 1881. The trip inspired canvases such as Sentinel Rock, Yosemite (fig. 36), in which he, like Watkins, adopted a vertical format to emphasize the height of the redwood trees and grandeur of the granite peaks. Tavernier was often compelled to paint Yosemite out of financial need, begrudgingly exclaiming to his wife that the valley "shows everything and tells nothing! It drives me mad to work on it!" 79 Instead, he sought out lesser-known landscapes in Northern California, turning his attention first to Monterey and later to the region north of San Francisco, painting scenes in San Rafael, Marin, Napa, Sonoma, and Lake County.⁸⁰

Tavernier made his first trip to Clear Lake in May 1876, visiting the home of his patron, Tiburcio Parrott, who had commissioned the artist to paint a largescale work depicting a ceremonial dance of the Elem Pomo (see fig. 16). Tavernier's trip, which was extensively reported in newspapers, may have inspired other area artists to visit Lake County. Later that same summer, Hill arrived at Clear Lake, sketching in oil a picturesque view of the lake's tule-lined shores (fig. 37). Aside from a small boat and tree stumps in the foreground, the landscape is devoid of any human presence. Five years later, Bierstadt executed a similar view celebrating the untouched quality of the lake, with its glassy surface shimmering against the soft glow of an autumn sunset (fig. 38). While both Hill and Bierstadt undoubtedly encountered Pomo communities living around Clear Lake, their paintings fail to acknowledge the presence of Indigenous peoples



36. Tavernier, Sentinel Rock, Yosemite, 1886. Oil on canvas, $38\frac{1}{2} \times 22$ in. (97.8 × 55.9 cm). Collection of Dr. Oscar and Gertrude Lemer

in the region. Instead, both artists highlighted the lake's natural beauty and abundant resources, presenting it as a landscape ripe for White settlement.

By the time Tavernier, Hill, and Bierstadt traveled to Clear Lake in the 1870s and 1880s, the region's Indigenous peoples had endured the violent and disruptive effects of White settlement for more than four decades. In fact, Tavernier's trip to Clear Lake





37. Thomas Hill (American, born United Kingdom, 1829–1908). *Morning, Clear Lake*, ca. 1876. Oil on paper, $15\frac{1}{2}$ × 22 in. (39.4 × 55.9 cm). Private collection

38. Albert Bierstadt (American, born Germany, 1830–1902). *Clear Lake, California*, ca. 1881. Oil on board, 18 × 24 in. (45.7 × 60.9 cm). Private collection

was precipitated by the presence of White settlers, namely Parrott, who owned the Sulphur Bank Mercury Mine located on the homelands of the Elem Pomo. By the late 1840s, mining prospectors had "discovered" Clear Lake's rich mineral resources, and predatory capitalists quickly began to acquire land for the extraction of borax, cinnabar, and quicksilver. ⁸¹ In 1873, Parrott purchased the defunct California Borax Company at Sulphur Bank and resumed mining operations, which would have long-lasting health and environmental consequences for the area's Indigenous peoples.

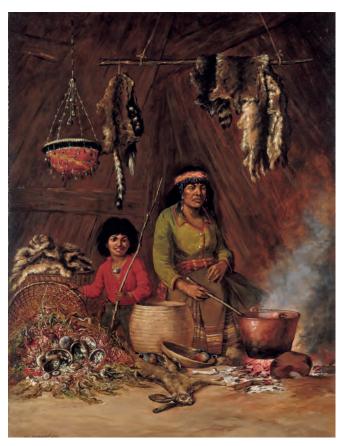
POMO INNOVATION AND ADAPTATION IN THE WAKE OF WHITE SETTLEMENT

Pomo communities, including Elem, were not passive victims in this history. They actively resisted attempts by White settlers to destroy natural resources and their traditional ways of life and developed innovative strategies to maintain political sovereignty and cultural autonomy. In the late 1870s, for instance, Pomo peoples from communities formerly located in Potter Valley, Ukiah Valley, and along the western half of Clear Lake collectively used the wages they earned working for White settlers to buy back portions of their homelands. Between 1878 and 1892, six jointly owned communities, or "rancherias," were established, providing Pomo residents, as art historian Sherrie Smith-Ferri (Dry Creek Pomo/Bodega Miwok) observes, with "a welcome security and freedom-to speak their own languages, to live communally, and to again be able to organize their lives on essentially traditional social lines."82

Other important strategies for cultural survival



39. Romanzo E. Wood (American, 1838–1925). *Indian Camp, Lake County, Ca.*, 1877. Meriam Library, California State University, Chico



40. Henry Raschen (American, born Germany, 1854–1937). *Pomo Interior, Fort Ross, California*, 1884. Oil on canvas, 39¹/₄ × 29¹/₄ in. (99.5 × 74.5 cm). Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles; Museum Purchase (97.117.1)

included the adoption of new traditions, such as religious ceremonies, and the adaptation of older cultural practices, including basketmaking. "It is clear," Smith-Ferri argues, "that Pomoan people also took a hand in shaping their own destiny, adapting to shifting circumstances through a combination of accommodation and resistance to White society."83 For the Elem Pomo, this included the adoption of a new religion in 1872 and the construction of an underground roundhouse at Sulphur Bank for related ceremonies, including the mfom Xe, or "people dance," which was introduced, as Elem Pomo cultural leader Robert Geary notes, "to protect both the people and the land."84 As White settlers continued to dramatically disrupt Elem life by introducing deadly diseases, perpetrating horrific acts of violence, and



41. Pomo artist (Northern California). Diagonally twined feast bowl, ca. 1875. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, and redbud shoot weft, Diam. 19½ in. (33 cm), H. 12 in. (30.5 cm). Alex Schwed Collection

polluting the community's land and water through resource extraction, the *mfom Xe* ceremony was an act of Indigenous resistance to ensure the survival and cultural continuity of the community.

Over the next several decades, Euro-American speculators, artists, and tourists continued to travel to Clear Lake, where they often encountered members of the Elem Pomo community and witnessed various religious and secular ceremonies. As noted above, Tavernier arrived in 1876 to sketch scenes for his commissioned painting. While the artist undoubtedly visited the Sulphur Bank roundhouse and attended a mfom Xe ceremony, its cultural significance—aimed at curtailing the destructive impact of White settlement-was not likely known or understood by Tavernier or Parrott, whose mining enterprises directly threatened the community's well-being. Although his finished painting was never exhibited in San Francisco, it received enthusiastic press coverage, which may have motivated other artists to pursue similar subjects. In 1877, the Santa Cruz-based photographer Romanzo E. Wood visited the Elem village, creating stereoviews of men, women, and children posed in front of tule houses on the shores of Clear Lake with Mount Konocti looming in the distance (fig. 39). In contrast to Tavernier's work, in which both male and female dancers are shown in elaborate regalia reserved for special occasions, Wood's photograph depicts people in their everyday attire, including Euro-American-style shirts, pants, overcoats, brimmed hats, and dresses, revealing the community's adoption of some aspects of White culture.

In the early 1880s, the Munich-trained artist Henry Raschen also began to paint Pomo peoples, although he focused primarily on communities in Mendocino County and near Fort Ross, where he had moved with his family at the age of twelve. ⁸⁵ Many of Raschen's works reveal a familiarity with elements of Pomo life and highlight the changes brought about by White



42. Aurelius O. Carpenter (American, 1836–1919). The Hudsons' Pomo Basket Collection, 1893. Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, Ukiah, California



43. Pomo artist (Potter Valley, Mendocino County, California). Diagonally twined basket, ca. 1860. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, and redbud shoot weft, Diam. 65% in. (16.6 cm), H. 5 in. (12.5 cm). Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, Ukiah, California

settlement. In *Pomo Interior*, *Fort Ross*, *California* (fig. 40), a woman and her son are seated in an interior dwelling made of redwood timber. They are surrounded by several functional baskets, including a large storage basket containing furs and an open plain-twined fishing basket turned on its side to display the abundance of materials gathered from the sea, notably abalone shells and clamshells used in making baskets and regalia. Traditionally woven by men, fishing baskets were little used by the 1880s, as Indigenous peoples' access to fishing and other natural resources for sustenance was increasingly limited by the incursion of White settlers.

At center, Raschen also included a twined storage basket and a small tray as well as a copper pot over the fire. Before contact with White settlers, Pomo women used watertight basket bowls for cooking



44. Carpenter, *Mary Pinto and Captain Charley Pinto*, ca. 1885. Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, Ukiah, California

and feasting, which, although utilitarian in purpose, were nevertheless beautifully crafted and expertly designed.86 This diagonally twined example (fig. 41) features a design characteristic of the weaving technique: a large diagonal pattern, bisected by a smaller secondary pattern, that wraps around the basket.87 Although this creative and complex design does not relate to the basket's function, it was devised by the weaver to enhance its aesthetic beauty, revealing both the technical and artistic mastery of its maker. Following sustained contact with settler culture, Pomo peoples replaced many functional baskets, including cooking and feasting bowls, with readily available manufactured products, such as the metal pot seen in Raschen's work. The introduction of new, commercially made household goods had a profound impact on Pomo basketry over the next several decades, as makers began to produce fewer utilitarian works, focusing instead on pieces made for sale to non-Native collectors.88

POMO BASKETMAKING: "THE VERY ESSENCE OF WHO WE ARE"

Developments in traditional basketmaking are also evident in Raschen's painting, which features a multicolored, fully feathered coiled basket suspended from the ceiling. Although similar in form to earlier cere-



45. Grace Carpenter Hudson (American, 1865-1937). *Mary Pinto with Basket*, 1913. Oil on canvas, $22\frac{1}{4} \times 16$ in. (56.5×40.6 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Connecticut; Anonymous gift

monial baskets, which were typically made with red feathers from the crown of the acorn woodpecker, by the 1880s weavers had introduced multicolored patterns made from the feathers of several different birds, as seen in Raschen's work. Adorned with clamshell disc beads and abalone pendants, such elaborately decorated baskets were highly valued objects of exchange within Pomo communities. 89 These colorful, ornate pieces soon attracted the attention of non-Native collectors, who aptly named them "jewel baskets."90 In examples made for the art market, such as this Lake County basket (fig. 28) decorated with feathers from various local species, weavers developed intricate designs and incorporated precious materials to enhance the value and collectibility of their works.



46. Joseppa Pinto Dick (Yokayo Pomo, ca. 1862–1905). Miniature one-rod coiled boat basket (top) and micro-miniature one-rod coiled basket (bottom), ca. 1900 and 1903. Sedge root foundation and weft and dyed bulrush root weft, $1 \times \frac{5}{8} \times \frac{1}{4}$ in. (2.5 × 1.6 × 0.6 cm); Diam. $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.6 cm), H. $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (0.3 cm). Private collection

Raschen's attention to accuracy in his depictions of the various types of Pomo baskets and weaving techniques speaks to the growing interest in and market for these works among White audiences, as "basket fever" swept the nation over the next four decades. ⁹¹ The market for Pomo baskets was shaped in large part by the collecting and promotional efforts of ethnologist John Hudson. ⁹² A physician by trade, Hudson was fascinated by Pomo culture and, along with his wife, artist Grace Carpenter Hudson, amassed a collection of more than 320 baskets (fig. 42). ⁹³ Raised in Ukiah, Grace Carpenter was the daughter of Aurelius and Helen Carpenter, who were among the



47. Pomo artist (Northern California). Plain-twined storage basket, ca. 1900. Willow shoot foundation and sedge root and redbud shoot weft, Diam. 12 in. (30.5 cm), H. 7 in. (17.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Ralph T. Coe Collection, Gift of Ralph T. Coe Foundation for the Arts, 2011 (2011.154.134)

earliest Euro-American settlers in the region, arriving from Kansas in 1860. Settling first in Potter Valley, the family developed close ties with local Native communities, and Helen instilled in her daughter a deep admiration for Pomo baskets and their makers. The oldest basket in the Hudsons' collection (fig. 43) was passed down to Grace from Helen, who had in turn inherited it from her mother, Amily McCowen. Woven in Potter Valley, this small but exquisite diagonally twined basket was given by its maker to Amily's sister, Donnah Mariah Mewhinney, in 1860, apparently as a thank-you gift for being a kind and generous friend. ⁹⁴ An object of intercultural exchange, this gift basket descended through generations of women in the Hudson family.

Grace Carpenter Hudson dedicated her career to depicting the Pomo peoples and painted several portraits of basket weavers. Her interest in portraiture may have been inspired by her father, who opened a photography studio in Ukiah in 1869. In 1885, Aurelius, who had begun making portraits of Native peoples during the rancheria period, photographed weaver Mary Pinto and her husband, Captain Charley Pinto, in their home on the Yokayo Rancheria, where Mary is seen working on a large, twined basket (fig. 44). When Grace Hudson painted Mary Pinto's portrait nearly thirty years later (fig. 45), she also included a basket: a coiled tray similar in form to an extant example from Upper Lake (see fig. 23) and to the sek a't (basket tray) featured in the foreground of Tavernier's Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse. Mary Pinto was part of an older generation of Pomo weavers who made both twined and coiled baskets for functional, social, and ceremonial purposes. 95 She passed her extraordinary knowledge of basketmaking down to her daughter, Joseppa Pinto Dick, who achieved widespread recognition for her work, notably for her miniature baskets (fig. 46). 96 Unlike larger-scale, functional baskets—such as storage baskets (fig. 47), which often took several months to weave miniature baskets required considerably less time and fewer materials, enabling weavers to increase their



48. Susana Bucknell Graves (ca. 1866–1929) and Penn Graves (ca. 1860–1919) (Habematolel Pomo of Upper Lake). Twined basket and clay balls, 1908. Basket: tule foundation and weft, Diam. 8½ in. (21.6 cm), H. 5 in. (12.7 cm). Balls: baked clay mixed with plant fiber, Diam. of each 1½ in. (3.8 cm). Brooklyn Museum; Museum Expedition 1908, Museum Collection Fund (08.491.8612, 08.491.8581)



49. Pomo artist (probably Elem Pomo). Intermittently feathered three-rod coiled basket, ca. 1895. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, dyed bulrush root weft, feathers (acorn woodpecker and California valley quail top-knots), clamshell disc beads, and cotton string, Diam. 9¾ in. (24.8 cm), H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). Brooklyn Museum; Museum Expedition 1906, Museum Collection Fund (06.331.8134)



50. Pomo artist (Northern California). Three-rod coiled ceremonial washing basket, ca. 1905. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, dyed bulrush root weft, feathers (acorn woodpecker and California valley quail topknots), clamshell disc beads, and cotton string, Diam. 14½ in. (36.8 cm), H. 7 in. (17.8 cm). Brooklyn Museum; Museum Expedition 1907, Museum Collection Fund (07.467.8308)

financial returns. Although many miniatures were made solely for sale to non-Native collectors, these works had their origins in the Pomo practice of making small baskets to hang from the rim of a baby's cradle and as children's toys.

The Hudsons avidly collected Dick's work, and her baskets were among the more than three hundred pieces the couple sold to the Smithsonian Institution in 1899. This sale, which attracted national attention, inspired a new wave of collecting, notably among public institutions. This included the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences (now the Brooklyn Museum), where curator Stewart Culin worked to amass a comprehensive collection of Pomo material culture. Between 1906 and 1908, Culin made three collecting trips to Lake and Mendocino Counties, where he worked with Pomo consultants, including

Penn Graves of Upper Lake and Eastern Pomo artist William Ralganal Benson.⁹⁷ Penn and his wife, Susana Bucknell Graves, sold more than fifty works to Culin, who often commissioned the couple to make specific items to fill collecting gaps, notably older style, functional baskets that by the early twentieth century were rarely used by Pomo peoples. In 1908, for example, the couple collaborated on a commission for a hunting set, including a tule basket, woven by Susana, with clay balls, made by Penn, that hunters in canoes traditionally used in conjunction with a sling to kill marsh hens (fig. 48).98 Culin sought out other long-held forms, including coiled ceremonial baskets (fig. 49), but when acquiring such works he did not always know or understand their intended function and thus turned to his Pomo consultants for answers. In 1907, after purchasing a coiled ceremonial



51. Mary Knight Benson (Yokayo Pomo, 1878–1930). One-rod coiled boat basket, ca. 1905. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, and dyed bulrush root weft, L. 22½ in. (57.2 cm), D. 10 in. (25.4 cm), H. 4½ in. (11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 (1979.206.1157)



52. Mary Knight Benson with some of her baskets, including fig. 51 (middle foreground), n.d. The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California; Grace Nicholson Photograph Collection



53. Clint McKay (Dry Creek Pomo/Wappo/Wintun, born 1965). Miniature three-rod coiled basket, ca. 2010. Willow shoot foundation, sedge root weft, dyed bulrush root weft, and California valley quail topknot feathers, Diam. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm), H. 2 in. (5.1 cm). Courtesy of the artist

washing basket (fig. 50), Culin appealed to Benson for more information; as Benson explained, it "originally formed part of a set of four baskets which were given to a girl at a ceremony ... at her first menstruation.... handed by a mother to her daughter." The largest of the four baskets in the set, this piece would have held water, but there is no evidence that the basket was ever used, and it may have been an aestheticized version of this traditional form made for sale.

Benson's wife, Yokayo weaver Mary Knight Benson, similarly adapted traditional forms when creating baskets for the art market. Like her contemporary, Joseppa Pinto Dick, Mary Knight Benson excelled at both twined and coiled work, which she learned from her mother, Sarah Knight. For nearly thirty years, the Bensons worked in close collaboration with the Pasadena-based dealer Grace Nicholson, who sold and collected their works. Mary Benson's oblong-shaped basket (fig. 51) may have been made for sale to Nicholson, whose archives contain a photograph of the weaver with the work (fig. 52). Frequently referred to as "boat" or "canoe" baskets because of their elongated oval shape, these pieces were often used by Indigenous healers to store items of power and by others to keep items of value, such as strings of clamshell disc beads. 100 Although the shape predates the art market, Benson adapted the form to create a nonfunctional example for sale to White collectors, many of whom intentionally sought out older styles, often out of fear that such forms would, like their makers, disappear.¹⁰¹

The widely held settler ideology that Native peoples were a "vanishing race" shaped the attitudes and actions of Euro-American artists and collectors throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, from Watkins and Tavernier to Hudson and Culin. Whether photographing reservation confinement, painting ceremonial dances, or collecting historical basketry, the overarching aim was to document and preserve the Pomo peoples' culture before it disappeared. These efforts were deeply flawed, however, for not only were these cultures not theirs to "save," they also did not vanish. In fact, even as White settlement violently disrupted the lives of Pomo peoples, communities took action, developing innovative strategies to adapt, challenge, and resist settler attempts to dispossess and acculturate.

These strategies endure today, as Indigenous communities continue to grapple with the legacy of colonization. At Elem, this includes fighting the long-lasting health and environmental impact of the Sulphur Bank Mercury Mine, which in 1990 was designated a Superfund site by the Environmental Protection Agency. 102 Community and cultural leaders, including Robert Geary, actively maintain roundhouse ceremonies, and weavers throughout the region continue to make baskets of great personal and cultural significance. 103 Contemporary weaver Clint McKay, who learned basketmaking from his aunts, Laura Somersal and Mabel McKay, carries on basketry practices, creating pieces such as this miniature coiled basket (fig. 53), which draws upon past traditions to ensure their future survival. "Those baskets and those roots that we use, those are the roots that bind me to my ancestors," McKay states. "People talk about it being an art form and our basketry being beautiful, and we appreciate that, but to us it goes much farther. We don't refer to it as an art form, to us it is the very essence of who we are as Pomo." 104

- 1. The artist's parents were both Protestants of Huguenot descent. For biographical information on Tavernier, see the timeline in "Jules Tavernier and the Elem Pomo," on The Met's website; Joseph Baillio, "Dance in a Subtervanean Roundhouse at Clear Lake": The Masterpiece of the Franco-American Painter Jules Tavernier (1844–1889) (New York: Wildenstein and Co., 2014); Claudine Chalmers et al., Jules Tavernier: Artist & Adventurer, exh. cat. (Portland, Ore.: Pomegranate; Sacramento, Calif.: Crocker Art Museum, 2013); and Claudine Chalmers, Chronicling the West for Harper's: Coast to Coast with Frenzeny & Tavernier in 1873–1874 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).
- 2. In May 1865, Tavernier received positive notice for his painting Une matinée à Romainville in Gonzague Privat, Places aux jeunes!: Causeries critiques sur le Salon de 1865 (Paris: F. Cournol, Libraire-Éditeur, 1865), p. 164. In the same Salon exhibition was Jules-Émile Saintin's (1829–1894) The War Trail: A Scene of Indian Life (1865; Musée de la Crèche, Chaumont, France). Thomas Moran's (1837–1926) A Woodland Temple (1867; The Haggin Museum, Stockton, California) was shown in the 1867 Salon.
- 3. See Carol Troyen, "Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris," *The American Art Journal* 16, no. 4 (Autumn 1984), pp. 2–29.
- 4. François Brunet and Jessica Talley, "Exhibiting the West at the Paris Exposition of 1867: Towards a New American Aesthetic Identity?" *Transatlantica* (2017), no. 2; http://journals.openedition.org/transatlantica/11280.
- 5. Art critic Théophile Gautier noted the grand "size of the canvas ... [and] most grandiose trees ... next to which our European forests are dwarves," in "Salon de 1869: Peinture, XIII," Journal officiel de l'Empire français, no. 174 (June 26, 1869), p. 876. My thanks to Thomas Busciglio-Ritter for this source and its translation.
- 6. "Niagara," *The Aldine* 5, no. 11 (November 1872), p. 213.
- 7. Sue Rainey, Creating Picturesque America: Monument to the Natural and Cultural Landscape (Nashville and London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1994), p. xiii.
- 8. The announcement appears in the issue published on November 8, 1873. See Claudine Chalmers, "The Formative Years, the New World, and *Harper's Weekly*," in Chalmers et al., *Jules Tavernier*, p. 29.
- 9. After crossing the Mississippi in August, for example, Tavernier and Frenzeny were hired by the Missouri, Kansas, & Texas Railway Company to provide promotional scenes of their operations in exchange for free passes aboard their trains. See Diana Seave Greenwald, "The Big Picture: Thomas Moran's The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone and the Development of the American West," Winterthur Portfolio 49, no. 4 (Winter 2015), pp. 175–210, and Chalmers, "The Formative Years, the New World, and Harper's Weekly," p. 31.
- 10. Jules Tavernier to Marie-Louise-Rosalie Wolillome, May 7, 1874, translated from the French by Claudine Chalmers; this letter is in the collection of the artist's great grandniece, Eliane Dumay. Partially quoted in Claudine Chalmers, "Life in the Wilds: Adventures in the American West," in Chalmers et al., *Jules Tavernier*, p. 53.
- 11. Quoted in Major General William Harding Carter, The History of Fort Robinson (Crawford, Neb.: Northwest Nebraska News, [1941]), p. 10; see also Thomas R. Buecker, Fort Robinson and the American West, 1874–1899 (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1999), p. 25; and Robert Taft, Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850–1900 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 111.
- 12. "Indian Sun Dance," *Harper's Weekly* 19, no. 940 (January 2, 1875), p. 10.
 - 13. Ibid.
- 14. Arthur Amiotte, Oglala Lakota artist, historian and educator, unpublished essay, Custer, S.D., 2021, p. 14.

- 15. Ibid., Addendum A.
- 16. Quoted in Claudine Chalmers, "A Year Recording Native American Life in 1874: Jules Tavernier's Artistic Journey," from *Antiques & Fine Art*, Summer–Autumn 2007 issue; https://www.incollect.com/articles/jules-tavernier-at-red-cloud-agency-in-1874.
 - 17. Chalmers, "Life in the Wilds," p. 60.
 - 18. Amiotte, unpubl. essay, p. 8.
 - 19. Chalmers, "Life in the Wilds," pp. 54-55.
- 20. For a discussion of the use of Native American collections as props in paintings, see Elizabeth Hutchinson, The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009), pp. 98–99.
 - 21. Chalmers, "Life in the Wilds," p. 63.
- 22. Chalmers, Chronicling the West for Harper's, p. 198.
- 23. Quoted in Chalmers, "Life in the Wilds," p. 67; San Francisco Call, May 12, 1875, pp. 1-7.
- 24. Robert H. Fletcher, ed., *The Annals of the Bohemian Club*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Hicks-Judd Company, 1808), p. 23.
 - 25. Chalmers, "Life in the Wilds," pp. 62-66.
- 26. G. William Domhoff, *The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats: A Study in Ruling-Class Cohesiveness* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 1–7.
- 27. See "Tavernier Dead! Jules Tavernier, the Famous Artist, Found Dead in His Room—Some Particulars of His Life," *The Daily Bulletin* (Honolulu), May 18, 1889, p. 3, which states that Tavernier "was the first to initiate pastel painting on a large scale in San Francisco, if not in America."
- 28. Use of the pastel medium was rare in America until 1882, when the Society of Painters in Pastel was founded by William Merritt Chase. See Mary L. Sullivan in Doreen Bolger et al., American Pastels in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), p. 6.
- 29. Scott A. Shields, "Monterey's Knight of the Palette," in Chalmers et al., *Jules Tavernier*, pp. 90–119; Claudine Chalmers is completing a book on Tavernier's founding of the Monterey Peninsula Artist Colony.
- 30. Charles Warren Stoddard, In the Footprints of the Padres (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1902), p. 158.
- 31. Around this time Tavernier met Lizzie Fulton, whom he married in San Francisco on February 24, 1877.
- 32. Shields, "Monterey's Knight of the Palette," pp.
- 33. Baillio, "Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake," pp. 20–30; Katherine Manthorne, "Tiburcio Parrott: Pioneer Banker, Vintner & Art Collector of California Mexicana," Fine Art Connoisseur 14 (September–October 2017), pp. 95–99; and Jourdan George Myers, Tiburcio Parrott, 1840–1894: The Man Who Built Miravalle-Falcon Crest (Deer Park, Calif.: Self-published, 1987), p. 69.
- 34. Andrew Scott Johnston, Mercury and the Making of California: Mining, Landscape, and Race, 1840-1890 (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2013), pp. 246-47; and "Sulphur Bank Mercury Mine, Clearlake Oaks, CA," in United States Environmental Protection Agency, accessed March 14, 2021; https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/cursites/csitinfo.cfm?id=0902228.
- 35. Niall Ferguson, "Blood and Silver (1863–1867)," in Niall Ferguson, The House of Rothschild, vol. 2, The World's Banker, 1849–1998 (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), pp. 120–53, 514–15. See also Giles Constable, The Rothschilds and the Gold Rush: Benjamin Davidson and Heinrich Schliemann in California, 1851–52, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 105, pt. 4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society Press, 2015).
 - 36. Comte Louis de Turenne, Quatorze mois dans

- l'Amérique du Nord (1875–1876), 2 vols. (Paris: A. Quantin, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1879), vol. 1, pp. 128, 130–32. My thanks to Joseph Baillio for discovering this important resource and to Thomas Buscillio-Ritter for his translation.
- 37. Allan Lönnberg, "The Digger Indian Stereotype in California," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (Winter 1981), pp. 215–23.
- 38. Lorenzo G. Yates, "Notes on the Indians of Clear Lake," Alameda Independent 1, no. 2 (June 12, 1875), republished in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Seven Early Accounts of the Pomo Indians and Their Culture (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1975), pp. 1-3.
- 39. "Monterey. California's Charming Centennial City," San Francisco Chronicle, November 19, 1876, p. 8. 40. "Art Notes. 'The Indian Dance' by Jules Tavernier," Daily Alta California, June 12, 1878, p. 1.
- 41. My thanks to Robert Geary for pointing out this example of artistic license.
- 42. "An Indian Sweat House," San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser, June 8, 1878, p. 5.
- 43. My thanks to Alfred C. Harrison Jr. for providing me with copies of his archive of San Francisco newspaper articles mentioning Tavernier and Dance in the Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake, which are in the exhibition files for Jules Tavernier and the Elem Pomo, American Wing, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; see also Baillio, "Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake," pp. 44–48.
- 44. Fingal Buchanan, "The Arts," San Franciscan, June 13, 1885, p. 4, quoted in Alfred C. Harrison Jr., "An Artist's Paradise: Jules Tavernier in Hawaii," in Chalmers et al., Jules Tavernier, p. 139.
- 45. Tavernier began an even larger panorama of Kilauea that he was still working on at the time of his death. See Harrison, "An Artist's Paradise," pp. 138–59; David W. Forbes, Encounters with Paradise: Views of Hawaii and Its People, 1778–1941, exh. cat. (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1992), pp. 173–201; and H[uc-] M[azelet] Luquiens, "Jules Tavernier," Honolulu Academy of Arts Annual Bulletin 2 (1940), pp. 25–31.
- 46. Jules Tavernier, The Panorama of Kilauea, The Great Hawaiian Volcano, with a Full Description and Photograph View, Also a Sketch of the Artist Jules Tavernier (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Publishing Company, 1886)
- 47. "Special Sale of Pictures," *Daily Bulletin* (San Francisco), October 17, 1887.
- 48. "Languages of California," in Survey of California and Other Indian Languages: California Language Archive (Berkeley: Department of Linguistics, University of California), accessed January 5, 2021; https://cla.berkeley.edu/california-languages.php.
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- 51. Sally McLendon and Robert L. Oswalt, "Pomo: Introduction," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 8, California (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), p. 274; Sally McLendon, "Collecting Pomoan Baskets, 1889–1939," Museum Anthropology 17, no. 2 (June 1993), p. 49; and Victoria Patterson, "Change and Continuity: Transformations of Pomo Life," Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 40, no. 1 (1998), p. 5.
 - 52. Patterson, "Change and Continuity," pp. 5-6.

- 53. M. Kat Anderson, Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 1-6.
- 54. McLendon, "Collecting Pomoan Baskets, 1889-1939," p. 49.
- 55. Ibid.; and McLendon and Oswalt, "Pomo: Introduction," pp. 274-76.
- 56. Sally McLendon and Michael J. Lowy, "Eastern Pomo and Southeastern Pomo" in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 8, California, pp. 318–19; K. C. Patrick, The Pomo of Lake County (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), p. 15; and Madley, An American Genecide, p. 40.
- 57. Chief Hallowney, quoted in Joseph Warren Revere, A Tour of Duty in California; Including a Description of the Gold Region: and an Account of the Voyage around Cape Horn; with Notices of Lower California, the Gulf and Pacific Coasts, and the Principal Events Attending the Conquest of the Californias (New York: C. S. Francis & Co., 1849), pp. 132–33.
 - 58. Madley, An American Genocide, p. 107.
- 59. William [Ralganal] Benson, "Blood Scattered like Water," in Peter Nabokov, ed., Native American Testimony: An Anthology of Indian and White Relations, First Encounter to Dispossession (1978; New York: Harper & Row, 1979), p. 127.
- 60. First Lieutenant John W. Davidson, quoted in Madley, An American Genocide, p. 119. Davidson used the Spanish word "rancheria" to refer to small Native settlements. The term was later adopted by Pomo communities, when, in 1878, they began buying back portions of their land to establish independent communities.
- 61. Ibid.
- 62. Varying accounts of the Bloody Island Massacre estimate the number killed to be between one hundred and eight hundred people. For an overview of both Anglo-American and Pomo accounts of the massacre, see ibid., pp. 127–33.
- 63. "Horrible Slaughter of Indians," *Daily Alta California*, May 28, 1850, p. 2.
- 64. Benson, "Blood Scattered like Water," pp. 131-32. 65. McLendon and Oswalt, "Pomo: Introduction," p. 287; and Robert F. Heizer, The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 between the California Indians and the United States Government (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1972), pp. 81-88. In 1853, George Gibbs's travel journal, which includes a description of his time at Clear Lake, was published in a volume of various reports collected by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. See George Gibbs, "Journal of the Expedition of Colonel Redick M'Kee, United States Indian Agent, through North-western California, Performed in the Summer and Fall of 1851," in Henry R. Schoolcraft, [ed.], Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs ... Part III (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1853), pp. 99-177, especially pp. 106-13 on his time at Clear Lake. Gibbs also sketched the upper shores of Clear Lake on August 19, 1851. His drawing is reproduced in David I. Bushnell Jr., Drawings by George Gibbs in the Far Northwest, 1849-1851, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 97, no. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1938), pl. 13.
- 66. Heizer, The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851–1852, p. 83.
 - 67. Madley, An American Genocide, pp. 163-72.
- 68. Two of Edouart's original oil studies—Indian Fishing Station on the Noyo River, Mendocino County, California (1857) and Headquarters of Mendocino Indian Reservation, California (1857)—are in the Robert B.

- Honeyman Jr. Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The latter work may have served as the basis for the background and surrounding landscape depicted in fig. 31.
- 69. [Edward Vischer], "Reminiscences of Mendocino," *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine* 3, no. 4 (October 1858), pp. 145-60, 177-81.
 - 70. Ibid., pp. 157, 160.
- 71. Ibid., p. 160; and Madley, An American Genocide, pp. 258-59.
- 72. [Vischer], "Reminiscences of Mendocino," p. 158.
 73. Likely working on commission for the timber baron Jerome B. Ford, Watkins arrived in Mendocino in 1863 to document Ford's lumber mills along the shores of the Big River. He also used the trip as an opportunity to photograph scenes unrelated to the commission, including dramatic views of the coastline and Pomo peoples on the Mendocino Reservation. Tyler Green, Carleton Watkins: Making the West American (Oakland, Calif.: University of California Press, 2018), pp. 165–67.
- 74. [Vischer], "Reminiscences of Mendocino," p. 158. Vischer described the sweathouse he saw as being used for healing, religious ceremonies, as a council chamber, and as a banquet hall.
 - 75. Green, Carleton Watkins, p. 138.
- 76. Theodora Kroeber, Albert B. Elsasser, and Robert F. Heizer, *Drawn from Life: California Indians in Pen and Brush* (Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1977), p. 217; and Charles Nordhoff, "Northern California," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 48, no. 283 (December 1873), pp. 35–45.
 - 77. Nordhoff, "Northern California," p. 45.
- 78. Gary F. Kurutz, "Yosemite on Glass," in Amy Scott et al., *Yosemite: Art of an American Icon*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Autry National Center; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), p. 62.
- 79. Jules Tavernier, quoted in Isobel Field, *This Life I've Loved* (New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938), p. 139.
- 80. For more on Tavernier's time in Monterey, see Scott A. Shields, *Artists at Continent's End: The Monterey Peninsula Art Colony*, 1875–1907, exh. cat. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 11–37.
- 81. Joe Pelanconi, Quicksilver Mining in Sonoma County: Pine Flat Prospect Fever (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2014), pp. 18–22, 31–33.
- 82. Sherrie Smith-Ferri, "'You'll Have Lots of Work when the Indians are Done Picking Hops': A. O. Carpenter's Native American Photographs," in Marvin A. Schenck et al., Aurelius O. Carpenter: Photographer of the Mendocino Frontier, exh. cat. (Ukiah, Calif.: Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, 2006), p. 101. For more on the history of Pomo communities buying back their land, see Sally McLendon, "Pomo Basket Weavers in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Collections," Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 40, no. 1 (1998), pp. 36–38.
- 83. Smith-Ferri, "'You'll Have Lots of Work when the Indians are Done Picking Hops," p. 100.
- 84. See Robert Joseph Geary's preface to this *Bulletin*, p. 4.
- 85. Joan Carpenter Troccoli et al., *Painters and the American West: The Anschutz Collection*, 2 vols. (Denver: Denver Art Museum; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000–2013), vol. 2, p. 170.
- 86. Sherrie Smith-Ferri in Brian Bibby et al., Essential Art: Native Basketry from the California Indian Heritage Center (Berkeley: Heyday Books; [Sacramento]: California Indian Heritage Center Foundation, California State Parks, 2012), p. 42.

- 87. Ibid., pp. 42, 107. For more information on various twining techniques, see Valerie K. Verzuh, Woven Identities: Basketry Art of Western North America; The Collection of the Museum of Indian Arts & Culture, Santa Fe (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013), pp. 88–
- 88. McLendon, "Collecting Pomoan Baskets, 1889-1939," p. 50.
 - 89. Bibby et al., Essential Art, pp. 63-64.
 - 90. Smith-Ferri in ibid., p. 65.
- 91. Sherrie Smith-Ferri, "The Development of the Commercial Market for Pomo Indian Baskets," Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 40, no. 1 (1998), D. 15.
- 92. Ibid., pp. 17-19.
- 93. McLendon, "Collecting Pomoan Baskets, 1889-1939," p. 51.
- 94. The basket's provenance was recorded on a note found in the basket and was provided to the author by Karen Holmes, Curator of Collections and Exhibits, Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, Ukiah, California
- 95. McLendon, "Pomo Basket Weavers in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Collections," p. 45.
- 96. For more on the life and work of Joseppa Pinto Dick, see Sherrie Smith-Ferri, "Basket Weavers, Basket Collectors, and the Market: A Case Study of Joseppa Dick," Museum Anthropology 17, no. 2 (June 1993), pp. 61–66; and Bibby et al., Essential Art, pp. 108–9. In 1933, Grace Hudson sketched in bitumen on canvas a posthumous portrait of Joseppa Pinto Dick as a gift for her husband. This work is now in a private collection.
- 97. Ira Jacknis, "California," in Diana Fane et al., Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at The Brooklyn Museum, exh. cat. (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1991), pp. 160-62, 168-75, 311-12.
 - 98. Ibid., p. 187, nos. 178-79.
- 99. William [Ralganal] Benson, quoted in ibid., p. 197, no. 199.
- 100. Smith-Ferri in Bibby et al., Essential Art, p. 75. 101. Sally McLendon, "Pomo Baskets: The Legacy of William and Mary Benson," Native Peoples: The Journal of the Heard Museum 4, no. 1 (Fall 1990), p. 29.
- 102. In 1927, the Bradley Mining Company purchased the Sulphur Bank Quicksilver Mine, previously owned by Parrott. It was soon turned into California's largest open-pit mercury mine and was the primary provider of mercury to the U.S. government during World War II. Although closed in 1957, the mine had dumped two million cubic vards of contaminated waste into Clear Lake, the harmful effects of which went unknown for thirty-five years. Clean-up efforts have been attempted, but the mine, Elem Indian Colony, and adjacent wetlands remain a Superfund site today. For more on the history of the mine, its devastating environmental impact, and the ongoing implications for the Elem Pomo, see Nathaniel Dolton-Thornton, "The Elem Tribe's Last Stand," Earth Island Journal (Winter 2019); https://www . earth is land. org/journal/index. php/magazine/entry/the-elem-tribes-last-stand/.
- 103. For more on the Pomo weavers who revived and sustained basketmaking traditions in the twentieth century, see Suzanne Abel-Vidor, Dot Brovarney, and Susan Billy, Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family and Friends, exh. cat. (Ukiah, Calif.: Grace Hudson Museum; [Oakland]: Oakland Museum of California; Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1996).
- 104. Clint McKay, "The Basket Weavers," YouTube, uploaded by Northern California Public Media, January 1, 2020; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cjk9SMEXVLw.

This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Jules Tavernier and the Elem Pomo*, on view at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from August 16 through November 28, 2021, and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, de Young, from December 18, 2021, through April 17, 2022.

The exhibition is made possible by Jan and Warren Adelson and The Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz Foundation for the Arts. It is organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

This *Bulletin* is made possible by the William Cullen Bryant Fellows of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Met's quarterly *Bulletin* program is supported in part by the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of *Reader's Digest*.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Summer 2021, Volume LXXIX, NUMBER 1. COPYRIGHT © 2021 BY THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin (1SSN 0026–1521) is published quarterly by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to Membership Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10028-0198. Four weeks' notice required for change of address. The Bulletin is provided as a benefit to Museum members and is available by subscription. Subscriptions \$30.00 a year. Back issue available on microfilm from National Archive Publishing Company, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Volumes 1–xxxvII (1905–42) available as a clothbound reprint set or as individual yearly volumes from Ayer Company Publishers, Suite B-213, 400 Bedford Street, Manchester, NH 03101, or from the Metropolitan Museum, 66–26 Metropolitan Avenue, Middle Village, NY 11381-0001.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Mark Polizzotti, Publisher & Editor in Chief; Peter Antony, Associate Publisher for Production; Michael Sittenfeld, Associate Publisher for Editorial. Dale Tucker, Editor of the Bulletin; Paul Booth, Production; Jenn Sherman, Image acquisitions & permissions; Penny Jones, Bibliographic editing. Design and typesetting in digital Monotype Bulmer by Mark Argetsinger. Separations by Professional Graphics, Inc., Rockford, Illinois. Printed and bound by Mittera, Parsippany, New Jersey.

Cover illustrations: front, detail of Jules Tavernier, Dance in a Subterranean Roundhouse at Clear Lake, California, 1878 (see fig. 16); inside front and back, detail of Aurelius O. Carpenter, The Hudsons' Pomo Basket Collection, 1893 (see fig. 42); back, detail of Pomo artist (Northern California), Diagonally twined carrying basket, ca. 1900 (see fig. 20).

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors extend their gratitude to many colleagues for their contributions to this publication and the related exhibition. We are particularly grateful to Robert Joseph Geary, Christina Hellmich, Patricia Marroquin Norby, and Sherrie Smith-Ferri, who read early drafts of the present essays and provided insightful feedback. Special thanks to Joseph Baillio, Claudine Chalmers, Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., and Scott A. Shields, whose past scholarship on Tavernier was essential to our research. Thomas Busciglio-Ritter also provided key research support. At The Met, we extend our sincerest thanks to colleagues Dale Tucker, Paul Booth, Jenn Sherman, and Penny Jones for their work on the publication and to colleagues in the departments of the American Wing, Photographs, Drawings and Prints, and the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas for their essential cooperation. A special thanks to the staffs of The Met and the de Young for their efforts in bringing the exhibition to fruition.

We are indebted to all of the exhibition's lenders for facilitating loans during an especially challenging time: Brooklyn Museum; Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa; Grace Hudson Museum and Sun House, Ukiah, California; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley; Honolulu Museum of Art; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Oakland Museum of California; Penn Museum; Gerald Peters Gallery, Santa Fe; Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford; and a number of private collectors, including an anonymous lender, the Dentzel Family Collection, Charles and Valerie Diker, Nancy and David Ferreira, Robert Joseph Geary, Oscar and Gertrude Lemer, Clint McKay, Alex Schwed, and Fern Van Sant.

For making this exhibition possible, we thank Jan and Warren Adelson and The Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz Foundation for the Arts. We extend our appreciation to Robin and Julie Graham for their additional funding, and to the Friends of the American Wing for supporting the opening celebration. We are also grateful to the Clara Lloyd-Smith Weber Fund and Barry Appleton for their important commitments to the exhibition's related education programs. The William Cullen Bryant Fellows of The Metropolitan Museum of Art have our gratitude for their generosity toward the publication, which also benefits from gifts from The Candace Cartwright Fund and The Isaac Fletcher Fund. As ever, the Lila Acheson Wallace Fund for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, established by the cofounder of *Reader's Digest*, supports in part the Museum's quarterly *Bulletin* program.

Finally, we owe a special thanks to Chairman Agustin Garcia, Elem Indian Colony of Pomo Indians; Chairperson Melanie Rafanan, Sherwood Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California; and Chairperson Sherry Treppa, Habematolel Pomo of Upper Lake, for their generous support with the loan of certain baskets and regalia. The authors respectfully acknowledge the contributions of all Pomo peoples—past, present, and future—and are honored to present this important cultural heritage at both The Met and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

—ELIZABETH KORNHAUSER and SHANNON VITTORIA



