

# FLYING WOMAN'S BEADED CHEYENNE CRADLEBOARD AND ASSOCIATED BEAD CARD FROM FORT KEOGH, MONTANA

William T. Billeck

*Glass bead sample cards were sent out in the 19th century by bead dealers and producers to illustrate their products and few are known that include small beads of drawn manufacture. One such card marked New York was acquired in 1882 by Captain Eli Lindesmith, a Catholic priest and Army chaplain at Fort Keogh, Montana. Lindesmith used the card to select seed beads for a cradleboard he commissioned that year from a Cheyenne woman named Flying Woman, the wife of Wolf Voice. This previously undescribed sample card is compared to other 19th-century cards displaying drawn beads in an attempt to determine its origin. Insight into the identity and family history of the maker of the cradleboard is also provided.*

## INTRODUCTION

Father Eli Washington John Lindesmith, a Catholic priest, became an army-post chaplain at the age of 53 at Fort Keogh in Montana Territory, where he served from 12 August 1880 until he retired from the military in July 1891. While at Fort Keogh he interacted with tribes in the area, particularly the Cheyenne Indian Scouts who worked for the military as well as with their families. He obtained a number of native-made objects at Fort Keogh during the ca. 11-year period that he was stationed there. Lindesmith eventually donated his collection to several institutions and museums, with most of the objects going to the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. and the Snite Museum of Art at the University of Notre Dame. In 1956, most of the ethnology objects at the Catholic University of America were transferred to the Anthropology Department at the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), Smithsonian Institution. An exhibit of the Lindesmith collection at the Snite Museum of Art in 2012, with an accompanying catalog (Mack 2012a), revealed the scope of the collection and also Lindesmith's careful documentation which detailed how and when he obtained the objects, including, in some cases, the names of the object's makers.

One of the objects in the NMNH collection – a beaded cradleboard that Lindesmith commissioned a Cheyenne

woman to make in 1882 – is interesting for two reasons. First, there is detailed provenance for this object. It is very unusual to be able to link a 19th-century Native American object in museum collections to a specific maker and to precisely date it. Second, the museum also holds a bead sample card that Lindesmith obtained from a New York bead dealer in order to select beads for the cradleboard. Such sample cards are scarce, often poorly dated, and few are known from the 19th-century United States. This card, however, can be precisely placed in time and directly linked to the cradleboard.

## THE LINDESMITH CRADLEBOARD

The cradleboard exterior consists of a completely beaded buffalo hide which is attached to a wooden frame (Figure 1). The frame is decorated with brass tacks and ribbon (the ribbon was replaced in 2012, when the cradleboard was on exhibit). The glass beads are of drawn manufacture and about the same size: ca. 2.1 mm in diameter and 1.1 mm in length. They are lane stitched with the dominant color being opaque blue (Munsell 5B 5/8). Other colors include translucent purple-blue (5PB 2/6), opaque green (7.5GY 5/6), translucent red on opaque white (5R 3/10), and opaque yellow (5Y 8/8) that form linear designs, crosses, and stepped triangular patterns. The triangular pattern may refer to the important Cheyenne religious locations of Sweet Medicine's Cave or Bear Butte (Mack 2012a:29).

## LINDESMITH'S RECORDS

Lindesmith's handwritten tag describes how he obtained the cradleboard, which he calls a "papoose pouch," and the bead card:

During my labors in the Rocky Mountains as a chaplain for the U.S. Army, I sent to New York for a sample card from which to select beads for



**Figure 1.** Cheyenne cradleboard commissioned by Father Lindesmith and made in 1882 by Flying Woman at Fort Keogh, Montana (National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, cat. no. E395625A).

a papoose pouch. The Indians attach something sacred [sic] to a “Family Pouch.” All the children of a family are raised in the same Pouch; unless a child dies; it is buried in the “Family Pouch.” They will never part with the pouch, unless enemies open the grave, take out the pouch and sell it. I could have bought one of that kind, but I would not be guilty of aiding such a sacrilege [sic]. I got a squaw to make (Smithsonian NMNH, catalog E395625).

In a letter written to Msgr. Henri Hyvernat in March of 1911, Lindesmith adds: “... I paid an Indian Squaw forty dollars to make for me this new pouch” (Lindesmith Papers/ American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives [LP/ACHRCUA]: box 7, file 8).

The CUA Archives also holds a transcribed copy of the information on a tag prepared by Lindesmith that was once attached to the cradleboard:

No. 608. Fort Keogh, Montana T. Nov. 24. 1882. A Pachist (a Cheyenne) baby pouch. It was made for me by Amecha or Fly [Flying] Woman, the squaw of Hotnaemisto or Wolf Voice - whose mother was a Gros ventres and father was a Cheyenne (LP/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8).

The information on the NMNH catalog card is based on this information and it also identifies the maker as Flying Woman, and indicates that her name in Cheyenne was Amecha.

An entry in Lindesmith’s account books made on 24 November 1882 states that he paid Wolf Voice, Flying Woman’s husband, eight dollars for the cradleboard, and purchased from the Fort Keogh post trader the following items to make it: 24 bunches of beads for \$3.00, 8 pounds of buffalo hide for \$2.50; 2 bunches of beads for \$0.25, brass tacks for \$1.50, and ribbon for \$0.25 (LP/ACHRCUA: box 21, 1881-1888 account book: 53; Box 5, diary 1881-1882: 99). Unfortunately, there is no further information in either his account books or diary regarding the source of the bead sample card.

It is unusual for collections made at this time to have such detailed information including where an object was made, who made it, and when it was acquired. The transcribed copies of Lindesmith’s tag on the cradleboard indicate that he arranged for Flying Woman to make the cradleboard in 1882 while he was at Fort Keogh, Montana. Lindesmith paid an \$8.00 commission to Wolf Voice, \$40.00 dollars to Flying Woman for her labor, and \$7.50 to the post trader for the materials.

## IDENTIFYING A NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC AND HISTORIC RECORDS

The identity of the maker of the cradleboard appears to be straightforward until other published sources and archival records are examined. The Lindesmith exhibit catalog (Snite Museum of Art 2012:92, 94) states that the

cradleboard was made by Elk Woman, and that she was the wife of Wolf Voice (Burst 1994:10; Mack 2012b:70; Powell 1981:1137, 1256), rather than Flying Woman. Elk Woman is a misidentification that will be corrected here. To do so Wolf Voice – and his wives – need to be identified.

There are two main reasons why it is difficult to identify specific Plains Indian women in the 19th century. First, Native American women, as compared to men, are rarely mentioned by name in 19th-century accounts. While it is known that objects were made, owned, and used by women, their identities are almost always invisible within museum collections. In the few cases where the maker or owner of an object is recorded, the individuals are almost always male. Similarly, many Plains Indian males in historic photographs are named while accompanying women remain anonymous. Photographs taken in 1877-1878 and 1889 that identify Wolf Voice, but none of the women, are a good example.

Second, when a woman's name is present in records, cultural practices can obscure her family history. Cheyenne names can be translated into English in different ways, resulting in variations. Native Americans in the Plains can also change their native name over their lifetime in response to significant life events. Cheyenne names can also be inherited from relatives (Moore 1984), resulting in many individuals in a tribe having similar or the same name. U.S. census records further obscure a woman's family history since only their new, usually non-Native given name appears, along with the translation of their husband's Cheyenne name as the surname. For example, Wolf Voice's wife is listed on most census records as Clara Wolf Voice, with no mention of her native name.

A review of published sources, historical photographs, and census records demonstrates the complexity of trying to identify the wife of Wolf Voice and her descendants. Wolf Voice is generally identified as a Gros Ventre who scouted with the Cheyenne for Lt. Casey at Fort Keogh (Weist 1977). Lindesmith wrote that Wolf Voice's mother was Gros Ventre and his father was Cheyenne (LP/ACHRCUA: box 7, file 8). There are, however, two different tribes that have been called Gros Ventre in the Plains: the Atsina in central Montana and the Hidatsa along the Missouri River in North Dakota. The federal census records of 1900 for (Frank) Wolf Voice list his mother as being Gros Ventre from North Dakota and that he was born in North Dakota, making him Hidatsa on his mother's side. His son, Grover Wolf Voice, said that his father was Hidatsa and raised near Elbowoods, North Dakota, on the Fort Berthold Reservation (Schwartz 1989:113).

Warren Schwartz's (1989:11, 111) interviews with Grover Wolf Voice and his cousin, Wesley Whiteman, clarify some family relationships. Whiteman identified his

and Grover Wolf Voice's grandmother as being Elk Woman with the Cheyenne name of Moeha, and also said that she changed her name to Wolf Traveling Woman following the death of her first husband, Low Brow. She subsequently married a man named Strong Left Hand and they had a son, Yellow Robe, and a daughter whose name is not known (Liberty 2006:98-100; Powell 1969:898; Schwartz 1989:11). The daughter married Wolf Voice and was the mother of Grover Wolf Voice (Schwartz 1989:11). Casey Barthelmess, the son of a photographer at Fort Keogh, knew Yellow Robe for many years, but said that Yellow Robe and Wolf Voice were married to sisters (Frink and Barthelmess 1965: image between pp. 120 and 121) which contradicts Wesley Whiteman's identification of Yellow Robe's sister as the wife of Wolf Voice (Liberty 2006:100; Schwartz 1989:11).

Wolf Voice appears solely under his native name on the 1886, 1888, 1889, and 1890 Indian censuses. Beginning in 1892 and until 1901, he is referred to as Frank Wolf Voice in the yearly Indian Census for the Northern Cheyenne. He was born, based on the ages provide in the censuses, between 1852 and 1857, and on the 1893 and 1896 Indian censuses his Cheyenne name is provided as He-ni-misto or He-ne-e-misto. He is married to Cinnamon Bear on the 1888 and 1890 censuses. She was 20 in 1890, and her Cheyenne name is listed as Mo-eq-tah. Beginning in 1891, Wolf Voice's wife is identified as Clara Wolf Voice on each Indian census and, based on her age, she was born in 1870. Her name appears on the 1892, 1893, and 1896 censuses as Mo-o-tah, which in Cheyenne means "black," which is similar to the name Mo-eq-tah provided in the 1890 census. The 1900 federal census lists only surnames and here she is identified as (Clara) Black Bear and the census indicates that she has been married to Wolf Voice since 1887. On the 1888 and 1890 censuses, Wolf Voice is listed as married to Cinnamon Bear, which is likely a variation of Clara Black Bear. Thus, Clara Wolf Voice is the same person as Cinnamon Bear and Black Bear.

The 1891 census lists Clara Wolf Voice and her two-year-old daughter, Eva Wolf Voice, but does not list Frank Wolf Voice. Significantly, Clara Wolf Voice is listed on the census just after the family of Henry and Mary Strong Left Hand, suggesting that she may have been living with them. This corresponds with accounts stating that Grover Wolf Voice's mother was the daughter of Elk Woman (Mary Strong Left Hand) and (Henry) Strong Left Hand. Clara Wolf Voice is the mother of Grover and the daughter of Elk Woman and Strong Left Hand. Since Cheyenne names can be inherited, it is possible that Clara inherited and used her mother's name (Elk Woman) for a time, a possible explanation why some sources (Powell 1981:1137, 1256) report that Wolf Voice was married to Elk Woman.



While the examination of records revealed that Wolf Voice was married to the daughter of Elk Woman, no additional records have been found dating to the late 1870s or early 1880s that link Flying Woman with Wolf Voice, other than the evidence provided by Lindesmith that they were married in 1882. There is the possibility that Flying Woman is the “squaw” in the 1877-1878 photograph by John H. Fouch that he titled “Wolf Voice and a Cheyenne Squaw” (Burst 1994, 2000) (Figure 2). Mack (2012b:70, Figure 19) and Burst (1994:10) identify the woman in the photograph as Elk Woman and the wife of Wolf Voice. If the woman is Wolf Voice's wife, she could be Flying Woman, who was married to Wolf Voice at least by 1882. The woman in the photograph cannot be Clara (Black Bear) Wolf Voice, who married Wolf Voice in 1887, and was only 12 when



**Figure 2.** Wolf Voice and an unnamed Cheyenne woman (possibly Flying Woman) in 1877-1878, photographed by John H. Fouch at Fort Keogh, Montana (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, INV 09950700, Photo Lot 90-1, no. 1209).

the cradleboard was made and eight when Fouch took the photograph. It is possible that Flying Woman died or, if she remarried, changed her name. This makes it very difficult to identify her in historic records.

The photograph taken at Fort Keogh in 1889 shows Wolf Voice, Yellow Robe, two unidentified Cheyenne women, two Cheyenne children, and Leo, the son of the photographer Christian Barthelmess (Figure 3). Wolf Voice is on the left,

and he and Leo Barthelmess are the only two individuals who can be identified with certainty. The younger woman with the baby in her arms is likely Clara Black Bear with her daughter Eva Wolf Voice. The person on the right could be Clara Wolf Voice's mother, Elk Woman (Wolf Traveling, Mary Strong Left Hand). Yellow Robe may be the person in the background.

While Wolf Voice's mother-in-law was Elk Woman, it is not known if any of his wives inherited that name. The maker of the cradleboard, Flying Woman, was married to Wolf Voice in 1882 and it is possible she appears in the 1877-1878 photograph with him; otherwise little is known about her.

Cheyenne women are difficult to identify in 19th-century records, with scattered pieces of information that may be impossible to link together regarding their identities and family histories. An object identified as having been made by a named Cheyenne in the 19th century and knowledge as to how it was acquired is noteworthy, but much concerning who Flying Woman was and her history is invisible. While it has been possible to identify that Flying Woman made the cradleboard, it has not been possible to find additional records to trace her and her descendants.

#### LINDESMITH'S NEW YORK BEAD SAMPLE CARD

The cradleboard is associated with a portion of a bead sample card that Lindesmith obtained from New York to select beads for the cradleboard he commissioned. This would date the card to 1882 or earlier. Unfortunately, Lindesmith's records do not indicate the name of the company from which it was obtained. The card was associated with the cradleboard until about 25 years ago, when it went missing from the NMNH collections, but a high-quality color image was made in 1979 (Figure 4).

The top and left side of the card have been trimmed. Remnants of gauze along the left edge indicate that it was once part of a two- or three-page folding card (the gauze would have reinforced the seam). The card displays seven bead sizes (1 to 6/0) in 28 colors. While the latter are numbered 1 to 39, including 26½, quite a few numbers are absent from the list (e.g., 5-6, 8-9, 14-15), possibly because they were no longer available. Blue, red, yellow, green, black, white, milk white, and colorless seed beads that range from opaque to transparent are represented. The only geographic identification on the card is “New York.” Notably, the red-on-white beads on the cradleboard are not represented on the card. On other cards from around the end of the 19th century, red-on-white beads are typically displayed separately on the cards and are labeled with the name *cornaline*, *cornelian*, or *corniola* (Billeck 2008:50).





**Figure 3.** Wolf Voice and family with Yellow Robe and Leo Barthelmess in 1889, photographed by Christian Barthelmess at Fort Keogh, Montana (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, OPPS NEG 56083).

Since the Lindesmith card originally had multiple pages, these beads may have been on the missing portion (*see* Billeck 2008: Plate XA).

### COMPARISONS WITH CONTEMPORARY BEAD SAMPLE CARDS

Bead sample cards were produced by both manufacturers and dealers, and were kept at shops or sent to trading establishments or individuals. The cards produced by five manufacturers and dealers were examined to determine if there are similarities with Lindesmith's New York card.

#### **Giorgio Benedetto Barbaria (closed 1835)**

One of the earliest bead sample cards with small seed beads is in the Murano Glass Museum and attributed to Giorgio Benedetto Barbaria, a firm that ceased trading in Venice in 1835 (Panini 2017:203, 206, 338). This card foreshadows the organization of drawn beads on later

sample cards. The sizes available are represented by black beads. The ink labels are very faded and it is not possible to tell if the sizes are designated by codes. Red beads, possibly red-on-white, are shown separately by size. The beads are grouped by shape (circular and tubular), with striped beads listed separately. This presentation pattern continues on many of the later sample cards.

#### **Francis Greil (ca. 1870-1898)**

Francis Greil produced a number of sample cards in English and all labeled "Francis Greil, Venice." One example is present in the Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences collection in Sydney, Australia (Webber 1998) and several cards are at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. They are assigned to 1880-1910 at the Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences and Francis (1999:8) dates the Peabody Museum cards to ca. 1870-1898, though specific evidence for these dates is not provided.

The Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences card (Figure 5) has small drawn beads labeled "Seedbeads" that were





**Figure 4.** The New York sample card obtained by Father Lindesmith in 1882 (National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, cat. no. E395625B).

available “in bunches of 120 strings” in 40 numbered colors. Seed beads occur in 10 sizes that are labeled 6/0 (smallest) to 4 (largest). There are larger beads that, based on other cards and records, were often sold by weight and referred to as pound beads. On the card they are not described as pound beads but as “Common Colours” numbered 11 to 22 and “Fine Colours” numbered 22-34. Common and fine colors are available in 12 sizes ranging from 00 (smallest) to 10 (largest). There are beads (nos. 35-40) labeled “Cornelian” (red on white) that occur in several sizes. Also on the card are short tubular beads (nos. 41-47) labeled “Bugles” that are represented by black beads. It is interesting to note that sizes 2/0 to 4 in the seed bead group appear to be equivalent to sizes 00 to 4 in the common and fine-colored beads (or pound bead) group. Seed bead sizes then overlap with the sizes of beads sold as pound beads.

Bead no. 13 is of note in that it is opaque red on transparent green (Figure 6), a type that has been available since at least the early 17th century in the Americas and is believed to have been gradually replaced by the

transparent red-on-opaque white “cornelian” type during the 1830s-1840s (Billeck 2008). The presence of the cored variety on this bead card reveals that it was still being offered for sale in the late 19th century.

The Peabody Museum holds two different sets of seed bead cards. The first card (cat. 2004.24.24328) lists Frances Greil as a “Commission Merchant” or distributor rather than a manufacturer. On this card “seed beads” are listed as sold in bunches of 120 strings occurring in colors numbered 1-18. Beads described as “Pound beads” occur in colors numbered 19-84. The sizes available are not shown on the card. The second card (cat. 2004.24.24329) is identical to the card at the Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences described above.

### Nissin Namer (late 19th century)

A three-page bead card with text in French that is labelled “Nissin Namer” was acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum in 1907 and has a handwritten label stating that these were the bead types used in the Sudan ca. 1870 (Billeck 2008: Plate XA). Page one displays 14 sizes (*Grosseurs*) of seed beads. Nos. 15-34 are “fine” colors and nos. 35-84 are labeled “Charlottes la Masse del 120 fil.” The beads do not display faceting and appear to be equivalent to the unfaceted seed beads sold in bunches of 120 strings on the Greil cards. Beads referred to as Charlottes today are a specific size of seed bead with a single cut that produces a reflective surface. It seems likely that the designation had a different meaning when this card was made.

On card two, nos. 85-103 are labelled “Orientale” and appear to be drawn beads in translucent colors with a high luster. Nos. 104-122 are called “Madre-Perla” and are short tubes that appear to have multiple sides. Nos. 123-130 are “Corniola Perla” or red-on-white drawn beads. Nos. 131-138 are “Raje” or striped drawn beads. Nos. 139-146 are “Noir facite” or black faceted beads. Nos. 147-154 are “Fais” and appear to be larger black faceted beads. Page 3 is labeled “Manifatture alla Lume” and shows wound beads, numbered 155-199.

### Societa Veneziana Conterie (1898-1992)

The Societa Veneziana Conterie was created by 16 beadmaking concerns in 1898 on Murano (Venice), Italy. Bead cards that were once part of a larger set that dates to 1899 are on the Picard Trade Bead Museum (2017) website. Three of the cards have beads numbered in sequence. The first is titled “Carte F” and displays drawn beads numbered 341-423, as well as examples of eight bead sizes labeled I (smallest) to VIII (largest). The second card, titled “Societa Veneziana,” has small drawn beads labeled 424 to 519. The



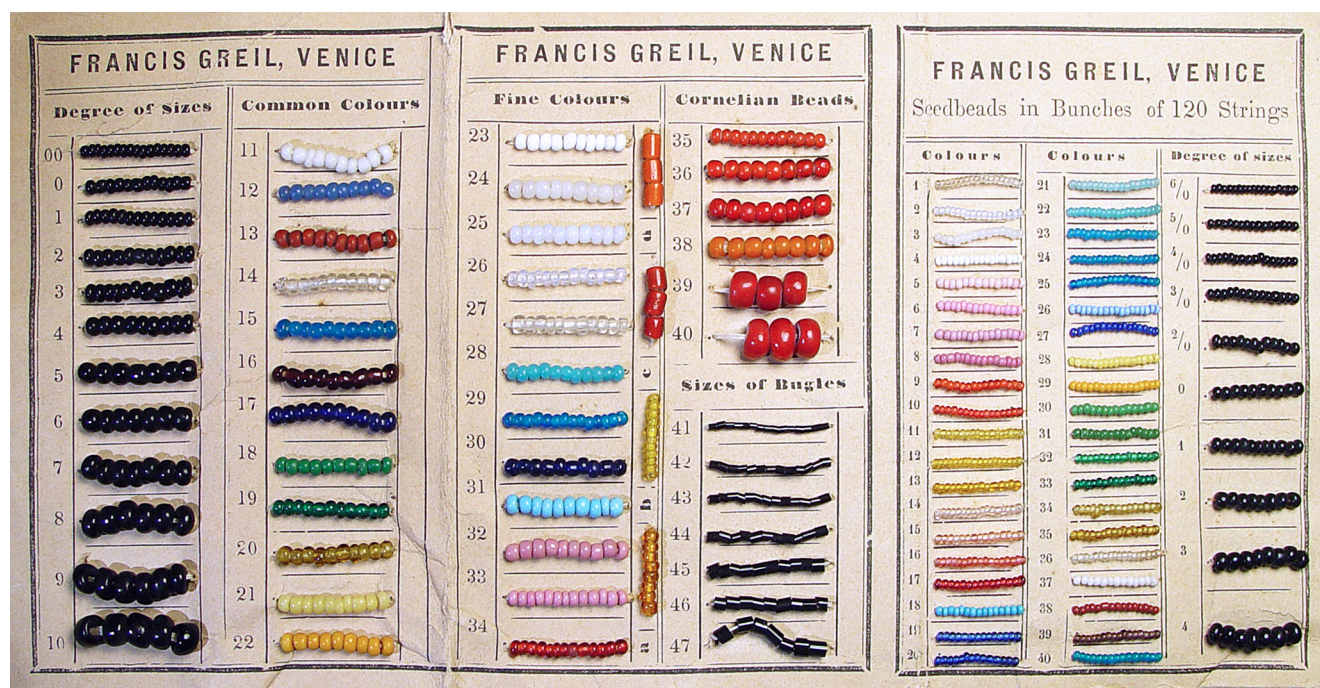


Figure 5. A multi-part sample card from Francis Greil, Venice, ca. 1880-1910 (courtesy of Thomas Stricker).

third card is labeled "Edition 1899" and has drawn beads numbered 520 to 615. Another card is also labeled "Edition 1899" and displays lustrous drawn beads labeled "Ceylon" beads in nine colors numbered 752-760 with examples of ten sizes numbered 0/1 (smallest) to 0/10 (largest). Nos. 761-768 are tubular beads of different sizes that are red on white and named "Pipiotis." Nos. 769-778 are drawn beads of different sizes that are red on white and named "Cornaline." The "Ceylon" beads on this card appear to be identical to the "Orientale" beads on the Nissan Namer card.

### Stephen A. Frost & Son (1848-1937)

Stephen A. Frost & Son began trading in Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1848, and had moved to New York by the 1870s. The company closed when the son, Dan Frost, retired in 1937 (Illinois State Museum 2006; Ridgely 1958). According to New York City directories, Stephen A. Frost had an occupation/business of "beads" in 1882 and "Indian goods" in 1891 (Ancestry.Com Operations 2011). The 1880 census lists Frost's profession as "Fancy Goods" and shows that he lived in Jersey City, just across the Hudson River from New York City. He had the same residence in the 1860, 1870, and the 1880 censuses when his profession was listed as salesman, dry goods merchant, and merchandise, respectively.

The Illinois State Museum obtained 71 sample cards from the Frost company in 1941 (Illinois State Museum

2006; Ridgely 1958). Among these are 24 cards with the Frost logo (SAF&S) and the legend "Venice" which display examples of wound and chevron beads (see Liu 1983: Figures 24-25). The beads on these cards are numbered from 1 to 1,100 and are reported to have been those exhibited at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair (Illinois State Museum 2006; Ridgely 1958).

In addition, there are 28 cards, each with 20 groups of beads (Figure 7), that display 560 color hues of seed beads. These cards bear the logo of the Frost company as well as that of the Societa Veneziana Conterie. Twelve more cards with the same logos show 240 wound beads (see Liu 1983: Figure 18). None of the beads on these 40 cards are numbered as would be expected on a commercial sample



Figure 6. Bead 13 on the Greil card (courtesy of Thomas Stricker).





**Figure 7.** Sample card of the Stephen A. Frost & Son of New York City (collection of the Illinois State Museum, Springfield).

card and it is likely that they constituted part of the exhibit at the St. Louis World's Fair. Since they bear the logo of the Societa Veneziana Conteries, they must postdate 1898. There are also five cards that exhibit the logo of the Frost Company and "Gablonz" (see Liu 1983: Figure 3), as well as two cards without logos that hold beads likely made in Gablonz (see Liu 1983: Figure 23). All of the beads are numbered and include small drawn seed beads, faceted beads, Prosser beads, stone beads, and some wound and drawn beads that likely originated in Venice (cf. Liu 1983).

## DISCUSSION

The bead sample card that Lindesmith obtained from New York may have come from Stephen A. Frost & Son. No examples of Frost sample cards from the 1880s have been found to date; all the known examples post-date 1898. If there were additional bead dealers in New York City in the 1880s, they have yet to be identified. None of the Frost cards are in the format of the Lindesmith card but this may well be because the Frost cards were made exclusively for the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair.

Lindesmith's sample card shares attributes with the Barbaria, Francis Greil, Nissin Namer, and Societa Veneziana Conterie cards. These bead cards display examples of small drawn bead sizes and colors and each is assigned a number. The Lindesmith card has sizes ranging from 6/0 (smallest) to 1 (largest) and similar sizes on the Greil and Namer cards are identified as seed beads. Yet the color numbering system of the Lindesmith card does not match that of any of the other cards.

## CONCLUSION

In 1882, Father Lindesmith commissioned Flying Woman to make a beaded cradleboard at Fort Keogh, Montana, and used a bead sample card that he obtained from New York to select the beads. While the card was used to select the bead colors and sizes, the beads themselves were obtained from a post trader at Fort Keogh or nearby Miles City. The card is well-dated to 1882, and represents the earliest documented occurrence of small seed beads on a sample card in the United States. The Lindesmith card was obtained from a New York dealer, most likely Stephen A. Frost & Son. It is possible that there were other companies in New York City that distributed beads and made bead cards in the 19th century, but none have yet been identified.

The Lindesmith cradleboard has provided an exceptional opportunity for study because it is still associated with the bead card used to select the beads for its creation and because the identity of its maker is known. Nineteenth-century Native American objects in museum collections that can be definitively linked to named makers are extraordinarily rare, especially when the maker is a woman. The cradleboard has exceptional provenience for the late 19th century, with Flying Woman identified as its maker, the Cheyenne as the tribe of origin, 1882 as the date of manufacture, and Fort Keogh as the location.

Native American women are very difficult to identify in the Plains region in the 19th century, as shown in the attempt here to identify Flying Woman in census records and photographs. She is known only because Father Lindesmith recorded her as being the maker and that she was married at the time to Wolf Voice, a Cheyenne scout at Fort Keogh. Apart from her name appearing in the Lindesmith records, Flying Woman, like many women who were not part of the dominant culture of the period, is otherwise invisible in the historical record.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Shane MacDonald at the Catholic University of America for access to the Lindesmith



papers, and the Illinois State Museum for permission to illustrate the Frost bead card. Daisy Njoku provided the images from the National Anthropological Archives. Kelsey Adams helped search museum records and Ives Goddard discussed the translations of Cheyenne names.

## REFERENCES CITED

### Ancestry.Com Operations

2011 U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995. Provo, UT.

### Billeck, William T.

2008 Red-on-White Drawn or Cornelian Beads: A 19th-Century Temporal Marker for the Plains. *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* 20:49-61.

### Burst, James S.

1994 John H. Fouch: First Post Photographer at Fort Keogh. *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 44(2):2-17.  
2000 Photojournalism, 1877: John H. Fouch, Fort Keogh's First Post Photographer. *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 50(4):32-39.

### Frink, Maurice and Casey E. Barthelmess

1965 *Photographer on an Army Mule*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

### Francis, Peter, Jr.

1999 The Venetian Bead Story 2. *The Margaretologist* 12(1): 3-12.

### Illinois State Museum

2006 Stephen A. Frost & Son, Bead Merchants. [http://www.museum.state.il.us/ismdepts/anthro/beads/StephenFrost\\_merchant.html](http://www.museum.state.il.us/ismdepts/anthro/beads/StephenFrost_merchant.html), accessed 27 November 2017.

### Liberty, Margot (ed.)

2006 *A Northern Cheyenne Album*. University of Oklahoma, Norman.

### Liu, Robert K.

1983 Dan Frost Bead Collection. *Ornament* 6:25-29, 44-45.

### Mack, Joanne M.

2012a The Father Lindesmith Collection: History, Anthropology, and Art. In *Father Lindesmith's Collection: History into Art and Anthropology*, pp. 28-33. Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame, IN.  
2012b Father Lindesmith, Fort Keogh, and the Native Americans of Montana. In *Father Lindesmith's Collection: History into Art and Anthropology*, pp. 68-83. Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame, IN.

### Moore, John H.

1984 Cheyenne Names and Cosmology. *American Ethnologist* 2:291-312.

### Panini, Augusto

2017 *The World in a Bead: The Murano Glass Museum's Collection*. Antiga Edizioni, Crocetta del Montello (Treviso), Italy.

### Picard Trade Bead Museum

2017 Trade Beads on Pre-1900 Sample Cards. <http://www.picardbeads.com/exhibit8.html>, accessed 30 October 2017.

### Powell, Peter J.

1969 *Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History*. 2 vols. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.  
1981 *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830-1879 with an epilogue 1969-1974*. 2 vols. Harper & Row, San Francisco.

### Ridgely, Frances S.

1958 The Dan Frost Collection of Trade Beads at the Illinois State Museum. *Midwest Museums Quarterly* 18:74-75.

### Schwartz, Warren E.

1989 *The Last Contrary: The Story of Wesley Whiteman (Black Bear)*. Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD.

### Snite Museum of Art

2012 Native American Objects of the Exhibition. In *Father Lindesmith's Collection: History into Art and Anthropology*, pp. 84-127. Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame, IN.

### Webber, Kimberley

1998 Bead sample book. Made by Francis Greil in Venice, Italy, 1880-1910. Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, Sydney, Australia. <https://collection.maas.museum/object/160661>, accessed 24 November 2017.

### Weist, Katherine M.

1977 Ned Casey and his Cheyenne Scouts: A Noble Experiment in an Atmosphere of Tension. *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 27:26-39.

William T. Billeck  
Department of Anthropology  
National Museum of Natural History  
Smithsonian Institution  
Washington, D.C.  
[billeckb@si.edu](mailto:billeckb@si.edu)