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# Imagemakers of the Modoc War: Louis Heller and Eadweard Muybridge

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**T**HE Modoc War of 1872-73 in north-eastern California has been a subject of both considerable popular interest and scholarly investigation during the past century. Many of its ethnic, social, and military dimensions have been evaluated in depth. Although most of the interpretive efforts have used photographic imagery produced at the time of the Modoc conflict, analysis of these photographic materials has been surprisingly casual.

Nearly 100 Modoc War photographs are known to exist. These photographs range from *carte de visite* style portraits of the Modoc Indian prisoners to stereographs of the war-site topography, the military encampments, the participants, and the military hardware. Curiously, these remarkable images have never been studied as a group, nor have the circumstances of their origin been explored in depth. For most writers who have dealt with the conflict, there has been one simple assumption: "Eadweard J. Muybridge took the Modoc War photographs." This paper will show that such is not the case, and that an almost forgotten photographer, Louis H. Heller, deserves equal credit with Muybridge for coverage of the Modoc War. A catalogue of Modoc War images is presented at the end of this paper, followed by a representative series of images by the photographers (Plates 1-33).

## THE MODOC INDIAN WAR (1872-73)

Fought in the lava beds at Tule Lake on the California-Oregon border, the Modoc Indian War of 1872-73 pitted a small band of Modoc Indians against the crushing military strength of the United States Army. Murray (1959:4) summed up the meaning of the Modoc War as follows:

The Modoc Indian War was the final desperate resistance to the impact of the white man's culture on the ancient Indian folkways. It marks the concluding stages of the decline in vigor and numbers among a fierce people, beginning in the early years of the nineteenth century and ending when a band of beaten and spiritless prisoners were forced aboard a Central Pacific Railroad train bound for exile on a tiny reservation in Oklahoma.

Incredibly, the Modocs under their leader Captain Jack (Kientpoos) won nearly every battle in the seven months that the conflict raged before they lost the war. Widely reported in both the national and international press, the Modoc confrontation was the only Indian/White conflict of major consequence to take place within the present-day state of California (Thompson 1971:vii). This senseless episode caused the American government a great deal of embarrassment and expense. As Thompson

(1971:xii) observed: "It was . . . the most expensive Indian war in American history considering the shortness of the war and the number of Indians involved." In terms of human values, the Modoc War stands out as a consummate tragedy—a case history of cultural insensitivity. The three most reliable modern treatments of the Modoc War are presented by Murray (1959), Thompson (1971), and Dillon (1973). Only a brief summary of the conflict, touching on a few of the war's highlights, will be presented here.

Although the causes of the Modoc War were many and complex, its origins were typical of all Indian/White conflicts in nineteenth century America. A steady usurpation of Indian lands by White settlers, together with a failure of communications between the two cultures, led to an inevitable struggle. Mutual fears and hatreds fueled by deliberate White deceptions created a history of skirmishes and ill-will. Even worse, government Indian policy was repeatedly insensitive to the needs of the Modoc people.

Between 1867 and 1869, the Modocs were removed under military pressure from their aboriginal lands, which stretched across the Oregon-California border, to the Klamath Reservation in Oregon. This removal placed them directly in the hands of their more numerous traditional rivals—the Klamath. Integration with the Klamaths proved intolerable. In 1870, the Modocs began leaving the reservation and returning to their own lands. During the next two years, every effort by government agents to return the Modocs to the Klamath Reservation failed. By late 1872, having failed at negotiation, the government was preparing to use force to achieve its ends.

The first direct confrontation between U.S. Army troops and the Modocs occurred at Lost River on November 29, 1872 (Murray 1959:82-113; Thompson 1971:15-21; Dillon 1974:127-159). What the government intended as a simple show of force resulted in a skirmish with

one soldier dead and seven wounded and one Modoc dead and one wounded. A contemporary observer (Anonymous 1873:3) wrote: "Blood has been spilled, and treasure is being consumed in the effort to compel obedience on the part of the desperate band under Captain Jack." Determined to remain in their homeland, the Modocs retreated to the lava beds on the south shore of Tule Lake. These lava beds formed a perfect natural fortress of jagged rocks, ledges, and caves, offering the Modocs—who knew the terrain—excellent opportunities for concealment, whereby they might easily resist attacks by government troops and civilian volunteers.

The first major attack on Captain Jack's stronghold in the lava beds occurred on January 16, 1873 (Murray 1959:160-187; Thompson 1971:35; Dillon 1974:169-170). At least 300 soldiers, supported by howitzers, joined the actual assault against a Modoc force numbering only about sixty men (Thompson 1971:43). The results were disastrous for the army, which withdrew leaving some of its dead on the field. In the two-day engagement, the Modocs killed nine soldiers and wounded 28, yet not one of the attackers glimpsed a Modoc during the battle (Thompson 1971:43).

The government next decided that talk was cheaper than war, and efforts were made to negotiate a settlement. A four-member peace commission was sent to the lava beds, initiating a prolonged, frustrating period of negotiations. Meanwhile, the army continued to gather reinforcements, eventually raising its total force to 1000 men. Tension and suspicion of bad faith mounted on both sides. Then, on Good Friday, April 11, 1873, the peace commission and a Modoc delegation met under a flag of truce. Without warning, the Modocs suddenly opened fire, killing General E.R.S. Canby and a peace commissioner and severely wounding another commissioner (Murray 1959:180-200; Thompson 1971:51-65; Dillon 1974:181-232). Before soldiers reached the

scene, the Modocs again disappeared into the lava beds.

The death of the highly-respected Canby—the only Regular Army general officer to be killed in the Indian wars—aroused intense demands for revenge (Thompson 1971:64). Colonel Alvan C. Gillem, regrouping Canby's command, prepared for an immediate attack on the Modoc stronghold. His resources included four batteries of artillerymen (prepared to fight as infantry), five troops of cavalry, five companies of infantry, and 70 Warm Spring Indian scouts, reinforced by howitzers and mortars (Thompson 1971:67-68). Beginning on April 15, the soldiers pressed an attack for two days, supported by artillery fire. Using their meager resources, the Modocs deployed themselves expertly. Eight Modoc warriors, for example, held 400 troopers to a half-mile advance over a six-hour period. Murray (1959:208) noted: "They were as effective with their long-range sniping as a company of machine gunners would be at the present time." Eventually, the army forces succeeded in penetrating the stronghold, but the Modocs were gone. The irony of the engagement was not lost upon a contributor to the *Yreka Journal* (June 11, 1873):

In truth it was a gallant sight,  
To see a thousand men of might.  
With gun and cannons, day and night  
Fight fifty dirty Indians.

Although the army had failed to accomplish its primary mission—to capture or destroy the Modocs—the Indians had been driven from a position that afforded them the best chance of continued resistance (Thompson 1971:75). The war was far from finished, however. On April 21, the Modocs made a successful foray against a military supply train (Thompson 1971:81; Dillon 1974:265). As a result, the army sent a reconnaissance patrol to scout the Modocs' position. The patrol tracked the Modocs into the lava beds, where it became

involved in a series of skirmishes. The slaughter of the army patrol was so sickening by mid-day that Scarfaced Charley, a Modoc leader, called off the attack, shouting to the troopers, "All you fellows that ain't dead had better go home. We don't want to kill you all in one day" (Murray 1959:231).

After this stunning defeat of the Army by the Modocs, Col. Jefferson C. Davis (Canby's replacement) arrived on the scene of military operations. Davis had hoped for sufficient time in which to regroup a disillusioned command. The Modocs, however, continued mounting attacks on military supply trains, forcing Davis to send patrols to the affected areas. One such patrol, commanded by a Captain Hasbrouck, fell victim to another Modoc ambush, but succeeded in rallying a counterattack that routed Captain Jack's forces. Known as the Battle of Sorass Lake (May 10, 1873), this was the first in a series of engagements in which the Army troops proved equal to the Modocs (Murray 1959:246-251; Thompson 1971:101-105; Dillon 1973:283).

The tide now turned. While the Modocs had been winning, their morale had remained consistently high. After the battle of Sorass Lake, many latent jealousies broke out within the various Modoc sub-groups under Captain Jack. These differences eroded Modoc cohesiveness and the Indians now became victims of a "cat and mouse" hunt by the Army. Continually pressing the exhausted Modocs, the soldiers succeeded in capturing several small groups of stragglers. Worse yet, several of Captain Jack's band deserted and joined the hunters. Despite the extreme odds against them, the remaining Modocs continued to outmaneuver and elude the army troops for another month. It was not until June 1, 1873, that the war ended with the surrender of Captain Jack and the last remnants of his illustrious band (Murray 1959:252-282; Thompson 1971:109-115; Dillon 1973:277-304).

On July 1, 1873, a military tribunal was convened to try Captain Jack and five other Modoc leaders, Schonchin John, Black Jim, Boston Charley, Barncho, and Sloluck (Murray 1959:283-299; Thompson 1971:117-126; Dillon 1973:305-332). No legal representative was assigned to the Modocs. The commission found all six of the Modocs guilty of two charges, murder and assault, in violation of the laws of war, and sentenced them to be hanged. On August 22, President Grant approved the sentences, although he later commuted the sentence to life imprisonment for Barncho and Sloluck. Captain Jack and the other three Modoc leaders were hanged on the morning of October 3, 1873. The heads of the Modoc leaders were then cut off and shipped to the Army Medical Museum in Washington, D.C. (Thompson 1971:125-126).

### PHOTOGRAPHERS OF THE MODOC WAR

As recently as 1971, a historian of the Modoc War wrote: "As far as is known, Muybridge was the only photographer present during the war" (Thompson 1971:132). However, directly contradicting Thompson's statement was his own selection of 1873 war photographs, which included seven images by Eadweard J. Muybridge and 10 images by the forgotten cameraman of the Modoc War—Louis H. Heller. Even when Heller has been given credit for covering the Modoc War, it has been grudging and deprecating. Haas (1976: 52) wrote: "Louis Heller, a studio portraitist from nearby Fort Jones, also ventured into the *final stage* [my italics] of the war and photographed some of the same persons as Muybridge, but his stiff portraits could just as well have been taken in his studio."

The facts are that Heller was the first to photograph a Modoc War-related event, the first to arrive at the lava beds with his camera, the first to publish Modoc imagery in a national publication, and the first to photo-

graph the Modoc captives. Moreover, Heller's craftsmanship was usually equal to Muybridge's, and many of his images are artistically provocative.

Muybridge's fame as a photographer undoubtedly helped obscure Heller's role in covering the Modoc War. But Muybridge himself did nothing to set the record straight. Writing in the third person in 1881, Muybridge touted his own preeminence as *the photographer* of the Modoc War:

. . . Mr. Muybridge was dispatched to the front during the Modoc War, and the wide spread and accurate knowledge of the topography of the memorable Lava Beds and the country round-about, and of the personnel of the few Indians who, with the bravery (of) at least the classic three hundred, defied and fought the army of the Union, is due chiefly to the innumerable and valuable photographs taken by him [Mozley 1972:46].

Before discussing the photographic coverage of the Modoc War, something should be said about the two photographers. Muybridge's career has been described so often that only a brief sketch seems necessary. Few photographers have had such a profound influence on society and their peers. With the exception of a short article (Schmitt 1960:23),<sup>1</sup> however, details of Heller's life have not previously been published.

#### Eadweard J. Muybridge (1830-1904)

Muybridge's life-story is a fascinating tale of strange circumstances and crusading zeal (see Mozley, 1972). Born Edward James Muggeridge, he immigrated to America in 1852, and eventually achieved great public recognition for his mammoth-sized views of Yosemite's scenic wonders and for his pioneering efforts in the study of animal motion. Often called the "Father of the Motion Picture," Muybridge (Plate 1) is one of photography's most important figures. Because of

his reputation as a superb photographic craftsman, the United States government made a wise choice in selecting Muybridge to document the Modoc War.

### Louis Herman Heller (1839-1928)

Louis Heller's life typifies the successful integration of the European-born immigrant into mainstream America. Born in Hesse Darmstadt, Germany, on August 11, 1839, Heller is thought to have come to New York City in 1855. Easily adapting to his new home, he eventually joined the westward migration to California. Settling in the Siskiyou County area, he worked as a professional photographer for nearly 40 years.

Only 16 years old when he arrived in America, Heller became an assistant to a New York lithographer and fellow German, Julius Bien (1826-1909), best remembered as the first great scientific map-engraver in the United States. Young Heller helped Bien produce the Audubon Folios, among other projects (Schmitt 1960:23). Early in the 1860's, Heller joined a New York photographic establishment, where he soon learned all aspects of the trade (*Yreka Journal*, October 7, 1864). Although the name of this gallery is unknown, it seems likely that it was the same one in which Heller posed proudly in July, 1861 (Plate 2). Heller is believed to have migrated to California in 1862 (Schmitt 1960:23). If such is the case, his whereabouts during the next two years are still unresolved. By October, 1864, Heller was permanently located in the Siskiyou. Settling in Yreka, he was naturalized there on October 27, 1864. This information, recorded in the *Siskiyou Great Register*, describes Heller as 5 feet, 8 inches tall, and light complected with brown hair and eyes.

Utilizing his previous photographic experience, Heller formally advertised his own photographic establishment on "Miner Street, one door west of Yreka Brewery," starting in October, 1864. His offerings included

"PHOTOGRAPHS, AMBROTYPES, MELANOTYPES . . . In the most superior style, and at reasonable rates" (*Yreka Journal*, October 7, 1864).

For the next five years, Heller's Yreka Photograph Gallery did a respectable and growing business. During part of each summer, he traveled with his portable photo tent to adjacent areas, providing "counterfeit presentments" in Fort Jones, Rough and Ready (Etna) (*Yreka Union*, September 7, 1867), and the Scott Valley region (*Yreka Journal*, June 28, 1867).

Throughout his long stay in the Siskiyou, Heller's interest seemed focused on this striking region west of Yreka. In January, 1869, Heller sold his Yreka Gallery to his assistant, Jacob Hansen (*Yreka Journal*, January 15, 1869) (Plate 4) and established a new base of operations in Fort Jones, where he remained active until 1900.

From his new location, Heller served a large geographic area. The surrounding countryside was quite mountainous, with beautiful winding streams; travel was difficult and often dangerous. Heller's summer excursions now included Callahans, Sawyers Bar, Trinity Center, Scott Bar, Happy Camp, and many of the smaller mining communities (*Scott Valley News*, August 6, 1881). His portable gallery was a welcome sight in the back country, where diversions were rare.

Heller's studio offerings during the 1860's are typical of the era. *Carte de visite* style photographs, with the subject standing in a full-length pose, were most popular. Backgrounds were austere, and props were kept to a minimum. One massive chair with an ornately carved back was often employed. Stylistically, these images are straight-forward, but contain a large measure of dignity and simple elegance.

Heller also produced views of the developing towns and local mining operations (Plates 5 and 6); but only a few of these documents survive. The Black Bear Mine, deep

in the Salmon Mountains, was a popular Heller haunt, and a number of early views of this operation currently exist. Heller is also one of the few early photographers who actually pictured the landforms of the area. While Heller was serving the pictorial needs of the western Siskiyou, an extraordinary event taking place on the eastern border of Siskiyou County was to provide him with his greatest opportunity for public acclaim as a photographer—the Modoc War.

### PHOTOGRAPHING THE MODOC WAR

The tragic massacre of the peace commissioners on April 11, 1873, coupled with the ineptness of the Army's efforts to remove the Modocs, led to heated public demonstrations. One of these, the hanging in effigy of the Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, by the citizens of Yreka, on April 13, 1873, was photographed by Louis Heller (*Yreka Journal*, April 14, 1873). This seems to be the earliest war-related photographic image of the Modoc War (Plate 9). A week later, sometime between April 21 and April 27, Heller started for the "front."<sup>2</sup>

Although the exact dates on which he used his camera are not known, newspaper accounts record his return during the week of May 5 with some 24 stereo views relating to the Modoc War:

STEREOGRAPHIC VIEWS—Louis Heller returned from lava bed last week, and is now busy finishing up some beautiful and accurate views of the country in that section, including pictures of Jack's cave, Scarfaced Charley's hole, groups of Warm Spring Indians, soldiers camps, Tule Lake, and the lava bed in sections and in full. Mr. Heller intends getting a copyright for his views, which cannot be excelled for beauty, shade and artistic finish, he being one of the most accurate and ingenious photographers on this coast. When they are ready for sale, they will undoubtedly sell with a rush, as everyone

wants to see what the lava bed looks like, and to form an idea of the hard place soldiers have been obliged to fight the Indians in [*Yreka Journal*, May 14, 1873].

Eadweard J. Muybridge traveled to the Modoc site at the request of the United States Government, arriving a week later than Heller. His task was to "prepare photographic views of the different approaches to the lava bed and of Captain Jack's famous cave and fortifications" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, April 29, 1873). Photographing the site was made possible by a military action completed on April 17, which finally succeeded in forcing the Modocs from their fortified stronghold. The Modocs, however, remained at large. Muybridge traveled from San Francisco in the company of the Commanding General of the Department of Columbia, Jefferson C. Davis, and an army engineer, Captain Lydecker (Muybridge's supervisor). Listed in at least one report as an army photographer, Muybridge arrived in Yreka on Sunday evening, April 27, 1873 (*Yreka Journal*, April 30, 1873). The following day he took several photographs of Yreka. He also made at least one view of Mount Shasta, the region's most prominent landmark, from a hill-top just east of town (*Yreka Journal*, April 30, 1873). On April 30, the Davis party, including Muybridge, started the two-day march to the lava beds (*Yreka Union*, May 3, 1873). Although the party arrived at the field headquarters on May 2, it seems unlikely that Muybridge actually began taking pictures until the following day.

It appears certain that Heller and Muybridge were at the battlefield during at least part of the same period. While they both photographed some of the same scenes, in most instances their work was complementary rather than redundant. Thus, it is important to view photographs taken by both men to clearly understand the conditions of the war. Muybridge probably took his photographs between May 3 and May 11, 1873,<sup>3</sup> with Heller starting

as much as a week earlier. The battle terrain that the two men photographed is well characterized by the following description:

If you can, imagine a smooth, solid sheet of granite, ten miles square and five hundred feet thick, covering resistless mines of gunpowder, scattered at irregular intervals under it; that these mines are exploded simultaneously, rending the whole field into rectangular masses, from the size of a match box to that of a church, heaping these masses high in some places, and leaving deep chasms in others. Following the explosion, the whole thing is placed in one of Vulcan's crucibles, and heated up to a point when the whole begins to fuse and run together, and then suffered to cool. The roughness of the surface remains as the explosion left it, while all below is honeycombed by the cracks and crevices caused by the cooling of the melted rock. An Indian can, from the top of one of these stone pyramids, shoot a man without exposing even so much as an inch square of himself. He can, without undue haste, load and shoot a common musse-loading rifle ten times, before a man can scramble over the rocks and chasms between the slain and the slayer. If at this terrible expense of life, a force dislodges him from his cover, he has only to drop into and follow some subterraneous passage with which he is familiar, to gain another ambush, from which it will cost ten more lives to dislodge him . . . [Wells 1881:147].

Naturalist John Muir, visiting the Modoc battlefield a year after the war had ended, was moved to describe the scene as "A gloomy place to die in, and deadly looking even without the Modocs" (Osborne 1974:67).

Photography under field conditions was complicated by the elaborate on-site preparation of the glass-plate negatives. A simple move from one location to another, even for a short distance, meant packing one's dark-tent, bottles of chemicals, trays, glass-plate boxes, camera, tripod, and any other equipment.

Both photographers used double-lens cameras to produce stereographs of the lava beds and encampments. Seen through a stereoscope viewer these glimpses of century-old events are still startlingly clear. Views of actual combat were virtually nonexistent during the wet-plate period. The insensitivity of the sensitized plates plus the time-consuming and cumbersome aspects of their preparation made instantaneous photography impossible. Moreover, any cameraman engrossed in this process was an easy target for a hostile marksman (Taft 1938:234).

Although there are no documented instances of either Heller or Muybridge coming under fire, the possibility was ever present. Heller, for example, was no doubt in the war arena during the April 26 attack on the Thomas patrol in which dozens of troopers were killed (Murray 1959:223-240). Likewise, Muybridge could have been nearby during the Battle of Sorass Lake on May 10 (Thompson 1971:97-99).<sup>4</sup>

Battlefield photography by 1873, while a novelty, was not unknown. The Mexican War of 1846-48 had received the attention of a daguerreotypist. In 1855, Roger Fenton made over 300 impressive photographs of the Crimean War. Perhaps, however, the best known examples of war photography resulted from Mathew Brady's patronage and interest in a photographic documentation of the American Civil War (Newhall 1964:67-71; Gernsheim 1969:267-274). Heller's and Muybridge's photographs of the Modoc War are similar to these earlier efforts. Neither attempted to capture the events of the war as they actually occurred. Instead they photographed the terrain, the encampments, and the symbols of war. Surprisingly, it was not until the First World War that photographers became an accepted official part of the entourage of war (Gernsheim 1969:273). The fact that Muybridge was specifically employed by the government to document battlefield con-

ditions is precedent-setting.

Although the Modoc War was a small, local conflict, the stubborn resistance of Captain Jack's band received a great deal of publicity. Muybridge's documentary efforts were regularly heralded by the San Francisco newspapers, creating a demand for immediate photographic glimpses of the "front." Thus spurred by demand, both Heller and Muybridge attempted to provide an illusion of combat by staging photographs of Indians (friendly) and infantrymen in war-like postures. Muybridge, particularly, created some dramatic tableaux. One of these was later published in *Harper's Weekly* (June 21, 1873) as "Modoc Brave Lying in Wait for a Shot" (Plate 24). This picture, based on a Muybridge stereograph (Plate 26), shows an Indian crouched behind a rock outcrop with his rifle extended as though in combat. This fierce looking warrior was not a Modoc, but an Indian scout attached to the United States Army (Murray 1959:198-200).

Even in staging war scenes there was a precedent. In several Civil War images by Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan, the body of a soldier killed on the battlefield was moved and manipulated to create a more effective portrayal of war (Frassanito 1975: 187-192).<sup>5</sup>

Muybridge has been credited as the first to provide Modoc War imagery for a national publication. While it is true that *Harper's Weekly* used Muybridge photographs as the basis for woodcut engravings on June 21, 1873, this was not the first such use. The preceding issue of this magazine is similarly illustrated "from recent photographs" (*Harper's Weekly*, June 14, 1873) that are unmistakably Louis Heller's (compare Plate 18 with Plate 10; also Plate 22 with the illustration at the lower right in Plate 11). All of the other illustrations in this article may be matched to known Heller stereographs.

Completing his work, Muybridge departed

for San Francisco on May 14 (*Yreka Union*, May 17, 1873) and did not return. His pictures were processed and issued by the well-known San Francisco firm of Bradley & Rulofson. Heller produced initial sets of Modoc War stereographs under his own name, but soon turned to Bradley & Rulofson's principal competitor, Carleton E. Watkins, for volume production and distribution.

On May 28, 1873, Army Engineer Lydecker submitted a preliminary report of his map-making and evaluation of the lava beds, including:

... copies of the stereoscopic views taken under my direction by Mr. E.J. Muybridge. I trust an examination of these will convey a clear idea of the exceedingly difficult country in which our forces have been compelled to operate against the Modoc Indians [Haas 1976:51].

Even in this instance, Muybridge was not exclusive as many Heller photographs were also widely used in government reports.<sup>6</sup>

In the meantime, the war continued. Some of the Modoc warriors had been captured, and it was anticipated that the remainder would soon be forced to surrender (Murray 1959: 252-269). On June 1, 1873, Captain Jack and the remainder of his band were taken prisoners (Murray 1959:269-270). Heller immediately returned to the field to "secure the photographs of Capt. Jack and the leading Modocs, who have raised such a war breeze over the country" (*Yreka Journal*, June 11, 1873). The exact date these photographs were taken is not known, although June 4 to June 8, 1873, seems likely.<sup>7</sup>

After his second trip to the scene of the war, Heller returned to Yreka with the likenesses of many of the captive Modocs: Shacknasty Jim, Schonchin, One-eyed Dixie, Curly-headed Doctor, Hooka Jim, Scarfaced Charley, and others—even the names of these Modoc warriors seemed menacing (Plates 12,

14, 15). "All of these pictures are from life" crowed the *Yreka Journal* (June 18, 1873).

Heller soon proceeded to San Francisco where his photographs were mass-produced at Watkins' Gallery "... 20 women and a number of Chinamen being kept constantly at work" (*Yreka Journal*, June 25, 1873). Offered at \$4 per dozen (*Yreka Journal*, July 2, 1873), the card-mounted (oversized, *carte de visite* style) portraits were very popular. Enlarged examples "suitable for framing, and hanging up in saloons or private rooms," were also touted (*Yreka Journal*, July 9, 1873).

On July 12, 1873, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* featured Heller's Modoc warrior portraits on its entire front page (Plate 16). However, these pictures, together with others mentioned in the *Philadelphia Photographer* (March 1874), were all credited to Carleton Watkins. Heller's later sale of his Modoc negatives to Watkins (Turrill 1918:35)<sup>8</sup> virtually guaranteed his own anonymity as a "war photographer."

### LOUIS HELLER AFTER THE MODOC WAR

By the fall of 1873, Heller had returned to his usual routine at his Fort Jones Gallery. To keep up with the times, he provided a number of photographic services usually available only in a more metropolitan setting. One of these involved the hand-painting of imperial-sized portraits, advertised as follows:

Do not pay double the price to Agents who don't know anything about the business, only get your orders and send them to the "Picture Factory," return you a larger picture, taken on a tin plate, doped with a little color and called by these gentlemen a new process . . . I am permanently located here, will furnish you a better picture for half the price [*Yreka Union*, October 20, 1877].

Heller's studio portraits made during the latter part of the century reflect a number of

changing styles and social attitudes. Gallery decor grew ever more elaborate as the "Victorian Parlor" setting became the fashion. The cabinet (4½x6½-inch) photograph became the dominant medium. What did not change were the basic poses of Heller's subjects. Full-length portraits made in 1890 appear in much the same postures as those taken 25 years earlier. Despite this lack of innovation, however, Heller's efforts continued to be competent and charming.

Louis Heller was well-liked in his community and had many friends. He never shirked his civic duty, serving as Justice of the Peace for Scott Valley during 1878-79 and Postmaster for Fort Jones from 1894-98. A bachelor of long standing, he finally married in 1889 (*Scott Valley News*, November 9, 1889). The bride, Alice O. Daggett, was a sister of the ex-Lieutenant Governor of California, John Daggett. During this same year, Heller opened a drugstore in conjunction with his photography studio. "Being a thorough druggist of many years experience previous to his locating in Fort Jones, he will make it a convenience to the public and a source of income to himself" (*Scott Valley News*, April 20, 1889).

Heller operated his photographic gallery until shortly before the turn of the century. Advertisements for his gallery continue through at least mid-1899 (*Scott Valley Advance*, May 18, 1899).

In August, 1900, the Heller home (the photography studio was on the second floor) and a great deal of his personal property was placed on the auction block. The *Scott Valley Advance* (August 2, 1900) listed a complete inventory of these items for sale, including:

. . . one fine, large, gentle driving mare, also harness and road cart. One first-class milch cow . . . Two casks (over 50 gallons each) of fine J.F. Cutter whiskey . . . [and] a very complete photography outfit.

After the sale of his Fort Jones holdings, Heller is said to have moved to San Francisco,

where he died on June 25, 1928. He reportedly destroyed all of his remaining glass-plate negatives at the time of his move, as "being of no value" (Schmitt 1960:23). The Heller home still stands on the main street of Fort Jones. Known as the "Fort Jones House" the residence has recently been placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

While Louis Herman Heller has long been an almost-forgotten photographer of the frontier West, much of his legacy lives on. In addition to the Modoc War photographs, his early glimpses of mines and mining, homesteads and towns, and the faces of the pioneers who populated the region continue to provide important reflections of the past.

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*Humboldt State University  
Arcata, California*

### NOTES

1. Martin Schmitt's article (1960) is well-packed with particulars concerning Louis Heller. In a recent letter to the author he indicated several important sources of these details:

Other information, especially biographical, is from information supplied to Elmo Scott Watson (Professor of Journalism, Northwestern University) by Hallie M. Daggett of Black Bear, Calif. and Mrs. Adah H. Fitchett of Oakland, Calif., a niece of Heller's. Watson, in turn, supplied the information to the Photographic Section of the U.S. Army Signal Corps, where I obtained it.

2. The *Yreka Union* of April 30, 1873, con-

firmed that "Louis Heller, . . . left for the Modoc section last week to take views of the lava bed and vicinity." "Last week" may mean, Monday, April 21—Sunday, April 27, 1873. The most interesting clue, however, may be found in the *Yreka Journal* of May 7, 1873: "The bodies of Major Thomas, Col. Wright, Lieut. Howe and Lieut. Sherwood, were brought here (Yreka) last Thursday (May 1) . . . where the three former were embalmed by Drs. Greer and Ream, the latter (Sherwood) having been embalmed at military headquarters by Louis Heller." Since Thomas, Wright, and Howe were killed on April 26, some 7 days had elapsed before their bodies were embalmed. Sherwood died on April 14. Assuming 7-10 days to be within the practical period in which to undertake embalming (other accounts in similar circumstances show 14 days to be much too long), Heller would have been at military headquarters during the first half of the week, say April 21-23, 1873.

3. A dispatch from the battlesite, dated May 8, reported that "Mr. Muybridge . . . will start for San Francisco today" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1873). The *San Francisco Daily Call* (May 14, 1873) indicated that Captain Lydecker (with whom Muybridge is presumed to have traveled) departed the lava beds on the morning of May 12. The *Yreka Union* (May 17, 1873) reported his departure from Yreka on May 14.

4. Many writers have mentioned the ease with which the Modocs moved throughout the lava beds. Reported sightings of hostile Modocs occurred daily with witnesses claiming to have seen members of Captain Jack's band many miles from the battlefield. While the vast majority of these sightings were unfounded, the Modocs had proven themselves to be masterful in their ability to ambush the unwary. Sergeant Michael McCarthy, a participant in the war, noted:

There was no question about the good fighting qualities of the Modocs. They were very brave and very skillful also and repulsed all attacks with great loss to the troops and no particular loss to themselves [Thompson 1971:167].

5. Frassanito's (1975) most thoughtful reevaluation of the famous battlefield photographs of Civil

War Gettysburg clearly cautions us to avoid the pitfalls of assuming that photographs and photographers are incapable of artifice.

6. The New York Public Library holds a bound volume catalogued *Modoc Massacre, the Newspaper Clippings, mounted from Harper's Weekly and Other Papers, etc., etc.* This book appears to be an official compendium of reports, letters, photographs, and other memorabilia relating to the Modoc conflict. The Lydecker (1873) report and *The Modoc War* (Anonymous 1873) also appear in this volume. The most interesting aspect of this work is the profusion of tipped-in photographs. Both Heller and Muybridge images are well-represented. Portraits of many of the prominent army officers are also present. It would appear that this volume was bound after 1873, perhaps in 1874, since post-war views of the Warm Spring Indians (scouts for the army) taken in San Francisco, also appear. Besides Heller and Muybridge, other San Francisco photographers represented include: Bradley & Rulofson, C.E. Watkins, Thomas Houseworth, and I.W. Taber.

7. Curly-Haired Jack appears in a Heller photograph (Lost River Murderers, seated version). In a recent letter to the author, Francis S. Landrum raises an interesting point:

Curly Haired Jack committed suicide at Peninsula Camp (Boyles) prior to the prisoners' departure to Fort Klamath. Schofield to Sherman, June 12, 1873, in HR Document 122, ". . . trial will take place at Fort Klamath, to which prisoners are now enroute." I can't give you a more precise date than "after June 4 and prior to say June 9th." Say they left June 9th; add two days courier time to Yreka plus a day travel toward the fort (more or less) equals 12 June.

8. Photographs of the Modoc War were marketed after the close of the conflict. Bradley & Rulofson continued to offer the Muybridge stereographs, while Carleton Watkins published Heller imagery as his own. It is also possible that the Heller negatives came under the control of I.W. Taber during his takeover of much of Watkins' holdings (Turrill 1918:35).

9. Researchers often encounter pictures which defy satisfactory assessment. Plate 33 is a typical example. The caption, written on the original negative, places the event pictured on the "BATTLEFIELD IN MODOC LAVA BEDS WHERE LAST INDIAN VICTORY ON PACIFIC COAST WAS WON." This would be the assault on the Thomas patrol on April 26, 1873 (Thompson 1971:79-92). In recent letters to the author, Francis S. Landrum described this picture:

I have a photo taken of a rock strewn sagebrush field. In it lie seven or eight "bodies" [X's], clothed but apparently very dead . . . The hill in the field is Thomas Hill . . . A stone cairn has been piled up [at A] . . . I have located the exact site of the photo in the Thomas battlefield . . . Today the cairn is strewn about and at its base is a depression, like an opened grave. As there was a mass grave . . . I think this is it . . . But, who took the foto, and when?

It could have been taken by someone on April 27th (Heller?), prior to the march back (the body count is correct) . . . It could have been taken May 9th (Heller or Muybridge) when a complement was sent out to pick up the remains . . . (or, lastly) It could have been taken when Capt. Hasbrouck's funeral detail removed the bodies from the Thomas site . . . (Hasbrouck departs about August 25, 1873).

Historian Erwin Thompson believes that the picture is a post-war reenactment (Thompson 1971: Map 7). Both Landrum and Thompson have investigated several dozen particulars relative to this subject. So far, the results of their investigations remain inconclusive.

For those who might enjoy the research process by which a battlefield photograph may be investigated, the author recommends Frassanito's *Gettysburg: a Journey in Time* (Frassanito 1975).

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### CATALOGUE AND NOTES ON THE MODOC WAR PHOTOGRAPHS

#### Stereographs of the Modoc War by Eadweard Muybridge (May 3-11, 1873)

At least 50 stereograph views of the Modoc War are known. The precise number of images that Muybridge actually made is uncertain and newspaper accounts of the period vary: 50 (*Yreka Union*, May 10, 1873; *San Francisco Daily Call*, May 10, 1873); 60 (*San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1873); and 70 (*Yreka Union*, May 17, 1873). The Muybridge stereograph series is numbered 1601-1631. A catalogue issued by Bradley & Rulofson in 1873 shows preceding stereograph #1600 "City Front, from the Potrero (San Francisco)" while stereograph #1632 begins a series on the "Cliff House" (Bradley and Rulofson 1873:26). This same catalogue lists a total of 31 Muybridge Modoc stereographs (Bradley & Rulofson 1873:32).

The inconsistency between the 31 images shown in the catalogue and the 50 examples observed by the author may be accounted for by the fact that certain numbers of the Modoc series were issued with entirely different images. For example, Muybridge stereograph #1602 "Capt. Jack's Cave in the Lava Beds" exhibits at least four variations of image (see listing below) (also compare Plates 19 with 20, and 29 with 30). It should be kept in mind that additional variations may exist, unknown at this time.

The Muybridge Modoc War views are accounted for in the Copyright Office (1873: 6262-6292) (Schmitt 1960:23). While many institutions hold Muybridge Modoc imagery, the National Archives, Washington, D.C., and the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, are prime sources. The following listing has utilized titles of actual Muybridge stereographs. No attempt has been made to correct either spelling or grammar.

- 1601 — The Peace Commission Tent, and Stone on Which Gen. Canby Was Sitting When Shot by Capt. Jack.
- 1602 — Capt. Jack's Cave in the Lava Beds.
  - (version 2).
  - (version 3).
  - (version 4).
- 1603 — Panorama of Lava Beds from Signal Station at Tule Lake, Camp South.
- 1604 — Panorama of Lava Beds from Signal Station at Tule Lake, Camp South.
- 1605 — Panorama of Lava Beds from Signal Station at Tule Lake, Camp South.
- 1606 — Panorama of Lava Beds from Signal Station at Tule Lake, Camp South.
- 1607 — Panorama of Lava Beds from Signal Station at Tule Lake, Camp South.
- 1608 — Tule Lake, Camp South, from the Signal Station, Tule Lake in the distance.
- 1609 — Tule Lake, Camp South, Tule Lake in the distance.
- 1610 — Schonschis Rock, Lava Beds in the distance.
- 1611 — Schonschis Rock, Tule Lake in the distance.
  - (version 2).
- 1612 — Bogus Charlie's Cave in the Lava Beds.
  - (version 2).
- 1613 — Schaknastie Jim's Camp in the Lava Beds.
  - (version 2).
- 1614 — Bluff to West of Tule Lake.
- 1615 — On the start for a Reconnaissance of the Lava Beds.
- 1616 — On the Lookout for an Attack at a Picket Station.
- 1617 — Bringing in the Wounded After an Engagement During the Modoc Indian War.
- 1618 — The Modoc Stronghold after its Capture.
- 1619 — The Lava Beds, No. 1.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 2.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 3.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 4.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 5.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 6.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 6.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 7.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 8.
  - The Lava Beds, No. 9.

- The Lava Beds, No. 10.
- The Lava Beds, No. 11.
- The Lava Beds, No. 12.
- 1620 —The Lava Beds.
- 1621 —Generals Jeff C. Davis, Hardie, Gillem, and Officers of the Modoc Commission.
- 1622 —Donald McKy, the celebrated Indian Scout.
- 1623 —Donald McKy, the celebrated Warm Spring Indian Scout.  
—(version 2).
- 1624 —Mrs. Riddell, (Toby), (the Squaw who cautioned General Canby of his impending fate), and Riddell her husband.
- 1625 —One-eyed Dixie and Modoc Squaws.
- 1626 —A Modoc Brave on the War Path.
- 1627 —A Modoc Brave on the War Path.
- 1628 —Warm Spring Indian Scouts in Camp.  
—(version 2).
- 1629 —Warm Spring Indian Scouts in the Field.
- 1630 —Warm Spring Indian Scouts on Picket Duty.
- 1631 —“Our Own Correspondent” in the Lava Beds.

**Stereographs of the Modoc War by Louis Heller**

Twenty-four Heller stereographs are known. An 1873 listing published in the *Yreka Journal* (May 21, 1873) coincides with known examples. The series is numbered 2501-2524; however, paste-over numbering as No. 1, No. 2, etc. has been observed. No examples are listed in the Copyright Office (Schmitt 1960: 23).

The University of Oregon Library has a complete set of original examples. The majority of examples in their set bear the notice “Stereoscopic views by Louis Heller, Yreka, Cal.” and a copyright notice. Other examples show the legend “Watkin’s Pacific Coast.” Photographs on the following list were taken between an estimated starting date of April 21-27, 1873, and an estimated completion date of May 5-11, 1873.

- 2501 —Lava Bed, looking South East.

- 2502 —Lava Bed, looking East, showing Soldier’s Cemetery.
- 2503 —Headquarters on Tule Lake, taken N.E. from Bluff.
- 2504 —Headquarters on Tule Lake, taken North from Bluff.
- 2505 —Headquarters and Bluff, view taken from beyond picket line, looking North West.
- 2506 —Donald McKay, Captain of the Warm Spring Indians.
- 2507 —Group of Warm Spring Indians.
- 2508 —View of the spot where Gen. E.R.S. Canby and the Peace Commissioners were murdered by the Modocs. The down-trodden grass and small pegs in the foreground show where the Peace tent was pitched at the time of the Massacre. The cross designates the spot where Gen. Canby sat when first fired at by Captain Jack.
- 2509 —Captain Jack’s stronghold, (Scarfacd Charley’s Cave), now held by the troops.
- 2510 —Capt. Jack’s Cave, looking North West.
- 2511 —Capt. Jack’s Cave, showing Modoc fortifications on top—looking West.
- 2512 —Medicine Flag Rock, where the Medicine Flag floated during the three days’ fight.
- 2513 —View of Capt. Jack’s stronghold in the Lava Bed, showing Modoc fortifications in fore and backgrounds, Mount Shasta in the distance, view looking South West.
- 2514 —Battery of howitzers in position in Capt. Jack’s stronghold.
- 2515 —View of Lava Bed, near Mason’s camp.
- 2516 —View of Lava Bed, looking South West.
- 2517 —View of Lava Bed, showing Signal Station at Mason’s camp.
- 2518 —View of Lava Bed, looking West, showing Bluff and Van Bremer’s Hill in the distance.
- 2519 —View of Lava Bed, looking North East, showing the Modoc fortifications in background.
- 2520 —View of Lava Bed, looking North West.
- 2521 —View of Lava Bed, looking South East, showing the spot where the Modocs camped, and to the right the trail by which they escaped from their stronghold.
- 2522 —View of Shasta Valley and Mount Shasta, looking South East.

2523—View of the town of Yreka, Siskiyou County, California, looking West.

2524—View of Miner Street, Yreka.

**Louis Heller Photographs of  
Captive Modoc Warriors (June 4-11, 1873)**

Twenty-four are known, including one variation of the "Captain Jack" likeness (Plates 12 and 13). Note that this variation is the result of manipulation by an artist rather than separate original images. All images are card-mounted, oversized (3¼x5-inch) *carte de visite* style prints. The following phrase appears on the face of the mount "I certify that L. Heller has this day taken the photographs of the above Modoc Indian prisoner under my charge—Capt. C.B. Throckmorton, 4th U.S. Artillery, Officer of the Day. I am cognizant of the above fact—Gen. Jeff. C. Davis U.S.A." The verso of the mount is imprinted with an advertisement for "Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery."

The series is not numbered, although some examples from the Library of Congress holdings show an overprinted number sequence, #400, 401, etc. These numbers appear in the upper right-hand corner of the card-face and the highest number observed was #417. Other examples of this series, not known to the author, may exist. A copyright notice is on file for 12 of this series (1873:7453-7464) (Schmitt 1960:23). Many institutions hold original examples of this material, but none to my knowledge, has a complete set.

BLACK JIM  
BOGUS CHARLEY  
BOGUS CHARLEY, WIFE AND CHILD  
BOSTON CHARLEY  
BURGESS AND BOGUS CHARLEY  
CAPTAIN JACK (two versions, one the product of  
artistic manipulation)  
CURLY-HEADED DOCTOR  
DONALD McKAY AND JACK'S CAPTURERS  
HOOKA JIM  
IKE

JACK'S FAMILY—Lizzy (young wife), Mary (his  
sister), Old Wife & Daughter

LOST RIVER MURDERERS (standing version)

LOST RIVER MURDERERS (seated version)

MODOC SQUAWS

ONE-EYED DIXIE

ONE-EYED MOSE

SCAR-FACED CHARLEY

SCHONCHIN

SCHONCHIN AND JACK (seated version)

SCHONCHIN AND JACK (standing in chains  
version)

SHACKNASTY JIM

SHACKNASTY JIM, HOOKA JIM, STEAM-  
BOAT FRANK, FAIRCHILD

STEAMBOAT FRANK

**Other Modoc War-related Images by  
Louis Heller**

Other known examples of Heller photographic imagery related to the Modoc conflict include the "effigy" photograph of April 13, 1873. Heller is also known to have produced a number of portraits of individuals and military figures who were directly or indirectly involved in the Modoc episode. Generally, this material post-dates the actual Modoc War period.

**Additional Sources of Modoc Imagery**

In addition to the sources of original Modoc pictures mentioned, note should be made of the volume of tipped-in Modoc photographs held by the New York Public Library (Note 6). Also, one of the most complete and readily available sources of Modoc views (half-tone reproductions) is Jeff Riddle's *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (Riddle 1914).

Modoc War photographic views formerly provided by the United States Army Signal Corps display identification numbers within the image area. Most such numbers will occur within the following: 82280-82318, 82553-82564, 83165-83170, and 83686-83703. These numbers are sometimes confusing, since some pictures appear to have two different numbers.

This may be accounted for if each half of the stereo negative received its own number.

Other sources of Modoc War photographs not already listed include: California Historical Society, Siskiyou County Museum, Oregon Historical Society, Lava Beds National Monument, Modoc County Museum, California State Library, Library of Congress, Klamath County Museum, Arizona State Museum, Southwest Museum, and the Smithsonian Institution.

Mention should also be made of the exploitive photographic studies of individuals made famous as a result of the Modoc War, such as the views of Warm Spring Indian Scouts photographed and marketed by Houseworth & Company (ca. 1874). Note as well the possible photographic reenactment of a Modoc event "BATTLEFIELD IN MODOC LAVA BEDS WHERE LAST INDIAN VICTORY ON PACIFIC COAST WAS WON"<sup>9</sup> (Plate 33).



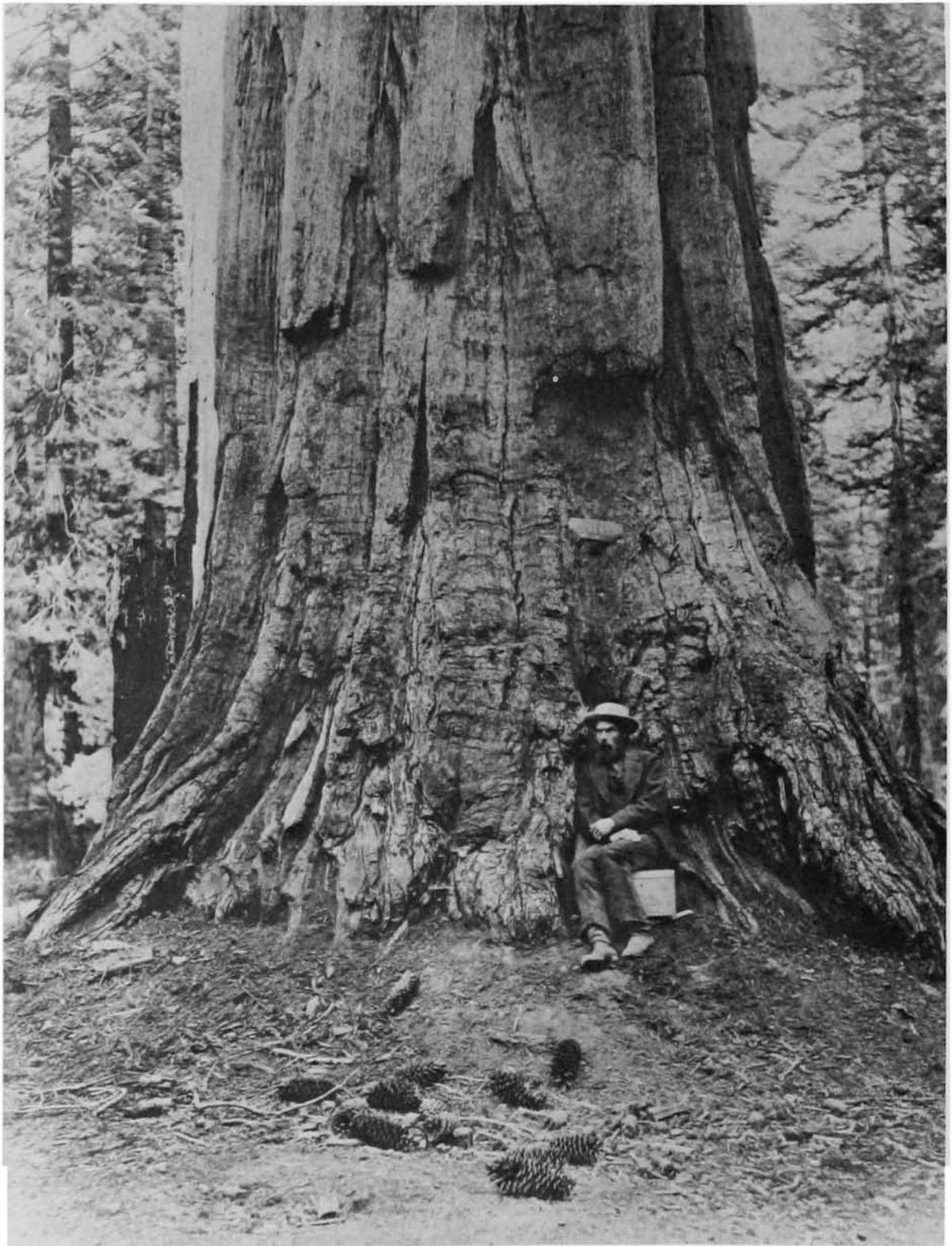


Plate I. Eadweard J. Muybridge (1830-1904).

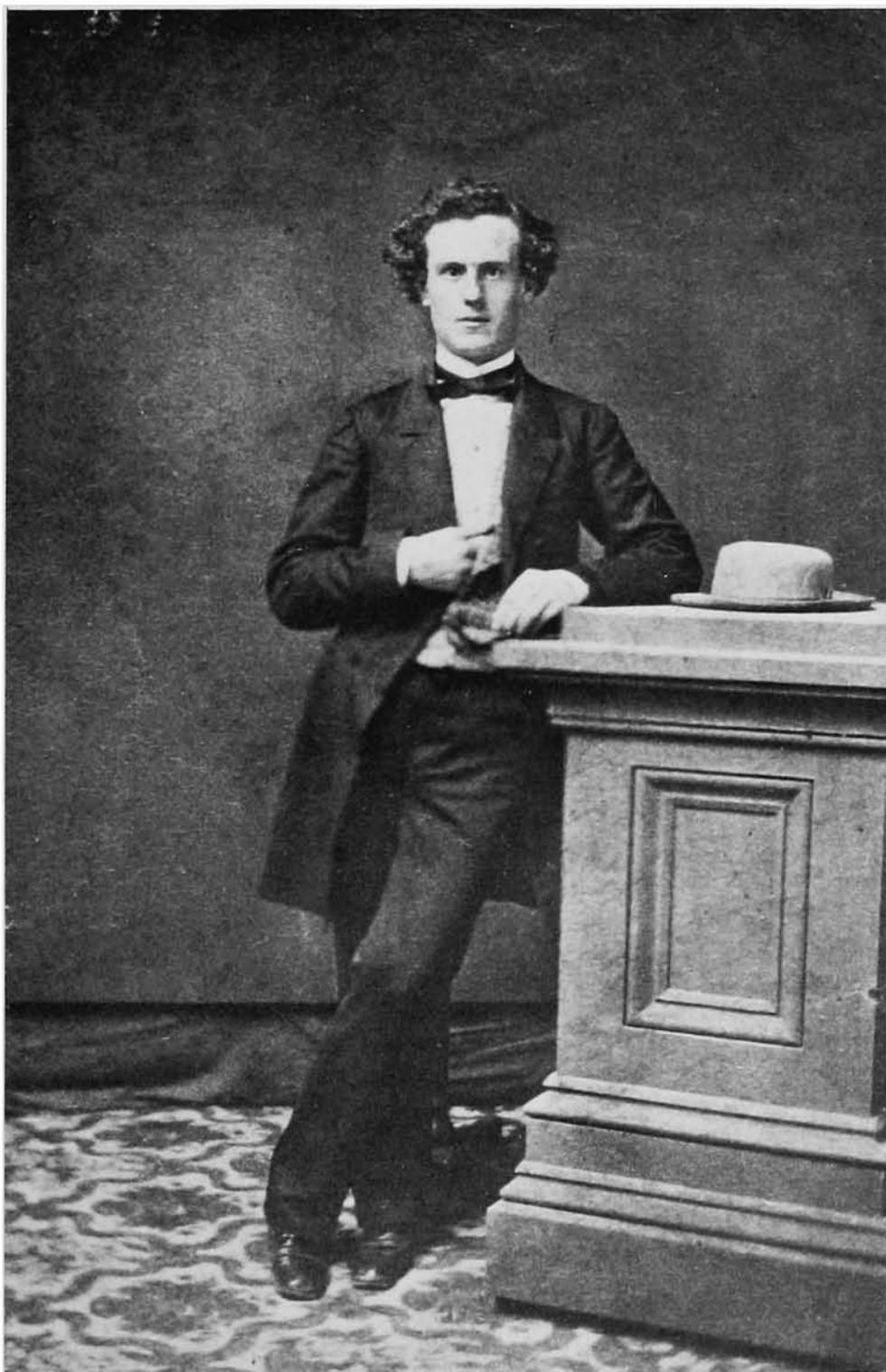


Plate 2. Louis Herman Heller (1839-1928). Photograph taken July, 1861, probably in New York.

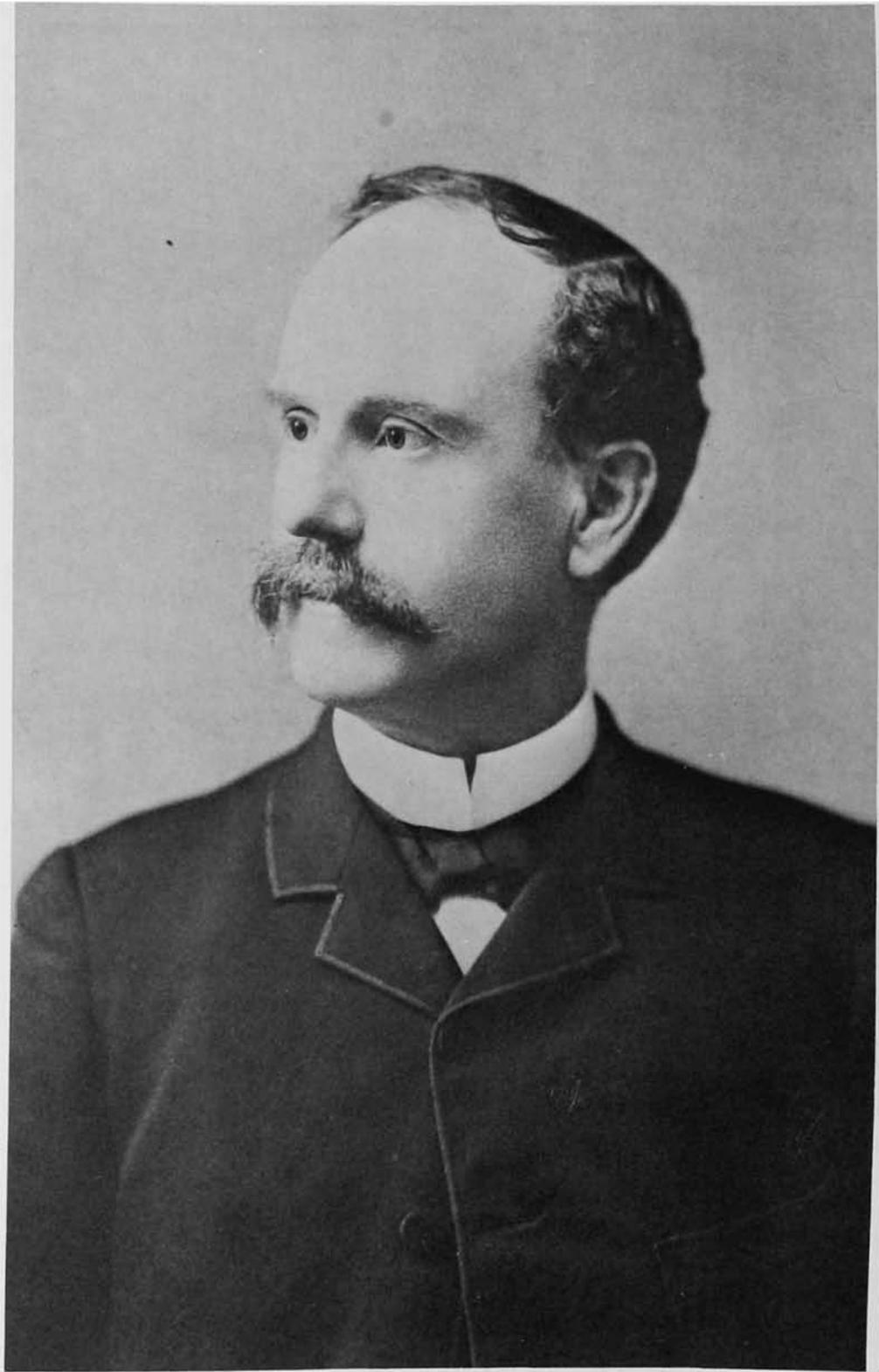


Plate 3. Louis Herman Heller, ca. 1891.



Plate 4. Jacob Hansen, Heller's assistant in the Yreka Photograph Gallery. Note the 4-lens *carte de visite* camera—ca. 1869.

Plate 5. A Heller *carte de visite*, ca. 1870. Possibly an early glimpse of Somes Bar or Forks of Salmon.





Plate 6. A Heller stereograph of hydraulic mining in the Oro Fino area.

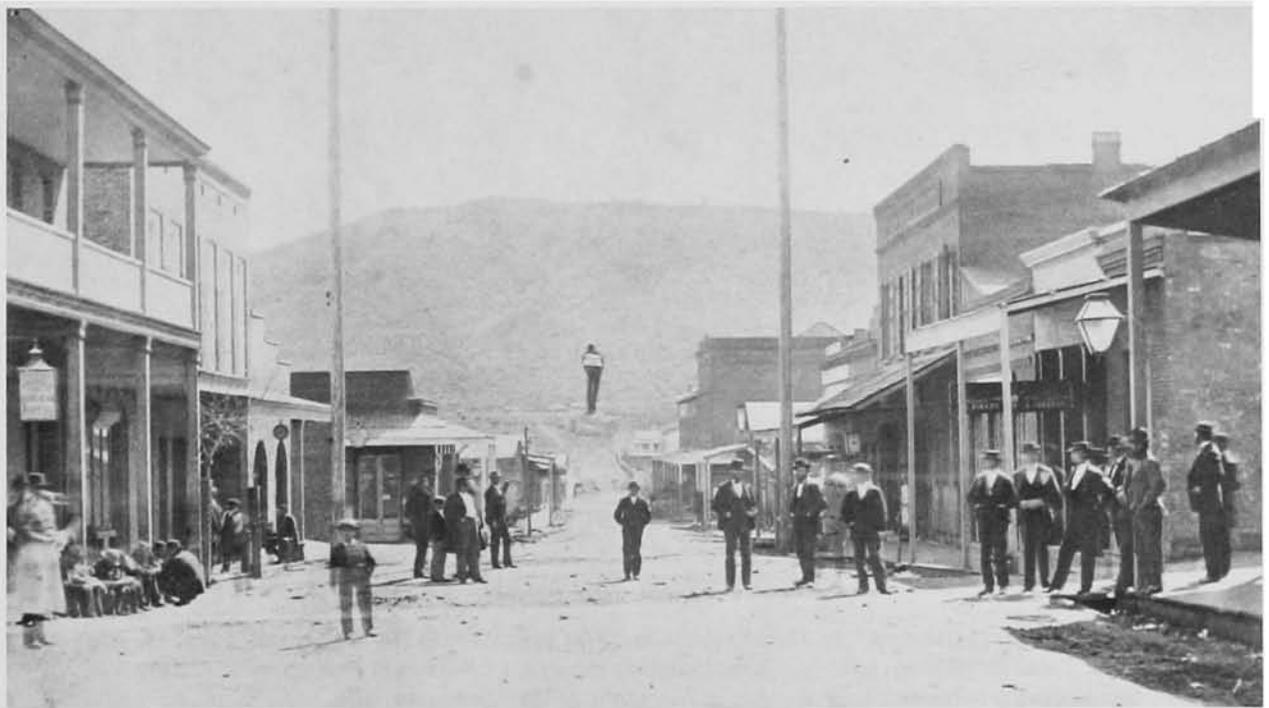


Plate 7. "Drovers"? A *carte de visite* taken in Heller's Fort Jones studio about 1870-72.

Plate 8. Pioneer hunter and trapper, Stephen H. Meek (1807-1889). Photo taken by Heller about 1876.



Plate 9. Perhaps the earliest photograph taken as the result of the Modoc War. This “hanging in effigy” of Secretary of Interior, Columbus Delano, on the main street of Yreka, was photographed by Louis Heller on April 13, 1873.



# HARPER'S WEEKLY.

A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

Vol. XVII.—No. 859.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1873.

[WITH A SUPPLEMENT. PRICE TEN CENTS.]

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the Year 1873, by Harper & Brothers, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.



DONALD M'KAY.

**OUR INDIAN ALLIES.**

When the news of the treacherous murder of General Canby and his associates was first received, public indignation ran so high that the government desisted the whole Modoc tribe to extermination and had them fallen into the hands of the troops at that time, this policy would undoubtedly have been carried out. But

if the extraordinary report which reaches us from the lava beds be true, that General Davis has accepted the services of the Modoc warriors who lately surrendered to him, and has sent them off in pursuit of Captain Jack, the sentiments of the troops must have undergone a marvelous change. A few weeks since they were ready to slaughter on sight the murderers of their general, and now they accept the assistance of a

number of these very murderers, of whose "loyalty" General Davis professes to be fully satisfied. No reasonable objection can be made to the employment of Indian allies against Indians, provided they can be properly restrained and held under discipline. Those who object to such a course, when it would not only save the lives of our soldiers, but hasten the termination of the war, run humanitarian scruples into the ground.

But it is assuming a very dangerous responsibility to enlist any of the Modoc murderers in the service. It would be interesting to know what guarantee General Davis has that they will not rejoin Captain Jack. We give on this page the portrait of DONALD M'KAY, the half-breed leader of the Warm Spring Indians, who have been co-operating with our troops against the sanguinary Modocs. A group



THE LAVA BED REGION—GENERAL VIEW OF CAMP AND LAKE.



GROUP OF WARM SPRING INDIANS.  
OUR INDIAN ALLIES IN THE MODOC WAR.

Plates 10 and 11 (facing page). The Modoc Indian War as pictured in *Harper's Weekly*, June 14, 1873. These illustrations were "engraved, with one exception, from recent photographs" and are unmistakably patterned after Heller's stereographs of the Modoc war-site.

THE MODOC WAR REGION.



SCENE OF CANDY'S DEATH.

We give on this page a series of illustrations, engraved, with one exception, from recent photographs, of the terrible region known as the "lava beds." The first shows the spot where General Candy was murdered;

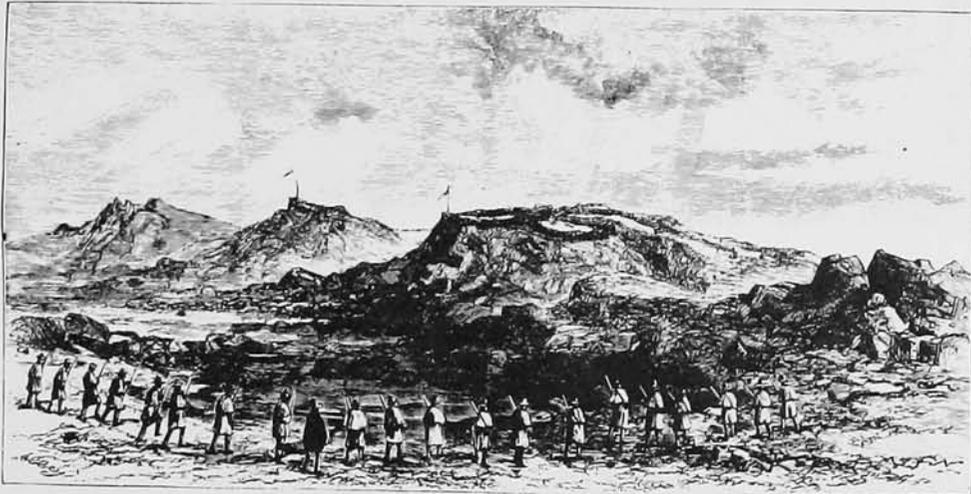
County, on the northern boundary of California. It is a basaltic formation, which appears to have been cut up by volcanic action upon the feet of a lake. The sudden cooling cracked it in every direction, so that it presents a net-work of labyrinthic



THE LAVA BEDS—SCENE OF THE THOMAS MASSACRE IN THE DISTANCE.

beneath, making numerous caverns, some of them many miles in extent. The fissures form connecting passages between these caverns, and afford ready means of attack, retreat, and defence. The largest cavern is said to contain sev-

eral series of their space, with many openings just large enough for a man to crawl through. The Indians traverse these lava beds by tracks known only to themselves. During the latest fighting, while Captain Jack was still at his stronghold, they would stand on peaks, looking down on persons fifty yards beneath, where it would require a long journey to get to them. They could see men running at a distance of five



THE LAST STRONGHOLD—DISMOUNTED CAVALRY OCCUPYING THE LAVA BEDS.—[FROM A SKETCH BY J. M. WELLES.]

eral view of the beds, and the place where Captain Thomas and his men were massacred, just at the foot of the hills in the distance. The region of the lava beds lies in Siskiyou

County, ranging in depth from ten to a hundred feet. Several streams flow through the region southward into Oregon, and in many places have washed out the earthy formation

and series of their space, with many openings just large enough for a man to crawl through. The Indians traverse these lava beds by tracks known only to themselves. During the latest

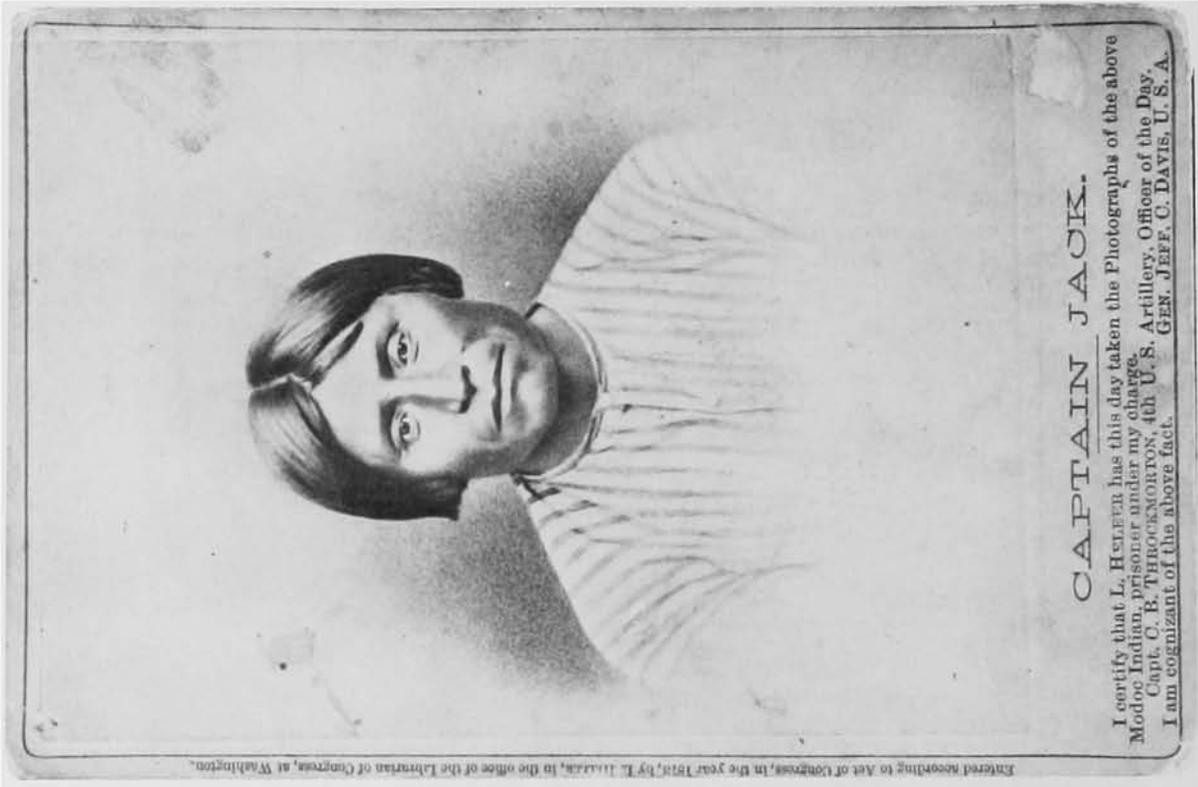
miles without being visible themselves, and permitted their presence to come within a few feet of the peak, and then shot them down and retired, if necessary, to other posts.



●CAPTAIN JACK'S CAVE AND STRONGHOLD, LAKE AND CAMP IN THE DISTANCE.



BATTERY OF HOWITZERS—CAPTAIN JACK'S STRONGHOLD.



Plates 12 and 13. Two variations of the same image of Captain Jack as a captive. This picture of the illustrious Modoc leader was made by Heller within a few days of his capture.



Plate 14. Scar-faced Charley, Captain Jack's best field general. Photo by Heller.



Plate 15. Hooka (Hooker) Jim, considered to be the most aggressive member of Jack's band. "Hooker Jim is the one who always wanted to fight . . ." (Dillon 1973:308). Photo by Heller.



Plate 16. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* of July 12, 1873, showing engravings made from Louis Heller's photographs of the Modoc prisoners. Note that these images are credited to C.E. Watkins.

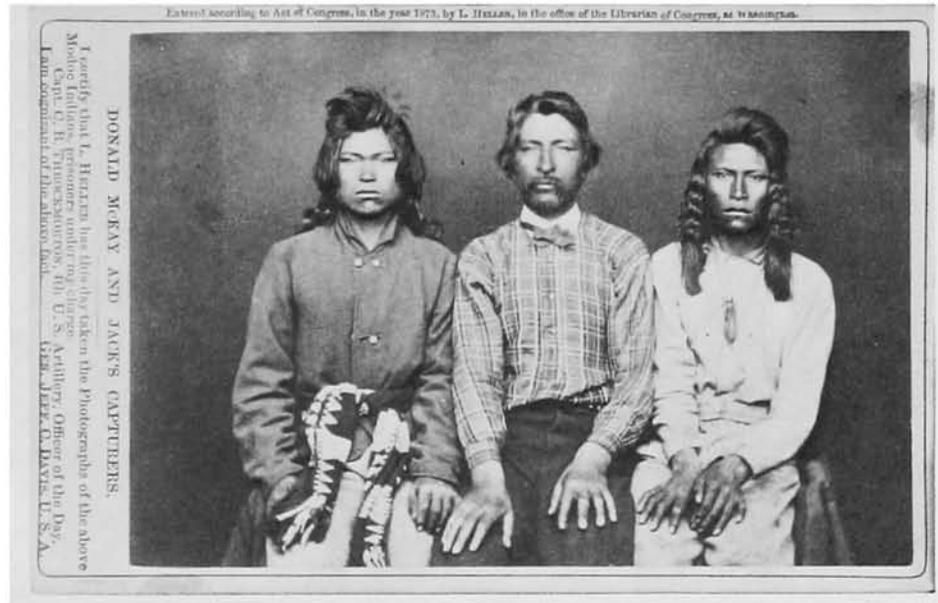
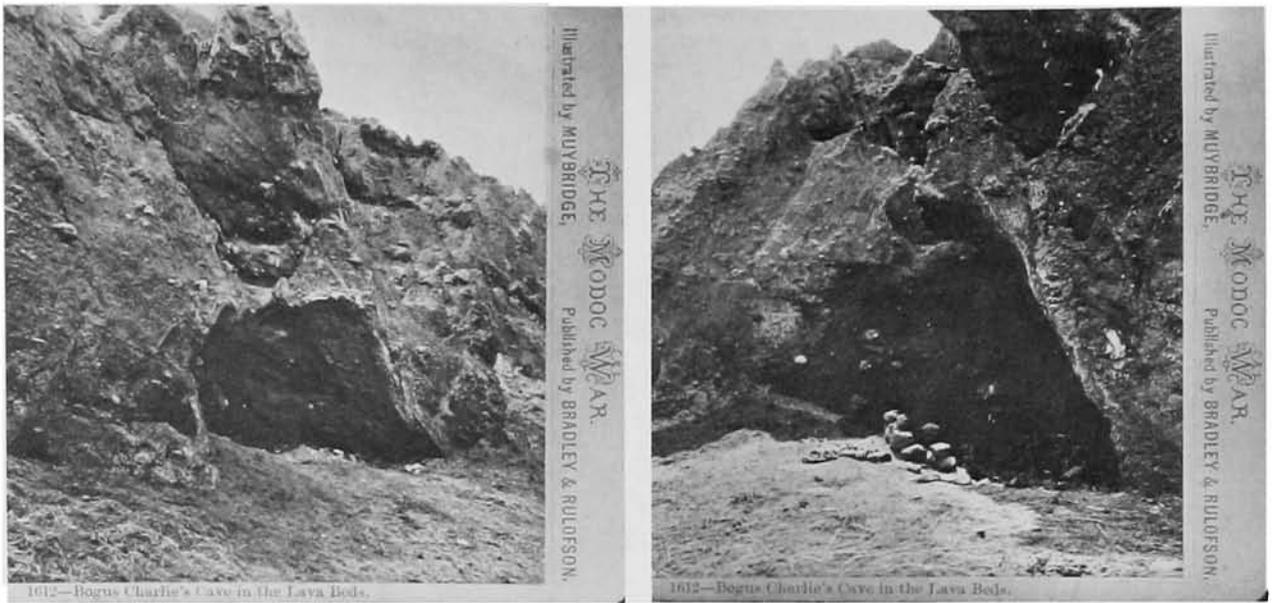


Plate 17. Donald McKay (center), leader of the Warm Spring Indian Scouts with two of his fellows. These men were attached to the U.S. Army and participated in Captain Jack's capture. Photo by Heller.



Plate 18. Compare the image (#2507) with the illustration at the bottom of *Harper's Weekly* (Plate 10). Although the artist, who prepared the engraving, added a mountain range in place of Tule Lake the resemblance of the men's posture to the Heller stereograph is identical.



Plates 19 and 20. Muybridge stereograph #1612, "Bogus Charlie's Cave in the Lava Beds" showing two variations of the same site appearing with the same caption and number.

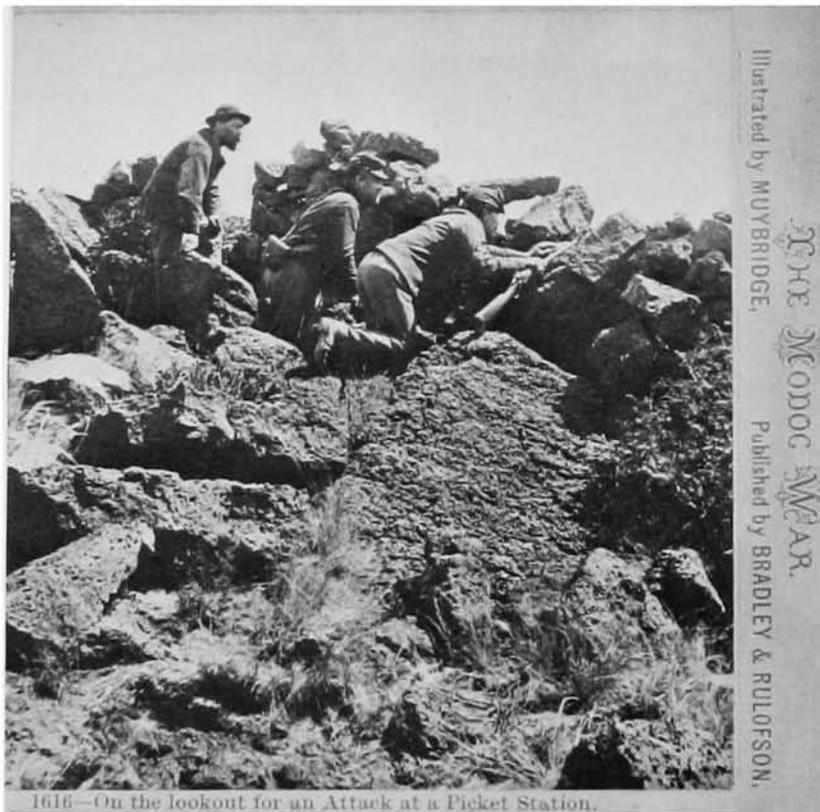


Plate 21. Muybridge stereograph #1616, as it appeared (reversed) in *Harper's Weekly* on June 21, 1873 (Plate 24).



Plate 22. Comparison of this stereograph (#2514) with the illustration at the right-hand bottom of the *Harper's Weekly* (Plate 11) shows that the artist has added a second soldier. In all other respects the scenes are identical.



Plate 23. Heller stereograph (#2504) showing the military encampment and headquarters on Tule Lake. This view is typical of the unique role that such photographic documents play in describing the events of the Modoc War.

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WOODS. BRAVE EYES IN WAIT FOR A SHOT.



ON THE LOOK-OUT FOR AN ATTACK ON A PICKET STATION.

In the course of the operation, and at once the whole camp was in commotion. Down the level plain north of the base, rang a cavalcade of horsemen. The steady rush forward at a furious rate, and soon near the group of spectators scattered about the premises. "Captain JACK is captured!" shouted a sturdy sergeant. Again the valley echoed with cheers and yells, as the form of the dead chief was recognized among the prisoners. They were soon grouped in a field near the camp, and surrounded by a strong guard. Captain JACK is described as apparently about forty years old, with a large and well-shaped face, full character and individuality. Even in his worn and ragged dress he looked every inch a chief, and bore himself with a proud and disdainful indifference toward his captives. He paid no attention to those who crowded about him with eager curiosity, and maintained a dogged silence



MODOK'S BROTHERS.

when spoken to. He was mute as a statue. Before right Captain JACK and SCUMMERS were issued together, and, with the other warriors, placed in a small building under guard. Neither Captain JACK nor SCUMMERS spoke a word or manifested the slightest feeling. SCAR-FACED COOKLEY, however, protested against the indignity in behalf of his fellow-captives, and said that none of them intended to escape, even if the opportunity offered. He obtained but little satisfaction, and retired in disgust. What to do with the captured Modoks is now an embarrassing question. It is held by the military authorities in Washington that if Modoks could not be regarded as "prisoners of war" in the sense known to nations where war is declared in accordance with conventional forms. Not having been so received, they are not entitled to consideration as prisoners of war. The orders issued to



CAPTAIN JACK'S LATE STRONGHOLD.

PICTURES FROM THE LAVA BEDS.—[FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY MUYBRIDGE, FURNISHED BY THE COURTESY OF BRADLEY & RULOFSON, SAN FRANCISCO.]



WARM SPRING INDIANS SCOUTING.

Plate 24. Harper's Weekly of June 21, 1873, showing woodcut engravings patterned "From Photographs by Muybridge, furnished by the courtesy of Bradley & Rulofson, San Francisco."



Plate 25. Muybridge stereograph #1626.



Plate 26. Muybridge stereograph #1627, "A Modoc Brave on the War Path." Appeared in *Harper's Weekly* (Plate 24). The Indian pictured here and in Plate 25 is not a Modoc at all, but a Warm Spring Indian Scout attached to the U.S. Army.

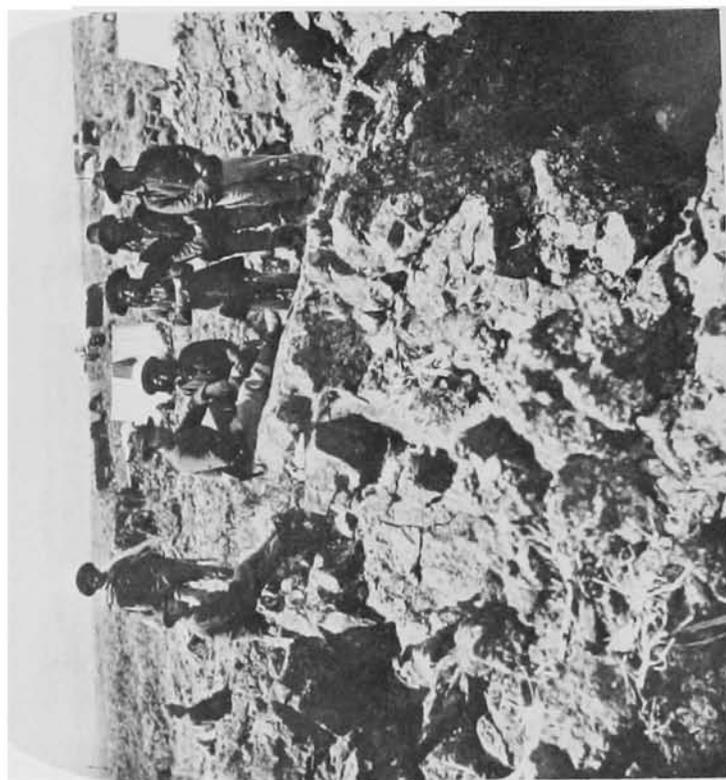


Plate 28. Heller view #2515, showing a group of soldiers and Warm Spring Indian Scouts.

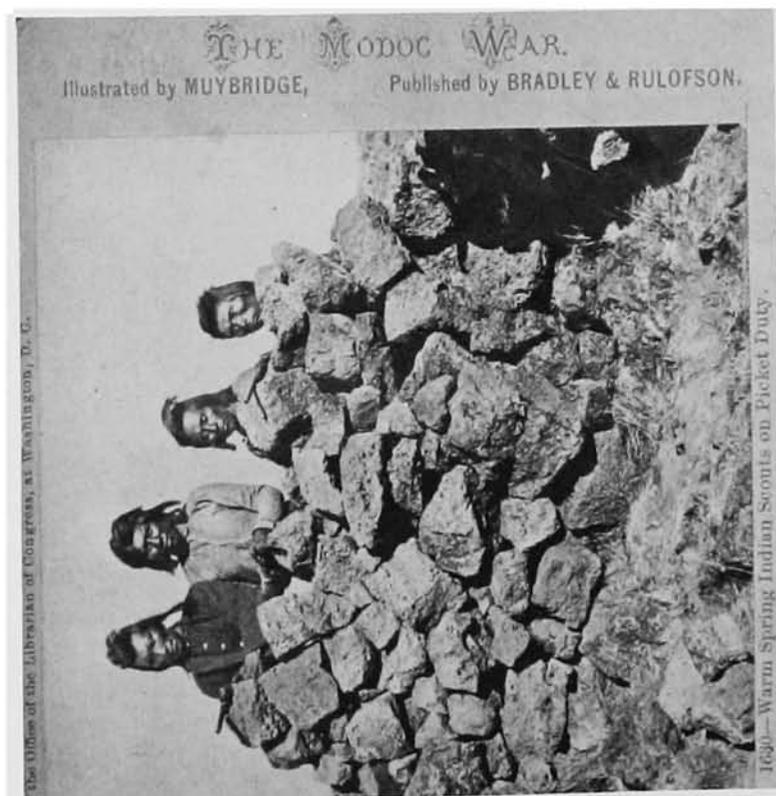
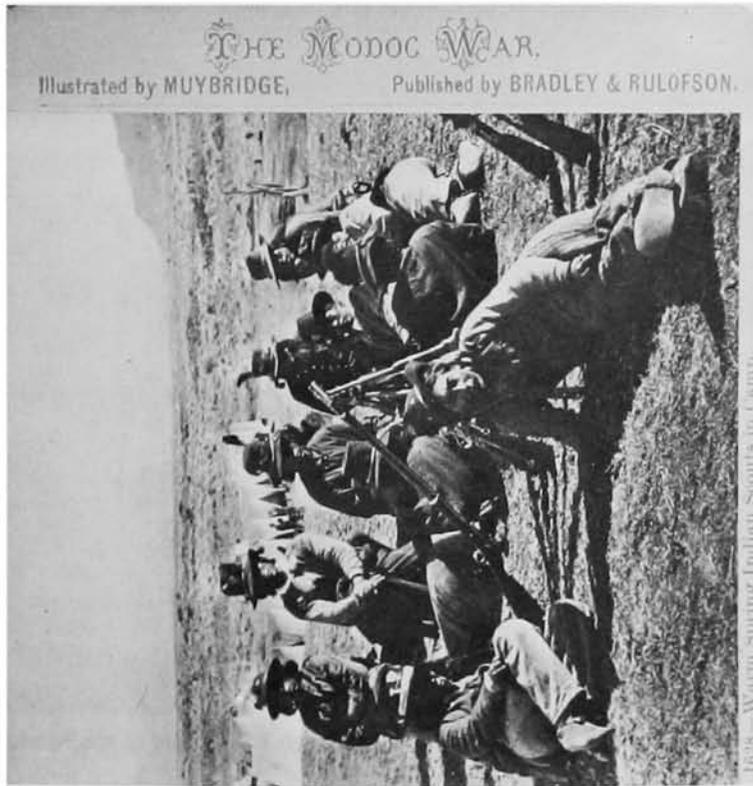
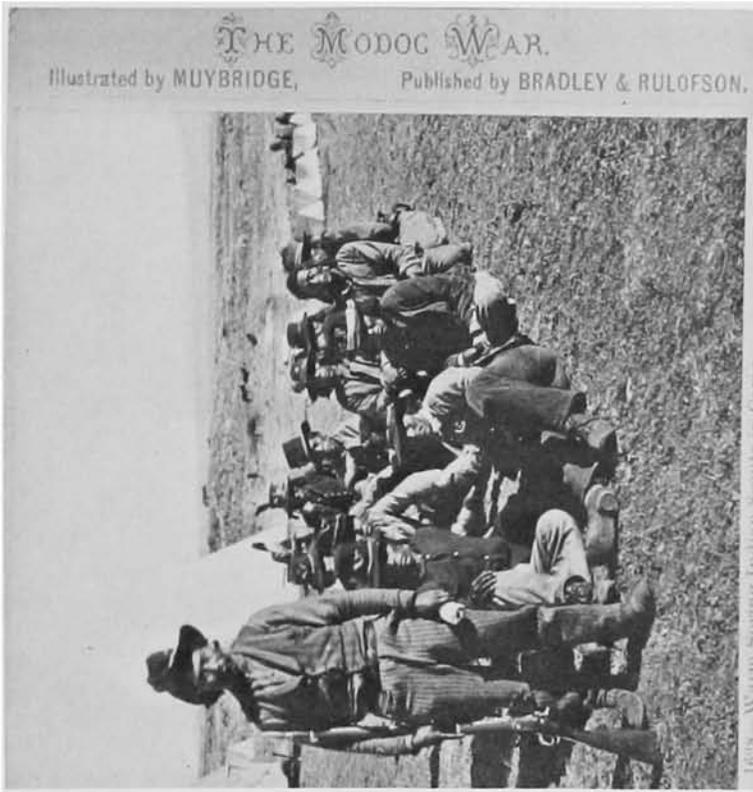


Plate 27. Muybridge stereograph #1630, as it appeared with artistic rearrangement in *Harper's Weekly* (Plate 24).



Plates 29 and 30. Muybridge stereograph # 1628 showing two differing images that bear the same series number and title.

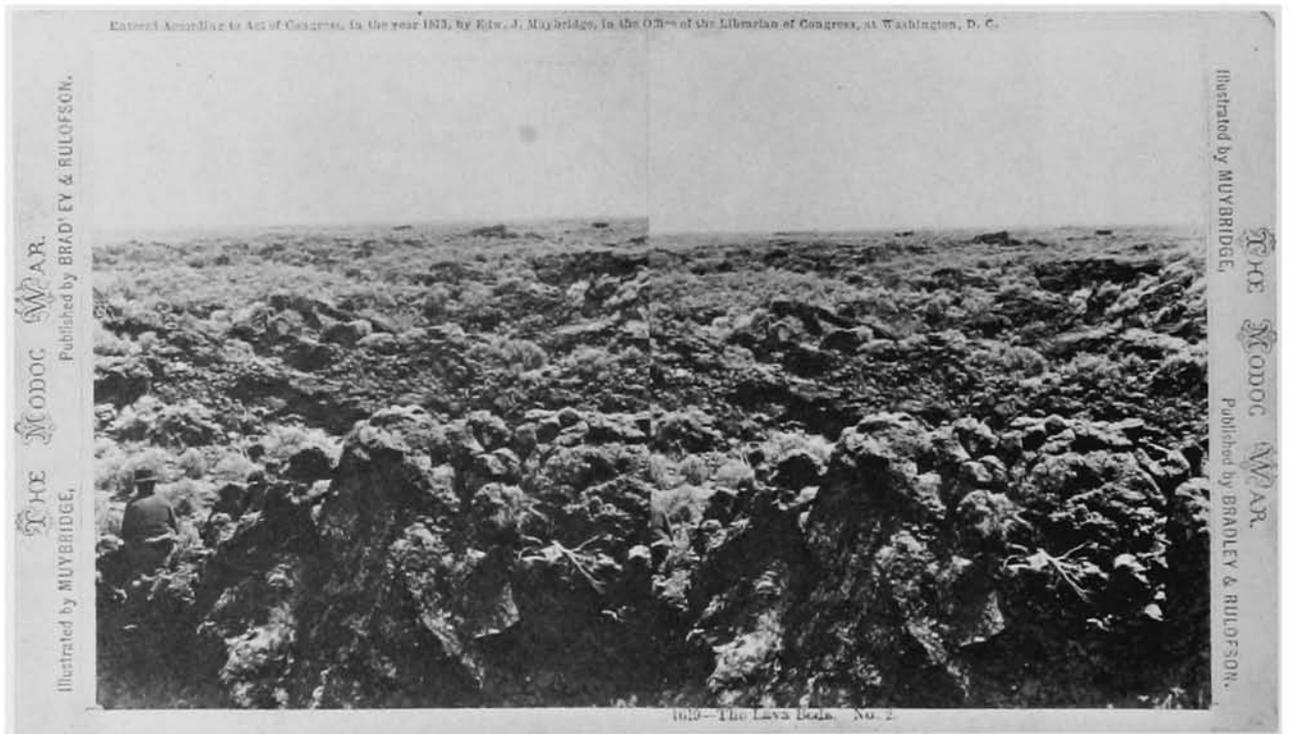


Plate 31. Muybridge stereograph #1619—No 2. This image clearly shows the conditions that confronted the U.S. Army in their efforts to dislodge Captain Jack and his small band of Modoc Indians. Views such as this accompanied an official government report on the Modoc war-site.

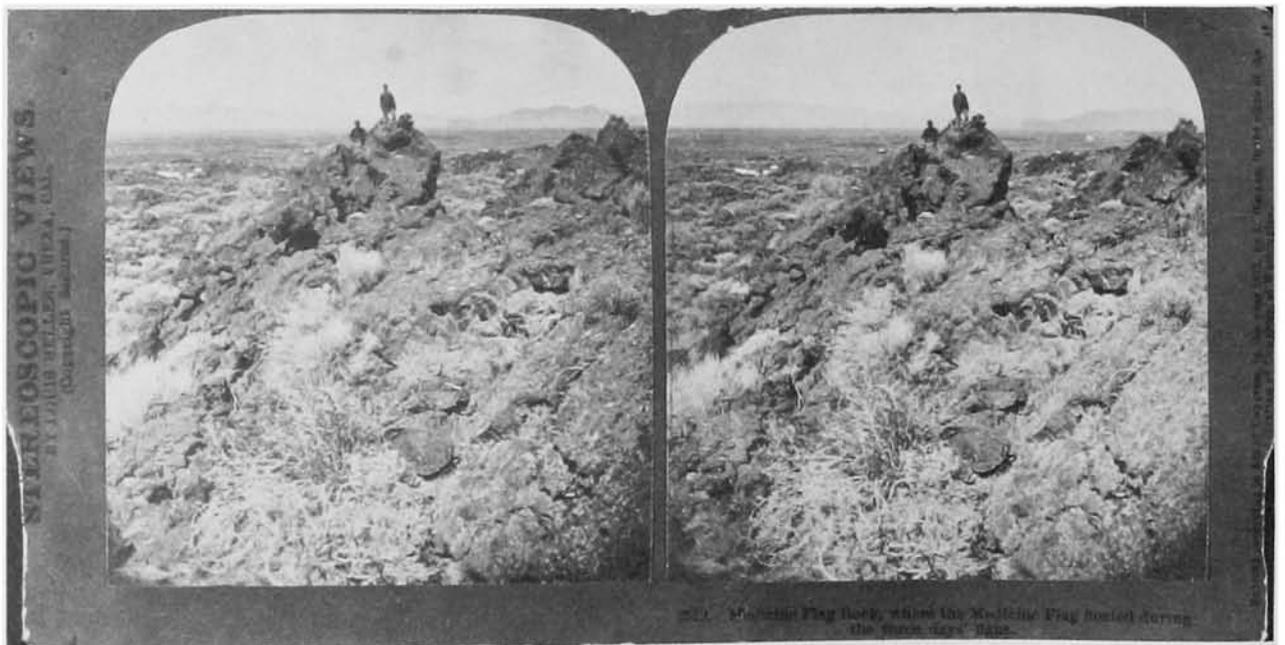


Plate 32. Heller stereograph #2512 showing Medicine Flag Rock, part of the Modoc War terrain.

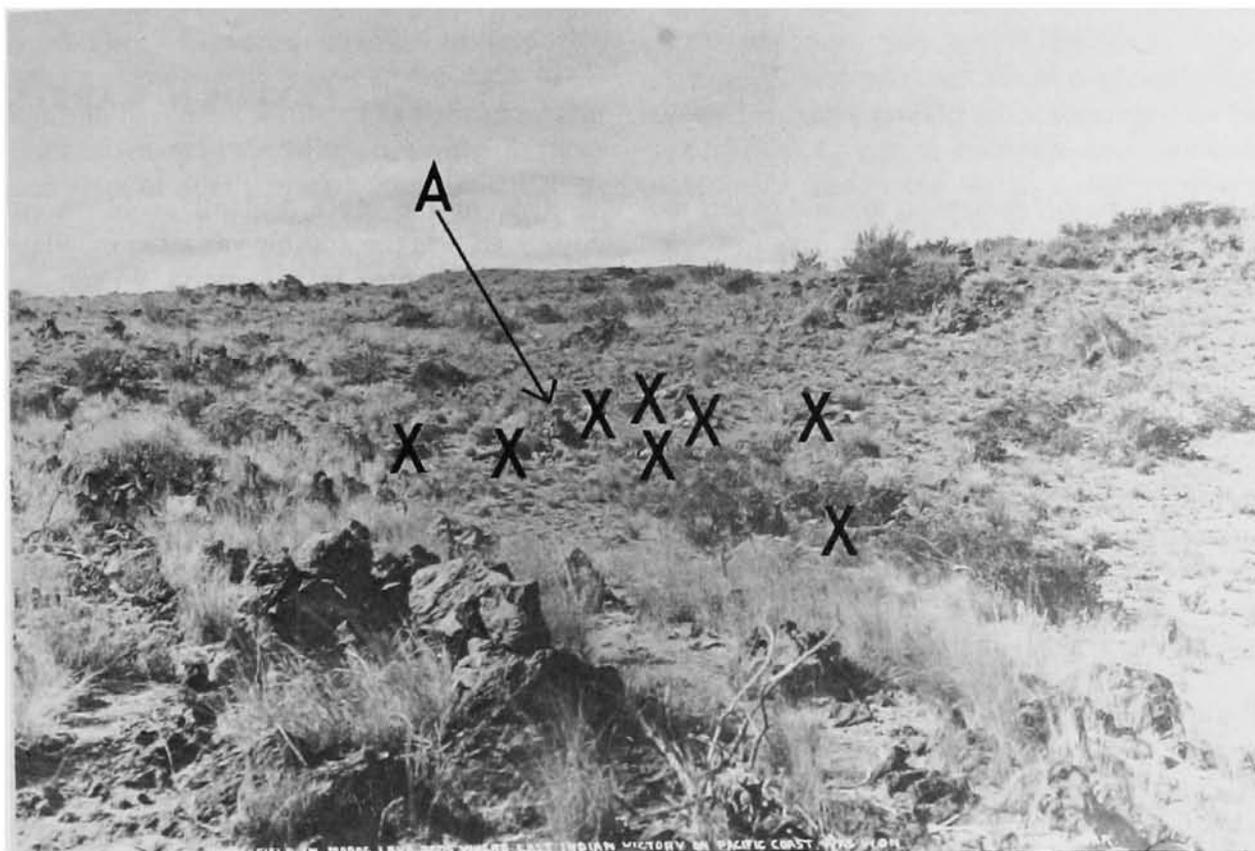


Plate 33. Actual Modoc War scene or post-war reenactment? This mysterious photograph defies efforts to discover the circumstances of its origin. See Note 9.

#### ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

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