

# The Indian Hobbyist Movement in Europe

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The term "Indian hobbyism" describes a wide range of nonprofessional interests in North American Indians displayed in European countries. Although the term "hobbyist" is useful, it is generally disliked by most of the individuals to whom it is applied; and just as in North America, it is rejected by many who feel that the interest cannot be equated to other leisure activities, since it usually involves a very deep commitment. The description "American Indianist" has gained some acceptance.

The interest of a committed hobbyist generally begins at an early age, manifesting itself in activities such as costume making and powwows. The powwows form an important activity of a typical hobbyist group and involve dressing up and dancing and singing, frequently in public. Such involvement and exposure clearly demands considerable knowledge of the subject and many hobbyists, often after much study, display unusual expertise in these fields. As the interest develops, individuals often choose to emphasize one or more activities, such as craftwork, collecting, camping (generally in tepees), joining political support groups in aid of American Indians, lecturing, researching, or writing.

Most individuals have a somewhat romanticized view of Indian life, and an interest in Plains Indian culture is often dominant. Although hobbyists are from many occupations, they are primarily blue-collar workers. Hobbyism is male dominated, but it is not uncommon to find wives and children participating.

Few hobbyists have had the formal training in American anthropology enjoyed by their professional colleagues, but their acquisition of knowledge and methodology has often followed very similar paths. Their interest generally leads to a life-long commitment and a life-style that frequently determines friendships and social activities.

## United Kingdom

There has long been a fascination for American Indians in Europe (fig. 1), which began soon after the discovery of America, and "the allegorical symbol of the Americas in European art was the figure of an 'Indian' female wearing a feathered crown and skirt" (Howard 1978:33).

A major influence in the United Kingdom was the



Liverpool Mus., Natl. Mus. and Galleries on Merseyside, England.  
Fig. 1. Sir John Caldwell, an Irish baronet, in clothing collected from Eastern Great Lakes area Indians. Caldwell obtained these items while he served in an English regiment in North America from 1774 to 1780 during which time he was stationed at Ft. Detroit and Ft. Niagara. In this period he spent a great deal of time among Ojibwa Indians (Brasser 1976:2, 180). Artist unidentified, oil on canvas, about 1780.

writings of George Catlin (1841). His exhibitions of ethnographical material from the Plains Indians, particularly in Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, in the mid-nineteenth century, were given wide and sympathetic press coverage. Later editions of his books were published in large quantities, many being aimed at the young reader (Catlin 1861, 1868), so that Catlin's popular interpretation early awakened a broad and general interest in the American Indian, and his work became a standard source of information for several generations of readers in the United Kingdom until the mid-twentieth century.

Although no other books received such wide public

acclaim in Great Britain as Catlin's, there were a number of nineteenth-century British writers who maintained and stimulated the interest in North American Indians, for example, Ballantyne (1893), W.A. Bell (1869), and Butler (1875; Hannabuss 1987). The writings of Ernest Thompson Seton, particularly *Two Little Savages* (1903), became readily available. In his *Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore*, Seton (1912:vii) wrote: "when I was a boy, I hungered beyond expression for just such information as I have tried herein to impart." Such sentiments were subsequently to be recognized by several English hobbyists.

Archibald Belaney (b.1889, d.1938), better known as Grey Owl, apparently inspired by the visits of Buffalo Bill (William F. Cody) to England at the turn of the twentieth century, wrote a number of widely read books on the great outdoors, wild animals, and Indians. His name became a household word, and he personally pleaded the cause of the American Indian to King George VI in 1937 (Dickson 1939). A Grey Owl Society was formed in Hastings, Sussex, in spring 1982 (Feest 1983:6).

One of the earliest British amateurs to pursue the study of American Indians in a really systematic way was the London businessman, William Blackmore (b.1827, d.1878). In December 1868 he exhibited and discussed his collection of Indian photographs at the invitation of the American Ethnological Society in New York and in April 1872 spent "a pleasant evening discussing Indians and the West" with President and Mrs. Ulysses Grant at the White House (Brayer 1949, 1). In September 1867, Blackmore founded a museum in Salisbury, Wiltshire, where he housed a collection of books (about 1,000 on the American Indian), photographs (at least 2,000), ethnological material, and data on the bison (C.F. Taylor 1980:15). He became a recognized authority on the Plains Indian. He donated many hundreds of negatives of Indian subjects to the Smithsonian Institution in 1872. W. Blackmore's (1868-1869) amateur but scholarly contribution to American Indian ethnology was important in both its direct and indirect influence on subsequent generations of Englishmen, and others, who also took up the study of the American Indian as a hobby (C.F. Taylor 1980).

Unrelated to William Blackmore, Edward H. Blackmore (d. 1983) of Eastbourne, Sussex (fig. 2), gained recognition as an authority and lecturer on the North American Indian. Once described "as more Sioux than the Sioux themselves" (T. Clarke 1939), Blackmore commenced lecturing in the 1930s to a wide audience of natural history and archeological societies, schools, and youth organizations. A true romantic, he nevertheless combined as sound scientific knowledge with a school-boy's enthusiasm and presented his subject in a popular and highly interesting way. Friends of Blackmore influenced him considerably. Philip Godsell (1938), who emigrated to Canada in 1903 to work for the Hudson's



Eastbourne Herald, Eastbourne, England.  
Fig. 2. Edward H. Blackmore dressed in northern Plains Indian style garments. The double trailer headdress was constructed by Blackmore with eagle feathers obtained from his friend Oskenton. Blackmore's wife, Clare, made the beaded leggings. Blackmore carries a beaded Sioux pipe bag, a catlinite pipe, and foxskin bag containing materials used to light the pipe. Photograph by Doug Barnes, Eastbourne, Sussex, April 1972.

Bay Company, was a friend of many Blackfoot, Assiniboine, and Cree Indians, photographs of whom he sent to Blackmore, 1940-1961. Another friend was the Mohawk singer, Oskenton, who took the role of Hiawatha, performing at the Royal Albert Hall, London, 1930-1945. It was Oskenton who obtained for Blackmore raw materials for craftwork, such as tanned buckskin, eagle feathers, and beads. Clare Sheridan, an enthusiast for American Indian studies but better known as a sculptor and writer, had visited the Blackfoot Indians in Canada and the United States where she modeled six heads from life. She recalled Edward Blackmore as "the most convincing instance of reincarnation that I have ever met . . . who can transform himself at will into the most perfect and finest type of Redskin Indian . . . who has a Redskin soul and a Redskin heart, Redskin wisdom and knowledge, and all the finer Redskin traits" (in E.H. Blackmore 1950:2). Ernest Thompson Seton invited Blackmore to visit his College of Indian Wisdom at Santa

Fe, New Mexico, to help teach the making of war bonnets. Blackmore's unselfish support to the romantic, artist, hobbyist, and amateur scholar alike stabilized and fostered the American Indian interest in Great Britain, particularly after 1938.

Blackmore's collection of North American Indian material, including Blackfoot regalia collected by Clare Sheridan (B. Taylor 1984), was transferred to the Hastings Museum, Sussex. In the 1980s the Hastings Museum sponsored a Junior Indian Club and held annual powwows in Blackmore's honor as well as for Albert Burdett (b. 1916, d. 1983).

Burdett was a skilled craftworker and an early museum researcher. In common with several other British hobbyists, he was greatly influenced by the collections that he studied. He made a number of replicas, one outstanding example being a shirt decorated with quill-wrapped horsehair, which is in the Leather Museum, Northampton.

The American Library, opened at the United States Information Service in London in 1942, soon recognized the interest in American Indians in the United Kingdom (books on the subject came next in popularity to books on the Civil War). At the time of its closing in 1965, it had about 100 books pertaining to Indians.

There were brief contacts by the Boy Scouts and other youth movements with Indians and Indian lore in the first half of the twentieth century. Unlike their American

cousins, British Boy Scouts and Girl Guides never developed Indian lore in their activities to any great extent. There is nothing, for example, comparable to the American Scout's Order of the Arrow. Although Sir Robert Baden-Powell frequently referred to the North American Indian in his Scout handbook (Baden-Powell 1909) and also expressed the hope that the Indian sign language might be adopted by Scouts throughout the world (Tomkins 1926), his firsthand experience with native groups in British colonies in Africa and India tended to direct attention away from North America. However, the Indians of America were represented at the Boy Scouts' Jamboree at Olympia, London, in 1920 (Salomon 1928), and again at Birkenhead, England, in 1929. During World War II, at least one scout studied with J.F. Burshears of the La Junta, Colorado, Boy Scout troop who called themselves Koshare Indians.

Although such contacts created some activity in Indian lore it was not until the formation of the English Westerners' Society in 1954 with its affiliated *Brand Book* and *Tally Sheet* that organized groups of hobbyists emerged. *The American Indian Hobbyist* magazine was founded in America in 1954, but it appears that the Westerners' publications were more influential in the United Kingdom for at least a decade. North American Indians were interpreted by the ethnological group of the Westerners' Society not only through their research papers published in the *Brand Book* but also by exhibi-



Colin Taylor, Hastings, East Sussex.  
Fig. 3. Founding, and other, members of the North American Indian group of the English Westerners' Society at one of the group's early exhibitions. left to right, Charles Clayton, John Datlen, Ian West, Edward H. Blackmore, Ann Robinson, Fiona Robinson, and Colin Taylor. All the members wear central or northern Plains style garments. Photograph by Russell Robinson, Woldingham, England, 1960s.

tions, the first of which was held at Orpington, Kent, in May 1960 (I.M. West 1961:12). Founder members of this group, such as E.H. Blackmore, Ian M. West, and Colin F. Taylor, together with Russell Robinson from the Tower of London (fig. 3) combined their collections of artifacts. For more than a decade, exhibitions were regularly organized for Scout groups (both British and American), youth clubs, historical societies, and museums, in particular the American Museum in Britain at Claverton Manor, Bath, which was for a number of years host to the Westerners' Society (Dallett 1965). By invitation small teenage groups gave displays of Indian dancing. A particularly active group in this respect was that run by S.H. Walker, who had in 1960 organized a Scout group in Birmingham with interests oriented toward American Indian dancing. The American Indian exhibitions were held annually at Bath.

C.F. Taylor's (1971-1984) surveys indicated that there were initially four hobbyist groups in Great Britain consisting of 10-35 members, all in southern England. While dancing was a prominent activity, collecting, an interest in art, research, and craftwork were all considered important facets of the hobby.

In 1965, the Sioux Indian Dancers' Club was formed by Maurice Oakeshott, a former scoutmaster, with Edward H. Blackmore as president. This group of about 15 members was initially strongly influenced by the older members of the Westerners' Society and combined ethnology with Indian dancing. Because of their association with a stable organization where they had the opportunity of meeting visiting U.S. Americanists such as the ethnologist J.C. Ewers and the "superhobbyist" Sam Cahoon, and because of Blackmore's reputation, they grew rapidly.

The Westerners' Society continues and ethnological interests are still significant, primarily in the so-called

American Indian Study series, which was initiated in 1981 to meet a growing need for comparatively rapid distribution of research carried out by Society members contributing to knowledge in the field of North American Indian studies. Topics covered in extended essays have been as diverse and specialized as an analysis of the political history of the Oglala Sioux to a reconsideration of the so-called Wanata costume in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. However, former members more oriented toward American Indian song and dance, craftwork, and artwork have largely reorganized independently.

A myriad of groups often cater to specialized interests. For example, the Native American and Pre-Columbian Arts Movement put emphasis on producing copies of American Indian arts and crafts; a support group of the North West Indian Women's circle, which seeks to draw attention to the problems and issues affecting all Indian women, formed in London. Other groups identified in 1985 included the Sheffield American Indian Circle; the White Eagle Dance Team, and the North American Historical Society, both in Birmingham; the Mother Earth Lodge in Leighton Buzzard, Bedford; the East Anglian American Indian Eagle Dance Team from Ipswich, Suffolk; Four Directions, run by David Meanwell of Heathfield; and the American Indian Movement in Yorkshire.

Some groups have been disbanded. For example, the Sioux Indian Dancers' Club ceased in 1975, several of its founder members forming The Black Crow Dancers in 1979. Together with the Earth Lodge Singers (fig. 4) and generally accompanied by others, they form a mainstay at any powwow. Members of the Earth Lodge Singers have made tepees and a full-sized earth lodge, and many are outstanding craftworkers. One enthusiast made a fully beaded Crow-style cradle for her baby son.



Fig. 4. Hobbyist groups in England. left, Black Crow Dancers and White Shield Dancers. left to right, Charles Clayton, Keith Lord, John Powell, and John Kirkby at Soca Cheta Hall, Norwood, South London. Photograph by Colin Taylor, 1983. right, Members of the Earth Lodge Singers at a wedding powwow. The Cockerton family—Paul, Jennifer, Samuel Joseph, and Penny—are dressed in garments of traditional Blackfoot and Sioux design, all made by themselves or another English hobbyist. Photograph by Michael Hopkinson, Uckfield, Sussex, April 1984.

Despite these activities, several expressed a wish to be independent of club or group type-organization. They preferred a looser knit expression of mutual interest with other individuals and families by correspondence and ad hoc meetings and generally avoided publicity or close involvement with the mainstream. Several supported the protests of the Canadian Indians who lobbied Parliament regarding treaty obligations (C.F. Taylor 1979). In common with a number of their American counterparts, some individuals (such as Fraser Pakes, who joined the Nakoda Institute, Morley, Alberta) turned professional in the field of American ethnology, while others, although still amateurs in the field, have been acknowledged as making genuine contributions to Native American studies (Howard 1978:42; Wood and Liberty 1980:120; Pakes 1983).

Hobbyists often emphasize the spirituality of their identification with Indians. They hold what others may consider an idealized image of the North American Indian, encompassing a concern for the despoliation of the environment (a sentiment expressed by Grey Owl in the

1930s), cultural survival of minority groups, and a quest for spiritual awareness.

Sentiments of this type were apparent in the middle 1970s with the foundation of the Onaway Trust of Leeds, Yorkshire. A registered charity, its trustees believe that Europeans and White Americans have lost the ability to live in harmony with the natural world. Along with traditional Indians, through its projects and magazines, the Trust seeks to help Western man "to rediscover this vital balance and harmony and oneness with nature" (James Bradley, personal communication 1984). The Trust predominantly funds projects conceived and staffed by Native Americans themselves, American journalists acting as observers initially when funding is requested. Donations to the Yellow Thunder Camp, the Dakota Indian Movement in the Black Hills, South Dakota; Akwesasne Freedom School on the Mohawk reservation, New York; the Buffalo Robe project in Alberta, and a lecture tour in England for Russell Means have been made. By 1984 over \$600,000 for Indian-related projects had been raised. Important to the success of Onaway is the support of the various English hobbyist groups and

individuals, many of whom donate proceeds of powwows, exhibitions, and the like to the Onaway fund.

### The Continent

Parallel interests have developed in a number of other European countries, particularly where historical, early contacts were made with North America.

In Sweden, for example, awareness of the colony of New Sweden on the Delaware River influenced the founding of Indianklubben, which was formed in 1959 by Olof Norbeck, a retired banker, whose main interests centered on the Delaware, Mohegan, and Mahican and their descendants. The club consisted of 30-35 members who met several times a year to discuss Indians and books, to show films, and to exhibit photographs. It published a yearbook containing articles on North American Indians written by members of the club and translated three books on Indians into Swedish, including Catlin (1841). Erik Englund, a longstanding member of the club, who popularized the North American Indian in Sweden, wrote a book in Danish for schools (1971), while the poet Einar Malm published scholarly works on Indian chiefs, such as Sitting Bull (1970). Another Indian club in Stockholm, called Svensk-indianska forbundet (The Swedish Indian League), printed an occasional periodical called *Indian-Bulletinen*, which was concerned with voicing the wrongs committed against the contemporary Indian. They have also been active in collecting money and clothes for Indians. In contrast to American, British, and other European hobbyists, powwow activities and craftwork seem to have found little expression in Sweden. Swedish contributions to North American Indian studies have been described by Hultkrantz (1984).

In Germany there is a long tradition of interest in North American Indians. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, the writer Karl May (b. 1842, d. 1912), composed a series of magazine articles on American Indians, later expanded (1893). The May publications continued in the twentieth century to be a significant influence on the continent. It also seems probable that early Western traveling shows, such as Buffalo Bill's, exerted considerable influence on the development of some German hobbyism (Conrad 1987).

At Radebeul, near Dresden, German Democratic Republic, is the Indianer Museum that was founded by the publishers of the May books. They developed a smaller one after 1945 in Bamberg, Upper Franconia, Federal Republic of Germany. May himself did not collect American Indian material, and the majority of specimens in the Radebeul Museum, renamed Karl May Museum, were assembled partly by exchange and loans from German museum collections by Patty Frank (b.1876, d.1959), who was active in Buffalo Bill's show around 1900. In 1985 there were 21 hobbyist groups in the

German Democratic Republic, including traditional hobbyist groups such as the Interessengemeinschaft Mandan-Indianer of Taucha, who have their annual tepee camp near Triptis (with participation from other Eastern European countries) and more political groups such as the AG Völkerkunde/Indianistik am Jugendklub haus Walter Barth in Leipzig.

The earliest documented regular instance where Germans dressed as Indians was at the annual Taucha market in a suburb of Leipzig in the late nineteenth century, which remained popular until it was officially discouraged in the 1940s. Hobbyist groups in Germany, some apparently as early as the 1910s, were founded in Dresden, Frankfurt, and Munich (Conrad 1987). These early activities led to the first "Indian Council" in Germany, which was held in Karlsruhe, Baden-Württemberg, in 1951. Traditionally, the Council met each year with 50-60 tepees pitched and some 300 participants. Some 60-70 Indian clubs existed in Germany in 1972 although the interest of many club members was often both fleeting and superficial; nevertheless, as in the United Kingdom, there were a number of individuals whose interests put them in the category of amateur scholars with the major emphasis on research and collecting. The activities of these clubs varied, and in most cases there was considerable emphasis on social events with a carnival-like atmosphere. The competitions of roping, whip-handling, and square dancing among the cowboy factions of such clubs are paralleled by archery and knife and tomahawk throwing of the "Indians." A gathering in Nidda, about 60 kilometers from Frankfurt am Main, Hesse, in June 1981 may be taken as typical of the annual events of group hobbyism in Germany. It was attended by some 3,000 Western fans who represented wide-ranging interests, cowboys, mountain men, North West Mounted Police, and soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies. However, the Indian village dominated, having almost 200 tepees with participants "dressed in their finest elaborately beaded or quilled buckskins, 1840 to 1870 style." In their efforts to obtain authentic costumes, these enthusiasts imported entire North American porcupine hides in order to get the quills. The council was officially opened "with the re-enactment of a Wyoming treaty signing" (Hoeldtke 1981:10).

Such three-day functions are attended by groups from all over Germany, Belgium, France, and England. Contacts have been made with Indians in North America, a number of whom have attended the event.

The activities of the German Indianist groups have been addressed over the years by a variety of publications; among the earliest was *Der Dakota Scout*, which gave rise to *Kalumet*, which began publication in 1969. Since then other publications such as *Amedian* and *Deutsch Indianischer Kreis* have been concerned with contemporary Indian affairs, while *Magazin für Amerikanistik*, published in Braunschweig, focuses mainly on romantic and



*De Kiva*, Bennebroek, The Netherlands.

Fig 5. Hobbyist movement in The Netherlands. left, Cover of the periodical *De Kiva*, Jan.-Feb. 1985; design by Koos Van Oostrom. right, H. Loers, member of *De Kiva*. Photographed in The Netherlands, about 1963.

Western literature. The society, Arbeitskreis für Nordamerikanische Indianer launched its journal *Indianer Heute* in the late 1960s and attempted to direct traditional German interest in Indians toward contemporary Indian problems and politics. Its function was then taken over by *DANAI-Notes* (Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Nordamerikanische Indianer), which was succeeded in 1984 by *Informationsdienst-Indianer Heute* published in Berlin with the main aim being "to inform the public of the real situation of the Native Americans and to support them through petition and letter campaigns, donation-drives etc." (R.S. Kelly 1984:14).

In Holland, "Jack" Heyink founded *De Kiva* in May 1964 and published it six times a year. This group brought together a number of individuals who had pursued the study of American Indians as a hobby for many years (fig. 5). In 1972 there were 600 members of the club with about two powwows held each year; while a few individuals were concerned with craftwork and Indian dancing, the orientation of interest was broadly scientific and the powwows often took on the aspect of a scientific congress. An important activity of the group was the financial and moral help its members gave to the contemporary Indian. For example, in 1971 the cause of the Nisqually Indians concerning their fishing rights was taken up by some *De Kiva* subscribers who were lawyers in an attempt to get the Indian cause before the International Court of Justice at The Hague. In 1985, with the new name of *Werkgroep Nord Amerikaanse Indianen in Nederland en België*, Dutch members annually joined members in Belgium in the popular tepee camps with supporting powwows. Activities in support of the American Indian have been extended, including an annual scholarship and also donation to Indian-initiated projects.

Another particularly active support group in Holland is *NANAI* (Nederland Actiegroep Nord Amerikaanse Indianen), which was founded in 1973. Its objectives have been to support Indian tribes in their political struggles, by giving information to the Dutch people about the contemporary situation in North America through lectures to schools and other organizations. Members have also mounted a photographic exhibition and written protest letters to North American governments (Bolhuis 1983: 22). *NANAI* published a monthly newspaper, *NANAI Notes*, which was mailed to 1,600 supporters, and in addition produced brochures on Canadian and U.S. Indians as well as more specialized subjects such as Indian camping and the prophecies and problems of the Hopi Indians.

In Belgium, *WAIA* (Werk Actiegroep Indiaans Amerika) was founded in response to the killing of numbers of Indians in the Brazilian rain forests and to the confrontations at Alcatraz and Wounded Knee. A major aim of *WAIA* was to keep Dutch-speaking Belgians informed about the political situation of Native Americans, which is

done through the production of brochures, posters, and exhibitions of past and present American Indian culture (Bruggerman 1985).

In France, the interest in American Indians was mainly centered in the magazine *Western Gazette*, which was founded in 1964, and which was strongly biased toward other facets of the American West (D. DuBois 1970; Gunhold 1966). Although no coherent Indian dance groups existed in France, exhibitions of American Indian life and customs were organized by one of France's best-known hobbyists and collectors, Maurice Dérumaux. French enthusiasts traveled to Germany to participate in the annual Indian councils (Hoeldtke 1981).

Soconas Incomindios, the Italian hobbyist group with explicit political goals, published a magazine, *Tepee*. A number of Italian hobbyists have firm contacts with similarly oriented friends in Czechoslovakia (Milos Ekstein, personal communication 1983). An Italian who pioneered in American Indian research was Giacomo Costantino Beltrami (b. 1779, d. 1855) who explored the Upper Mississippi region in 1823; his collection of Indian objects is in the Museo Civico "E. Caffi," Bergamo, Italy (Marino 1986).

Several individuals in Switzerland with hobbyist interests have achieved wide recognition as deeply involved in American Indian studies. Among the earliest of these was Rudolph F. Kurz (b. 1818, d. 1871), who collected Indian weapons, decorations, and apparel. His collections and those of the businessman and enthusiast Lorenz Alfonse Schoch are in the Berne Historical Museum (J. Thompson 1977). Gottfried Hotz, a Zurich schoolteacher, formed a large collection of Indian artifacts (Hotz 1974), which is maintained by Hans Läng (1983). Joseph Balmer (fig. 6) "taught himself to read and write in the Dakota (Sioux) language, and formerly conducted an extensive correspondence with old-timers on reservations in North and South Dakota" (Howard 1978:41).

In Czechoslovakia there were several committed hobbyists who made their own costumes and camped in tepees (Zelva 1983:11). Some also wrote for the magazine *Winaminge*, which contains articles by both professional and amateur scholars of the North American Indian and has further references to the development of Czech hobbyism (Kandert 1982).

In Finland, *Finncomindos* produces a magazine concerned with American Indian cultural history.

In Poland, the *Polski Ruch Przyjaciół Indian* (Polish Movement of Friends of the American Indian) was formalized in 1981, with hobbyism and scholarly research as goals. The Polish movement is discussed in detail by Nowicka (1987).

In the Soviet Union, the largest and best organized group is in Leningrad, which acts through the Inter-Union House of Creative Activities. Called the Leningrad Indian Club, it was formed in the late 1970s; it influenced most



Fig. 6. Joseph Balmer in garments of Sioux Indian design, obtained from the Red Cloud family at Pine Ridge, S. Dak. Photograph by René Groebli, Switzerland, 1962.

other groups, organizing annual powwows generally held near Leningrad. The total number of participants at such powwows is generally about 60, and in 1984 there were 20 tepees pitched. The major activities and goals of the Soviet groups were "to study and promote true knowledge of North American Indian cultures, to practice scouting and

forestry and woodsmanship; to imitate Indian art, compose songs on the American Indian theme and in solidarity with their ideals and rights" (Alexandr Vashchenko, personal communication 1985). Connections with European hobbyists seemed mainly limited to similar organizations in the German Democratic Republic with whom there were exchange visits.

There were at least three different hobbyist groups in Hungary, one of the earliest being founded in the 1930s by the anthropologist Ervin Baktay (Richman 1967). One of the largest groups was developed in Budapest in 1963, when four boys about the age of 16 started to play at being Indian. These were joined by others with more ethnologically based interests who shared the founders' views about "Indianness" as a habit of life, and the "game" gradually changed into a more faithful imitation of the life of the Northern Plains Indians (George Gereby, personal communication 1985). The group had no common name but consisted of six "tribes" in four camps, every member identifying himself by the tribal name. The major and unique activity of the group, which took place during a two-week summer camp generally in the forests of the Bakony Hills, was the "warpath" or "hunt." The Hungarian hobbyists' war game was complex and highly symbolic where participants counted coup, symbolically captured horses, and sought to accomplish the four major coups to become a recognized (Crow) pipe-holder. Although the war game activity gave coherence to the whole group, craftwork, singing, dancing, sweat-bathing, feasting, and making ceremonies were also listed as important activities (Tibor Balazs, personal communication 1985). For the majority of the group, their inspiration was spiritual; those that participated felt that they shared an inborn, natural quest for the hardships, freedom, and glory of the idealized warrior life of the North American Plains Indian.



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