

Chasing an Enigma

Frontier Photographer Orlando S. Goff

By Louis N. Hafermehl



Goff's traveling darkroom advertising Views, Indian Pictures, and Dakota Scenery, Bismarck, 1879. Presumed to be pictured are Goff, his wife, Annie, and daughter, Bessie. It would not have been difficult for Goff to stage the photograph and have someone set off the shutter.
SHSND SA 10190-02840



Self-portrait, 1873-1878. Orlando Scott Goff (1843–1916) arrived in Bismarck, Dakota Territory, in 1873 and established a photograph gallery. The next year, he joined with a partner and relocated to Fort Abraham Lincoln. In 1875, he returned to Bismarck. He is credited with taking the last photograph of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer and officers and men of the Seventh Cavalry before the Battle of the Little Bighorn and the first photo of Sitting Bull as its only subject. SHSND SAA1695-00001

All photographs are credited to Orlando S. Goff unless otherwise noted.



Mandan quarters of Like-A-Fishhook Village, 1878. Like-A-Fishhook Village was established in 1845 by members of the Three Affiliated Tribes—the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa. It was also inhabited by non-Indian traders. The village, consisting of earthen lodges and log cabins, was abandoned in 1880. The site of Like-A-Fishhook Village was lost when the construction of Garrison Dam flooded the area to create Lake Sakakawea. SHSND SA 00088-00023

Photography in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries played a significant role in encouraging public interest in America's Trans-Mississippi West. Previous public knowledge of the West originated with tales of fur trappers, early explorers, and adventurous travelers, and from paintings and drawings of scenic splendors. Many such accounts and images of the American West were greeted with public skepticism. In no small part the art of photography—in particular the stereo images western photographers created, which were sold by the hundreds of thousands to a public eager for information about the nation's expanding frontier—was responsible for turning skepticism into trust and acceptance.¹

Among these early photographers of the West was Orlando Scott Goff, one of Bismarck's pioneer settlers and prominent early citizens, who has been credited with a number of photographic "firsts" and "lasts." Chief among the latter are photographs taken of some of the officers and men of the Seventh Cavalry stationed at Fort Abraham Lincoln before meeting their end at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Chief among the former is Goff's iconic photograph of Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull.

Goff's photos can today be found in public and private collections, sometimes coming up for auction at substantial prices. Among institutions holding images attributed to him are the Library of Congress, the State Historical Society of North Dakota, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Montana Historical Society, the Denver Public Library, the Jesuit Oregon Province Archives at Gonzaga University, and the Big Horn County Library in Hardin, Montana, to list but a few.

While Goff's work and some of the basics of his photographic career are familiar to historians interested in frontier photography, much less is known about his life outside of the photographic realm. He left no personal

papers, no letters, no business records. What follows is an attempt—based largely on public records, newspaper accounts, and, to a lesser extent, prior published research—to flesh out the life and activity of a man both within and outside of his profession.

Orlando Scott Goff was born on September 10, 1843, in Middletown, Connecticut, the youngest of five children born to Adaline L. (née Giddings) and Alfred Goff, a shoemaker. We know nothing more of his childhood or youth, except that by the time he enlisted in the Union army at age eighteen, he was a carriage maker by trade.

Young Orlando was a blue-eyed, dark-haired, light-complexioned lad of five foot seven who had turned eighteen less than a month before enlisting in the Tenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry Regiment on October 1, 1861.² He was one of many who rushed to join the Union army following its defeat at the first Battle of Bull Run. He enlisted with the rank of sergeant as the youngest of the noncommissioned and commissioned officers in Company D, to which he was assigned. The Tenth served in North and South Carolina, briefly in Florida, and in Virginia. For unexplained reasons, Goff was demoted to corporal after almost two years of service. He reenlisted with that rank on January 1, 1864, when the regiment was stationed in St. Augustine, Florida. Five months later he was again promoted to sergeant.³

Handwritten on back of photograph:
“Wildflower Plantation, Pawnee County
Oklahoma. Steamer Helena of the
Powers Packet Line loaded with Sioux
Indians enroute home to Standing
Rock Agency after the Sioux War and
Winners of the battle of the Little Big
Horn where General George A. Custer
was defeated and his detachments
slain. James A. Emmons.”

James A. Emmons (1845–1919)
was a steambot operator and early
Bismarck merchant and entrepreneur.
SHSND SAA1613-00001

(Bottom left) Dakota Block, Second
Street and Main Avenue, Bismarck,
Dakota Territory, 1886. The Dakota Block
was built in 1883 on three fifty-foot lots
individually owned by three partners:
Martha J. Thompson owned the west
lot; Dr. Henry R. Porter, a survivor of the
Little Bighorn expedition, the center; and
Orlando Goff, the east lot. Goff installed
living quarters as well as a spacious
photo studio on the third floor of his
building. SHSND SAA3438-00001

(Bottom right) The Dakota Block is one of
the oldest surviving commercial buildings
in Bismarck. Jacobsen Music occupies
the space where Goff’s section of the
building stood before it was destroyed
by fire. *Courtesy Mark Halvorson,*
SHSND



Wet Plate Photography

The photography in the three decades following the Civil War bears no resemblance to the photography of today. Until the mid-1880s, photographs were produced using the wet plate collodion process—a difficult, time-consuming, unpredictable, and costly process relying on “chemistry and a bit of magic and some luck.” The photographer of that day would create a film base on a piece of glass plate or metal using collodion, a flammable, syrupy solution of pyroxylin (variously referred to as nitrocellulose, cellulose nitrate, flash paper, or “gun cotton”) in ether and alcohol. While the surface was still wet, the photographer would submerge the glass plate in a silver nitrate solution to make it light sensitive. The plate, still wet, would be exposed using a bellows-type camera box. Following exposure, and

while the surface of the plate remained wet, the plate was removed from the camera and immediately developed in a darkroom by pouring a solution of ferrous sulphate, acetic acid, and water over the plate. When development was deemed complete, the plate was washed with water, placed in a “hypo” solution (a solution of potassium cyanide or sodium thiosulphate) to remove the unexposed silver, then washed again and allowed finally to dry. Thus the negative was created. Imagine traveling through largely roadless territory by horse and buggy with glass plates, chemicals in glass bottles, and a wooden bellows camera to take images of the people and places of the American West—not a vocation for the unadventurous or the faint of heart.⁵⁵



The opportunities for George Armstrong Custer and Goff to have met in Yankton certainly existed, and if they did meet, Custer may well have suggested that Goff might have opportunities to ply his craft at Fort Abraham Lincoln.

On October 13, 1864, the Tenth Connecticut, with only ninety men in its ranks, was ordered to join a brigade commanded by Colonel Frances B. Pond in charging a well-manned line of Confederate earthworks on the Darbytown Road five miles from Richmond, Virginia. The outnumbered Tenth was repulsed, with five killed, one missing, thirty-eight wounded, and five captured.⁴ Among the wounded was Goff, who had been shot during the assault through the right breast, the bullet then exiting into and through his right arm. Regimental chaplain Rev. H. Clay Trumbull found Goff on the battlefield; the next day Goff entered Hampton Hospital at Fort Monroe, Virginia, where he would spend the next two-and-a-half months recovering from his wounds.⁵

Shortly after his release from the hospital and return to Company D, Goff was promoted to first sergeant. A month later, on February 14, 1865, he was promoted to second lieutenant by commission from the governor of Connecticut. He was transferred to the regiment's Company K, which he served in and briefly commanded (May 28 to June 27, 1865), until his mustering out of the service on August 25, 1865.⁶

The injury Goff suffered at the Battle of Darbytown Road would plague him throughout his life, "totally disabling him from laboring at his trade as carriage maker."⁷ From 1878 until the end of his life he would continue, unsuccessfully, to seek pension relief from the government for total disability

resulting from the progressing atrophy of his right arm caused by his combat wound.

Where and from whom Goff learned the art of photography is unknown. Goff himself, in documents submitted to the Pension Office, reported that following the Civil War he resided in New York and then Dakota Territory, moving to the latter location in 1872.⁸ An 1884 biographical sketch of Goff in *Andreas' Historical Atlas of Dakota* notes, "after leaving the army he spent about six months in his native state. He afterwards lived for two years and a half at Lyons, N.Y., removing from there to Portage, Wis., where he remained most of the time, until 1871, when he went to Yankton, Dak. In 1872 he came to Burleigh County."⁹

According to the chronology given above, Goff would have been in Lyons between early 1866 and mid-1868 and in Portage from then until late 1871 or early 1872, when he moved to Yankton. This chronology roughly corresponds to

what little documentary evidence we have found about his pre-Bismarck years. Goff is the only photographer listed in a Lyons, New York, business directory for the years 1869–70, and a photograph attributed to him of one Libby Rapp of Lyons appears online.¹⁰ Goff is not, however, listed in a business directory for the years 1867–68, though there was another photographer listed in Lyons, Charles H. Ravell.¹¹ So if it is true that Goff learned photography in Lyons, it was likely from Ravell. It is also possible that Goff was operating Ravell's studio in the latter's absence, though that seems unlikely, since Ravell's business address is given as Canal Street in the 1867–68 directory and Goff's was given as William Street in 1869–70.¹² Thus, this evidence does not adequately answer the question of when and from whom Goff learned the art of photography.

The only other evidence we have found suggesting Goff spent time in Portage, Wisconsin, appears in the *Yankton Press* on November 1, 1871: "Mr. O. C. [*sic*] Goff, an experienced Photographer, from Portage, Wis., has been engaged by Mr. S. J. Morrow, and will attend to business at his gallery during the coming winter. From samples of the work of Mr. Goff, which have been shown us, we are confident that he is a good artist." The language suggests that Goff had not yet arrived in Yankton. Presumably Morrow engaged Goff not to attend to his gallery over the winter, but to mind it during an extended journey up the Missouri River, which Morrow had planned to begin in the spring of 1872. Morrow announced in the March 27, 1872, *Yankton Press* that his gallery would be closed on April 1, when his trip upriver would begin. Morrow did not return to Yankton until November 18, 1873, by which time Goff was in Bismarck.¹³ This raises the questions: Was,

MUSIC.
MRS. O. S. GOFF
Announces to the citizens of Bismarck and vicinity that she is now prepared at her
RESIDENCE ON MAIN STREET,
Opposite Camp Hancock, Bismarck, to teach
Music upon the
Piano, Organ and Guitar,
ABSO
VOCAL
INCLUDING
Harmony and Thorough Bass,
At one price. 4011

Bismarck Tribune, Oct. 9, 1878.

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This 1874 Bismarck street scene shows James A. Emmons Liquor, Drug Store, J. W. Raymond and Company, and the Empire Store on the First National Bank corner on the north side of Main Avenue east of Eighth Street.
SHSND SAA1516-00001



A horse and cart stops outside the J. W. Raymond and Company Groceries and Steamboat Supplies store in Bismarck in 1878. J. W. Raymond bought this building on Main Avenue in 1873. Raymond was a lawyer and mayor of Bismarck. He was one of the early founders of the banking business in Bismarck, establishing the Bank of Bismarck in the early 1870s. The name was changed to Bismarck National Bank in 1883.
SHSND SAA3283-00001



(Left) Anna E. Eaton Goff, 1880. "Annie" Goff (1844–1933) came to Bismarck after marrying Orlando Goff in 1875 and taught music lessons.
SHSND SAA3193-00001



(Right) Bessie Goff (1878–1965) in 1884.
SHSND SA 00092-00023





Early ladder wagon of the Pioneer Hose Company (fire department), Bismarck. The picture was taken about 1890 on the west side of Fourth Street, just north of Main Avenue—the current site of First National Bank. SHSND SAA3740-00001



Goff photographed Jennie MacNider (1876–1942) in his Bismarck studio in 1880. SHSND SA 00263-00007



Steamboat *Montana*, Bismarck, Dakota Territory. The steamboat *Montana* was in Bismarck on June 30, 1879, preparing to reload for a third trip to Fort Benton when a tornado completely stripped the cabin off. SHSND SA 00088-00044

in fact, Goff ever working in Yankton? Did Morrow’s intent to have him tend to his gallery fall through?

What drew Goff to Bismarck we cannot say. If he ever were in Yankton, he may well have met Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, who, along with his command, spent some time in the spring of 1873 camped near there on the journey to Fort Abraham Lincoln. According to Custer’s wife, Libbie, the Yankton community threw a ball for the Seventh Cavalry regiment during its sojourn in the Yankton vicinity, to which “all the town, and even the

country people, came.” Following the ball and just prior to its departure, the regiment paraded in review before the territorial governor, his staff, and the townspeople. Libbie Custer reported it “a great event in the lives of the citizens, and the whole town was present.”¹⁴ The opportunities for George Armstrong Custer and Goff to have met in Yankton certainly existed, and if they did meet, Custer may well have suggested that Goff might have opportunities to ply his craft at Fort Abraham Lincoln, where the Seventh Cavalry was to be stationed following its Yellowstone Expedition from late

June through mid-September of 1873. It certainly would have been in character for Custer to have done so.¹⁵

In any case, Goff arrived in Bismarck in the fall of 1873. The first mention of his presence in the frontier town of perhaps two hundred people is found on the front page of the *Bismarck Tribune* on October 15, 1873—an announcement Goff had established a photograph gallery on the town’s main street. By early spring of the following year, however, he had moved his gallery to Fort Abraham Lincoln, located on the west bank of the Missouri River opposite



duration between the fort and Bismarck to ply their trade, in addition to trips to other military posts along the Missouri River.¹⁹ Their partnership seems to have ended sometime between January and June of 1876, which, according to one account, was inspired by Ford's decision to chase the glitter of Black Hills gold in May 1876.²⁰ The last mention of the Goff and Ford partnership in the local newspaper was in early January 1876.²¹

Perhaps the dissolution was given further impetus by Goff's marriage the previous fall to Anna "Annie" E. Eaton. The October 6, 1875, issue of the *Tribune* carried the announcement that Goff "has just returned from Connecticut with a native of that state, and not a wooden nutmeg either, but a charming wife." In fact, Eaton was not a native of Connecticut (the "Nutmeg State") but rather of Chestertown, New York. Goff had purportedly met her in Lyons during his sojourn there shortly after the war's end, while Eaton was a student in the Sherwood School of Music. They married shortly after her graduation and returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln.

used her to entice Goff to remove to Bismarck permanently: "Mrs. O. F. [sic] Goff is getting along nicely with her singing class and several voices have been immensely improved under her instruction. If Mr. G does not locate at Bismarck instead of remaining at the military posts he deserves to be confined to S. B. and hard tack for six months. Mrs. Goff would be a valuable addition to Bismarck society."²³

Perhaps the *Tribune's* ploy worked, for a few months later Goff established a permanent Bismarck gallery, or studio, "on Main street, opposite Strauss Bro's jewelry establishment."²⁴ One suspects the timing of this move had, at least in part, to do with the exodus of bereaved wives and families of the deceased from Fort Abraham Lincoln in the months after the Battle of the Little Bighorn. If Annie Goff's circle of female friends were leaving from that side of the river, it may have provided impetus for the Goff's relocation to Bismarck. In any event, Goff's income, perhaps supplemented by that of his wife, who, little more than a year after their move was advertising music

Goff's business was sufficiently thriving that by the fall of 1879 he had hired an assistant, David F. Barry, and Goff began planning construction of a new home for the business.

Bismarck, and joined into a partnership with a man named Judge Ford.¹⁶ Their gallery was presumably located, at least initially, in "a little cabin of cottonwood with canvas roof, for a photographer's establishment" authorized by the commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Custer.¹⁷ In January 1875, a report in the *Tribune* of a visit to Fort Abraham Lincoln refers to the "rooms" of Goff and Ford.¹⁸ Whether this was a reference to the cottonwood cabin or a different structure we have been unable to determine.

During their partnership Goff and Ford made periodic trips of several days'

She was, according to one account, "a welcome addition to the little group of wives at the lonely frontier outpost and the first of the regimental ladies to call on the bride was Mrs. Custer herself. Later others came, to admire her trousseau, which had been made in Paris, and to invite her to their social functions."²² She quickly became involved in the musical life of the little community, and within a year of her arrival at Fort Abraham Lincoln she organized a singing class in Bismarck. The *Tribune* characterized her as "a fine musician, attractive in personal appearance and manner," and then

lessons (vocal, piano, organ, and guitar) in the *Tribune*, was sufficient for him to contract for construction of a twenty-four-by-thirty-six-foot building designed to house two business tenants. It was completed and ready for occupancy by late May 1878.²⁵ The local paper reported that one of the tenants was to be a milliner, and Goff was expected to open a gallery in the other tenant space. Whether Goff actually occupied any part of the building is questionable, for a report on building construction in the town published six months later lists among the improvements made in the previous year both an "O. S. Goff,

photograph gallery, \$600” and “O. S. Goff, store building, \$700.”²⁶

Goff’s business was sufficiently thriving that by the fall of 1879 he had hired an assistant, David F. Barry, and Goff began planning construction of a new home for the business.²⁷ The *Tribune* reported on December 26, 1879, that Goff would build a large gallery in Bismarck the following spring. It would not, however, be until 1883 that Goff moved his business into its last Bismarck location, the Dakota Block, a building of which he was part owner. When its pending construction was announced in late 1882, the Dakota Block was projected to be the largest building in the town, “three stories high, seventy-five foot

front and eighty-five feet deep, with cellar under each store . . . and the building will be first-class throughout.”²⁸ Goff would move into the building little more than a year later.²⁹ Upon its completion he was given a gold-headed cane by one of the town’s business luminaries, Richard B. Mellon, with Goff’s name inscribed on one side of the head and “Dakota Block” on the other.³⁰

The early years of the 1880s were busy ones for Goff in other ways as well. He’d become father to a daughter, Bessie, on September 20, 1878; in June 1880 he filed notice of intent to make final proof on a homestead claim; in July 1882 he was elected a trustee and named to serve on the committee on claims for the Life and Accident Association of Michigan, Dakota Territory branch; and he became involved in local politics in 1882 with his election as one of six members of the Bismarck City Council, to which he was reelected in 1883.³¹ The following year he was nominated to run for mayor of the city but was soundly defeated.³² Apparently this defeat ended Goff’s involvement as a candidate for local office, and shortly afterward he left for Fort Custer, Montana. Although

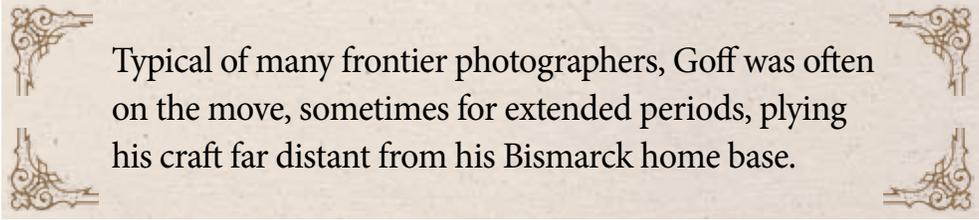
he would return periodically to Bismarck, his active involvement in the community appears to end. His defeat and subsequent departure for Montana would also provide fodder for a bit of “friendly” ribbing in the local paper:

O. S. Goff, who will be remembered as a candidate for the mayoralty of Dakota’s capital in the memorable spring of ’84, returned from the west Monday. Now this would be taken as a political “shot” by

love and affection” to his wife, Annie.³⁵ He was, in addition, a founding member of the town’s Chamber of Commerce, a founding member of the local chapter (J. B. McPherson Post No. 3) of the Grand Army of the Republic, and an active Mason during these years.

Goff was prosperous enough to donate \$500 toward the \$100,000 communities competing for relocation of the territorial capital in 1883 were required to provide. Apparently Goff had given a promissory note to J. W. Raymond of the Bismarck National Bank toward the

capitol removal project. At the time, Raymond was also serving as Bismarck’s mayor and Goff as a city council member. Upon



Typical of many frontier photographers, Goff was often on the move, sometimes for extended periods, plying his craft far distant from his Bismarck home base.

some gentlemen, but Mr. Goff will take it as good naturedly and philosophically as he did his defeat. These little episodes in the lives of men are given a new beauty when seen through the charm-wreathed telescope of memory, and as one gazes at their familiar forms, they carry him back to the days of O’ Auld Lang Syne. Mr. Goff has enjoyed the inspiration and rejuvenation of success on the bovine-nibbled ranges of Montana, and after visiting a few days with his Bismarck friends will leave for the east to join his wife and daughter.³³

One is left with the impression that it was a humiliating defeat for Goff, and that he may not have been successful in hiding the humiliation.

During these years Goff was also accumulating Bismarck real estate. The *Tribune* reported real estate transactions involving Goff in both May and June 1883.³⁴ By the time he departed Bismarck, Goff had accumulated a fair amount of real estate, which on June 23, 1887, he deeded “for one dollar and natural

removal of the capitol from Yankton to Bismarck, Goff refused to honor the note. Possibly this incident, if it was widely known in the community, contributed to Goff’s defeat in the 1884 mayoral race. In any event, in 1891 the bank brought suit against Goff to force payment of the promissory note. While Goff admitted to giving the note, he contended that it was secured under false representation, since the money required for capitol relocation had already been raised when Raymond sought Goff’s contribution. He claimed that his contribution was, in reality, secured for the purpose of relieving the actual subscribers of some of the financial burden they had imposed on themselves. Ultimately, Goff lost the case and was instructed to pay the note, plus \$165 in interest.³⁶

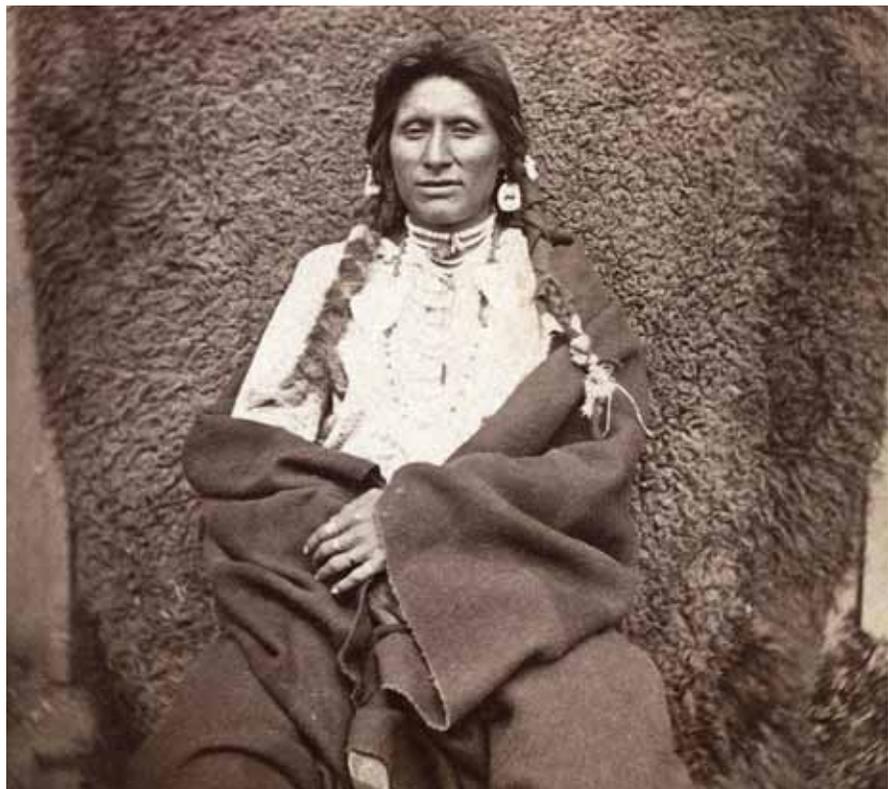
Typical of many frontier photographers, Goff was often on the move, sometimes for extended periods, plying his craft far distant from his Bismarck home base. The local paper reported, presumably religiously, on his comings and goings, though not always providing details on his destinations. He spent the last four months of 1879 in the Fort Meade and Black Hills vicinity; July and August

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Hard Horn and two wives, 1879. While identified in archive resources as "Sioux," Hard Horn is likely a Hidatsa from the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation. Hard Horn was known as a progressive leader and medicine man. SHSND SA 00088-00026



Wolf Chief, taken on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, Dakota Territory, 1878. The son of a distinguished Hidatsa religious leader, Wolf Chief (1851–1933) opened his own trade store in the reservation community of Independence, North Dakota, in 1889. During the early twentieth century he was a primary informant for the ethnologist Gilbert L. Wilson, whose important research and photographs concerning Hidatsa culture are in the Minnesota Historical Society. SHSND SA 00088-00020



Agency buildings at Fort Berthold, Dakota Territory, 1878. SHSND SA 00088-00027



Trading post at Fort Berthold, Dakota Territory, 1876–1880. Daniel Webster Longfellow (1852–1943) was headed to the Black Hills gold fields in 1876 when he stopped in Bismarck and worked for a few days at the J. W. Raymond store. Raymond sent him to manage the trading store at Fort Berthold, which Longfellow did until 1880. Longfellow is pictured second from right, and his wife, Myra, is second from left. SHSND SA 00088-00029-1

Mandan bullboat, 1879. The bullboat was the principle craft for water navigation by tribes living on the river banks. A buffalo bull hide was stretched, fur side out, over green willow poles bent into a circular form and reinforced with willow ribs. This bullboat was used by the Mandan tribe at Berthold, Dakota Territory. See a bullboat on exhibit in the Innovation Gallery: Early Peoples at the ND Heritage Center & State Museum in Bismarck.
SHSND SA 00088-00042



Block house at Fort Berthold,
Dakota Territory, 1879.
SHSND SA 00088-00033-1

of the following year on a trip with his wife “to New York, Massachusetts and the principal watering places”; part of spring 1881 at Fort Yates; some months from spring through the late fall of 1884 at Fort Custer; and the summer and fall of 1885 at Fort Assiniboine.³⁷

The *Tribune* was much less diligent in reporting on Goff’s actual work—subjects photographed and the location of those photos. Nonetheless, several exceptions exist. A lengthy article, “Gabriel Dumont’s Photograph,” appeared in the *Tribune* during Goff’s 1885 summer/fall sojourn at Fort Assiniboine. The article was occasioned by the paper’s receipt of a photograph of Gabriel Dumont, military commander of Louis Riel’s forces during 1885’s Riel Rebellion in Northwest Canada. Following the rebellion’s failure, Dumont fled Canada. The *Tribune* article, describing the image in the photo, reported that Dumont was

of medium height, square, stout frame, with light moustache and burnside, high cheekbones, broad forehead, expanding nostrils, knit brows and prominent jaw and chin. He was dressed more like a laborer than a leader. His chequered shirt was covered only by an open vest, while a scarf over his right shoulder supported a provision sack. His right arm rested on his faithful pony and in his left was the barrel of the gun which had been aimed at many of the oppressors. . . . Dumont stated that it was the first picture of him ever taken.³⁸

The following photograph is undoubtedly the one Goff took and described by the *Tribune*.



Gabriel Dumont. *Glenbow Archives NA-1063-1*

The *Tribune*’s pages mentioned other specific photographs by Goff. One was of George Custer, lithographed by Stobridge & Co. of Cincinnati on twelve-by-twenty-four heavy plate paper, “a picture suitable to adorn any drawing room in the land.”³⁹ Another included “some very fine views of the new Church of the Bread of Life, both exterior and interior. The latter show the fine floral decorations so artistically arranged and displayed on Easter Sunday.”⁴⁰ There was a brief mention of Goff’s involvement, along with several other photographers, when the first train crossed the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri River at Bismarck.⁴¹

Photographic technology was changing in these years as well, and Goff apparently embraced the change. The article “Photography,” which appeared in the May 11, 1883, issue of the *Bismarck Tribune*, captures the nature of the changes then occurring and provides some idea of the range of services offered by Goff:

There is no art that has been more improved during the past few years than that of the photographer. The old system of picture taking on copper plates, followed by the ambrotype, has entirely passed out of date. The tin type is but little used and the change in photographing is simply wonderful. O. S. Goff, the pioneer photographer at Bismarck, has kept up with the times, and no better work can be found in any city than that done by him. . . . There is nothing in his line that he is not prepared to execute, including enlargements by solar camera to life size, and views by the instantaneous process. He keeps on hand, also, a full line of frames, chromos, engravings, etc., and receives orders for painting in oil colors in Indian ink—in fact for anything in the line of his art. His building was erected specially for his business and the best possible effect is provided for in the arrangement of light.

Another *Tribune* article published little less than a year later reports on Goff’s use of the “lightning process”:

Photographer O. S. Goff has taken photographs of the Pinafore troupe. The lightning process was used, it taking only two hours to make forty negatives of the principal characters in the cast. This new process has not been used successfully but a short time, never before having been used in this city, so successfully and in such a short time. The negatives are first class in every particular. Mr. Goff is to be congratulated upon his skill.⁴²

When precisely Goff left Bismarck is open to speculation. The *Bismarck Tribune* reported on May 2, 1884, that Goff had rented his gallery to Barry and was departing on that day to establish “temporary photograph rooms at Fort Custer, Montana.” Given Goff’s apparent wanderlust, it seems

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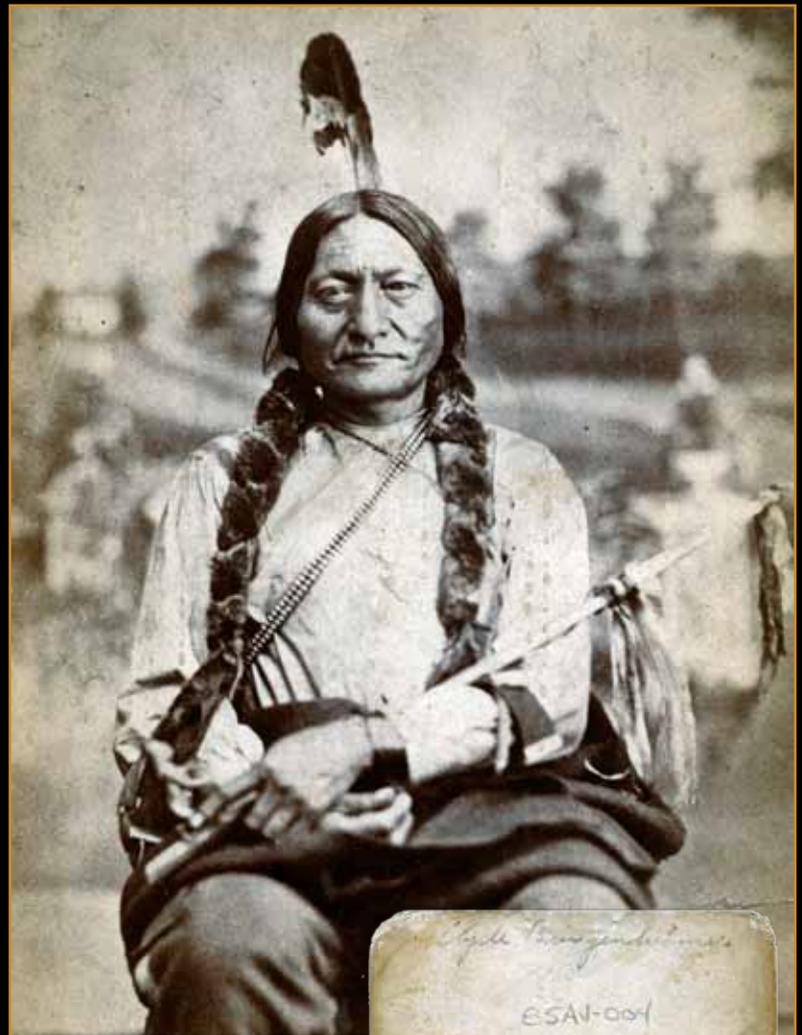
Goff's Sitting Bull Photograph

Goff, in common with many, and perhaps most, frontier photographers, left no careful inventory of photographs taken—or at least if such inventories existed, they seem to have been lost to history. Additionally, it was not uncommon for photographers of the period to copy the work of others and pass it off as their own. David F. Barry, who worked with Goff and subsequently leased Goff's Bismarck studio, for example, copied any number of Goff's photos, including the one of Sitting Bull (as well as photos by other photographers), and passed them off as his own.⁵⁶ Whether this was done by agreement with Goff or not remains in question.

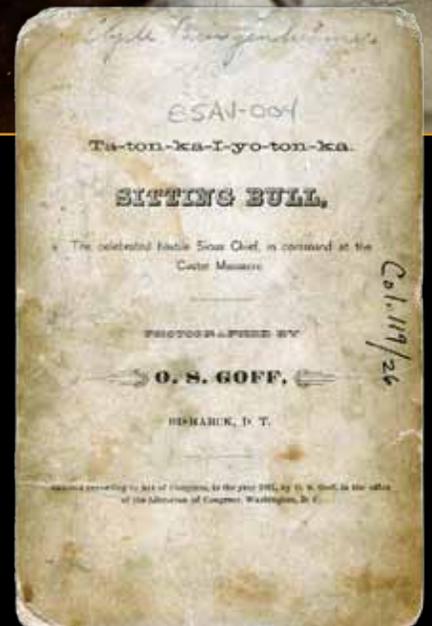
Attribution of what is likely Goff's best known and most iconic photograph—that of Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull—remains controversial among some historians. Even where the photograph was taken remains in question—some claim it was in Goff's Bismarck studio, others that it was taken by Goff at Fort Yates. Whether in Bismarck or Fort Yates, ostensibly Sitting Bull refused to “sit” for the photograph until given \$50—a substantial sum in 1881—and then allowed Goff the opportunity to take but a single photograph. The anecdote of Goff's payment to Sitting Bull appears to be based on Goff family tradition, but the story that getting him to sit for the photograph required a financial transaction had some traction at the time.⁵⁷ The *River Press* of Fort Benton, Montana, for example, published the following on August 17, 1881:

O. S. Goff, an enterprising photographer of Bismarck, secured the first genuine photograph of Sitting Bull ever taken, and is in a fair way to make a fortune by the sale of the same. But Bull comes in for a share of the proceeds. He was crafty enough to stipulate in black and white for a percent of the sales before the picture man was permitted to draw a bead on him. S. B. is fast picking up the ways of civilization.

In any event, while it seems the preponderance of evidence points to Goff as the first to photograph Sitting Bull, the claim does not go unchallenged. Canadian tradition has it that the Sitting Bull photo was not Goff's but one by T. George Anderton, a member of the Northwest Mounted Police stationed at Fort Walsh in 1878, during Sitting Bull's exile in Canada. Anderton would subsequently establish a commercial photo studio in Medicine Hat.⁵⁸ Research published in *North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains* in 2005 suggests the first photograph including Sitting Bull as a subject may, indeed, be attributed to Anderton. That photograph is of a group of Lakotas, unidentified members of the Northwest Mounted Police, and white civilians.



Sitting Bull (1831–1890) photographed in 1881. SHSND SA 00119-00026



SHSND SA 00119-00026-back

The article's author states, “Even if Sitting Bull's face is not recognizable, the documentation leaves no doubt it is him.”⁵⁹ So perhaps it is most accurate to say that the first photograph of Sitting Bull as its only subject, in which Sitting Bull is clearly identifiable, was taken by Orlando S. Goff, who was simply fortunate enough to be in the right place at the right time with the right skills and with sufficient funds to induce the icon into having a photograph taken that would become iconic in itself.



Officers and ladies of the Seventh Cavalry on the front porch of the Custer home at Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory, 1875. From top left: Bloody Knife (scout and guide for the Seventh Cavalry), Mrs. Elizabeth B. Custer, Mrs. Margaret Custer Calhoun, First Lieutenant Algernon E. Smith, First Lieutenant James Calhoun. Lower rows: First Lieutenant Thomas W. Custer, Mrs. Nettie Smith, Mrs. Emma Wadsworth, Herbert Swett, Second Lieutenant Richard E. Thompson, Captain Myles Keogh, Miss Nellie Wadsworth, Mrs. Myles Moylan, Boston Custer, Captain Stephen Baker, Miss Emily Watson, and Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer. SHSND SAA1936-00001



Photo labeled as Fort Abraham Lincoln, 1875.
 1. Edith Leisure 2. H. R. Porter 3. Jimmie Raymond
 4. Tom Winston 5. Pet Wilson 6. Jack Leisure.
 SHSND SA 00264-00029



(Left) Major General Hugh Lenox Scott (1852–1934) graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1876. From 1892 to 1897, he recruited and commanded Troop L of the Seventh Cavalry, which was composed of Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache soldiers at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. He served as superintendent of West Point from 1906 to 1910 and as chief of staff of the United States Army from 1914 to 1917, including the first few months of US involvement in World War I. Goff photographed Scott in 1897 at Fort Abraham Lincoln. SHSND SA 00263-00012

(Right) Frederic Gerard portrait, Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory. Gerard (1829–1913) worked as an interpreter at Fort Abraham Lincoln from 1876–83. He traveled with the Seventh Cavalry to the Little Big Horn River in Montana, where he was assigned to General Reno's command and narrowly escaped death in battle. SHSND SA A3278-00001

Bridging Past and Present

Modern Photographer Uses Historic Photographic Process



Ernie LaPointe, Sitting Bull's great-grandson, titled "Eternal Field," plate #1 in the "Northern Plains Native Americans: A Modern Wet Plate Perspective" series by Shane Balkowitsch, captured on September 6, 2014.
SHSND SA 2014-P-025-00001

Modern practitioners of the wet plate photographic process utilized by Orlando S. Goff and his late nineteenth century contemporaries are hard to find. Shane Balkowitsch, owner of Nostalgic Glass Wet Plate Studio in Bismarck, is the only active wet plate photographer in the state. The North Dakota State Archives is preserving and making a portion of Balkowitsch's work accessible to the public. His collection (2014-P-025) consists of thirty-two eight-by-ten-inch ambrotype images of North Dakotans and North Dakota scenes taken between 2014 and the present. The collection also includes images taken for Balkowitsch's series "Northern Plains Native Americans: A Modern Wet Plate Perspective," intended to capture portraits of American Indian people in North Dakota.

It is important for the State Archives to preserve Balkowitsch's work because of both the subject matter and the process. Like Goff, Balkowitsch actively photographs notable North Dakotans with the intention of capturing their images for posterity, sealing their personalities into

a single image—a moment in time. The intention is to preserve their legacies for future generations to view and enjoy. The stability of the image created by the silver collodion wet plate process contrasts sharply with modern photography, particularly digital photography. When preserved with archival materials, in temperature and humidity control, collodion wet plate negatives have an extremely long life. Another unique feature of the collodion wet plate process when compared to digital photography is the depth of resolution: film grain (pixels in digital photography) is almost impossible to see without magnification in the negatives taken by Balkowitsch, Goff, and other wet plate photographers. Balkowitsch's work serves as a bridge between past and present, a modern artist using a historic photographic process.

For a listing of Shane Balkowitsch's collection in the State Archives, go to bit.ly/2014-P-025.

Emily Ergen, archives specialist, State Archives

unlikely that this was his first trip to that location. Nor was he the only photographer to make the fort a base of operations, if only on an occasional basis. Among his fellow practitioners at Fort Custer were F. J. Haynes, Christian Barthelmess, Stanley Morrow, David F. Barry, and Fred E. Miller.⁴³ Established in 1877 and abandoned in April 1898, an 1892 map of the fort shows a “photo shop” building, though it does not indicate when it was constructed.⁴⁴

Pension records indicate Goff was ill and in and out of Presbyterian Hospital in Chicago between March 1886 and March 1887. The *Tribune*, not always

the most accurate source, reported his illness as being perityphilitis that began in early December 1885.⁴⁵ Following his recovery he returned to Bismarck, at least for short periods of time, though he most likely spent most of his professional time in Montana, moving between Forts Custer and Assiniboine until about 1900.

At least by 1891 and until sometime in 1894 Goff lived in Dickinson, North Dakota, and an R. L. Polk & Co. directory lists him in 1896–97 as being a photographer at both Fort Custer, Montana, and Dickinson.⁴⁶ Pension records suggest, however, that Goff’s

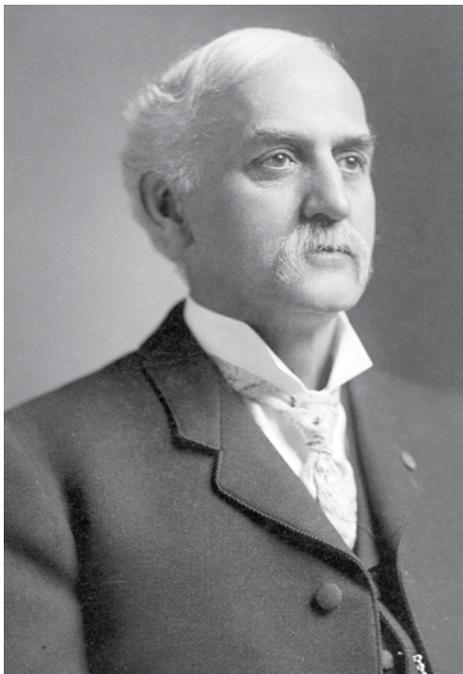
tenure in Dickinson likely ended in 1894.⁴⁷ For the next four years he probably traveled between Forts Custer and Assiniboine in Montana and other points as well to ply his trade. He was, for example, working for several weeks in Williston, North Dakota, in the late summer and early fall of 1898. The *Williston Graphic* reported him as being “a photographer from Glasgow, Mont.” By fall 1898 he had established a studio in Havre, Montana, and that location would remain his base of operations for the remainder of his career, though he was too peripatetic to ply his craft in a single town for long.⁴⁸



Bismarck had been a stopping point for steamboats since the 1830s, well before the creation of the actual town and landing. This bird's-eye view shows the Bismarck Landing, storage buildings, and the loading dock for the Northern Pacific Railroad boxcars that are parked on the spur line next to the warehouse. The ferry landing is below the warehouse buildings. In the background, a steamboat travels down the Missouri River. SHSND SAA1961-00001

Goff's first photo gallery in Havre was apparently located in a single-story wood frame building that served also as his dwelling, a location he would occupy until late 1903, when he moved his operations into a new brick building. Shortly following the construction of the latter, it was destroyed by fire.⁴⁹ Goff rebuilt, but little more than a year after the previous fire, his building was "almost completely wrecked by the fire department" in fighting another fire.⁵⁰ He either rebuilt again, or perhaps simply rented space, for he was advertising his services—"How to Look Happy Even Though Married While Posing for Your Photograph. O. S. Goff Will Tell you How"—from a "Ground Floor Gallery" as late as 1907.⁵¹

Goff commanded some degree of respect or authority in the Havre community almost immediately. In April 1899, following receipt of a letter from the Great Northern Railroad's James J. Hill threatening removal of Havre as one of the railroad's division points unless the town was "cleaned up," Goff was named to



Orlando S. Goff in an official portrait from the 1907 legislative session in Montana. Goff served as an elected Republican member of the Montana House of Representatives for a single term. Photographer unknown. *Montana Historical Society Research Center Photograph Archives, Helena*

Shortly after his foray into Montana state politics, Goff moved to Idaho and apparently left behind photography as a profession.

a committee of ten to look into the matter and make recommendations for changes and improvements. Among the resolutions passed by the committee were one deploring the moral condition of the community; another castigating the town's administration of misgovernment and failure to enforce existing ordinances; a third calling for "a cleaner administration of town affairs"; and others calling for enactment and enforcement of ordinances prohibiting entry of women into saloons, from women appearing on public streets in improper attire, and "the enforcement of all laws pertaining to 'bawdy' and houses of ill fame."⁵² In subsequent years Goff was an active participant in the Havre Industrial Association and the Good School League of Havre, as well as becoming a director of the Security State Bank of Havre. In announcing the organization of the latter and Goff's appointment to its board of directors, the *Havre Herald* characterized him as "a large real estate holder of Havre."⁵³

Goff would again enter politics in 1906. A Republican, he was one of the seventy-three members (fifty-eight Republicans, fifteen Democrats) elected to Montana's House of Representatives to serve in the state's Tenth Legislative Assembly convened January 7 to March 7, 1907. He served on several standing committees: Affairs of Cities, Military Affairs, Internal Improvements, and Apportionment and Representation. Goff introduced six bills during the session, none of which were passed.

Shortly after his foray into Montana state politics, Goff moved to Idaho, and apparently left behind photography as a profession. The move was likely precipitated by a desire to be close to his daughter, Bessie, who had by that time married V. E. Oldson. A 1909–10

city directory lists Goff as residing in Council, Idaho, and working as a vice president of the Oldson-Mueller Co., Ltd., "tailors and furnishers." His son-in-law was listed as company secretary.⁵⁴

By 1911 the Oldson-Mueller Company had dissolved and Goff was no longer working, apparently having retired for good. He died in Boise, Idaho, on October 17, 1916, and was buried in that town's Morris Hill Cemetery, his grave marked by a headstone engraved only with "O. S. Goff," leaving no clue to the rich and active life he'd led or to the contributions he'd made in photographically documenting frontier life and personages in the Dakotas and in Montana. His wife, Annie, would survive him for seventeen years, passing away in California, where she had moved with her daughter and son-in-law, on February 14, 1933.



Shane Balkowitsch collection, SHSND SA 2014-p-025-00009

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ENDNOTES

The author was inspired to write this article through his friendship with Shane Balkowitsch, contemporary Bismarck wet plate photographer, who was introduced to Goff's work when commissioned by the Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation to recreate several of Goff's Fort Abraham Lincoln photographs.

1. Ink Mendelsohn, "Early Photographers Show American West," *Thief River Falls* (MN) *Times*, February 4, 1981, 4. The article draws extensively on quotes by Eugene Ostroff, then curator of photography at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.
2. Note, however, that Goff's Civil War pension records also give September 10, 1844, as his birthdate, which, if correct, would have made him a seventeen-year-old enlistee. Orlando S. Goff Pension Records (hereafter Pension Records), National Archives and Records Administration.
3. Orlando S. Goff Military Service Records (hereafter Military Service Records), National Archives and Records Administration.
4. "Connecticut 10th Regiment Volunteer Infantry," Stamford Historical Society, accessed October 15, 2015, stamfordhistory.org/cw_reghist.htm#10. For information on the Battle of Darbytown Road and the role of the Tenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry Regiment in that battle, see Bryce Suderow, "An Ugly Looking Chance for a Charge': The Battle of Darbytown Road, October 13, 1864," *The Siege of Petersburg Online*, accessed April 12, 2016, beyondthecrater.com/news-and-notes/research/battles/an-ugly-looking-chance-for-a-charge-the-battle-of-darbytown-road-october-13-1864-by-bryce-suderow.
5. Pension Records.
6. Military Service Records.
7. Declaration for Original Invalid Pension, May 1, 1878, Pension Records.
8. Declaration for Original Invalid Pension, May 31, 1878, Pension Records.
9. A. T. Andreas, *Andreas' Historical Atlas of Dakota* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, The Lakeside Press, 1884), 238.
10. "Lyons Business Directory, 1869–1870," Wayne County NYGenWeb, last modified December 30, 2003, wayne.nygenweb.net/lyons/lyonsboyds.html; "Libby Rapps Brooks, Wayne County, NY," Wayne County NYGenWeb, last modified June 19, 2009, wayne.nygenweb.net/families/libbyrappbrooks.html. "Lyons Business Directory" online content excerpted from Andrew Boyd, *Boyd's Business Directory of over One Hundred Cities and Villages in New York State* (Albany, NY: Charles Van Benthuysen & Sons, 1869). The creator of the latter webpage notes Annie Eaton, who would some years later become Goff's wife, was listed in the 1870 census as residing in Lyons while attending school.
11. Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Wayne County, N.Y. for 1867–8* (Syracuse: Journal Office, 1867), 147, 161.
12. "Libby Rapps Brooks," Wayne County NYGenWeb.
13. Wesley R. Hurt and William E. Lass, *Frontier Photographer: Stanley J. Morrow's Dakota Years* (Lincoln, NE: University of South Dakota and University of Nebraska Press, 1956), 29–31. Hurt and Lass provide the most thorough chronology of which we are aware regarding Morrow's comings and goings. Note, however, that John S. Gray, in "Itinerant Frontier Photographers and Images Lost, Strayed or Stolen," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* (April 1978): 8, contends that Morrow's trip was actually two separate trips rather than the single trip noted by Hurt and Lass.
14. Elizabeth B. Custer, *Boots and Saddles, or Life in Dakota with General Custer* (1885; repr., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 21, 24.
15. Frank E. Vyzralek, "Dakota Images: Early Photographers and Photography in North Dakota, 1853–1925," *North Dakota History* 57, no. 3: 27. Vyzralek reports on the way to Fort Abraham Lincoln Custer had, for example, invited a Sioux City, Iowa, photographer, D. C. Smith, to accompany the Yellowstone Expedition in the summer of 1873. However, when Smith arrived at Fort Abraham Lincoln, he found another photographer had been designated to accompany the expedition. Smith then for a short period established a gallery in Bismarck.
16. *Bismarck Tribune* (hereafter *BT*), April 22, 1874, 3.
17. Custer, *Boots and Saddles*, 78.
18. *BT*, January 27, 1875, 1. The *Tribune* reporter visited Fort Abraham Lincoln on January 21, 1875.
19. See, for example, "Bismarck and Vicinity," *BT*, October 7, 1874, 4, and "Personal," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune* (hereafter *BWT*), June 14, 1876, 4.
20. John S. Gray, "Itinerant Frontier Photographers and Images Lost, Strayed or Stolen," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 28, no. 2 (April 1978): 12.
21. "Bismarck, Dakota Territory," *BWT*, January 5, 1876, 5.
22. Elmo Scott Watson, "Orlando Scott Goff: Pioneer Dakota Photographer," *North Dakota History* 29, nos. 1 and 2 (1962): 213.
23. *BWT*, January 31, 1877, 4; *BWT*, February 21, 1877, 4. John S. Gray, in his "Photographic Strays and Mavericks," *The Westerner's Brand Book* 22, no. 4 (June 1965): 31, suggests the "S. B." reference in the *Tribune* article was to sow belly. It should be noted that Annie Goff did, indeed, become a valuable addition to local society; it is the rare local newspaper article about musical affairs during the Goffs' Bismarck years that does not contain her name as an organizer, director, or performer.
24. *BWT*, May 30, 1877, 1.
25. "Bismarck Business Directory/Miscellaneous," *BWT*, July 26, 1878, 3.
26. *BWT*, April 26, 1878, 4; *BWT*, May 24, 1878, 1; "The Business of Bismarck," *BT*, November 25, 1878, 1.
27. The first mention we have found of the Goff/Barry connection appears under "Purely Personal" on page 1 of the September 12, 1879, *Bismarck Tribune*: "O. S. Goff has gone to Fort Meade to spend the fall and possibly winter in driving his photographing business. David Barry is left in charge of his Bismarck establishment."
28. "The Dakota Block," *BT*, November 17, 1882, 6.
29. "The Capital City," *BT*, November 23, 1883, 8.
30. "The Capital City," *BWT*, November 2, 1883, 8.
31. "Land Notice," *BT*, June 11, 1880, 4; "Life and Accident Association," *BT*, July 28, 1882, 7; "The City Dads," *BT*, April 28, 1882, 5; "The City Dads," *BT*, April 6, 1883, 4. Goff's homestead entry was on the south half of the southeast quarter and south half of the southwest quarter of Section 30, Township 139, Range 81.
32. Notwithstanding the strong support of the *Bismarck Tribune* and Goff's large majorities in his previous two races as alderman from the city's first ward,

- Goff and the other candidates for local office running on the "Citizens" ticket, with a single exception (for city justice), lost to those running on the "People's" ticket. The latter was characterized in the *Tribune* as being "the total disregard of law and order element" and "a delusion and a snare" led by early Bismarck settler Levi N. Griffin, a hotelier and saloon owner, whose strength, according to the *Tribune*, lay in "the bummer element." For those interested in early Bismarck politics, see the *Tribune's* reporting on March 28, 1884, 4; April 4, 1884, 3; and April 11, 1884, 8. In the 1884 election Goff polled only 24 percent city wide and just 32 percent in the first ward, which he had represented for the previous two terms.
33. "Personal," *BWT*, November 27, 1885, 3.
 34. "Real Estate Transfers," *BT*, May 25, 1883, 3; "Astounding Figures," *BT*, June 29, 1883, 2. The first article reported on Goff's acquisition of Lot 6, Block 64, Original Plat; the second, on his sale of Lot 4, Block 29 in the Northern Pacific Second Addition.
 35. Burleigh County, North Dakota, Deed Record Book 51, 115. The properties included: Lot 16, Block 52; Lot 11, Block 54; Lots 3 and 4, Block 56; and Lots 1 and 2, Block 140, all in the Original Plat; Lot 1, Block 19, Northern Pacific First Addition; Lot 1 and the N1/2 of Lot 2, Block 13, McKenzie Addition; Lots 1 and 2, Block 7, Sturgis Addition; Lots 27–29, Block 31, Capital Park Addition; and an undivided half of Lot 2, Block 35, Northern Pacific Second Addition.
 36. "District Court/A Capital Location Suit," *BWT*, May 29, 1891, 5, 7.
 37. "Purely Personal," *BT*, September 12, 1879, 1; "Personal," *BT*, December 26, 1879, 1; "Purely Personal," *BT*, July 2, 1880, 1; "Purely Personal," *BT*, August 27, 1880, 1; "Purely Personal," *BT*, April 15, 1881, 1; "Capital City Chips," *BWT*, June 20, 1884, 8; "Gabriel Dumont's Photograph," *BWT*, June 12, 1885, 8; "Personal," *BWT*, November 27, 1885, 3.
 38. "Gabriel Dumont's Photograph," *BWT*, June 12, 1885, 8.
 39. "Custer Chromo," *BT*, September 16, 1874, 4.
 40. "The Metropolis," *BT*, April 22, 1881, 8.
 41. "The Big Day," *BT*, October 27, 1882, 2.
 42. "Capital City Chips," *BT*, March 14, 1884, 8. The "lightning" process and "instantaneous" process likely referred to the use by Goff of commercially produced glass plates, on which the chemical base necessary for capturing a photo had been "fixed" on the plate and could be purchased outright by photographers from photographic supply houses beginning in the mid-1880s.
 43. Richard Upton, *Fort Custer on the Little Big Horn, 1877–1898: Its History and Personalities as Told and Pictured by Its Contemporaries* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1973), 16. Note that Upton's book contains several images from public and private collections of fort scenes and military personnel attributed to Goff.
 44. *Ibid.*, 281.
 45. "Brief Mention," *BWT*, February 19, 1886, 8. Perityphilitis is an inflammation of the connective tissue about the cecum and appendix.
 46. *Minnesota, North and South Dakota and Montana Gazetteer and Business Directory*, Vol. 10 (St. Paul, MN: R. L. Polk & Co., 1896–97), 2359.
 47. A surgeon's certificate prepared by Dickinson physician V. H. Stickney on March 27, 1894, describes at length the examination results of Goff at that time. Another letter from Stickney dated January 3, 1899, states he had attended Goff "on divers occasions during the period of time lapsing between the years 1891 and 1894, inclusive. Said O. S. Goff was during that time a resident of Dickinson, N.D." Pension Records.
 48. "Local Round-up," *Williston Graphic*, August 26, 1898, 1; "Town and Country," *Milk River Eagle* (Havre, MT), October 7, 1898, 4. The *Milk River Eagle* announced "Photographer O.S. Goff is now prepared to make the finest photographs ever made in Havre. Studio near Gushhaves's."
 49. Sanborn-Perris Map Co., Ltd. maps for Havre, MT, dated March 1900 and October 1903 show a photograph studio, presumably Goff's, located on the south side of First Street between Third and Fourth Avenues. On January 21, 1904, the *Bismarck Daily Tribune* reported Goff had "lost his new brick block in the recent big fire at Havre, Mont. . . . he will rebuild at once." "The City/Goff Burned Out," *BDT*, January 21, 1904, 3.
 50. "Two Stores Wiped Out," *Havre* (MT) *Herald* (hereafter *HH*), March 23, 1905, 1.
 51. *Havre* (MT) *Plaindealer*, May 25, 1907, 10.
 52. "Must Clean Up Havre," *Anaconda* (MT) *Standard*, April 4, 1899, Morning Edition, 11.
 53. "Bank Names New Directors," *HH*, January 18, 1907, 5; "Havre, Chouteau and the Valley Go Together," *HH*, May 19, 1905, 1; "School League Formed," *HH*, April 13, 1906, 1.
 54. R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Boise City and Ada County Directory, 1909–1910*, 192, 322.
 55. For this description of the wet plate collodion photography process the author is indebted to two sources. First, to Shane Balkowitsch, Bismarck, North Dakota, avocational wet plate photographer, sharoncol.balkowitsch.com/wetplate.htm. Second, Charles W. Gamble's *An Introduction to the Practice of Wet Collodion Photography* (London: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., 1895), 1–2.
 56. Vyzralek, 28.
 57. Watson, 212. In a note appearing at the end of his article, the author indicates most of the information contained therein was provided by Goff's daughter, Bessie Goff Oldson.
 58. "Letters to the Editor," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 28, no. 3 (July 1978): 86–87. These include a letter by John C. Ewers of the Smithsonian Institution (who also served as a consulting editor for *Montana*) suggesting perhaps it was Goff who copied another's Sitting Bull photograph; a response to Ewers's suggestion by John S. Gray, author of the previously cited "Itinerant Frontier Photographers and Images Lost, Strayed or Stolen"; and an assessment of the competing claims presented by the editor of the magazine.
 59. Markus H. Lindner, "Family, Politics, and Show Business: The Photographs of Sitting Bull," *North Dakota History* 72, nos. 3 and 4 (2005): 3.