Visual Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2004

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Looking at discipline, looking at labour: photographic representations of Indian boarding schools

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Native American children were subjected to a rigidly enforced regime of acculturation in a federally funded system of Indian boarding schools. This paper explores the peculiar iconography of photographs of these Indian schools, hundreds of which can now be found in Internet archives. The advent of searchable photograph archives on the Internet makes possible new forms of visual ethnography analogous to a kind of archeology. Photographs can be examined and meanings imputed based on documentary evidence and theoretical understandings. First, a brief introduction to Indian schools will be provided. Then I will examine four documentary projects, each of which had its own representational agenda: first, Richard Pratt's use of photographs as a propaganda-of-the-image to garner support for Carlisle and other Indian schools; second, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) documentation efforts that included panorama photographs and a collection of shots from the Pacific Northwest by Ferdinand Brady that emphasize labour; third, Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs representing Indian schooling as progressive education; and finally a recently discovered album of vernacular photographs from the Sacaton school in Arizona. The goal will be to describe the 'circumstances and milieus' in which the photographs were made. In the conclusion I will turn to issues of sociological theory and meaning.

INTRODUCTION

In April 2003, just as this article was being completed, a class action lawsuit was filed on behalf of some 100 000 Native Americans who, from 1890 to 1978, were forced to attend boarding schools run by the U.S. government. Alleging sexual, physical and emotional abuse, the suit seeks damages in the amount of $25 billion (Blair 2003). The photographs and analysis that follow help make clear the conditions that led to the suit.

The origins of this project lay in thousands of photographs of schools found on websites.[1] The advent of searchable photograph archives on the Internet makes possible new forms of visual ethnography analogous to a kind of archaeology. The photographs were not collected systematically by these archives. Some come with careful documentation: date, photographer, context and intended meaning have been carefully preserved.[2] Others were torn from their original sites and sedimented like rubble washed down by a flood or artifacts looted from tombs. Photographs have been unearthed and as with frescos and cave paintings, meanings have to be imputed based on documentary evidence and theoretical understandings. As in archaeology, some artifacts are found in abundance while others are rare or missing. For example, Indians in school are particularly well-represented compared with Latinos or Asian Americans. However, only certain kinds of photographs were made, thus one can find many shots of Indian boarding school students posed in class, but few in their dormitories.

Figure 1 is typical of many posed shots of Indian children in the archives, note the sign on the wall, 'LABOR CONQUERS ALL THINGS'. Photographs like this one raise important theoretical questions about both photography and schools. This paper explores the peculiar iconography of Indian schools. In her perceptive chapter on documentary entitled 'Who is Speaking Thus?' Abigail Solomon-Godeau set forth a project for those who would use photographs in social and cultural research:

> …individual documentary projects, themselves the product of distinct historical circumstances and milieus, 'speak' of agendas both open and covert, personal and institutional, that inform their contents and, to a greater or lesser extent, mediate our reading of them. It is properly the work of historians and critics to attempt to excavate these coded and buried meanings, to bring to light these rhetorical and formal strategies that determined the work's production, meaning, reception, and use. (Solomon-Godeau 1991: 182)

Following Solomon-Godeau's suggestions I want here to examine the photography of Indian boarding schools. As context, I first provide a brief introduction to Indian boarding schools. Then, I will examine four documentary projects, each of which has its own

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ISSN 1472-586X printed/ISSN 1472–5878 online/02/020085–07 © 2004 International Visual Sociology Association
DOI: 10.1080/1472586042000204861

FIGURE 1. Debating class, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania between ca. 1900 and 1903. Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-38126.

agenda to represent Indian schools: Captain Pratt's original plan to use photographs as a propaganda-of-the-image to garner support for Carlisle and other Indian schools; the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) documentation efforts, including panorama photographs and a collection of photographs from the Pacific Northwest by Ferdinand Brady that emphasize labour; Frances Benjamin Johnston's views of Indian schooling as progressive education; and finally a recently discovered album of vernacular photographs from the Sacaton school in Arizona. The goal will be to describe the 'circumstances and milieus' in which the photographs were made. In the conclusion I will turn to issues of theory and meaning.

INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS

In countries with large indigenous tribal populations Anglo European colonists subjected the local people to forced acculturation and assimilation. In the United States (Adams 1995; Reyhner and Eder 1989; Winer 1972), Canada (Barman et al. 1986; MacDonald 1995; Miller 1996), Australia (Cummings 1990) and New Zealand (Simon and Smith 2001), Native children were forcibly removed from their parents and community, had their hair cut, were required to wear European dress and were forbidden to speak their mother tongue. In both mission schools and state-supported institutions powerful attempts were made to convert them to Christianity. Many Native children were adopted by white families. In the United States, an extensive system of federally funded boarding schools was developed. Alongside quasi-military discipline and cultural 're-education', boarding schools provided vocational training, art and music education, and sports. In a system sometimes called 'outing' young children were placed with Anglo[3] families for additional cultural re-education. The explicit long-term goal of schooling was, by working through the children, to exterminate the indigenous culture and replace it with the disciplines, habits, language, religion and practices of the dominant one.

It is essential to remember that the children subjected to the peculiar educational institution of the Indian boarding school were a conquered people (Figure 2). Defeated by the U.S. Army, the Native Americans lost control not only over their land, but over the education of their children and in many respects the ability to reproduce their culture. In the United States, Captain Richard Pratt established the Carlisle Indian School in

FIGURE 2. Group of Apache prisoners (written on back): [1884 or 1885]. Two uniformed U.S. Army soldiers pose on a yucca covered slope with their Native American Chiricahua Apache women and children prisoners captured on Captain Crook's campaign, Arizona or Mexico. Denver Public Library, X-32953.

1879. Typical of Anglo Americans of his day, Pratt characterized tribal societies as 'Communistic', 'indolent', 'dirty' and 'ignorant', contrasting this with Western civilization, which he called 'virile', 'peaceable', 'industrious' and 'individualistic'. Pratt articulated a systematic programme of cultural extinction, arguing that: 'The Indian must die as an Indian and live as a man' (Malmsheimer 1985: 55). He believed in subjecting Native American youth to quasi-military discipline – uniforms and drill exercises alongside instruction in English and industrial training. Sports and regimented band practice were likewise part of the disciplinary regime. The Masthead of the Carlisle school paper proclaimed another of Pratt's emblems: 'To Civilize The Indian; Get Him Into Civilization. To Keep Him Civilized; Let Him Stay'. Pratt developed the 'outing' system to facilitate enforced acculturation; students were first taught English and then farmed out to local families where they worked as farm hands or household labourers, attended public schools and participated in the community (Malmsheimer 1985: 55; Trennert 1983). Pratt opposed returning children to the 'Communistic government of the tribes' (Trennert 1988: 7).

Pratt's experiment at Carlisle laid the basis for a network of comparatively well-funded federal institutions with a coherent curriculum intended to acculturate Native Americans to the dominant culture. Indian schools were supported by powerful politicians like General Thomas Jefferson Morgan who became the Indian Commissioner a decade after the founding of Carlisle and helped establish the structure of off-reservation boarding schools. He built 11 additional schools, bringing the total to 19 and in 1890 promulgated *Rules for Indian Schools* (Library Staff 1999). There is no accurate count of the number of students; Adams (1995: 58) estimated attendance at nearly 18 000 at the turn of the century. In addition to Carlisle, major institutions included: Albuquerque, New Mexico; Flandreau, South Dakota; Chemawa, Oregon; Haskell, Kansas; Mt. Pleasant, Michigan; Riverside, California; and Phoenix, Arizona.

Indian schools constituted a particular nexus of the political and educational apparatus. Unlike, for instance, public schools during the same time period which were decentralized and completely disconnected from federal power, the Indian schools were a site where U.S. government policy directly influenced ideological production. The application of state power led to two developments: a centralized curriculum and accountability. Under the direct control of the BIA, boarding schools had shared characteristics: the architecture and landscaping was similar, as was the military-style regimen. Common curricular content

FIGURE 3. Photograph probably made by Charles R. Scott, an employee of the Seneca Training School, for Superintendent Horace B. Durant. 1905. National Archives and Record Service (BIA) NRFF-75-10-MIAMI-1(3).

included: English language only, a basic academic curriculum with equal emphasis on farming and manual trades for men and domestic work for women, rigid adherence to clock time, team sports and military-style regimentation (Lindauer 1998; Marr n.d.).

Owen Lindauer made an important point about the depth of the re-socialization attempted by the Indian schools:

> In 1888 John Oberly, superintendent of Indian schools, argued that the objective of the schools was to wean the student from the tribal system and to imbue him with the egotism of American civilization, so that he would say 'I' instead of 'we', and 'this is mine', instead of 'this is ours'. (Lindauer 1998: n.p.)

The goal of the boarding schools thus went far beyond industrial training, English language instruction, gender role socialization and even the creation of capitalist desires. It was also more ambitious than the Americanization process being employed to assimilate European immigrants during the same historic period. Its goal was no less than transformation of the soul; exactly the project Michel Foucault argues was the accomplishment of modern institutions: 'the historical reality of the soul, which, unlike the soul represented by Christian theology, is not born in sin and subject to punishment, but is born rather out of methods of punishment, supervision, and constraint' (Foucault 1995: 29). In his examination of the role of photography in producing structures of surveillance and discipline, John Tagg noted that while unable to photograph the soul, the camera was an exquisite machine for demonstrating the effects of discipline on the body. As Foucault (1995: 25) put it: 'the body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs'.

Following Foucault's (1995: 141) suggestion to cultivate 'a political awareness of … small things, for the control and use of men', the study of Indian school photographs pays attention to such observable structures as: buildings and grounds, dress, hierarchy and rank, structures of time, work, exercise, punishment, and surveillance. Figures 3–6, for example, offer visual evidence of how teacher, school and photographer collaborated to force children's bodies to 'emit signs' of assimilation, Americanization, rank, discipline, symmetry and order. The freezing of these postures into photographs was intended to convey to others, Indian and Anglo alike, the presumed changes in the soul.

Interestingly, far from emphasizing competitive individualism the photographs suggest the replacement

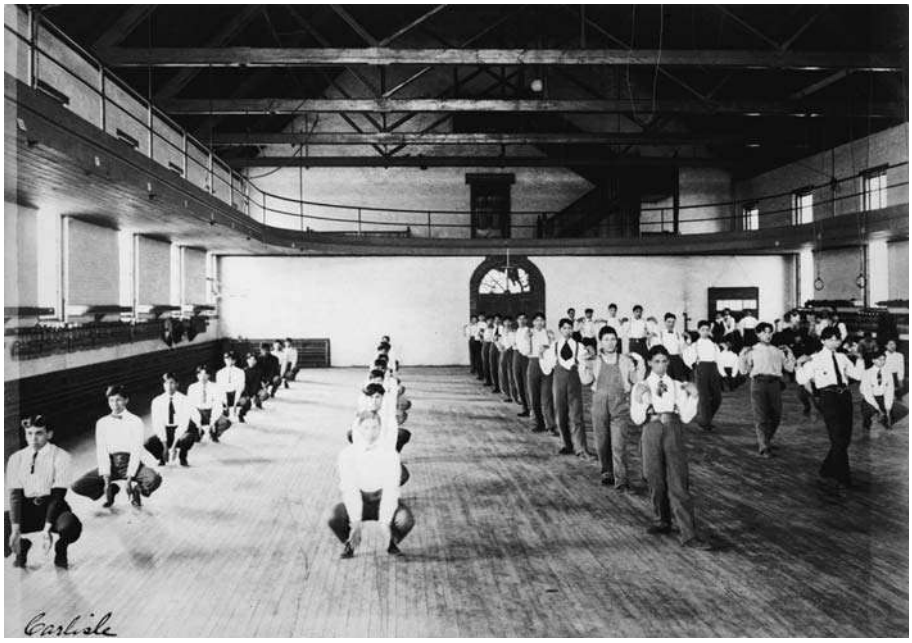

FIGURE 4. Male Native American students in physical education class, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania between ca. 1900 and 1903. Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-120988.

FIGURE 5. Laundry class, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania between ca. 1900 and 1903. Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-26788.

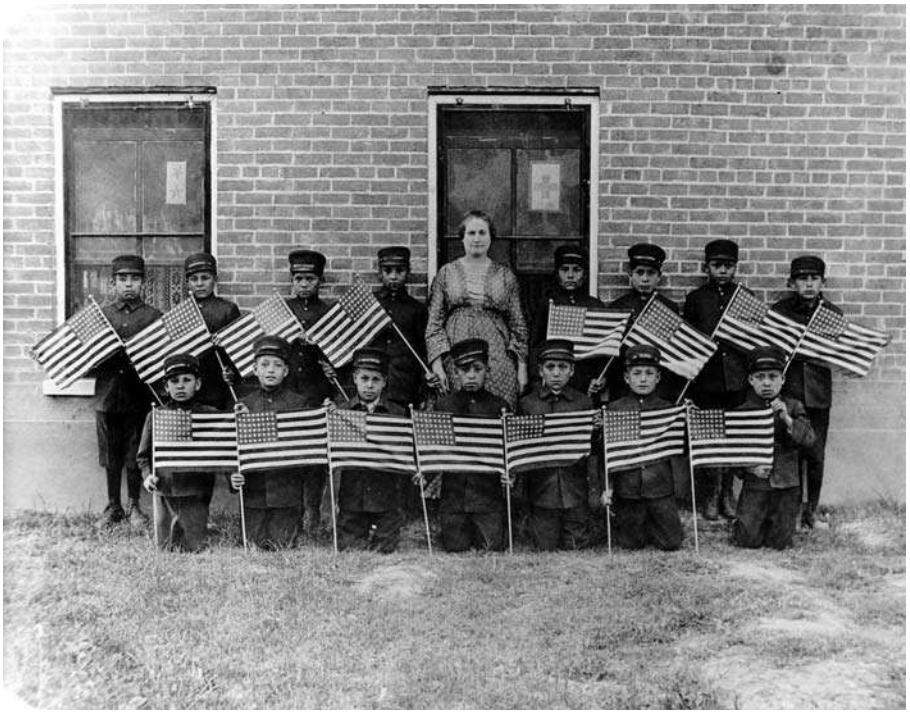

FIGURE 6. Very early class of young boys with flags at the Albuquerque Indian School. Production Date ca.1895 [*sic.*]. Note: it is highly likely that this photograph was actually made in 1912, perhaps in June when New Mexico and Arizona were admitted to statehood and President Taft established the 48-star flag with six horizontal rows of eight. National Archives and Record Center (BIA) NRG-75-AISP-10.

of the tribal 'we', with a quasi-military 'we'. It is important also to consider what was not photographed. There are large numbers of photographs similar to Figure 11 showing orderly groups of Indian students dressed in uniform, I found *no* photographs celebrating individual accomplishment, for example 'the winner of the spelling bee', or 'the champion athlete'. The essence of the new identity was adherence to an acceptable social group, one that clearly emphasized the disciplines of the modern self: following abstract rules, obedience to authority and an appreciation for rank. Photography also constructed images to demonstrate exercises imposing repetitive tasks on the body, and the performance of ceremonies of power. The camera and the presence of adult teachers and matrons testify to conditions of nearly constant surveillance.

Re-socialization of Native Americans was to be accomplished by 'total institutions', the hallmarks of which were what Erving Goffman (1961) termed 'mortifications of the self': removal of personal possessions, loss of control over your schedule, uniforms, hair-cuts, and the inability to escape from organizational rules and procedures. The institutional goal is to recreate the individual to fit the demands of the organization. Indian boarding schools closely fit Goffman's model, which included prisons, monasteries and residential medical facilities. In the case at hand, mortification of the self also included punishment for speaking one's mother tongue, required Christian training that disparaged 'faith in kachina gods, medicine bundles, and spirit guides', and ceremonial enactments of the American myths including the principle of Manifest Destiny (Adams 1995: 23–24). There were many rituals, some of which were photographed, designed to degrade the status of Indian students. Degradation ceremonies included such practices as cleaning the school grounds on hands and knees (see Figure 28) (Garfinkel 1956).

PHOTOGRAPHY

Many of the photographs discussed below were created by skilled photographers to signify *education*, as both a social relationship and a personal internal psychological change, but the camera only makes an image of the arrangements of bodies in space. The photographers' intent notwithstanding, these photographs represent *schooling* not *education*. The viewer has no way of knowing if education is taking place – if students and teacher are sullen, bored to tears, or stimulated and intellectually excited. We do not know if resignation or resistance is going on. Photography cannot represent social relationships or mental transformations. Thus we are looking at carefully constructed arrangements of objects in space that have been (com)posed to give out signs suggesting progressive 'education', or

FIGURE 7. Chiricahua Apaches as they arrived at Carlisle from Fort Marion, Florida. November 4th 1886. Photographer J. N. Choate. Hugh Chee, Bishop Eatennah, Ernest Hogee, Humphrey Escharzay, Samson Noran, Basil Ekarden, Clement Seanilzay, Beatrice Kiahtel, Janette Pahgostatum, Margaret Y. Nadasthilah, Fred'k Eskelsejah. Denver Public Library, X-32903.

FIGURE 8. Chiricahua Apaches four months after arriving at Carlisle 1886. Photographer J. N. Choate, Studio portrait (sitting and standing) of Samson Noran, Fred'k Eskelsejah, Clement Seanilzay, Hugh Chee, Ernest Hogee, Margaret Y. Nadasthilah, Humphrey Escharzay, Beatrice Kiahtel, Janette Pahgostatum, Bishop Eatennah, and Basil Ekarden. Denver Public Library, X-32904.

'socialization' or 'discipline' or a number of other social relationships or internal psychological changes.[4]

PRATT'S CARLISLE PHOTOGRAPHS

Captain Richard Pratt consciously employed photographs to communicate his solution to the Indian problem to a wider audience, including congressmen who controlled the purse strings and the American people.[5] At Carlisle students were photographed when they arrived from the reservation in native dress. They were photographed again after a period during which, as Malmsheimer (1985: 66n) noted, they had lived in cloudy Pennsylvania long enough to have lost their sun tan and become visibly whiter, and they had been 'scrubbed', had their hair cut, and were dressed in military uniform.[6] While some of the 'before' photographs were posed informally, the 'after' shots conformed to established conventions of middle-class portraiture, thus reinforcing the predominantly Anglo viewers' perception that a 'civilizing process' was being documented (Malmsheimer 1985: 59). Pratt termed such paired portraits 'propaganda' and used them to raise money and institutional support for Carlisle; he consciously employed them to demonstrate the change from 'Indian' to 'man', from barbarism to civilization. Malmsheimer (1985: 56) explained that Pratt intended 'Transformation of the body (to stand) for transformation of the soul'. These before and after images of Carlisle students (Figures 7, 8 and 9, 10) are illustrative of Pratt's propaganda effort, of Foucault's principle that power is used to train the body to 'perform ceremonies' and 'emit signs' (Foucault 1995: 25) and of Tagg's (1988) discussion of the role of photography in surveillance.

I do not know of any before and after shots designed to show the effect of education on 'regular' Anglo American children, but Pratt did not invent this usage. John Tagg (1988) closely examined the role of photography in producing panoptic structures of surveillance and discipline. His research revealed that between 1874 and 1905 photographers for the Home for Destitute Lads in England took more than 50 000 before and after shots – systematic records of the children as they entered the institution and then, 'scrubbed and clean', as they were released. This photographic record served many masters: it was designed to celebrate institutional accomplishments and 'trace the child's career'; it functioned as a rogues' gallery, making it possible for authorities to identify those guilty of criminal behaviour; it was a truant officer helping find runaways; and the paired photographs were also used by the institution to raise money. This brought accusations of dishonesty from other charitable organizations claiming that the clothes on entry were torn and made to look worse than they were and that the cleaned-up happy worker shots were 'an artistic fiction' that harmed the children's self-esteem (Tagg 1988: 82–85). As Tagg (1988: 66) pointed out, photography functioned as a record and source of 'evidence' for 'scientific, technical, medical, legal and political apparatuses' and became the pre-eminent

FIGURES 9 and 10. Native Americans, Carlisle Indian School between about 1880 and 1900. Denver Public Library, X-32086 and X-32085.

technology of surveillance serving not only the purposes of police and prisons, but also hospitals, asylums and schools:

> We have begun to see a repetitive pattern: the body isolated; the narrow space; the subjection to an unreturnable gaze; the scrutiny of gestures, faces and features; the clarity of illumination and sharpness of focus; the names and number boards. These are the traces of power, repeated countless times, whenever the photographer prepared an exposure, in police cell, prison, consultation room, asylum, home or school. (Tagg 1988: 85)

Pratt consciously used photography to represent the boarding school mission as successful. Thousands of images of Indian Boarding Schools were produced by Anglo photographers for Anglo viewers. Indian children were posed in the postures of Western society and depicted as disciplined, clean and enlightened.[7] Photographs were important in convincing the government to fund the effort, and in showing the Anglo population that Indians could be transformed into useful and productive members of society.

DOCUMENTATION FOR THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

The mission of schooling Indians was given to the BIA, and conflicts arose between Bureau personnel and Pratt. Pratt's views on assimilation were not universal (at the time, most Americans could not imagine racial integration), and he opposed making Indian schooling part of civil service. Moreover, he campaigned against both on-reservation and missionary schools. His philosophy was increasingly out of step and in 1904 Pratt was dismissed (Adams 1995: 321–323). Indian

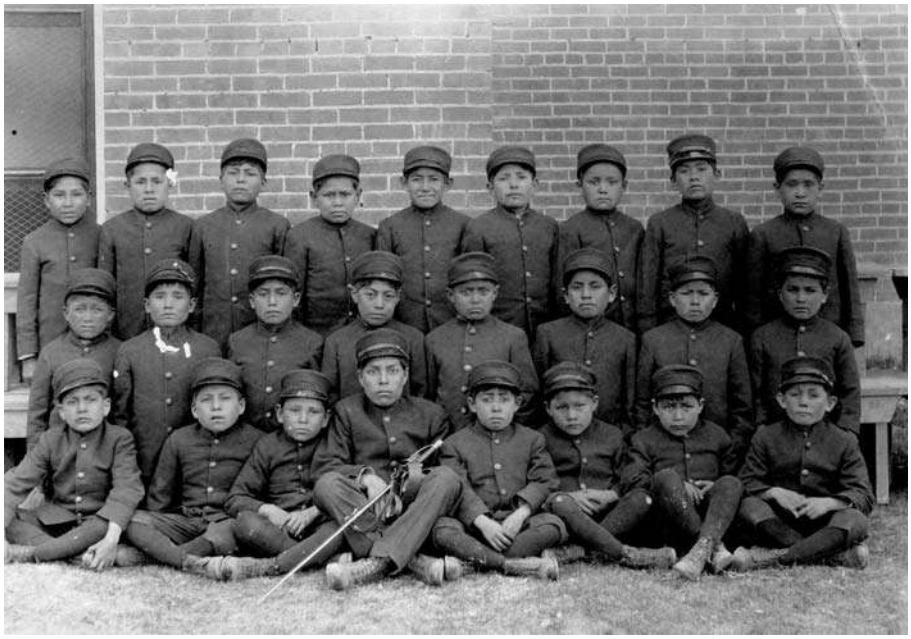

FIGURE 11. Class of younger boys in uniform at the Albuquerque Indian School, ca. 1900. National Archives and Record Service (BIA), NRG-75-AISP-8.

education increased under the BIA and photography continued. While the Carlisle photographs are somewhat well-documented and have been systematically studied and written about, the bulk of Indian school photographs have not. The vast Internet repositories were largely composed of gifts, and collections from various BIA offices, poorly documented, frequently with uncertain dates and locations. Often the only thing reliable is the image itself, as with Figure 6 for instance, where the number of stars on the flag invalidates the date assigned by one curator. Nonetheless, these collections offer rich and varied views of Indian schools, and can fruitfully be studied.[8]

Examine the closed faces of the Indian children and their teachers in Figures 1, 3, 6 and 11. Like mug shots and rogues' galleries they suggest the facial expressions of those who have no ability to resist the gaze of the lens or the power of the photographer to *take* a picture. In examining the photographs one can also discern a number of covert institutional agendas including power, propaganda and the surveillance to which teachers and students alike were subjected. Photographs such as Figures 6 and 11 demonstrated to administrators of the BIA, not only the students' state of socialization, but the teachers' ability to establish discipline and order. As disciplinary institutions, schools were part of the panoptic development that employed the techniques of power outlined by Foucault: buildings and grounds were designed as 'pedagogical machines' creating functional sites through enclosure and partitioning of space. Gender, age, performance and deportment were used to rank and assign a unique class position to every student. Timetables were imposed and enforced with whistles and bells to build cycles of repetition. Exercises were utilized to impose graduated tasks increasing in complexity. Examinations took place at each step in the process. Surveillance was 'inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency' (Foucault 1995: 176). The BIA adopted photography, which as Tagg (1988: 87) contended, was both part of the machinery of surveillance, and a metaphor for its operation. What is interesting in Figure 12 is not so much the familiar image of discipline, order and civilization conveyed by the formal clothes, posture and conventions of middle-class portraiture, but the caption explaining what happened to the students after graduation. The follow-up information confirms both Foucault and Tagg in their analysis of the centrality of surveillance and the uses of photography. Thus, photography played two roles in the project to develop total institutions to de-Indianize young Native Americans: the photographic image system was both a record and a functional element of the project itself.

Indian schools were visually represented as imposing institutions and/or park-like campuses. Figures 13–15 are each part of a panorama photograph taken with a

FIGURE 12. Group of Indian boys, from Dakota territory, taken after about fifteen month's residence at Hampton, Virginia. They have since returned home. March, 1880. Identification reads: 'Beginning at your left, rear row: White Breast: returned home August, 1880. U-har-ke-um-pa: returned home to Standing Rock, Dakota, October, 1881. Is employed as Agency carpenter, and is doing well. E-corrupt-ta-ha: died at Hampton, June 1880. Ka-ru-nach: returned October, 1881, to Fort Berthold. Is assistant Agency shoemaker, and is doing well. Front row: Laughing Face: returned to Fort Berthold, October, 1881. Is learning the Blacksmith's trade and is doing well. Pa-ma-ni: returned to Crow Creek, October, 1881. Is doing well in the Agency Carpenter shop. A-hu-ka: returned to Fort Berthold October, 1881. Is doing well in Agency Carpenter shop. Ari-hotch-kish: returned to Fort Berthold, October, 1881. Is in agency school, and is to work on agency farm in the summer. Denver Public Library, X-31657.

Circut camera. They were proud formal portraits of the schools taken from a high vantage point; technology and composition unite to convey a magisterial and possessive sense. The central vantage point of the lens of the panorama camera and its potential 360-degree view replicates the view of the panopticon; the viewer is the unseen observer. 'Disciplinary institutions', as Foucault (1995: 173) put it: 'secreted a machinery of control that functioned like a microscope of conduct; the fine, analytical divisions that they created formed … an apparatus of observation, recording and training'. These monumental prints which are 8–10 inches high and can be two or three feet long, were made to be framed and hung in prominent places, like the BIA offices in far off Washington where they testified to the successful government programmes that were solving the Indian problem.

Indian schools were explicitly 'industrial schools' with the goal of teaching the children skills to make them economically self-sufficient. Carlisle operated a virtual factory manufacturing tinware (see Figure 17). As Adams (1995: 149) reported 'In 1881, Carlisle reported producing 8,929 tin products, including cups, coffee boilers, pans, pails and funnels'. Schools also operated shops for wagon building, harness making, shoemaking, carpentry, tailoring, and painting; many had farms.

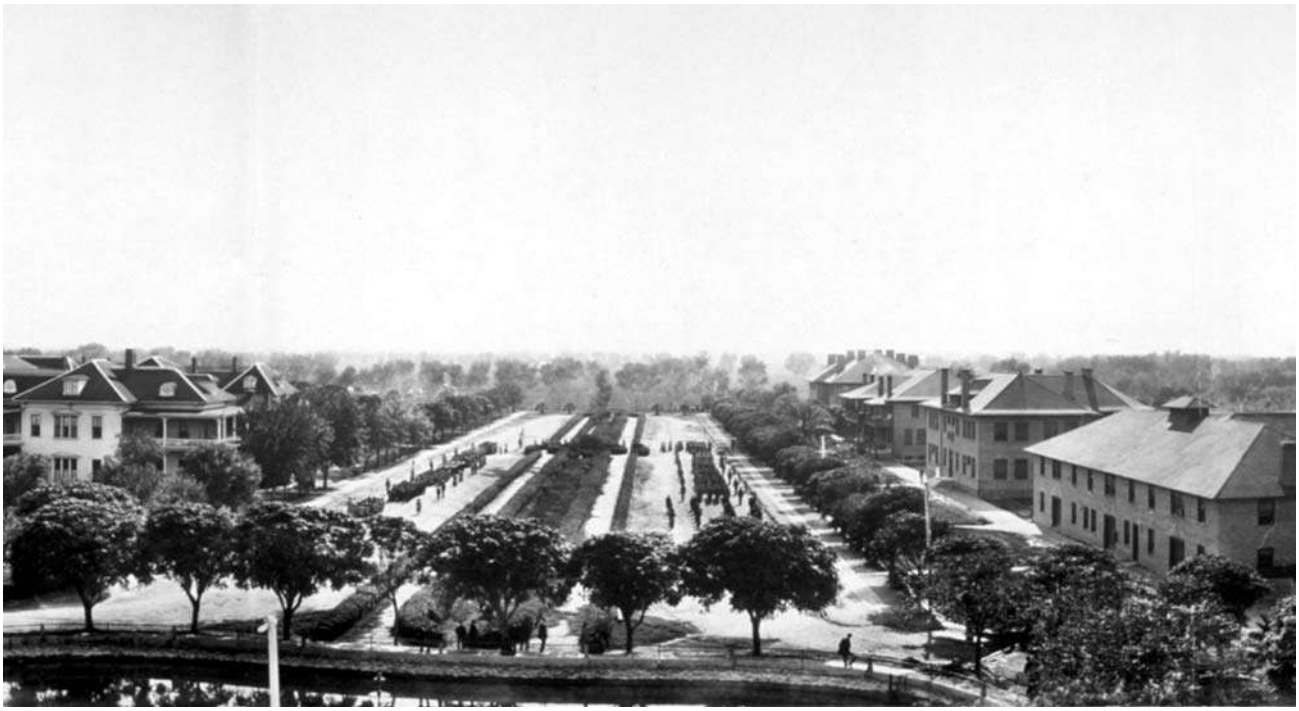

FIGURE 13. Panorama Indian School Phoenix Arizona 1908. Library of Congress, PAN US GEOG – Arizona, no. 21 (F size) [P&P].

FIGURE 14. Panorama Indian School Cherokee, N.C. ca. 1909. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-122837.

FIGURE 15. Mt. Pleasant (Mich.) Indian Industrial School ca. 1910. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-123519.

FIGURE 16. The School sewing room. Indian girls receive instruction in sewing, dressmaking, fancy sewing, drafting, darning, mending and millinery work. All the washable clothing of the students is made by the girls in this department as part of their instruction. Thousands of pieces are made each year and the girls become very expert. National Archives and Record Service, (BIA) NRIS-75-PAOLAVATTA-CARL48.

FIGURE 17. Five boys making tin utensils, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pa. between ca. 1900 and 1903. Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-95795.

FIGURE 18. Wood chopping crew, Tulalip Indian School, ca. 1912. Photographer: Brady, Ferd (Ferdinand). The steam boilers which supplied heat and power to the school buildings required a constant supply of wood. As part of their regular work assignment, the young men chopped, split, and stacked hundreds of cords of wood. Reproduced courtesy of Museum of History and Industry, Seattle, MOHAI 88.11.32.

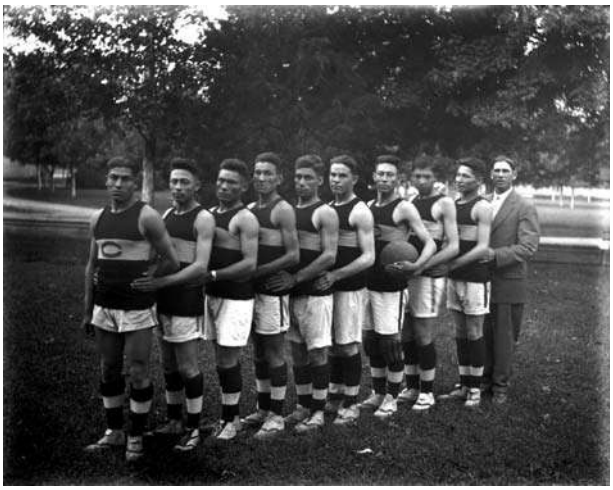

FIGURE 20. Basketball Team Standing, Chilocco Indian School 1909. This photograph is part of a series of glass plate negatives used by the Chilocco Indian School print shop in publishing the Indian School Journal. National Archives and Record Service (BIA), NRFF-75-47-GLASS-1(6).

As was the case with Anglo students during the same period, job training was heavily gendered. Boys were trained for farming or industrial occupations (see Figures 17 and 18), girls for domestic service (see Figures 16 and 19, and see Figure 29). An exception is Frances Benjamin Johnston's photograph of the Laundry Class at Carlisle (see Figure 5) that shows both boys and girls working. However, there is a big difference between the vocational education provided Anglo school children, and the heavy work that was a central element of Indian schooling. Students were expected to perform most of the reproductive labour at the school: cooking, cleaning, making and washing

FIGURE 19. Kitchen girls, Tulalip Indian School, ca. 1912. Photographer: Brady, Ferd (Ferdinand). Reproduced courtesy of Museum of History and Industry, Seattle, MOHAI 88.11.16.

clothes, and in some cases farming. In his book *Education for Extinction*, David Wallace Adams asked:

> …to what extent did the Indian Office's objective of institutional self-sufficiency contradict the principle that industrial education be genuinely instructive? How many pillowcases did a girl have to make to become proficient at making pillowcases? (Adams 1995: 250)

Henry Roe Cloud, a Winnebago and graduate of Yale, provided the obvious answer:

> I worked two years in turning a washing machine in a Government school to reduce the running expenses for the institution. It did not take me long to learn how to run the machine and the rest of the two years I nursed a growing hatred for it. Such work is not educative. It begets a hatred for work, especially where there is no pay for such labor. The Indian will work under such conditions because he is under authority, but the moment he is free he is going to get as far as he can from it. (quoted in Adams 1995: 152)

Ferdinand (Ferd) Brady was a Washington state photographer who had a government contract to photograph the Tulalip Indian School. He also photographed in the schools with the intent to sell the images commercially.[9] Brady's photographs captured the labour performed by Indian students to maintain the institution itself.

According to information on the Tulalip School from the American Indians of the Pacific Northwest Digital Collection, students raised most of the school's food on the grounds and prepared it in the kitchen:

> Every student at the boarding school spent at least half of his or her day working in some part of the operation. Boys rotated about every six weeks between jobs as carpenter, engineer, farmer or dairyman; girls were signed to sewing, darning, laundry and kitchen work. (Marr n.d.)

In 1928 a highly critical report on Indian schools, the Meriam Report, noted:

> 'Boarding schools are frankly supported in part by the labor of the students,' who when they were as young as fifth graders, 'work for half a day and go to school for half a day.' The Meriam Report suggested, 'The question may very properly be raised, as to whether much of the work of Indian children in boarding schools would not be prohibited in many states by child labor laws, notably the work in the machine laundries.' (Szasz 1974: 20)

Some of the most common photographs in the archives depicted organized sports and regimented band practice that have long been a central element of schooling for Native American and Anglo American students (see Figures 4 and 20). Sports and bands accomplished Foucault's disciplines: they taught *Time* by establishing rhythms, *Exercise* by regulating cycles of repetition, *Rank* by the imposition of particular occupations (captain, pitcher, band leader, horn player) and *Examination* by performances that were themselves ceremonies of power. As Jean Umiker-Sebeok (1979) noted in her analysis of visual images of childhood: rule-governed team sports demonstrate the socialization to abstract norms and rules of behaviour and adherence to constitutive rules. They also demonstrated group membership. No doubt many Anglo viewers of these photographs took comfort in the civilizing and socializing effect of these organized and familiar activities.

FRANCES BENJAMIN JOHNSTON

At the end of the 19th century the documentary and portrait photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston photographed schools including the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes and the Carlisle School. During six weeks in 1899 she exposed 700 negatives in a systematic study of public schools in Washington D.C. In that project she developed techniques for illustrating progressive educational principles, focusing on child-centred and active education, inquiry-based learning and the use of manipulatables; she made many images

FIGURE 21. Classroom instruction in art, United States Indian School, Carlisle, Pa. between ca. 1900 and 1903. Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-115831.

of students involved in laboratory experiments, life drawing lessons, sculpture, shop and home economics; she recorded nature study trips, and visits to museums and workshops. Johnston posed teachers engaging in direct instruction and students debating, reading and working in groups.[10] In *The New Education Illustrated*, a self-published collection of her Washington photographs, her intent was made clear:

> Our object is … to bring before teachers and parents of children not enjoying such advantages, a presentation of what has been done in a single city as representative of a … feature of Public School Education.
>
> The cry of the New Education is for the triple training of hand, head, and heart. (Westcott c. 1900: 1)

Just as the Pratt regime was coming to an end, Johnston photographed the Carlisle Indian School. Here too, her documentary project was based on a commitment to progressive education. Unlike photographers who emphasized discipline, acculturation and labour, she depicted academic classes, mathematics, literature and art. Johnston emphasized inquiry, in contradistinction to Pratt who believed in training and regimentation over the enlightened inquiry of progressive educators. She left many remarkable images including two worth pondering at length. The first shows an Indian student at Hampton Institute dressed in a Sioux war bonnet being studied by classmates, including both Native and African Americans (see Figure 22). As the art critic Lincoln

FIGURE 22. Class in American History. Hampton Institute. Louis Firetail (Sioux, crow creek) wearing tribal clothing (1899–1900). Photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-38149.

Kirstein wrote in the introduction to Johnston's Hampton album:

> In her 'Class in American History,' we behold a live Indian in full tribal regalia, posed on a model-stand, glorious as a thunderbird, isolated and strange as he were stuffed and cased behind the glass in the old Smithsonian Institution, that 'attic of America.' An Indian boy, uniformed in the official Battalion blue-and-gold version of a U.S. trooper's dress, regards his blood brother with awe. (Kirstein 1966: 11)

We do not know if the pose and setting was instigated by Johnston or if she photographed an event that would have taken place anyway. Should we read this image sharing Kirstein's evident discomfiture? Or should we simply wonder what was discussed in this class on American History taking place in a space where, except for the teacher and photographer, people of colour were the dominant groups. While the camera may simply have recorded the objectification of an exotic ethnic, Johnston's shot leaves open the possibility of a progressive agenda for inquiry. Regardless, this is an image quite out of tune with the rows of disciplined and uniformed children, or before and after shots, favoured by other Indian school photographers.

The second photograph (see Figure 23), made at Carlisle, seems to reinforce the questions raised above. Here Johnston has photographed a debate class and clearly visible on the board is the issue: 'Resolved that the Negroes of the South should not be denied the rights (of) citizenship'. Here too we confront the limitations of photography, we do not know the circumstances behind the composition, nor the nature of the discussion. Taken together, these photographs at least raise the possibility of students and teachers carving out a space for interrogation and critique of the powerful acculturation and socialization messages that the Indian school system was designed to deliver.

INDIAN SCHOOLS IN ARIZONA[11]

In the 1880s the Anglo population of Phoenix, Arizona, began agitating General Thomas Jefferson Morgan to construct an Indian school for the Pima and Maricopas who lived along the Gila River in the southern part of

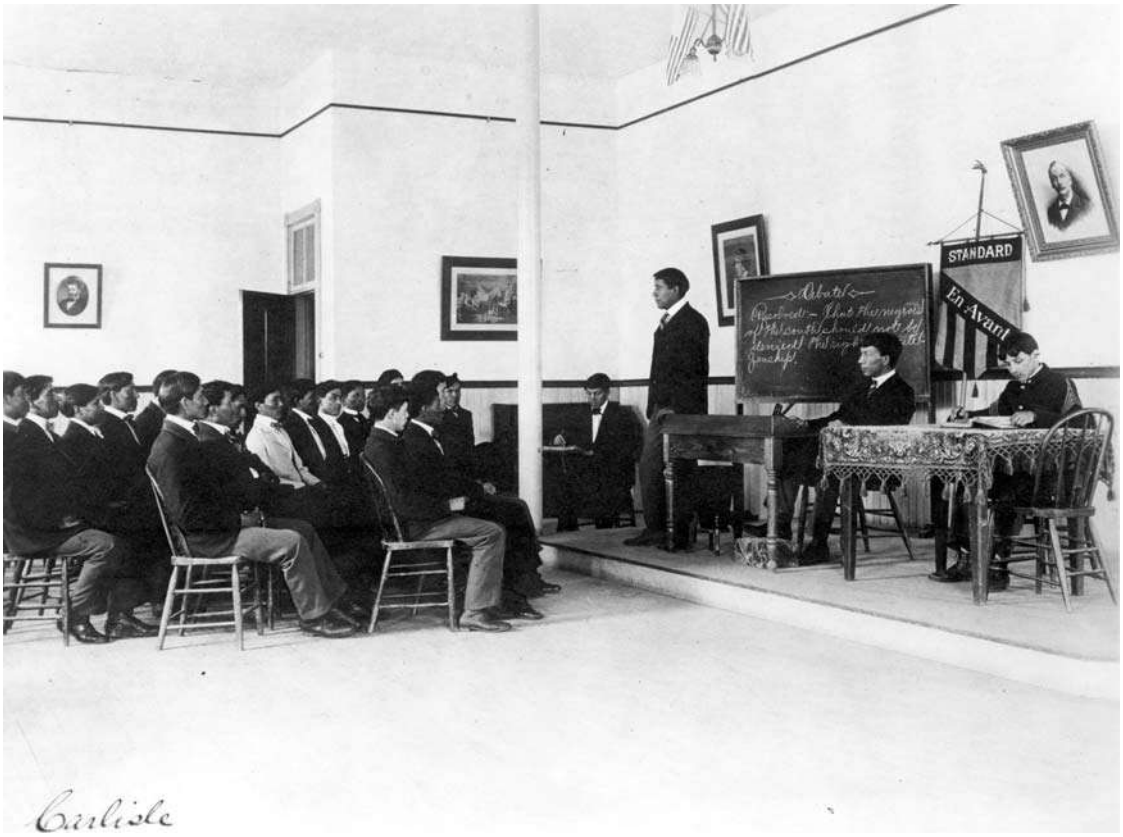

FIGURE 23. Men debating in class, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania between ca. 1900 and 1903. Photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-47083.

the state. While these were peaceable farming communities, who had actually aided the Anglos in their battles with more resistant tribes like the Apache, their culture too was considered amoral, indolent and worthless. Anglos demanded that they be 'Americanized' (Trennert 1988: 12). As Trennert's (1988) historical research made abundantly clear, Indian schools offered Phoenicians substantial economic benefits as well: purchases of land and construction helped developers, federally funded payrolls and contracts boosted Phoenix. Perhaps most importantly, the school promised to develop an 'outing' system for Indian students to work as cheap agricultural and domestic labour: 'federal officials praised the superintendent for "having had experience enough in the Indian Service to know that an Indian boy or girl will have to make their living by the 'sweat of their brow', and not by their brains"' (Trennert 1988: 47). But the first superintendent of the Phoenix Indian school, Wellington Rich, did not share Pratt's goal of assimilation, as Trennert explained:

> [Rich] avoided the rhetoric so popular among eastern reformers about integrating Indians into white society. Knowing that immediate assimilation was not favorably regarded in frontier communities, he took a different approach. 'I have no sympathy with the scheme of *diffusing* [emphasis in original] the educated Indian youth among the whites,' he stated. 'They should as a rule, in my opinion, return to their people and assist in the civilization of the latter.' … no one believed that large numbers of Indians were destined to live permanently in Phoenix as equals. (Trennert 1988: 31)

Thirty miles south of Phoenix, at Sacaton, a large reservation for the Pima and Maricopa had been surveyed in 1859. There had been a number of schools serving the reservation dating back to 1870, and a boarding school opened in 1881 (Carney 1974). Sacaton functioned as a feeder school, funnelling students to the off-reservation boarding school in Phoenix that was the second largest in the country and saw itself as the 'top of the educational pyramid' (Trennert 1988: 38). Both schools employed uniforms, marching, bells, whistles and bugles to inculcate the rhythm of the time clock, rank and hierarchy, neatness

FIGURE 24. Field Matron, Sacaton Indian School. From the collection of Jeremy Rowe, Mesa, Arizona. © 2002.

FIGURE 25. Erros Osif. He is the neatest and most gentleman(ly) one of the boys – military suit. From the collection of Jeremy Rowe, Mesa, Arizona. © 2002.

and cleanliness – the machinery of discipline. Surveillance was facilitated by the organization of students into companies, with officers responsible for the deportment of those under them.

THE ARIZONA INDIAN SCHOOLS ALBUM

The amateur snapshots discussed below were drawn from a personal album of about 150 photographs made or collected by a woman who apparently worked at Sacaton. Sketchy captions, handwritten on the front or back of the photographs, provide scant documentation. The first 76 shots were made at or near Sacaton. The poem reproduced below ends the sequence; it has the only date in the album, 1917.

Who is the lady of Lofty mein
Who walks about with the air of a queen
And movement as steady as a Ford machine
Why sonny that's our matron

Who is busy as a big bumble bee
Getting us up promptly at reveille
And calling us down in a stinging hey
Why laddie that's our matron

Who is high mistress of this whole works
Sees that no loafer his duty shirks
And about the place no deadly germ lurks
You're right lad that's our matron

Who sends us out to do the chores
And makes us stop to close the doors
And downs our necks the castor oil flows
Why sure son that's our matron.

FIGURE 26. Officers A B and C Pima Indian School, Sacaton, AZ. From the collection of Jeremy Rowe, Mesa, Arizona. © 2002.

Who carries the worry of the whole red race
written in lines of care on her face

And smooths out troubles in every place
Right my son that's our matron

Dedicated to Mrs. G
By One of the Boys, 1917

The first eight photographs in the album show older boys in uniform. Images 9–25 focus on the exterior environment, buildings identified by captions, and constitute a visual survey of the school. Images 26–28 show students lined up for dinner. According to the captions there were 87 girls and 115 boys. Image 29 is identified as 'Laura. My name sake', perhaps constituting a clue to the name of the author of the album. Images 30–37 are from a day trip to the Blackwater Day School in Sacaton. Images 38–40 depict young female students in drill team formation, while 48–52 are medium close-up posed portraits of older male students who seem very acculturated to wearing uniforms or suits and ties.[12] Images 53 and 54 show the jail and police. The following eight images, 62–70, are the only ones that address the Pima village adjacent to the school. Following the series of photographs a blank U.S. Field Matron identification form was pasted in, suggesting that the author was in fact a field matron. The last image was the poem to 'our matron' reproduced above.

The unknown photographer's images, while not partaking directly in Pratt's project to use photography to imagine social change, or the BIA's bureaucratic documentation, certainly reinforced a similar view of school settings by emphasizing discipline and hierarchy and acculturation. At Sacaton, the young uniformed Indians were organized into three companies. Each group was posed twice – once with hats on, one with hats in hand placed over heart in patriotic deference. These six images were followed by two images of smaller groups of older students identified as officers and buglers.

Even taking account of in the wide-angle lenses of the time, there is a distance between photographer and subject. Most of the images are long shots of groups and the few portraits seem stiff. Figure 25 is typical of portraits of named older male students who seem highly acculturated and in positions of authority. There are no similar portraits of female or younger students. It is as if the only real contact the teacher/matron had was with 'officers'. Carol Carney (1974: 8), a graduate student in the College of Education at Arizona State University, interviewed Arnold Allison who had been a student at Sacaton from 1927 to 1932. Allison recalled the daily regimen:

6:00 a.m.	Students awakened by a bugle call; they had 15 minutes to wash, brush teeth and make bed.
6:15 a.m.	Practice marching and drilling.
6:30 a.m.	Breakfast.
7:00 a.m.	Do chores; sweep, clean dorms, wash dishes.
7:45 a.m.	Dress in uniforms.
8:00 a.m.	Class starts with bugle call; young ones have class until 3:00, older children until 4:00.
5:30 p.m.	Supper.

FIGURE 27. 'Jail', Pima Indian School, Sacaton, AZ. From the collection of Jeremy Rowe, Mesa, Arizona. © 2002.

> 7:00–8:00 p.m. Night School for students who have fallen behind or have misbehaved.

Bells, whistles and bugles regulated every aspect of school life. Reasons given by the school superintendent would have entertained Foucault:

> Too much praise cannot be given to the merits of military organization, drill and routine in connection with the discipline of the school; every good end is obtained thereby. It teaches patriotism, obedience, courage, courtesy, promptness, and constancy; besides, in my opinion, it outranks any other plan or system in producing and developing every good moral, mental, and physical quality of the pupil. (Trennert 1988: 48)

The shot of unsmiling stern-looking Indian children selected to be officers (Figure 26) reveals other elements of the functioning of the boarding school as a total institution. In the first place, rank and privilege were awarded for good behaviour; power over others was the reward for toeing-the-line and demonstrating the attitudes and postures of acculturation. In the second place, as in most total institutions, a reward system was employed to enforce the rules, ensuring compliance among the 'inmates' even when the teachers or other agents of authority were not present. In a caption to a photograph similar to Figure 26 published in Trennert's article 'Corporal Punishment and the Politics of Indian Reform', he made the point that older student 'officers' were 'placed in charge of younger pupils, and they enforced a disciplinary system regarded by critics as harsh and demeaning' (Trennert 1989: 609). Although Trennert concluded that there was insufficient evidence for some of the accusations, he noted that: 'matrons regularly used male employees to whip unruly Indian girls' (Trennert 1989: 600); the school's 'Indian disciplinarian' was accused of 'whipping, beating, and abusing Indian students' (1989: 605); another Indian disciplinarian

> testified that in 1928 he participated in the mass flogging of eighty little Indian boys because they had damaged a merry-go-round. The floggings were carried out by larger Indian boys, under orders from the disciplinarian, using a double thick harness strap. (Trennert 1989: 606)

'At the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism' (Foucault 1995: 177). From Carlisle on down, Indian schools used confinement for discipline problems and to lock up runaways. Figure 27 depicts a small, isolated, adobe building identified as the 'jail'. The use of jails was not abolished until 1929, the same year that corporal punishment was forbidden (Trennert 1989: 603). Jails were not often photographed, it is noteworthy that it was included in the album and allows us a glimpse at the machinery of power lurking behind the rows of seemingly obedient children.

Even though Figure 28 is slightly out of focus, it contains many elements of interest. Despite the fact that her back is to the camera, the dominant individual in the image is Miss Harvey; large, dressed in white, and in the foreground. Behind her are a group of 30 or more Indian students cleaning the schoolyard on their

FIGURE 28. Miss Harvey with her yard cleaners at work. From the collection of Jeremy Rowe, Mesa, Arizona. © 2002.

hands and knees. The image not only displays social status and rank, but the make-work activity of yard cleaning by hand testifies to degradation ceremonies in service to neatness and cleanliness for the '*mission civilisatrice*' (Solomon-Godeau 1991: 171–172). Trennert quoted the superintendent of the Phoenix school as saying:

> 'The child is taught how to do a thing, when to do it, and to do it whether he wants to or not.' Indeed, teaching Indian students to work became the supreme goal of the institution, its motto being 'Indolence is the cankerworm of progress, so our pupils are taught to kill the worm.' (Trennert 1988: 68)

Under the outing system Indian boys were often seen as low-wage competition to white labour and boys were hard to place in skilled positions, but Indian girls became 'fashionable' as servants to the local gentry. By the 1890s it was becoming difficult to provide enough Indian servant girls to meet demand as the outing system 'evolved into a method of supplying cheap labor to white employers'. In 1914, 169 girls from the Phoenix Indian school were working out as domestic servants (Trennert 1988: 52, 54, 100–101). In their *History of Arizona*, Sloan and Adams pointed out the tragic choice forced by Indian vocational education:

> The training, which emphasizes industrial work, teaches the Indian child the American language and American ways of living. When he finishes school, the Papago returns to his native haunts and either ekes out his livelihood as best he can, or he leaves his people again to seek labor in some white community. Young Papago women are constantly hired as house maids, or, more often, as wash women. (Sloan and Adams 1930)

Figure 29 illustrates that dilemma. We can infer that the 'wash woman' learned to 'care for clothes' in the Indian school both because there was no place else to learn such a skill and because the schools intended to produce trained and 'Americanized' domestic workers to work for nearby Anglo families. From the picture, however, it appears there is not much of a living to be eked-out with this skill in Sacaton Arizona.

DISCUSSION

Despite the best efforts of government schooling Indians did not become extinct; in many cases the tribes increased and sought to maintain their culture. Research into photographs of Indian schooling raises two theoretical questions. The first is why did the whole elaborate machinery of power – total institutions with their hidden and overt curricula of socialization – fail in its central mission? The second is how did Indian school photographs come to be seen as evidence of an oppressive system rather than progress in the civilization of savages? Visual sociology may be able to suggest answers, but only by leaving the realm of description to reconsider images as part of sociology's theory construction activity.

In this discussion I would like to turn to three theoretical issues that have informed the research: first,

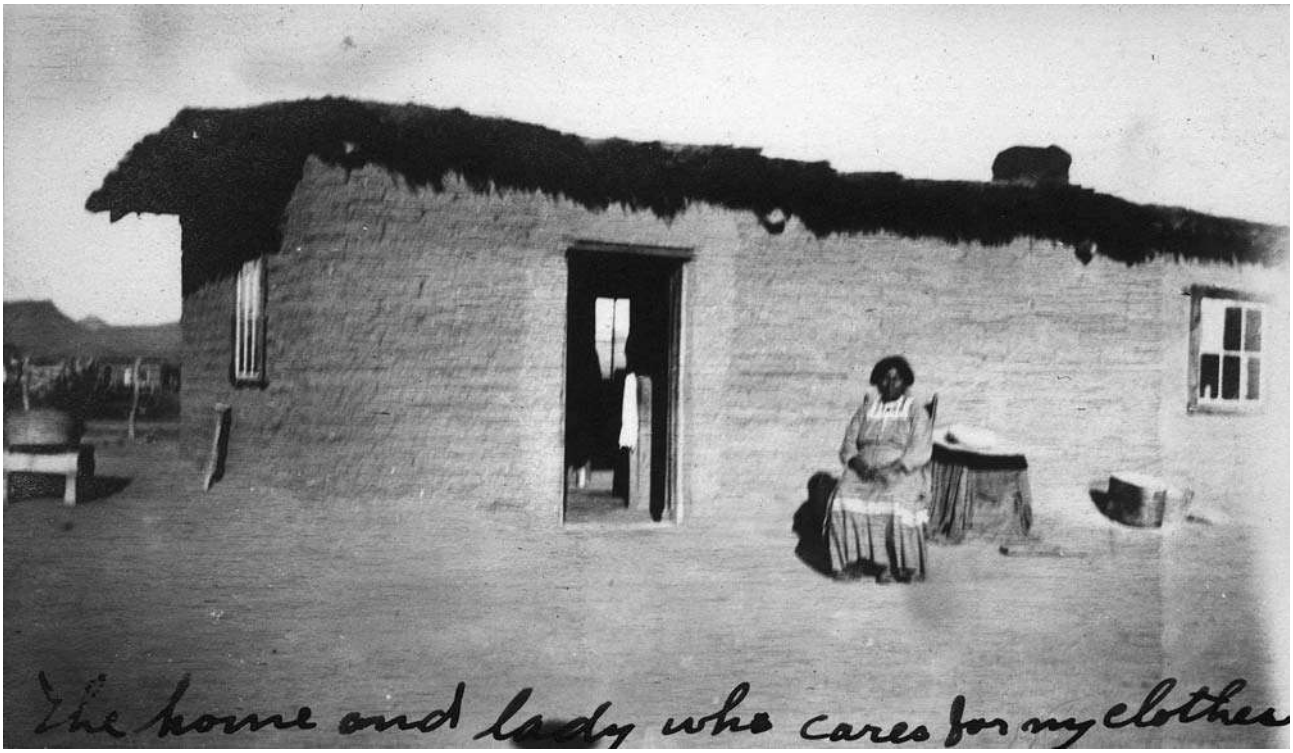

FIGURE 29. The home and lady who cares for my clothes. From the collection of Jeremy Rowe, Mesa, Arizona. © 2002.

the notion of 'strong' and 'weak' elements of socialization (Apple and King 1977); second, the debate in educational sociology over social reproduction versus student agency and resistance (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Giroux 1983); and, third, the way that photographic meaning develops over time. Socialization takes place in all schools, but generally alongside or behind formal curricula that emphasize skills learning. Because the Indian schools' primary function was acculturation, the socialization elements that tend to be part of the 'hidden curriculum' were made specifically visible. This makes photographs of Indian schools a unique view of schooling as a socialization process.

Writing during the period when the Indian schools were being implemented, Durkheim described two elements of schooling that are essential to social reproduction: learning to follow abstract rules and to become a member of a large-scale social group:

> (the student) must come to class regularly, he must arrive at a specified time and with an appropriate bearing and attitude. He must not disrupt things in class. He must have learned his lessons, done his homework, and have done so reasonably well, etc. … It is through the practice of school discipline that we can inculcate the spirit of discipline in the child. (Durkheim 1961 [1925]: 148)

We have seen numerous photographs illustrating discipline. By social group Durkheim (1961 [1925]) did not mean proximal and affective groups like family and neighbourhood, but the large-scale political structures of modernity: corporation, nation and humanity itself. Native American children arrived at boarding school as members of tribal communities. But these were social groups that Anglo Americans defined as a problem and the goal of Indian schools was to replace one group identity with another. As we have seen, Indian children were frequently photographed in uniform, with flags, and in postures of patriotism.

Apple and King (1977: 33–34) discussed the curriculum and hidden curriculum noting two forms of socialization performed by schools, a 'weak' Durkheimian function: 'the idea that organized society must maintain itself through the preservation of some of its valued forms of interaction and meaning'; and a 'strong' form – the processes and structures that reproduce class, race, gender and other inequalities. Apple and King's distinction between weak and strong is, at best, a useful heuristic for examining elements of socialization. It is impossible to maintain a rigid

distinction since in a stratified society they depend on one another. There can be no 'strong' (re)production of gender, race and class hierarchy outside of a regime that legitimates those distinctions as part of the normal socialization message that everyone is expected to inculcate.

Functionalists like Robert Dreeben (1968), and Philip Jackson (1968: 10–33) who coined the term 'hidden curriculum', examined school-taught universal norms including delayed gratification, trying, completing work, looking busy, co-operation, neatness, punctuality and courtesy. Following the germinal work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), critical theorists focused almost exclusively on 'strong' elements of the curricula that functioned to 'feed workers into different levels within the occupational structure' (Bowles and Gintis 1976: 132). These theories of socialization provoked important research questions: to what extent are boarding school photographs indicative of socialization per se or of an excessive 'strong' form of the reproduction of race, class and gender inequalities? Giroux argues that institutions of socialization are not all powerful, favouring student and teacher agency over reproduction theory. Is there evidence of resistance to the socialization regimes in photographs of Indian schools?

Indian Boarding schools performed the 'weak' function of reproducing those elements of discipline associated with modernity; Indian schooling was in this way not much different from the disciplinary regime for American youth in general. Many public school students wore uniforms, learned to march, established quasi-military hierarchies, acted out patriotic rituals, were subjected to different curricula based on gender, and so on. Sports and regimented band practice was likewise part of the disciplinary regime for American youth in general. Literally thousands of photographs testify to these practices. The bargain of modernity is to exchange submission to an organization for increased knowledge and skill leading to upward mobility for the individual and stability for the social order. In Foucault's analysis, schooling habituated students to the little technologies of discipline and surveillance. However, Foucault's thesis on the positive diffusion of power is weakened when we examine cases of conquest and colonialism. In the American West during the 19th and early 20th century the regimes of discipline identified by Foucault were quickly imposed on conquered native peoples. Although in European history this might have been domestication of the self, in the colonial atmosphere of Manifest Destiny it was the domestication of the other. Pratt and those who followed in his footsteps meant to modernize Native Americans in a single generation by using schools to replicate the process of 'punishment, supervision, and constraint' (Foucault 1995: 29) that developed over 300 years of Western history.

Photographs and other texts depicting the Indian schools provide abundant evidence of 'strong', discriminatory socialization as well. In the most obvious contradiction, and despite Pratt's original plan, Indian students were segregated in special boarding schools where they were unlikely to come into contact with Anglos except for those in positions of authority. The possibility that such closed total institutions would produce assimilation was slim to none. The litany of discriminatory socialization practices included: symbolic violence visible in the before and after shots; the harsh punishment displayed in jails, matrons and Indian disciplinarians; the hard reproductive labour Indian children were forced to perform at school; industrial training that prepared children only for low-wage jobs in agriculture and domestic service, and the 'outing' system that, instead of integration, (re)produced the racialized caste structure of American society. Particular contradictions included industrial training for jobs that did not exist in Indian country – industrial laundry, or tin manufacture for instance – and the capitalist production of 'needs' that could not be satisfied on the reservation. Boarding schools were clearly more effective at imposing discipline and (re)producing social exclusion than at guiding students into the mainstream of American life. No matter how 'acculturated', Indians were not generally accepted by 'American society', and after the schools were through with the children they did not fit into their home culture either. The students were thus doubly stigmatized – as persons marked by their colour in a racist society, and as persons mis-educated for their home culture where in many cases they could no longer even speak the language. These strong elements of socialization continued to reproduce Native Americans as second-class citizens well into the second half of the 20th century.

Indian schools were unsuccessful for other reasons as well. Critical theorists like Michael Apple and Henry Giroux have argued that the structural accounts of schooling as social reproduction are inadequate because they leave little or no room for teacher agency to subvert the dominant paradigm, or student ability to

reject or resist socialization messages. Historians of Indian schooling examined Indian student's resistance, noting instances of 'escape, arson, passive resistance, nicknaming (of teachers and supervisors), and cultural maintenance' (Adams 1995: 234–235).[13] Michael Coleman (1993) drew on autobiographical materials to distinguish between 'resistance', mostly seen as pranks, and 'rejection', contending that the ultimate act of resistance was to run away. There is scant evidence of resistance in the photographic record.[14] Frances Benjamin Johnston images (Figures 22 and 23) suggest the possibility of progressive education transgressing the machinery of discipline and Americanization. There are also written accounts of 'star' students who went on to higher education and careers in Anglo society (Standing Bear 1975 [1928]). However, beyond early attempts by parents to hide their children from agents who were rounding them up for school, neither the written nor photographic texts offer evidence of organized resistance. Individual acts of resistance, like disobedience or running away, simply called forth the repressive apparatus of jails and double-thick harness straps. The most common form of resistance was most likely the covert 'I won't learn from you' posture discussed so eloquently by Herb Kohl (1991) and which perhaps one can read in the unhappy expressions and postures of the photographed children and sometimes teachers. Nonetheless, neither student nor teacher agency can account for the failure of the system. Explanations for the failure of Indian Boarding schools are structural. In and out of school the social structures of capitalism, racism, gender and class discrimination overwhelmed the assimilationist and educational goals of Pratt and the well-meaning teachers who sought to provide an alternative to tribalism, on the one hand, and genocide, on the other.

Allan Sekula (1983) warned that 'Photography constructs an imaginary world and passes it off as reality'. He asked 'How is historical and social memory preserved, transformed, restricted, and obliterated by photographs?' Photographs of Indian schools emphasized discipline, labour and group cohesion. Each of the photographers examined above made careful compositions to depict external signs of discipline, order and cleanliness, and to signify social relationships of education, socialization and acculturation. When we view these images today we are more likely to see them as evidence of a repressive regime. How did the imaginary world created by photography change so dramatically?

In the long run it was not schools for Native Americans that produced social change so much as social change that led to changes in the schools. American culture slowly abandoned the philosophy of cultural genocide that was the genesis of the boarding schools. Decades of social action produced change, especially the civil rights movement that altered forever the dominant society's view of 'the other', and educational psychology that undermined the view that children needed to be trained through regimentation and harsh discipline.[15] Today, Indian cultures have been appropriated as part of the mix of 'multiculturalism' that has grade school students painting their faces and reading *Buffalo Before Breakfast* (Osborne 1999). The ideology that supported Indian schools faded into historical obscurity, as has much of the photographic record of this era. In this article I have attempted a deeper understanding of surviving photographs by providing context and discussion of the overt and covert agendas in which they were made. Nonetheless, when we view the images we cannot help but see them through a filter of today's cultural environment. As thousands upon thousands of historic photographs are organized into searchable online archives, it becomes feasible to use them as a resource for sociological research. The study of schooling is only one possibility. Labour, human relations with technology, medicine, race and gender relations, patriotism, militarism and a host of other social issues have been extensively photographed and await investigation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would especially like to thank Jeremy Rowe for allowing publication of his photographs, and for his expertise in the history of photography particularly in the American West. Ours has been a very fruitful collaboration.

NOTES

[1] For a more thorough discussion of these archives and school photographs see Margolis (1999).

[2] The captions provided with the photographs consist of the documentary material that accompanies the image in the archive. In some cases the caption was provided by the photographer, in others documentary text was added later by archivists or cataloguers.

[3] I am using the term 'Anglo' as it has commonly been used in the American Southwest. The population was historically characterized as Indian (Native American), Mexican (including Mexicano immigrants and Mexican

Americans or Chicanos) and Anglo which included all sorts of English-speaking European Americans including recent immigrants and sometimes even Blacks.

[4] The word (com)posed is intended to convey the way that almost all of the photographs in this article were constructed. These are not candid shots, school personnel worked with photographers in the creation of tableaux intended to convey certain signs and significations. Students were dressed for the occasion, locations selected, groups and individuals posed. The photographer made additional technical decisions, camera angles, depth of field and so on, as well as perhaps manipulating the images in the darkroom. In some cases captions and titles were employed to further fix particular meanings. These compositions form the raw materials to examine the covert and overt institutional meanings of the project that Solomon-Godeau drew to our attention.

[5] There are two main sources on Indian school photography: Malmsheimer (1985) and the 1991 episode of the PBS series on the American Experience called *In the White Man's Image*. See also my article on school photography (Margolis 1999).

[6] No doubt a Freudian would make much of the Anglo perception that Indians were dirty and disorderly, and the seemingly endless scrubbing and ordering of the children. It is as if they wanted to wash away the stain of their colour. It is also instructive that the girls were all trained in hygiene and often taught to be domestic servants where they could continue the scrubbing and whitening process.

[7] Photography simultaneously created a general iconography of Indian culture as dirty, ignorant and backward, or alternately, in the work of Edward Curtis for instance, as a noble state of nature. Today many tribes are resisting white photographers' representations of traditional culture either romantically or as 'poverty' while assimilated 'good' Indians are depicted in affirmative terms. Solomon-Godeau argued that 'photography functions to ratify and affirm the complex ideological web that at any moment in historical time is perceived as *tout court* … photographs depicting the exotic native Other became fuel for the *mission civilisatrice*' (Solomon-Godeau 1991: 171–172).

[8] I have written elsewhere on techniques for studying such images (Margolis 1988, also available online at http://courses.ed.asu.edu/margolis/mining/; Margolis and Rowe 2003).

[9] 'The Tulalip Mission School became the first contract Indian school, an arrangement whereby the government provided annual funds to maintain the buildings while the Church furnished books, clothing, housing and medical care. In 1896 Congress drastically reduced the funding for mission schools and eventually, in the winter of 1900–01, the Tulalip school became a federal facility' (Marr n.d.).

[10] Johnston's work is unique and no comparable attempt to photograph educational processes has been undertaken to this very day.

[11] Some of this section is drawn from a more finely detailed study of the Sacaton album (Margolis and Rowe 2003).

[12] According to Carol Carney (1974) upper-grade boys averaged 19 in age in 1921.

[13] Two of the best accounts of resistance written by teachers are Herbert Kohl's (1991) reflection 'I Won't Learn From You' and Harry Wolcott's (1974) account of being a white teacher in a Native village entitled 'The Teacher is My Enemy'.

[14] In a provocative article on photographs of Canadian boarding schools, McMaster (1992) asked from a Native perspective 'Can photographs answer elusive questions of a history that has been repeatedly suppressed?' He identifies crossed arms and closed faces as images of resistance.

[15] It is interesting to consider as Trennert (1989: 596) noted: 'Most Indian parents would have been horrified at the thought of striking their children'. The tolerant view of Native American parents once considered 'indolent' and 'primitive' is very much in keeping with modern views of child abuse. Laws even against spanking have been passed in several European countries. Simultaneously, students of all types, and students of colour in particular, have been subjects to technological regimes of policing in schools that dwarfs the surveillance of the boarding schools (cf. Devine 1995).

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