

The New Deal and Photography

*Liberal Documentary Goes to School: Farm Security Administration
Photographs of Students, Teachers and Schools*

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Between 1935 and 1943 photographers for the Farm Security Administration and later the Office of War Information (FSA-OWI) travelled the United States under the leadership of Roy Stryker. Writing at the time, Hartley Howe summarized the intent of government photography: 'What distinguishes FSA photography are its objectives. The first is to tell people, through pictures, about the great human problem with which the Farm Security Administration is struggling: the problem of giving a decent break to the lowest third of our farm population. The other basic aim is equally sweeping – to make a photographic record of rural America' (Howe 1940: online). Thus was created the largest archive of documentary photographs then in existence. Photos were to be made available to the American people and were catalogued for access. Pictures were shot by photographers who already had reputations like Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, others became famous *because* they worked on the project like Arthur Rothstein, formally Stryker's student at Columbia, and John Vachon who started as an 'assistant messenger' (Fleischhauer and Brannan 1988: 90). This essay surveys school photographs from the FSA-OWI archives, considering both the content of the photos and the nature of the archive.¹

From its inception photography demanded catalogues so images could be identified and retrieved. Photographs were such vivid evocations of 'reality' that the possibilities of organized systems led the imagination to speculate about grand libraries. As early as 1859, Dr Oliver Wendell Holmes, enthralled by stereoscopic images, envisioned an 'Imperial, National, or City Stereographic Library' where people could visit to see 'any object, natural or artificial' (Trachtenberg 1989: 16). In 1942, Paul Vanderbilt developed a filing system for the FSA-OWI that Trachtenberg lionized as a 'prime cultural artifact of the New Deal' embodying 'the era's ideology of human history as "universal" and "progressive"' (Trachtenberg 1988: 45). This filing system, indeed the monumental collection itself was intended as 'the nucleus of a great photo documentation of all of America, the collective repository for the work of tens of thousands of photographers', a 'panoramic central' file (ibid.: 55).² Vanderbilt conceived of the collection as a 'visual conception of what America and its democracy looks like in a photograph' (cited in Preston 2001). In essence what Vanderbilt envisioned was a visual simulacrum of the 'imagined community' of America (see Anderson 1991).

In answering the question 'what is documentary?' Abigail Solomon-Godeau (1991: 169) described two possibilities. Every photo documents some *thing* and could be called documentary because it enjoys an indexical relationship with the object photographed. This was the more or less unquestioned view of photography from its inception through the 1920s when the term 'documentary' came in vogue. Conversely, no photos are really documentary in the sense of 'unmediated transcriptions' of things in the world. Cameras produce 'iconic signs – translating the actual into the pictorial'. Walker Evans, for one, was never comfortable with the term

'documentary', arguing that 'An example of a literal document would be a police photograph of a murder scene' (cited in Curtis 1989: 44).

Treading a fine line between the literal and the artistic led to the development of 'documentary' as a specific genre like architectural, portrait, or landscape photography. Its origins can be found in photos made by police reporter Jacob Riis and the child labour studies of Lewis Hine (1980 [1909]). Riis's 'reformist tract' *How The Other Half Lives* (1971) became an exemplar for what Martha Rosler termed 'Liberal Documentary' which 'had its moment in the ideological climate of developing state liberalism and the attendant reform movements of the early-twentieth-century Progressive Era in the United States and withered along with the New Deal consensus some time after the Second World War' (Rosler 1981: 71). Documentary photographers framed a therapeutic perspective, pointing the camera at things that need fixing. As Rosler explained, 'In the liberal documentary, poverty and oppression are almost invariably equated with misfortunes caused by natural disasters: causality is vague, blame is not assigned, fate cannot be overcome. Liberal documentary blames neither the victims nor their willful oppressors' (ibid.: 73).

The FSA-OWI photographs testify both to the genre of photography motivated by social concerns and to a particular liberal vision of the United States during the difficult years between the Great Depression and the middle of World War 2. Solomon-Godeau described the FSA as: 'a large-scale, federally funded propaganda machine initially conceived to foster support for New Deal programs, [that] took for granted that a photography of advocacy or reform should effectively concentrate on subject matter' (Solomon-Godeau 1991: 176–7). Many scholars of the FSA-OWI have noted the focus on the 'deserving poor', the omission of drunks, tramps and other evidence of 'social pathology', the stage managing and construction of images, and the inability of the camera and unwillingness of the camera operators to represent the economic conditions leading to Depression and war (Rosler 1981; Stott 1973: 58–9). For instance, Curtis observed that Russell Lee, one of the most prolific FSA photographers, 'studiously avoided compositions that might convey worker dissatisfaction, loneliness, or despair' (Curtis 1989: 20). The shift in mission from documenting the misery and dislocations of rural America to the celebration of community strength, production and patriotism that characterized the Office of War Information phase, has likewise been well examined.

The FSA-OWI project has always been controversial. Congressmen, mostly from the Right, attacked it for misrepresenting their districts. In a famous case, Arthur Rothstein moved a cow skull and this became a trope symbolizing a false and ideological manipulation pervading the whole effort (Curtis 1989: 71ff.). It nearly brought an end to the FSA documentary unit (Stott 1973: 61). At one point Stryker was even afraid that Congress would order the archive to be destroyed (Preston 2001: 47).

Ansel Adams, whose pictorial devotion to landscape is well known, wrote to Roy Stryker, 'What you've got are not photographers. They're a bunch of sociologists with cameras' (Stryker and Wood 1973: 8). Like sociologists the FSA photographers under Stryker's direction constructed ideal types. Stott summed it up best when noting that 'documentary treats the actual unimagined experience of individuals belonging to a group generally of low economic and social standing in society (lower than the audience for whom the report is made) and treats this experience in such a way as to try to render it vivid, "human," and – most often – poignant to the audience' (Stott 1973: 62). During a turbulent period that saw the rise of radical political parties, documentary photography helped create an imagined American community by defining who was a legitimate member and who was outside the pale.

In their book *Another Way of Telling*, Berger and Mohr made the point that 'In every act of looking there is an expectation of meaning' (1982: 117). In the rest of this essay I will discuss the conjunction of looking and meaning in some of the generally unfamiliar images of schools from the FSA-OWI.³ Schools and children are used as metaphors for the future, and as statements about community responsibility and caring; they are frequently used as a measure of social well-being. As the following chart suggests, the number of school photographs increased steadily during the period. The content changed dramatically as well. As discussed below, the

number of shots of schools as 'social problems' declined and the number of statements of community well-being increased.⁴

Date	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	Total
School photos	42	79	74	177	292	436	351	1305	1711	4467

Some, but by no means all of the questions posed by gazing at FSA-OWI school pictures are answered by captions. Most shots cannot stand alone in the way that Lange's 'Migrant Mother' and Rothstein's 'Dust Storm' do.⁵ Those images became a visual simulation of the Depression but with, perhaps, the exception of Shahn's 1935 photo 'Young cotton picker, Pulaski County, Arkansas. Schools for colored children do not open until January 1st so as not to interfere with cotton picking', none of the school photos has achieved iconic status. This is a good illustration of the relationship between image and caption since, while Shahn's pictures of Black children labouring in the field are compelling, the written caption is all that connects the photo to schools.⁶ As Berger and Mohr wrote:

In the relation between the photograph and words, the photograph begs for an interpretation, and the words usually supply it. The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given a meaning by the words. And the words, which by themselves remain at the level of generalization are given specific authenticity by the irrefutability of the photograph. Together the two then become very powerful; an open question appears to have been fully answered. (Berger and Mohr 1982: 92)

There were two conditions under which the photos were taken, and neither constituted systematic visual research. Either they were made *en passant*, as it were, when FSA photographers happened to visit a community and made a few exposures of school as part of the documentation of a town, a 'day in the life', the condition of farm workers, and so on; or the school was an assignment and photographers spent a day or two conducting a sort of survey. This was the case, for instance, with documentation of the FSA-operated schools at farm workers' camps, and Philip Bonn's photo essay in Schenectady discussed below. In no case was there a concerted attempt to use the camera to study a school over time. Nor did the photographers seek to document education and its effects as did Frances Benjamin Johnston in her famous work at Hampton Institute and Washington D.C. schools (Daniel and Smock 1974; Johnston 1966).

In keeping with the social concerns of Liberal Documentary, FSA photos depicted/created ideal types. The notion that the subjects are 'types' rather than specific cases is bolstered by captions that almost never reveal names or details beyond location and approximate date. Photographs and captions represent 'overcrowded schools', 'new schools', 'Negro schools' and so on. Individual photographs and whole series are clearly meant to indicate general social conditions. Every photographer shot classrooms and school grounds, creating a sort of baseline that might best be called healthy American schools. Thus Post Wolcott's 1939 'Part of classroom with teacher, Prairie Farms, Alabama'⁷ is one of a series showing an African American teacher working with her students. Russell Lee's series at the Lakeview Project, Arkansas in 1938 included 'The school glee club'.⁸ In 1943 John Collier Jr. made a number of shots at schools in Questa and Trampas, New Mexico like 'Grade school'⁹ featuring smiling healthy-looking 'Spanish-American' children and teachers. Rothstein left shots from 1939 of classes in Colorado including 'Scene in school room in community building, San Luis Valley Farms, Colorado'.¹⁰ And John Vachon made pictures at a rural school in Georgia in 1938, like 'Playground scene, Irwinville School, Georgia'.¹¹

A second 'type' depicted an explicit social problem: children working despite the child labour and mandatory attendance laws of the Progressive Era. Examples include two previously noted: Shahn's 'Young cotton picker', and Allison's 'the girls don't attend school because they're "too old . . ."'.¹² Additionally, in 1940 Jack Delano recorded 'Children picking potatoes on a large farm near Caribou, Maine. Schools do not open until the potatoes are harvested';¹³ and, in

1938, Rothstein noted 'Family from Italian section of Philadelphia working in cranberry bog. Only families with many children are employed. Children are kept out of school for more than two months of the school year. Burlington County, New Jersey.'¹⁴ These are strong illustrations of how Liberal Documentary photography supported the New Deal argument for government intervention to ameliorate social conditions. In a revealing dialectical reversal, during the war children working was transformed from social problem to virtue. In 1942 John Collier made a series about boys from West Virginia who left high school to go to New York State to help with the harvest,¹⁵ and a year later Marjory Collins made a photo captioned 'Buffalo, New York. Peter Grimm, age ten, waiting with his wagon outside Loblaw's grocery store for customers to ask him to deliver their groceries. This was a rainy day with few customers. Sometimes Peter makes as much as three dollars on a Saturday. He pays for all his school supplies and much of his clothing. His mother, a twenty-six year old widow, is a crane operator at Pratt and Letchworth.'¹⁶

A third ideal type includes poor shack-like schools with broken desks, and overcrowded classes, and perhaps a single teacher. Many of these schools were in the rural south including the Ozark and Appalachian Mountains. For example, Shahn's 1935 'Interior of Ozark school, Arkansas'; Mydans's 1936 'Interior of Mt. Gilead (colored) school on area of Plantation Piedmont agricultural demonstration project. Near Eatonton, Georgia'; Post Wolcott's 1940 'Overcrowded conditions in a rural school near Morehead, Kentucky'; Delano's 1941 'At the Veasey school for colored children. Greene County, Georgia'; and Russell Lee's 1939 'Old school in Akins, Oklahoma. This town was formerly a cotton ginning center as well as trading center for the surrounding farm community. There is no ginning done there now and it has assumed the status of a ghost town.'¹⁷ In the case of African Americans, segregated and unequal schools were shown. For example in 1938 Post Wolcott made pictures of 'White school house, Chaplin, Scotts Run, West Virginia' and 'Negro school. Scotts Run, West Virginia.'¹⁸ The contrast argues for improving schools and perhaps against a ruthless Jim Crow. However, the alternative was not integration but 'separate but equal'. Poverty schools as a type constituted a visual argument for modernization.

Two further ideal types offer solutions to the social problems of working children and poverty schools. One type shows progress in the construction of new schools and consolidation of rural schools. The second shows FSA schools operated explicitly as New Deal programmes to aid farm workers and migrants. I'll give examples of each in turn. In 1941 Delano photographed 'The old Saint Paul Negro school which will be closed as a result of consolidation into a new school. Near Siloam, Greene County, Georgia', and 'Oakland community, Greene County, Georgia (vicinity). One of the new schools for Negro children.'¹⁹ The Oakland photo shows a brand-new modular building that looks like one of the so-called 'Rosenwald schools'. These one-story white frame buildings had distinctive windows making them easily recognizable. Thousands of schools for African Americans were built throughout the South with community money and matching funds from the Julius Rosenwald Foundation. Rosenwald was a liberal philanthropist who made his fortune at Sears, Roebuck and Company (Hanchett 1987). In Delano's shots we are presented at once with a social problem and its solution.

The FSA operated schools as part of the migrant workers' camps under its control and as might be expected these were well documented. Two hundred and ten records can be retrieved from the FSA-OWI collection with search terms 'FSA' and 'school', including Prairie Farms, Montgomery, Alabama in 1939; Caldwell, Idaho in 1941; Odell, Oregon in 1941; Weslaco, Harlingen, and Robstown, Texas in 1942; and Woodville, California also in 1942.²⁰ There are photos of cute kids, children at lunch, nap time, ball games, classroom work, and recess. FSA staffers photographed brand-new buildings, medical care, school plays and flag drills. They depicted/constructed a world of happy healthy workers' children under New Deal programmes that stands in stark contrast to the scenes of poverty and destitution photographed earlier. One can see how, as Allan Sekula famously declared, 'Photography constructs an imaginary world and passes it off as reality' (1983: 193). There are far more photographs of 'happy schools' than problem schools, leading viewers to conclude that the problem was being solved. Of course it

was not solved, and the wretched poverty schools had to be 'discovered' all over again in the 1960s by Michael Harrington (1963) in his book *The Other America*.

The war time ideal emphasized health, welfare, and patriotism. Well-to-do successful schools were photographed to show a wide range of activities: medical care, lunch, art, theatre, music, progressive educational techniques, and modern equipment. In 1943 Philip Bonn made more than 150 exposures in Schenectady, New York including 'Story reading time in the school library at the Elmer Avenue Elementary School'; 'Art class at the Oneida School'; and, 'Music class orchestra rehearsal at the Oneida School'.²¹ This assignment encompassing several schools shows a prosperous and strong school system. We see students involved in academic extra-curricular activity. Philip Bonn photographed a deaf child in a mainstream classroom (the only child with a disability I found in the entire collection).²² He made photos in libraries, lunch-rooms and home economics class; he recorded students following the war news on a radio to depict a thriving school system educating citizens for a modern industrial democracy.

Under the OWI patriotism was increasingly highlighted. Indicative of this shift is the fact that before 1942 there was only a single image of saluting the flag while eighteen shots of pledging allegiance to the flag were taken in 1942-3 alone. Wartime activities involving school children were extensively documented: scrap drives collecting rubber, paper, and metal; buying victory bonds and stamps; learning first aid; singing patriotic songs in Spanish for radio broadcast to Latin America; planting victory gardens; schools for refugee children; schools for children of working mothers, and so on.²³ The celebration of government programmes and community power become even more common:

Buffalo, New York. Lakeview nursery school for children of working mothers, operated by the Board of Education at a tuition fee of three dollars weekly. An eleven year old boy brings his young sister and brother to school at 6:30 a.m. and stays with them until school opens. Their mother goes to work at 6:00 a.m.²⁴

Manpower, junior size. Junior commando spirits ran high when children of all creeds and colors sang together the national anthem. Roanoke, Virginia school children took the initiative in mobilizing the first intensified junior commando organization to collect scrap for America's fighting forces.²⁵

New York, New York. Italian-American children buying stamps and bonds at Public School Eight on King Street from mothers who volunteer to guard doorways and perform other duties in schools under the school defense aid program.²⁶

By 1942-3 images of poverty had all but disappeared. Schools are depicted as serving a vital war need, as an organic part of the community, and as generally modern. And yet this carefully constructed photographic image was more propaganda than reality. In America, local control and funding of schools produced rigid stratification on the basis of social class, urban or rural location, race and ethnicity. The FSA concentrated on rural schools. During the war progressive robust schools in mid-sized cities and new consolidated schools in rural areas came to stand for American education, although there is no doubt that if a photographer had sought the poor rural segregated schools photographed in 1935 they could easily be found in 1943 - indeed they exist today.

Stryker's project left out whole groups. Neither FSA nor OWI offered a rationale for photographing elite schools like Andover, Boston Latin, or Phillips Exeter Academy. Children in special schools, deaf, blind, learning disabled, and convalescent were likewise not part of the imagined community. They did not document reform schools or even orphanages and homes for dependent children. Curiously photographers also ignored the government-run Indian boarding schools. These schools had been extensively photographed from the 1880s through the 1920s, but despite the fact that the father of FSA photographer John Collier served as Indian Commissioner under Roosevelt and began a 'New Deal for Indians' there are essentially no Indian school photographs in the FSA-OWI archive.²⁷ The exclusion of indigenous peoples

continued; except for ten shots from Puerto Rico, there were no school photographs from American possessions like Alaska and Hawaii. There are no photos of Asian Americans in school. There are a few shots in the archive of the relocation of Japanese Americans during the war but none show schools. However, the National Archives has many photos of relocation camp schools including Dorothea Lange's striking shot of Japanese-Americans' children on the day of evacuation. I find it ironic that on the very day Japanese-Americans' children were physically excluded from the community, they were for the first time photographically imagined as patriotic Americans.

Where once the FSA-OWI was the largest and most accessible archive, photos from historic collections, newspaper and magazine morgues, and vernacular sources have been digitized and are now similarly available. Hundreds of thousands of online photos add to, and in some cases contradict, the image manufactured by FSA-OWI. News and vernacular photos collected by history archives document schooling but were not documentary *per se*; they highlight the FSA-OWI as a specific genre. These pictures and captions provide different views of schools. As critics have noted, FSA-OWI photographers did not record social pathology, thus reform schools and juvenile delinquents remained invisible. In 1941 there was a scandal over corporal punishment at the Colorado state reform school, which was reported in the *Rocky Mountain News* with a photograph captioned 'Joseph Janoskowsky, in a pinstripe suit, displays leather straps used in dungeon floggings, during State Civil Service Commission hearings, State Industrial School, Golden, Jefferson County, Colorado' (Figure 19). The National Archives includes a 1940 'Study of Youth', one photograph having the caption:

Roosevelt High School, Oakland, California. High School Youth. High school graduate who is unemployed and spends his time hanging around the school. All his energies are spent racing around the school in his cut-down, souped-up Ford, particularly during periods when there are students around to watch him, 05/04/1940.²⁸

News photographs like Figure 19 reveal that the sorting and selecting mechanisms of school and documentary photography produced exclusion as well as community. African Americans were clearly imagined to be part, but a completely separate part of the American community. Although Russell Lee and others made pictures showing ethnic diversity,²⁹ I found no photos in the FSA-OWI collection depicting racial integration. The Junior Commandos from Roanoke, Virginia mentioned above is an interesting shoot

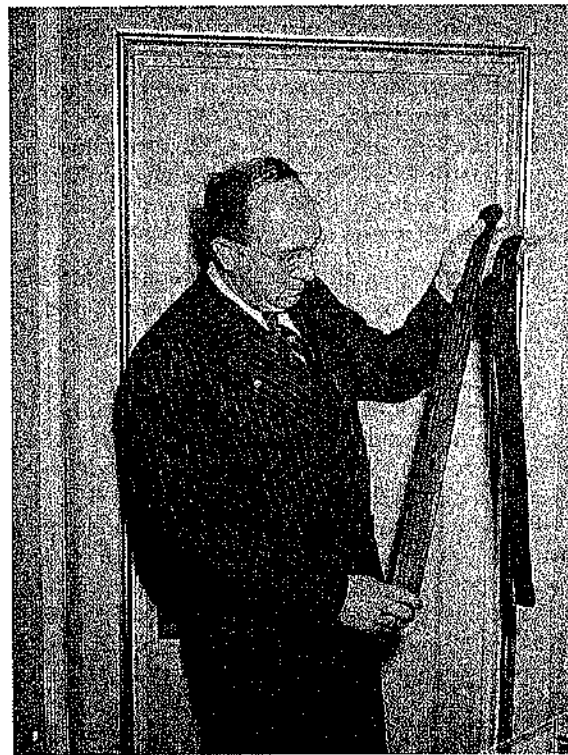


Fig. 19. Joseph Janoskowsky, in a pinstripe suit, displays leather straps used in dungeon floggings, during State Civil Service Commission hearings, State Industrial School (name changed in 1961 to Lookout Mountain School for Boys), Golden, Jefferson County, Colorado. Date: January 1941. Photographer Rocky Mountain News. Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Call Number X-10085.

to examine by call number since, despite the caption 'children of all creeds and colors sang', Black and White children are not once seen in the same photograph. Yet there were integrated schools and classrooms in the Northeast and West. Perhaps the need not to alienate Southern Democrats during the New Deal kept government photographers from making any photos like Figure 20.

While the FSA-OWI was the first accessible archive, digital technology is rapidly expanding the universe of photos from every time period, including 1935–43. As other collections come on-line we come closer to the grand visual library envisioned by Oliver Wendell Holmes and Paul Vanderbilt. But that project is far more problematic than either of them imagined. If indeed every act of looking produces an expectation of meaning, what does it mean to look at a digital simulacrum, an imaginary community of Americans, constructed of millions of photographic images? Who is in and who is outside of this imagined community? Can our fundamental values – education, community, democracy – even be represented in this way? As Trachtenberg has explained, all filing schemes are blind to photographs, they are dependent on the connotative 'facts' in written texts – photographer, date, subject (Trachtenberg 1988: 54). My interest is in public grade schools, but unfortunately the FSA-OWI search engine does not allow Boolean operators like 'but' or 'not', severely limiting the utility of the archive. Examination of Marion Post Wolcott's entire shoot at



Fig. 20. *Children on porch*, probably in Colorado (1930–40). Photographer Harry Mellon Rhoads. Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Call Number Rh-5387.

Bertha Hill, West Virginia in 1938 turned up additional photos of Mexican miners' children that did not happen to have the descriptor 'school' in the caption. It is essential to examine neighbouring negatives by number because there are large numbers of *untitled* photos that cannot be retrieved by descriptive searches, and photos missing the search term. Obviously the actual number of school photos in the collection may be several times the number retrieved. Many of the nearby negatives were 'killed' by project director Stryker who sometimes punched holes in the negatives or simply decided not to print them. Furthermore, FSA-OWI images were not 'coded' with 'controlled vocabularies' but rely on pre-existing captions (Arms 1999). For a revealing example that demonstrates the strengths and difficulties of using the system consider the problem of finding photographs of Latino students in public grade school. In the 1930s and 1940s neither the term 'Latino' nor 'Hispanic' was in use. As I have noted elsewhere, photographic archives reproduce 'historic amnesias, lapses and sins of omission, while continuing to overemphasize powerful, dominant and hegemonic structures' (Margolis 1999: 34). If we are

to use this resource effectively for new kinds of social research, we will have to grapple with these important issues.

In this essay I have offered a few suggestions for studying the FSA-OWI views of schools. Nearly seventy years ago, in thousands of shots from segregated southern shacks to well-equipped urban classrooms, teachers and students were posed or candidly photographed in everyday activities. Body language, facial expressions, clothes, tools, and the built environment are visible for our inspection. It seems as if we have a window into the past. But, viewers need to keep three warnings in mind: they are looking at photographs composed by persons having particular projects in mind, they are being exposed to constructed perspectives from a government-funded project, and photography is limited in what it can depict. Photos of schools are curiously one-dimensional. We have no idea what is being taught – or what was being learned. We cannot see how the teachers and students felt about their mutual endeavour, or what it meant to them. Community and education are multidimensional concepts that shrink when reduced to visual icons or ideal types which are often more suitable as propaganda than as insight. As I have suggested before, 'photography can capture the physical relationships of schools, but cannot make visible the social relationships of education: failure, intellectual excitement, oppression, resistance, or teaching/learning' (ibid.: 34-5).

Notes

1. The collection in searchable form is accessible at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/fsaquery.html>. As described by the Library of Congress, 'The collection encompasses the approximately 77,000 images made by photographers working in Stryker's unit as it existed in a succession of government agencies: the Resettlement Administration (RA, 1935-1937), the Farm Security Administration (FSA, 1937-1942), and the Office of War Information (OWI, 1942-1944). In addition, the collection includes photographs produced by other government agencies (e.g., the Office of Emergency Management) and collected from various non-government sources. In total, the collection consists of approximately 164,000 black-and-white film negatives, 107,000 black-and-white photographic prints, and 1,610 color transparencies. . . . The core of the FSA-OWI Collection consists of approximately 164,000 black-and-white negatives, encompassing both negatives that were printed for FSA-OWI use and those that were not printed at the time ("killed" negatives)' (Library of Congress 2002).
2. Trachtenberg is quoting from Paul Vanderbilt's 'preliminary report' found in the Stryker papers.
3. Due to space limitations, I will not reproduce photos, only call numbers, but suggest readers use the search engine at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/fsaquery.html> to examine particular images and to explore the collection.
4. This is data which has not been cleaned. There is no handy way to separate dates like 1943 from lot number 1943 or other confounding numbers. It merely suggests the trend.
5. LC-USF34-009058-C and LC-USF34-004052.
6. The one exception is not actually a photo of school but Ben Shahn's 1935 series on cotton pickers in Pulaski County, Arkansas, see LC-USF33-006218-M5 and surrounding. Stott (1973) did not include any school photos, nor did Curtis (1989) in their histories of the FSA-OWI. Two shots are reproduced in Fleischhauer and Brannan (1988). Rothstein's 'School is out' from the Gees Bend, Alabama series. LC-USF34-025378-D and a Marjory Collins 1942 shot of a prosperous middle-class school in Lititz, Pennsylvania LC-USW3-011119-D.
7. LC-USF34-051760-D.
8. LC-USF34-031843-D.
9. LC-USW3-018139-E.
10. LC-USF34-028346-D.
11. LC-USF33-001144-M3.
12. LC-USF34-015791-E.

13. LC-USF34-041897-D.
14. LC-USF33-002911-M1.
15. LC-USF34-084055-E.
16. LC-USW3-026196-E.
17. LC-USF33-006090-M5; LC-USF34-006773; LC-USF34-055299-D; LC-USF34-046582-E; LC-USF34-033676-D.
18. LC-USF33-030142-M1 and LC-USF34-050049-E.
19. LC-USF34-044504-D; LC-USF34-046195-D.
20. LC-USF33-030322-M3; LC-USF34-039104-D; LC-USF34-070345-D; LC-USF33-003657-M3, LC-USF34-024760-D and LC-USF34-024957-D; LC-USF34-071624-D.
21. LC-USW3-033752-C; LC-USW3-033830-C; LC-USW3-033829-C.
22. LC-USW3-033736-C.
23. LC-USE6-D-010441, LC-USE6-D-007094; LC-USW3-013487-E, LC-USE6-D-010215; LC-USW3-000726-E; LC-USW3-009926-E; LC-USW3-042663-C; LC-USW3-009951-E; LC-USW3-028421-D.
24. LC-USW3-028421-D.
25. LC-USE6-D-006432.
26. LC-USW3-013969-E.
27. In 1936 Arthur Rothstein made a small series of photos of 'Pueblo Indians in the Indian Service School, Taos, New Mexico' cf. LC-USF34-002936-D. I have written on Indian school photographs elsewhere (see Margolis and Rowe 2002).
28. NWDNS-119-CAL-166.
29. For example, see Lee's 1942 shoot in San Leandro, California LC-USW3-001828-D.