

Visualizing a Mission

Artifacts and Imagery of the Carlisle Indian School

1879–1918



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This exhibition raises a number of challenging issues. We hope that we have been faithful to the lives and memories of those who played a part in the Carlisle Indian School during its thirty-nine year history.

*Members of the Art Historical Methods Seminar
Phillip Earenfight, Seminar Adviser and Director, The Trout Gallery*

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Edited by Phillip Earenfight

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Introduction

Phillip Earenfight, Seminar Adviser/Director, The Trout Gallery

Visualizing a Mission: Artifacts and Imagery of the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1918 examines artifacts associated with the nation's first boarding school for Native Americans. The artifacts illustrate various educational, cultural, and visual facets of the Carlisle Indian School and how the institution served to "civilize" Native Americans as part of a larger process of government directed cultural assimilation.¹

The history of Indian boarding schools, and the Carlisle Indian School in particular, began in the early 1870s when major combat in the Indian Wars had ended and the United States Army had started to direct tribes onto reservations.² However, the reservation system soon proved to be a failure and many felt that the Indian population would have to assimilate into American society or face extinction.³ After much consideration, federal policymakers concluded that if the native populations were shown the way of "civilization," they would be prepared to take their place in American society. This conclusion rested on the assumption that an academic education would elevate one from a primitive to a more civilized state.⁴

Policy became practice at the Carlisle Indian School, which had its origins in the events following bloody skirmishes near Fort Sill, in what is now Oklahoma. In the aftermath, seventy-two warriors were taken prisoner and moved temporarily to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. They were met by Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, who transported them by train to St. Augustine, Florida to be detained at Fort Marion. Not without incident and death, the surviving captives arrived at the fort on May 21, 1875 (fig. 1; cat. 50a).⁵ Through a series of drastic procedures, Pratt converted Fort Marion into a military-style school. He stripped all vestiges of the students' native culture, including their clothes, hairstyles, and languages, and issued military uniforms, showed them how to march, and instructed them in English and the Christian faith.⁶ Pratt tore them down culturally and then rebuilt them according to Western models. After three years of work, the transformation of "blanket Indians" into properly dressed, "civilized" students convinced the government to release the captives.

Encouraged by this early success, Pratt continued his mission in 1878 by introducing Native American students, some of them from Fort Marion, to the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute (later Hampton College) in Virginia. Founded in 1868 and run by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the Institute was established as a school for recently-freed black slaves.⁷ Working together at Hampton, Pratt and Armstrong began taking photographs of the Indian students immediately

upon their arrival and again, several months after, as a way to illustrate the efficacy of their civilizing mission. Pratt and his students remained at Hampton until 1879, when the government, further encouraged by his efforts, granted him permission to create an Indian school at the military barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.⁸ At Carlisle, Pratt refined and amplified many of the ideas that he introduced earlier at Fort Marion and the Hampton Institute. As at Hampton, Pratt had "before" and "after" photographs made of countless students, which he used to promote his cause and gain political and financial support for the school.⁹ He also introduced the Outing System, a feature of the Fort Marion experience, which arranged employment opportunities for advanced students at various businesses, farms, and industries in the surrounding communities, towns, and in some cases, distant metropolitan centers. The program was the final step of the school's educational experience, which aimed, as Pratt noted, "[t]o civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay."¹⁰

Pratt had his successes and his failures, supporters and critics. However, his repeated and sharp attacks on the Indian Bureau in Washington as well as his unyielding approach to Indian education, led to his dismissal in 1904. After Pratt's departure, poor administration led the Carlisle Indian School into a period of institutional decline.¹¹ Despite the school's nationally recognized football team of 1912, with players such as Jim Thorpe, the school's future was in jeopardy. Ultimately, pressure from the Indian Bureau, declining enrollment, and the outbreak of WWI brought an end to the school. In 1918, on the pretext that the military needed a medical facility for soldiers returning from war in Europe, the government returned the Carlisle Barracks to military use. Today, the site is home to the United States Army War College.

Over the course of its thirty-nine year history, the Carlisle Indian School enrolled more than eight-thousand students and produced a large body of records and artifacts, much of it visual.¹² Photographs, student art, campus publications, and native clothing document the institution and its people from its origins through its final days. In this catalogue and corresponding exhibition, members of the Art Historical Methods Seminar at Dickinson College bring to light and analyze a body of largely unpublished material, most of it drawn from the Dickinson College collections with additional works borrowed from the Cumberland County Historical Society. Working with these artifacts, each of the seminar members identified specific topics associated with the Carlisle Indian School for focused

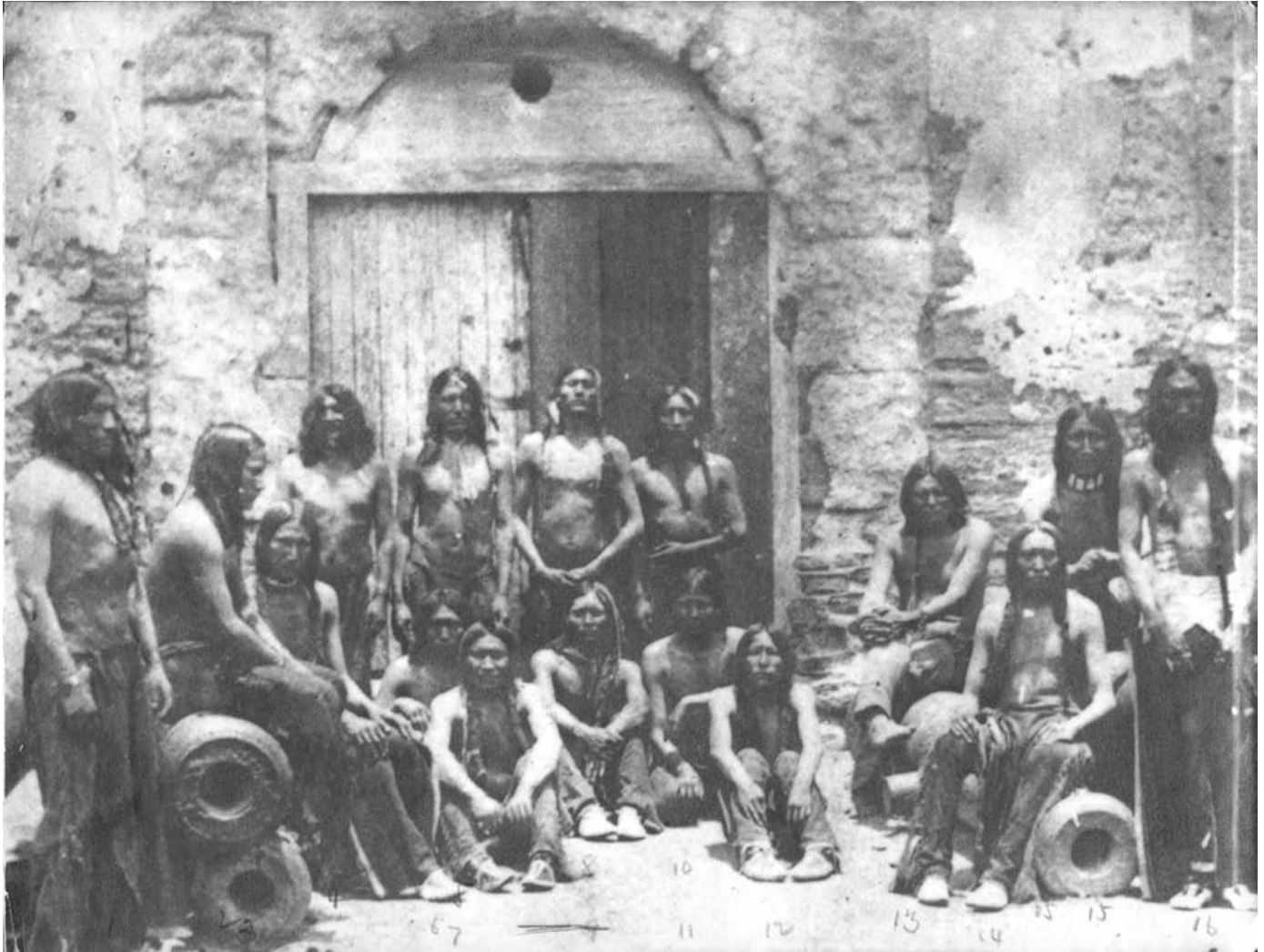


Figure 1. Photographer unknown, *Indian Prisoners Shortly After Their Arrival at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, 1875*, vintage gelatin silver print, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.1 (cat. 50a).

research. Their results are published in the subsequent essays and presented in the exhibition for The Trout Gallery, at Dickinson College.

Visualizing a Mission: Artifacts and Imagery of the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1918 opens with a biographical sketch of Richard Pratt, collectively written by the members of the methods seminar, which provides an introduction to many of the issues raised in the subsequent studies. Six essays, one by each seminar member, follow, beginning with Kathleen McWeeney's study of *A Kiowa's Odyssey*. She examines this important album of ledger drawings, which documents the experiences of Etahdeuh Doanmoe while he was at Fort Marion. Her study reconstructs the album and its association with Richard Pratt and his son Mason. The two essays that follow consider the

largest body of visual imagery associated with the school—photographs. Laura Turner's work concentrates on J. N. Choate, the principal photographer of the Indian School during the Pratt years. Her study considers the various types of photographs produced by Choate, including the cabinet, boudoir, and stereoscopic cards which feature portraits of students, visiting chiefs, campus activities, and views of the grounds. Molly Fraust considers Pratt's use of photographs as a means to promote the school and its civilizing mission. By carefully examining the "before" and "after" photographs of the students, Fraust illustrates how Pratt and Choate orchestrated the portrait settings and the sitters in order to heighten the contrast between their "savage" and "civilized" state and emphasize the efficacy of Pratt's educational methods.

Stephanie Latini's work examines a series of Plains Indians artifacts, including two painted drums, a painted shield, and three painted cloths, focusing on the iconography and style of these works. They represent a native tradition that, under Pratt, was not permitted at the Carlisle Indian School. Kathryn Moyer further addresses the issue of native art in her essay on Angel De Cora, the school's art instructor during the post-Pratt years. Moyer shows how De Cora, a Winnebago Indian, insisted that students be introduced to the arts practiced by their ancestors, thereby breaking with previous requirements that all aspects of traditional life be excluded from the school's curriculum. In the catalogue's final essay, Antonia Valdes-Dapena

examines how, after the end of the Indian Wars, the image of the Indian became a commodity to be sold and commercialized. By analyzing artifacts such as the cabinet card photographs of students, Valdes-Dapena illustrates how their images were purchased and collected as specimens of the exotic.

Together the six essays provide insight into the Carlisle Indian School and how the surviving photographs and artifacts open a view into the complex and controversial topic of the Indian boarding school experience in America. It is hoped that their findings help us to better understand artifacts that visualize the mission.

1 The bibliography on the principal issues noted in this introduction is extensive. Only essential references are provided here. Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1882* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

2 David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction. American Indians and the Boarding School Experience* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

3 Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System, 1846-1851* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975).

4 Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), chaps. 3-4.

5 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 36-39; Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, Robert M. Utley, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964); Pratt, "American Indians: Chained and Unchained: Being an Account of How the Carlisle Indian School was Born and Grew in the First 25 Years," *Red Man* (June 1914): 395-398; Pamela Holco Oestreicher, "On the White Man's Road? Acculturation and the Fort Marion Southern Plains Prisoners" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1981); Louis Morton, "How the Indians Came to Carlisle," *Pennsylvania History* 29 (January 1962): 53-63.

6 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 39-41.

7 Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study* (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1964); James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), chap. 2; Robert Francis Engs, *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), chap. 8; David Wallace Adams, "Education in Hues: Red and Black at Hampton Institute, 1878-1893," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 76 (Spring 1977): 159-176; Donal Fred Lindsey, "Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1989).

8 Perry Lee Walker-McNeil, "The Carlisle Indian School: A Study of Acculturation" (Ph.D. diss., American University, 1979); Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 48-55; Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1879-1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002).

9 In a letter to Pratt, Armstrong states, "We wish a variety of photographs of the Indians. Be sure and have them bring their wild barbarous things. This will show whence we started." Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 47.

10 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 55; Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 283.

11 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 321-326; Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 59-90.

12 For a list of students see Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 123-148.

The history of the Carlisle Indian School is inexorably bound to its founder, Richard Henry Pratt (fig. 2; cat. 30), whose attitude toward Native Americans shaped virtually every dimension of it. In order to better understand the Carlisle Indian School, it is necessary to consider aspects of Pratt's life and how his experiences influenced his regard for Indians and their future.¹

A primary force in Richard Henry Pratt's life was the military. It shaped his life and provided him with the model for reshaping the lives of the Native Americans. Indeed, the milestones in his life are all directly associated with military appointments, which put him into direct contact with Native Americans. In 1861, he enlisted in a volunteer regiment during the Civil War. Six years later, he was assigned to Fort Gibson, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) where he led a cavalry unit composed largely of recently-freed slaves and Indian scouts. In 1875, Lt. Pratt transported captured Indian warriors from Fort Sill, Indian Territory, to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida. This assignment proved fateful, as he transformed a routine detainment detail into a radical educational and social experiment. Three years and a promotion later, Ct. Pratt's record at Fort Marion led him to the Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute in Virginia, where he continued to refine his approach to "civilizing" Native Americans. In 1879, he persuaded the Department of the Interior and War Department to allow him to establish an Indian school in Carlisle. His assignment to the Carlisle Indian School was to last twenty-five years. Pratt was promoted to Brigadier General shortly before his forced retirement in 1904.

The military provided Pratt with various perspectives of the Native Americans, which contributed to his evolving attitude toward them. Depending upon the context, they were enemy warriors, valuable scouts, unfortunate victims, skilled interpreters, and trusted guides. Such direct and varied contact with the Indians mixed with prevailing stereotypes. As Pratt once noted: "...talking with the Indians, I learned that most had received English education in home schools conducted by their tribal government. Their intelligence, civilization and common sense was a revelation, because I had concluded that as an army officer I was there to deal with atrocious aborigines."² He commented further on how well some of the Indians had served the army and how poorly they were treated in return: "Indian scouts, who were enlisted to perform the very highest functions of citizens...were imprisoned on reservations throughout the country and were thus barred from these guaranteed opportunities which they only needed in order to



Figure 2. J. N. Choate, *Capt. Pratt, Superintendent of Indian School*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 1 (cat. 30).

develop, become equal, and able to compete as citizens in all opportunities of our American life."³

The military also provided Pratt with the model on which to base his educational institutions. Pratt operated Fort Marion and the Carlisle Indian School like a military unit, "with discipline, crystal clear instructions and total inflexibility."⁴ Despite objections from several students, their hair was cut, and the boys were issued military uniforms and the girls were given proper dresses. The students were taught to practice marching and drilling. Each child was to select their new Anglo name. Students were forced to abandon their native language and began English lessons as

soon as they arrived at Carlisle. They were punished, at times harshly, if they spoke in their native tongues, even privately.

In addition to the military, religion played an important role in shaping Pratt's attitude toward Indians. His beliefs fell into the camp of the so-called "Indian reformers" of the time, many of whom were Quakers and Christian missionaries. Christian values were heavily espoused at the school. Bible stories were routinely read to teach moral lessons to the students. For Pratt, religion was a motivating force in his approach to educating the Native Americans: "In Indian civilization I am a Baptist, because I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked."⁵ Pratt saw his work with Native Americans in part as a religious calling. He regarded the transformation of Indians into civilized Americans as a form of conversion. His rhetoric of salvation was rooted in notions of Christian sacrifice and rebirth. Pratt's motto, "Kill the Indian, but save the man," bluntly stated that to save the Indians, their culture had to be sacrificed. To these ends, Pratt required each student to attend mass regularly. Fittingly, he came to be known as the "Red Man's Moses."⁶

While much of the curriculum at Fort Marion and Carlisle included subjects taught at most schools (English, arithmetic, geography, history), students were also to learn the values of possessive individualism and industry.⁷ In these matters, Pratt was shaped by capitalist notions of private property and religious values that regarded labor as a positive work ethic. At Fort Marion, Pratt experimented with ways in which he could train students for employment. At Carlisle, such experiments were made into a full-fledged program, the Outing System, which provided Indian students an opportunity to work and live with white families. Pratt termed this the "Supreme Americanizer" because it allowed the Indians to venture outside the school's walls and be placed in the homes of local residents and businesses. Pratt's dream was to scatter the entire population of 70,000 Native American children across the country, assigning each to a white family.⁸

Although Pratt's operation of Fort Marion and Carlisle was heavily influenced by military models, there was also a domestic component to the experience. As the children continued to assimilate into the ways of the white man, Pratt's relationship with the students became increasingly personal and parental. Indeed, both he and his wife, Anna Mason Pratt, were involved with all aspects of the Carlisle Indian School. Oftentimes, he would lead the weekly Bible readings and spoke to the students every morning. Pratt was also particular in keeping in touch with former students as a way of tracking the school's progress.

From his home and headquarters on the main square at the Carlisle Indian School, Pratt exercised his considerable administrative skills. Pratt labored daily for government and private funding, and fought to expand the school's facilities and programs. Pratt recognized the power of photographs and print, and used them to promote his mission.⁹ He also oversaw the printing and distribution of the school newspapers. Although officially written and produced by the students, the pages included articles that, if not written by Pratt himself, clearly represented his views.¹⁰

Pratt's program at the Carlisle Indian School had its share of failures and successes. Some students died at school; an alarming number ran away. Much to the dismay of Pratt, many returned to their reservations, only to find that the world they left as a child was no longer "home." No longer able to speak their native language and with little opportunity to find respectable work in white society, many discovered that their education had made them ill-suited for either world. However, some made their way successfully into society. Several of the students became educators and administrators in Indian-related schools and federal and state agencies.

Pratt's view of the Native Americans remains controversial. Although he sought to improve the lives of the Native Americans by educating them according to Western models, he required that they deny who they were, which he considered to be savage and inferior.

1 David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction. American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 36-55; Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom. Four Decades with the American Indians, 1867-1904*, Robert M. Utley, ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964); Frederick J. Stefon, "Richard Henry Pratt and His Indians," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 15 (Summer 1987): 88-112.

2 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 5.

3 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 7.

4 Genevieve Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1998), 62.

5 Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 19.

6 Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 50.

7 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 149.

8 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 54.

9 Lonna M. Malmshemer, "Imitation White Man: Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School," *Studies in Visual Communication* 11 (Fall 1985): 55.

10 Witmer, *Indian Industrial School*, 41.

A Kiowa's Odyssey: *Etahdleuh Doanmoe's Sketches from Fort Marion*

Kathleen McWeeney

Among the Carlisle Indian School artifacts in The Trout Gallery, a bound leather album entitled *A Kiowa's Odyssey* is particularly significant (cat. 50a-d). Although partially disassembled and in fragmentary condition, the album contains an assortment of inscriptions, photographs, and, at one time, ledger drawings. The inscriptions associate the album with Etahdleuh Doanmoe, a Kiowa prisoner at Fort Marion and afterwards a student at the Carlisle Indian School. The photographs identify Etahdleuh, and help the viewer to visualize his experiences. The ledger drawings display Etahdleuh's journey from life on the Plains to detainment at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. A typed preface signed by Mason Pratt, son of the Carlisle Indian School superintendent, Captain Richard Pratt, partially explains the album's purpose and its formation.

The red leather album measures 8 3/4 x 11 1/2 inches. "A KIOWA'S ODYSSEY" appears embossed in gold on the front cover and alludes to a classical epic or journey. Opening the album, one finds a photograph pasted onto the inside front cover. Five men dressed in military uniforms are pictured in the photograph (fig. 3; cat. 50a). Four wear dark uniforms indicating no rank; the central figure wears a lighter uniform that bears the rank of sergeant. Below the photograph is an inscription that reads: "John W. Okestehi / Cheyenne; Henry Pratt Taawayite / Comanche; Paul C. Zotom / Kiowa; Edward Etahdleuh / Kiowa; David Pendleton / Cheyenne; Formerly prisoners at St. Augustine Florida. (1875-1878)." This inscription identifies the figures in the photo; Etahdleuh is the seated figure in the middle, affectionately known to Richard Pratt as his "Prize Florida boy."¹ Pasted onto the album's inside back cover is another photograph showing a group of prisoners soon after their arrival at Fort Marion (fig. 1; cat. 50a). Etahdleuh appears at the left, sitting on a cannon.² Taken together, the photographs pasted into the album constitute "before" and "after" images of Etahdleuh—one in a "savage" state, the other as a "civilized" man.³

Between the covers one finds twenty-eight rather than blank pages bound into the album's spine. At first, it is difficult to determine why so many blank pages were included in the album. Moreover, some of the pages have faint, ghost-like images, which are a result of once having been in contact with drawings whose pigments offset onto the pages. However, there are no drawings in the album today. Furthermore, the bound edges of the blank pages are puckered, an effect usually caused by contact with moisture. Although the binding is in poor condition, it is certain that the twenty-eight blank pages formed the basis of the album.



Figure 3. J. N. Choate, *John W. Okestehi, Cheyenne; Henry Pratt Taawayite, Comanche; Paul C. Zotom, Kiowa; Edward Etahdleuh, Kiowa; David Pendleton, Cheyenne. Formerly prisoners at St. Augustine, Florida (1875-1878), n.d., albumen print mounted onto the interior cover of A Kiowa's Odyssey, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.1 (cat. 50a).*

The blank pages are otherwise unimportant, save for the back of page two, where one finds a worn and deteriorated cardboard cover pasted onto it. The cover has been cut down to fit the dimensions of the page and bears a pencil inscription in Richard Pratt's handwriting that reads: "Drawn by Etah-dle-uh / Kiowa prisoner / Fort Marion, Fla. / April 26 1877 / A present to Mason from Papa." The cardboard cover appears to be the remains of a sketchbook or portfolio, evidently one used to hold a number of Etahdleuh's drawings that he made while he was a student of Pratt's at Fort Marion. Moreover, it appears that this original portfolio of drawings was given by Richard

Pratt to his son Mason. It would seem that this worn cardboard cover was glued onto page two of the leather album to preserve the handwritten inscription.

In addition to the album, with its photographs, blank pages, and the inscribed cover, The Trout Gallery has two loose sheets with drawings on each side. The drawings are made with colored pencils and include typewritten captions at the top. Upon examining both sheets, paying close attention to their dimensions and to stitch marks along the binding edge, it is absolutely certain that they were once bound among the blank pages of *A Kiowa's Odyssey*. The drawings are mechanically numbered, 11 and 12 (figs. 4, 5; cat. 50b), 13 and 14 (cat. 50c) in the upper corners (alternating, left to right; front to back), and were once joined as pairs with linen tape. When compared to other known ledger drawings by Etahdleuh, it is certain that they are part of a larger set of sheets now in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, which have a page format, typewritten captions, binding marks, artistic style, and subject matter that match the two sheets in The Trout Gallery.⁴ Confirmation that the drawings at Yale are by Etahdleuh is documented in one of the typed captions, which reads: "...Etahdleuh [is] the author of this book."⁵

In addition to the pair of sheets by Etahdleuh, The Trout Gallery also has a single unnumbered sheet of the same size, weight, and condition as the other drawings (cat. 50d). The sheet features a typewritten preface that reads:

This book of drawings by Etahdleuh, one of the Kiowa prisoners, mentioned on the next page, was made during the first year of his confinement in the old Spanish fort at St. Augustine, Florida. It is an epic in true Indian art of scenes of native life on the plains, the surrender of his tribe to the military forces of the United States after a futile resistance to invasion of his hunting grounds by white settlers, the journey to Fort Marion and a few of the incidents there...The captions were written by General Richard Henry Pratt a few years before his death. The photograph on back cover is of a group of prisoners soon after their arrival. Etahdleuh is sitting on cannon at left. The one on the front cover is of Etahdleuh and four companions after a few years schooling in the East, following their release. M.D.P.

The back side of this sheet includes a short typewritten biography of Richard Pratt and concludes with the handwritten signature, "Mason."

With this pool of evidence, one can now reconstruct the steps leading to the formation of *A Kiowa's Odyssey* and its sub-

sequent disassembly years later. First, there are Etahdleuh's ledger drawings at The Trout Gallery and the Beinecke Library, which represent the artist's time on the Plains, and his travel to and life at Fort Marion. As the original cardboard cover (now preserved on the back of page two of *A Kiowa's Odyssey*) indicates, these drawings were once part of a portfolio by Etahdleuh which Richard Pratt gave to his son Mason. Sometime after Richard Pratt's death, when the original cardboard cover was showing signs of deterioration, Mason commissioned a bookbinder to assemble Etahdleuh's drawings, the two photographs, and the original cover with the written inscription, into one handsome and concise presentation. However, in order to protect the drawings and insure that they would not slip out, the bookbinder joined them together in pairs with linen tape and stitched the paired drawings into the album, inserting each pair between blank sheets of the album, which act as protective tissues. However, the drawings were bound into the album shortly after they were taped together, evident by the fact that the blank sheets facing the drawings absorbed the moisture from the water-based glue in the linen tape and puckered.⁶ Additionally, Mason had the bookbinder emboss "A KIOWA'S ODYSSEY" in gold on the front cover to complete the presentation of Etahdleuh's story. At a later date, the album was forcefully disassembled and the drawings removed and separated, causing damage to the binding and leaving torn stitch marks and a strip of linen tape at the binding edge of each drawing. With all the drawings removed, all that remained of the album were the two photos, the blank pages, and the original cardboard cover that was pasted onto the back of page two. At some subsequent date, the album cover, the two sheets of drawings, and other materials found their way to Dickinson College, while the other drawings were donated to Yale University by the heirs of the Pratt family, as part of a larger collection of Pratt-related documents.

Having reconstructed the album and its history, it is possible to consider the two sheets in The Trout Gallery collection as an example of ledger drawing and their production at Fort Marion. As noted earlier, Etahdleuh's drawings document his experiences from his native life in Oklahoma territory to his arrival and education at Fort Marion. However, well before making drawings of this event, Plains Indians had been making ledger drawings. Indeed, the earliest known ledger book dates to the 1860s and was created by a member of the Cheyenne Indians. The tradition appears to stem from the Indian Wars, when warriors, in the hope of distracting themselves from the brutality of battle, "would take ledger books, turn them horizontally, and begin to draw."⁷ The lined ledger books, originally intended for "recording details of commerce or tallying prisoners," were left behind by white settlers and members of the military.⁸

Upon arrival at Fort Marion, Etahdleuh and his fellow warriors continued the tradition of drawing in ledger books. As Richard Pratt noted, “[t]he depressing effect of their being in irons, and their long trip” had a major impact upon their physical and mental status.⁹ They used representations of their home life and lengthy trip to ease the process of reformation. In confinement, Pratt noticed the great interest in drawing by over half of the detained warriors: “All along we saw traces of Indian skill and ingenuity in the distinctive work of the tribes.”¹⁰ At first Pratt sought to prohibit such drawing, as it seemed to recall native activities; however, “after a time... [he] made appeals” and ordered several ledger books.¹¹ Pratt supported the practice of drawing based on the assumption that they would generate interest among white audiences. Henceforth, he thoroughly supported and recognized the “possession of fine native ability and art.”¹²

Although Pratt strongly suggested that the Indians further their practice of drawing, he made sure to restrict any stylistic traditions that would be reminiscent of their life on the plains.¹³ With the hope of providing the students with proper examples of the Western artistic tradition, Pratt invited two illustrators to visit the fort.¹⁴ The first was a St. Augustine citizen named Greatorex, who worked within the confines of European artistic convention and “often entertained the Indians with his art, teaching some of them samples of this ability to entertain.”¹⁵ The second visitor was J. Wells Champney, best known for his illustrations in *Scribner’s Monthly*, who came to the fort to render features of the education and prison life for *Harper’s Magazine*.¹⁶ The Indians were slowly influenced by the example and teaching of these artists.

Through such instruction, Pratt encouraged his Native American pupils to adopt a Western approach to the visual arts. “As rapidly as the prisoners shed their chains, they were freed from the strictures of tribal art.”¹⁷ They were instructed upon the benefits of linear perspective and a balanced composition, while abandoning images of warfare or symbols affiliated with tribal life. Captain Pratt believed that “the censorship of war scenes reinforced the popularity of passive images.”¹⁸ While tribal imagery was often symbolic and two-dimensional, Pratt’s instruction demonstrated how to develop a three-dimensional setting and use color to suggest texture and volume. Pratt conducted his courses with every intention of providing “... a unique opportunity to observe the impact of acculturation upon a group of artists in a limited time and under known conditions.”¹⁹ The drawings were the results of their reluctant submission to a different way of life and the refreshing interest they were able to find in this new one.

Pratt soon recognized that ledger drawing became a popular venue for expression among the Indians and emphatically

supported the production of drawings. The Indians “seemed excessively fond of drawing and were delighted with a gift of pencil and paper.”²⁰ During their three-year confinement, 26 warriors made more than 847 drawings. Such production required supplies. Between 1875 and 1878, surviving records of sale document requests for expensive art materials, which included pencils, colored ink, fine pens, and bound sketchbooks. It would seem that pages and a cover from one such sketchbook was used by Etahdleuh, for what was to become *A Kiowa’s Odyssey*. Soon, ledger books were considered souvenirs of Indian life while in captivity. Pratt often collected the drawings and sold them to the white population, which developed an appetite for such Indian-related artifacts. “The topic of the Journey... was most intriguing to the Anglo public [and eventually] tourist demand for warrior curios outstripped their supply.”²¹

Notably, it became the white man’s curiosity, rather than an interest in traditional Indian art, which drove the sale of the drawings. With Pratt handling the sale of such drawings, the Indians were “allowed... the free use of the money they earn, and they do not spend it foolishly.”²² The Indians received the money earned and sent it home to their families or used it themselves. Eventually, the Indians had sold between \$3,000 and \$4,000 in Fort Marion souvenirs.²³

Turning to Etahdleuh’s work in *A Kiowa’s Odyssey*, one can gain an understanding of the book as a whole as well as his style and how it draws together features of the Plains Indian pictographic tradition with aspects of Western art. Although the numbered drawings for *A Kiowa’s Odyssey* do not follow any particular order, they can be divided into the following categories; life and activity on the Plains before surrender, capture and detainment, transfer to Fort Marion, and life and activity as prisoners at Fort Marion. A survey of all of the drawings from *A Kiowa’s Odyssey* reveals that Etahdleuh worked mostly in graphite and colored pencil. Although his lines are precise and create the structure for his compositions, he also treats much of the surface with color, providing the viewer with an illusionistic window into a scene. His use of linear perspective and overall composition bears the influence of Western drawing techniques. Looking at the drawings as a whole, it is clear that all these works were completed while at Fort Marion, after the instruction and adaptation of such techniques.

Regarding the two previously unpublished sheets in The Trout Gallery, drawing number 11 (fig. 4, cat. 50b) presents a scene of the prisoners en route to Fort Marion. The typed inscription states, “When there was water, the prisoners were taken to wash and bathe.” Etahdleuh’s use of color in this ledger drawing is unusual and far beyond the traditional conventions of Plains drawing. As opposed to using flat, solid color, the



Figure 4. Etahdleuh Doanmoe, *When there was water the prisoners were taken to wash and bathe*, 1877, graphite and colored pencil on paper, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.2v (cat. 50b).



Figure 5. Etahdleuh Doanmoe, *Leavenworth, Kansas, where the prisoners were entrained*, 1877, graphite and colored pencil on paper, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.2r (cat. 50b).

artist combines red, green, and yellow in his depiction of the grass field. Etahdleuh has created a sense of depth and shadow using these colors, which provide the first applications of shading and perspective. The grass seems to be darker around areas beneath trees or further back along the pictorial plane. He uses the entire page to represent this scene, defining a landscape in which his narrative takes place, thus reflecting considerable Western influence. Although the general view is slightly skewed

at times, distorting the image and creating a downward slope, Etahdleuh is careful to suggest more than one plane among the tents and wagons. The tents and wagons recede, creating a sense of depth and illusion.

The remaining ledger drawings in *The Trout Gallery* (12, 13, and 14) show similar attempts to suggest illusion through modulating color, texture, and linear perspective. It is most interesting to note the impressive foreshortening and perspec-

tive techniques employed in ledger drawing 12, where he depicts a train advancing through a city (fig. 5; cat. 50b). Ledger drawing 13 presents a landscape with trees and houses that recede into the mountainous horizon (cat. 50c). Etahdleuh also chose to use foreshortening, linear perspective, and modulated color to effectively suggest recession to the background. His skill is also evident in his rendering of the American flag, where he was careful to outline each white star with a bright blue background. Etahdleuh's attention to detail is most evident in ledger drawing 14 (cat. 50c). Etahdleuh uses the entire length of the page to carefully draw the details of a train, bridge, and nearby town. Even though the typed inscription states that he had to imagine how the bridge was supported, his precise lines present a convincing rendering. His sense of depth

and illusionism is apparent through the view of staggered houses of the town and the train visibly passing through the train tunnel.

A Kiowa's Odyssey presents not only a visual narrative of Etahdleuh's experiences, but illustrates Pratt's intentions for the Indians. The album presents evidence of Pratt's aim to acculturate the Native Americans and assimilate them into white society. While he responded to the Indian's inclination to illustrate their struggles, Pratt enforced a strict abandonment of all native influences, denying them a part of their rapidly vanishing traditions. *A Kiowa's Odyssey* reveals Pratt's compassion for the Indians and his mission to reform them. Modern readers may find such tendencies contradictory; to Pratt they must have seemed entirely compatible.

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- 1 Karen D. Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 156. Etahdleuh, which means "boy hunting," was 19 when he was taken to Fort Marion. He became a notable member of the Kiowa and studied with Pratt at Fort Marion, the Hampton Institute, and the Carlisle Indian School. He was recognized several times in the *Morning Star* and subject for several photos. Etahdleuh was appointed Quarter Master Sergeant, in charge of government property. He was instructed to take care of the stores, issue food and clothing, and return tools. He also served as an intermediary next-in-command when Pratt was absent. See Sandy Mader, "Etahdleuh Doanmoe: From Prisoner to Missionary," *Cumberland County History* (Summer 2004), forthcoming.
 - 2 Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion*, Plate 6. This photograph is widely published and several vintage prints of it exist including one at the Beinecke Collection, Yale University.
 - 3 Regarding "before" and "after" photographs, see Molly Fraust, "Visual Propaganda at the Carlisle Indian School," in this volume: 19-23.
 - 4 Beinecke Library, Yale University, WA MSS S-1174, Box 31, Folders 1, 4, 5, 9, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20; Box 32, Folders 25, 26, 28, 30. On the Yale drawings, see Marilee Jantzer-White's catalogue entries in *Plains Indian Drawings 1865-1935: Pages From a Visual History*, Janet Catherine Berlo, ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 158-164. A third sheet (cat. 51), with a drawing on only one side, entered The Trout Gallery's collection with the album. Unlike the other sheets in this set by Etahdleuh, this one does not have a stamped number in the corner, it is slightly wider than the other ledger drawing pages, the drawing is in ink, it is different stylistically, and it is inscribed in pencil ("Pleasure Excursion / St Augustine Fla.") along the bottom, instead of typed at the top. This third sheet is attributed to Bear's Heart, Cheyenne.
 - 5 Beinecke Library, Yale University, WA MSS S-1174, Box 31, Folder 4.
 - 6 Mason Pratt also had the bookbinder insert a color reproduction of Charles Marion Russels' *The Buffalo Hunt* (The Trout Gallery, 190.7.11.5) opposite Etahdleuh's drawing, *Killing Buffalo (Kiwias)* 26 (Beinecke Library, Yale University, WA MSS S-1174, Box 32, Folder 26).
 - 7 Anna Blume, "In Place of Writing," *Plains Indian Drawings 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History*, Janet Catherine Bero, ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 40.
 - 8 Blume, "In Place of Writing," 40.
 - 9 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 118.
 - 10 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 157.
 - 11 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 118.
 - 12 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 184.
 - 13 Kathryn M. Moyer, "Going Back to the Blanket: New Outlooks on Art Instruction at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," in this volume: 30-34.
 - 14 A third artist, Clark Mills, was sent to Fort Marion by the Smithsonian Institute to make plaster casts of all the Indian prisoners. These portrait busts were visible around the fort.
 - 15 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 134.
 - 16 Elaine Goodale Eastman, Pratt, *the Red Man's Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 56. On Champney, see Moyer, "Going Back to the Blanket," 32-39, and Stephanie Stockbridge, "James Wells Champney, *Sunset Landscape*," *Images of Transience: Nature and Culture in Art* (Carlisle, Penn.: The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 2003): 32-33.
 - 17 Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, xv.
 - 18 Marilee Jantzer-White, "Narrative and Landscape in the Drawings of Etahdleuh Doanmoe," *Plains Indian Drawings 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History*, Janet Catherine Berlo, ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 47.
 - 19 Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, xi.
 - 20 Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, 3.
 - 21 Edwin L. Wade and Jacki Thompson Rand, "The Subtle Art of Resistance: Encounter and Accommodation in the Art of Fort Marion," *Plains Indian Drawings 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History*, Janet Catherine Berlo, ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 45.
 - 22 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 157.
 - 23 Moira F. Harris, *Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art from Fort Marion* (Saint Paul, Minn.: Pogo Press, Inc., 1989). Presently, ledger books are seldom in the original bound condition. Because they gained such public interest at Fort Marion, pages of the books were taken apart and sold separately. Originally, the books were sold for \$2.00 each. Upon noticing the popularity of such books, Pratt encouraged many of the Fort Marion Indians to continue producing ledger drawings.

John Nicholas Choate and the Production of Photography at the Carlisle Indian School

Laura Turner

Much of the evidence that survives from the Carlisle Indian School exists in photographic form, especially those made by John Nicholas Choate, the principal photographer for the school from its opening in 1879 until his death in 1902. Choate appears to have been the only photographer working with the school during this time; at least there is no record of any other photographer who documented the school in the late 1800s. The reason for his exclusive relations with the school is not certain. Perhaps he was the only photographer in the area or maybe he shared a special bond with Pratt that allowed him priority over the school's photography. Consequently, the name "Choate" is almost synonymous with the Carlisle Indian School. Through his photographs, Choate left an extensive record of visual documentation regarding the school.

Believed to have apprenticed with photographer Edson McKillip, his brother-in-law, Choate arrived in Carlisle in 1875 and took over the studio of Charles Lochman at 21 West Main (now High) Street. In addition to making studio portraits, Choate operated a horse-drawn studio that he used when photographing local countryside scenes.¹ Choate started photographing the Indian School in 1879, shortly after its opening. Almost every student at the school was photographed at their arrival, and frequently throughout their student career. Students became so accustomed to being photographed that it is said when a girl was sweeping a teacher's room one day, she saw a picture of a frog on the wall and exclaimed, "Oh! Did the frog get his picture taken too?"² Students were photographed in native clothes, military uniforms, and in reformed white Christian attire. Some of these photographs were designed as "before" and "after" sets which emphasized the physical transformation of the student's appearance at the school.³ From his studio on Main Street, Choate also produced stereographic views, portraits of visiting chiefs, staff, students with families, school buildings, and scenes of everyday school activities. By 1881, Choate offered for sale nearly one hundred different photographic cards of the school.⁴

When Choate was working in Carlisle, photography was experiencing a period of innovation and development while growing enormously popular. Since its invention in the 1820s, the making of photographic images involved a complex and laboring process with limited application. However, with the creation of the wet-glass negative in the 1840s, one could produce a limitless number of prints by exposing the negative image onto paper that was made light-sensitive through a coating, or emulsion, of sodium chloride.⁵ This was the beginning

of the modern photographic print. The process was further refined in the 1840s when French photographer Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrard invented albumen paper. This new innovation provided a deeper and bolder image than the previously used salted paper process. For albumen paper, egg whites were beaten with a 25 percent salt solution, which was allowed to settle overnight. The next morning, paper was placed in a tray of the solution for a minute and hung to dry. The egg whites acted as a binder to close pores on the paper and retain light-sensitive salts. When dry, the finished paper was ready to be placed under a glass negative, exposed to light, and developed.⁶ This new process provided sharper contrast and increased the capacity to reproduce prints in fine detail. The albumen process was enormously popular, and soon photographers could purchase boxes of commercially manufactured albumen paper. By 1855, the albumen printing process had been adopted by most photographers, and it was the one Choate was using when he came to Carlisle.

Such advancements in photographic technology created the opportunity to make stunningly accurate and inexpensive portraits for the middle class. Previously, painted portraiture had been reserved for the wealthy upper class, but photography made it possible for those of lesser financial standing to commission their own portrait as well. As Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves have shown, "The middle class wanted to affirm their respectability, their material success, their distinctive values concerning marriage and the family, and saw in photography a means of displaying these assets."⁷ Also, the notion of preserving a person's image as a type of keepsake was extremely appealing, "especially in a period when distance and death separated people far more frequently than they do now."⁸ However, much of the success of photography in the nineteenth century is due to the public's obsession with seeing the previously unseen. Celebrities, exotic lands and peoples, and international events that used to be out of reach for the middle classes could now be purchased for a few cents. The celebrity and souvenir photograph market was extremely successful and accelerated the photography craze of the nineteenth century, setting the stage for Choate's manufacture and marketing of portraits and scenes from the Carlisle Indian School.⁹

Choate sold photographs of the Carlisle Indian School in series of cabinet cards, boudoir cards, and stereographs. These were appealing to the public because of their convenient format and reasonable price. Cabinet and boudoir cards were larger versions of *carte-de-visites*, the first in a series of card formats

designed for the mass production and distribution. Carte-de-visites were wildly popular in the late 1850s, but by the 1860s there was a call for a larger portrait format. In response to this demand, Windsor & Bridge, a British photography company, introduced the cabinet card, a 4 x 5 inch print attached to a 4 x 6 inch cardboard mount. Expanding on the carte-de-visite format, the cabinet cards were created with a full plate camera with two lenses that would produce two images side-by-side on each 6 x 8 inch wet-glass negative. The cards were meant to be prominently displayed in a drawing room cabinet, which inspired their name. The larger glass negative could easily be retouched and photographers took advantage of the size of the prints by experimenting with elaborate backgrounds and sets. Boudoir cards were a larger variation of the cabinet card, measuring 8 x 5 inches.¹⁰ Choate's cabinet cards sold for an affordable 20 cents each or \$2.00 a dozen, while boudoir cards were offered for 25 cents each or \$2.50 per dozen.

Choate also produced stereographs of the Carlisle Indian School around the same time as his cabinet and boudoir cards. A stereograph was made with a special camera fitted with two lenses that produced a pair of photographs. When viewed together through a stereoscope the image appeared three-dimensional (fig. 26; cat. 12, 44). The first hand-held version of the stereoscope was invented in 1859 by Bostonian medical doctor, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who improved on a larger, cumbersome box version that had been popular in Europe. Since Holmes did not apply for a patent, soon stereographs were produced by various companies in America.¹¹ It is apparent that Choate wished to have a piece of this booming souvenir photography market in the production and sale of his Indian School stereographs.

The cabinet cards, boudoir cards, and stereographs served many purposes for Choate and for the Carlisle Indian School. As superintendent and founder of the school, Richard Pratt inserted them in his correspondences. He sent photographs to parents to reassure them of their child's safety and health. He sent them to reservation agents who helped him recruit new students, to potential benefactors, and to state, national and administrative officials who could help support his educational mission. Pratt would also carry cards with him on his travels in order to illustrate his views on Indian education.¹² Choate, on the other hand, saw their potential commercial value as collectible items. He advertised them widely in area newspapers, on broadsides, and on the backs of the cards themselves. The Indian School newspaper did not officially include advertisements, but there were frequent references to where photographs of the school and its students could be purchased.¹³ The April 1881 issue of *Big Morning Star* published a complete list of the 89 Indian School photographs with prices.¹⁴ A "Standing



Figure 6. J. N. Choate, *Our Boys and Girls At the Indian Training School, Carlisle, Pa.*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH-88 (cat. 41).

Offer" in the 1886 *Morning Star* offered "...new subscriber[s] ...a photographic group of our printer boys, size 8 x 5 inches. For TWO new subscribers we give two photographs, one showing a group of Pueblos as they arrived in wild dress and another of the same pupils three years after."¹⁵ In an 1889 *Indian Helper*, one card is specifically mentioned: "Richard Doanmore's picture is for sale. A cabinet size for twenty cents (cat. 35). Richard is a little Kiowa boy born at the school two years ago—Etahdleuh's son."¹⁶ Through these various references in the Carlisle Indian School's publications, Choate advertised his photographs and promoted their collectibility.

Choate also made composite photographs presenting the students and visiting chiefs. For *Our Boys and Girls* (fig. 6; cat. 41), Choate assembled a collage of student portraits onto one

collectible card. One can find the faces from this composite in other Choate-produced photographs. In a card showing four Pueblo children from Zuni (cat. 36), Taylor Ealy's face (lower right) appears as no. 33 in *Our Boys and Girls*, while Mary Ealy's face (upper right) appears as no. 21 and Jennie's portrait appears as no. 15 in the same composite card. This illustrates how Choate used the portraits of students from previous prints and inserted them into a composite image. Choate re-touched some of the images in pencil or ink and then re-photographed the composite image. The result is a portrait of many students in native and reformed dress. The inscription of the fond phrase "Our Boys and Girls" on the back of the card prompts the viewer to assume a responsibility for and connection to the Indian School students pictured, making the card a sentimental novelty. It is odd, however, that the students' portraits in *Our*

Boys and Girls are not all set to the same scale, with some larger than others, unlike another one of Choate's composite photographs, such as *Noted Indian Chiefs* (fig. 25; cat. 26). For this composite, Choate used portraits of chiefs who visited the school and combined them in a collage format similar to *Our Boys and Girls*. For example, in *Noted Indian Chiefs*, Ouray (fig. 7; cat. 25) appears as no. 19 in the composite card.¹⁷

Choate used the backs of the cards to promote his studio. The cards were often stamped with an advertisement motif, which varied according to when they were produced. Some read: "Choate, Photographer and Dealer in Chromos, Mouldings, Frames, Stereoscopes and LIFE-SIZE CRAYONS, COPYING AND ENLARGING A SPECIALTY, Photographs on Indian School for Sale." This phrase appears on the backs of various cards, including: *Wounded Yellow Robe*, *Henry Standing*

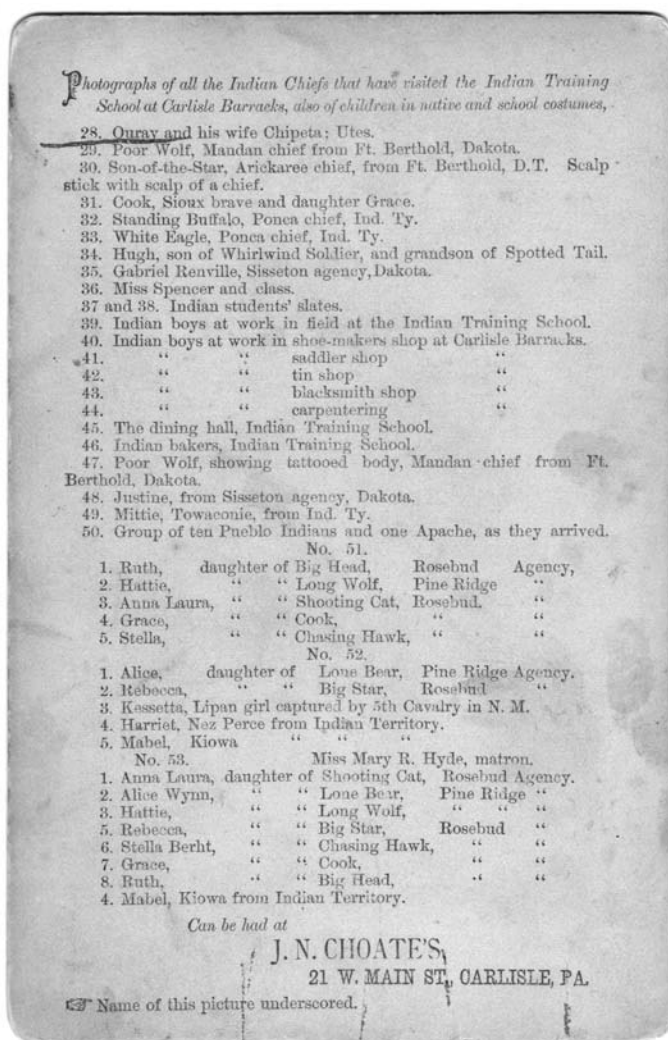


Figure 7. J. N. Coate, *Ouray and His Wife Chipeta*, Utes, n.d., albumen print mounted on card (front, back), Waidner-Spahr Library, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 12 (cat. 25).

Bear, and Timber Yellow Robe, Upon Their Arrival in Carlisle (cat. 8); *Standing Bear, Luther Standing Bear, Red Fish* (cat. 11); *'A Happy Group' Girls' Quarters, Carlisle Training School* (cat. 16); *After School* (cat. 33). These were probably a part of the same series, and are even numbered like a collectible set. The cards picturing *Joseph Cox, Sioux* (cat. 1), *Susie Martinez & Doll, Delaware* (cat. 2), *Lois Pretty Scalp, Crow* (cat. 3), *Rose White Thunder, Sioux* (cat. 6) are possibly also from the same set. All have a Choate stamp on the front bottom margin and each contains a handwritten number, name of the sitter, and their respective tribes on the back. For *Ouray and his Wife*, (fig. 7; cat. 25), a portrait of a visiting chief and his wife, Choate has listed the other photographs included in a series on the back of the card, so the collector can determine which cards are needed to complete a set. The title and number of *Ouray and his Wife* are underscored on the back of the card with the reminder "Can Be Had at J. N. CHOATE'S, 21 W. MAIN ST. CARLISLE, PA." printed across the bottom so that a collector will know where the rest of the series can be purchased. The backs of some cards from 1898 to 1902, such as the portrait of Pratt (fig. 8; cat. 30), were more ornately decorated with an easel motif, portraying Choate's photography as an art form.

Not only did Choate photograph the Carlisle Indian School, he also participated in its Outing System by employing John Leslie as a student apprentice. Leslie, a Puyallup Indian, worked with Choate from 1894 to 1896. In the June 1, 1894 issue of *The Indian Helper* he is described as "Mr. Choate's right hand Indian man."¹⁸ His photographs could be purchased at the school or by mail through the Indian School newsletters. In 1895, Leslie produced a souvenir booklet of the school and most of the sixty-one photo views were taken by him. *The Indian Helper* promoted this booklet in December 1894 with the notice, "Remember this is Indian work and the first sent out from the Carlisle school."¹⁹ Leslie also exhibited a collection of his photographs at the Atlanta International Exposition in 1895. After his graduation in 1896, Leslie returned to his home in Tacoma, Washington where he continued to practice photography. *The Indian Helper* reported that he was "doing well in the photography business. In three weeks, he took in \$40.00."²⁰

After Choate's death in 1902, a number of different photographers continued his work at the school. John Hiram Andrews worked in Carlisle from 1895 to 1929, and spent the early years of his career as Choate's apprentice. After his predecessor's death, Andrews photographed the Carlisle Indian School until approximately 1918. Frances Benjamin Johnston, a woman photographer interested in documenting famous educational institutions including Hampton, West Point, Tuskegee, and Carlisle, photographed the Carlisle Indian School class-

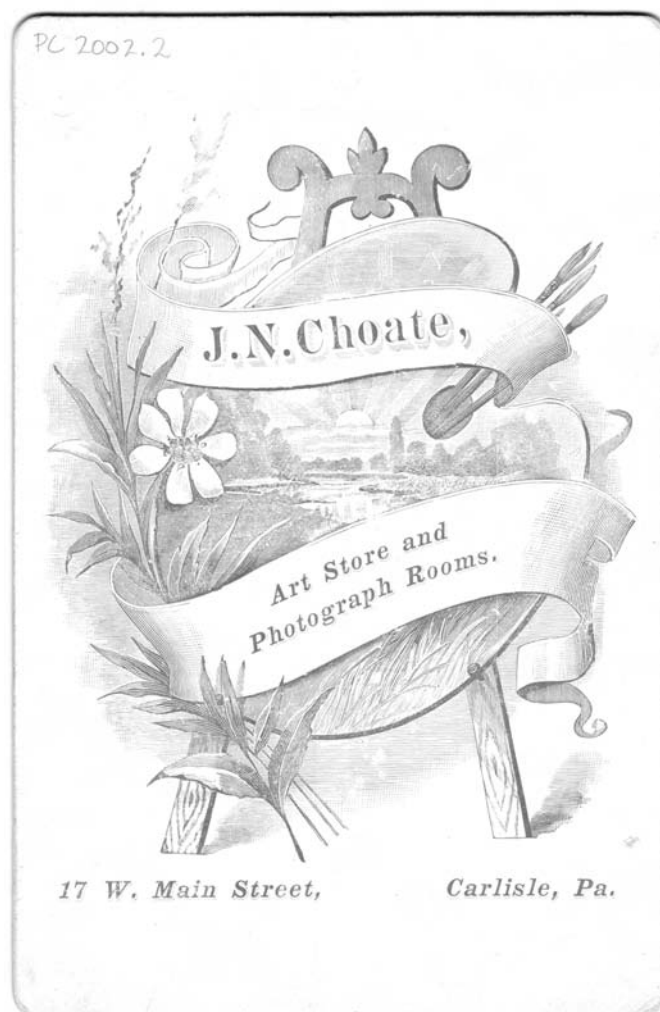


Figure 8. J. N. Choate, Cabinet card back, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, n.d., Waidner-Spahr Library, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 1 (cat. 30).

rooms during a visit in 1901 (cat. 46, 47).²¹ Albert Rogers, who was based in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania during Choate's career, moved to Carlisle in the early twentieth century where, evidently, he took over Choate's old shop on Main Street, as his advertisements refer to "Rogers' Photo Studio, formerly Choate's."²² Rogers photographed the Indian School from 1904 until 1907. Albert Allen Line also photographed the school from 1902 to 1918. After learning photography from Lochman at the age of nineteen, Line reissued some of Choate's images under his own name as well as photographing groups, buildings, class scenes (cat. 49), football teams, and the Outing System. Several of these prints even appeared on postcards. Maynard Hoover purchased Andrew's studio in 1910, where he worked as an assistant in 1895. Hoover photographed the Carlisle Indian School during its later years and its return to

military operations in 1918. During the school's last decade, the Athletic Association erected the Leupp Art Studio on campus where students could practice photography. The studio enabled students to learn theory as well as the technical practice of portrait and outdoor photography. A photography gallery was constructed in conjunction with the studio.²³

Today, Choate is the most recognized photographer associated with the Carlisle Indian School. During his career in

Carlisle, he provided extensive photographic documentation of the school, from "before" and "after" portraits of the students to stereographic views of the campus. Not only did Choate leave a visual record of life at the Carlisle Indian School, but his production and sale of Indian School photographs provide insight into the general photographic history, and especially the souvenir photograph market of the late nineteenth century.

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- 1 Richard L. Tritt, "John Nicholas Choate: A Cumberland County Photographer," *Cumberland County History* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 78.
 - 2 *The School News* 1, no. 10 (March 1881).
 - 3 See the essay in this catalogue by Molly Fraust, "Visual Propaganda at the Carlisle Indian School," in this catalogue: 19-23.
 - 4 *Eadle Keatah Tob* 1, no. 10 (April 1881).
 - 5 James M. Reilly, *Care and Identification of Nineteenth Century Prints* (Rochester, NY: Eastman Kodak Company, 1986), 1-4.
 - 6 James M. Reilly, *The Albumen and Salted Paper Book: The History and Practice of Photographic Printing, 1840-1895* (Rochester, NY: Light Impressions Corporation, 1980), 28.
 - 7 Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photographs* (Burlington: Lund Humphries, 2001), 10.
 - 8 Hamilton and Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned*, 10.
 - 9 See the essay in this catalogue by Antonia Valdes-Dapena, "Marketing the Exotic: Creating the Image of the 'Real' Indian," in this volume: 35-41.
 - 10 Henry O. Mace, *Collector's Guide to Early Photographs* (Radnor, Penn.: Wallace-Homestead Book Company, 1990), 141-144, 199.
 - 11 William C. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Gettysburg, Penn.: William C. Darrah, 1977), 2-3.
 - 12 Lonna M. Malsheimer, "'Imitation White Man': Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School," *Studies in Visual Communication* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1985): 62-63.
 - 13 Malsheimer, "Imitation White Man," 62-63.
 - 14 Tritt, "John Nicholas Choate," 80.
 - 15 Malsheimer, "Imitation White Man," 65.
 - 16 *The Indian Helper* 4, no. 21 (June 11, 1889): 21; on Etahdleuh, see Kathleen McWeeny, "A Kiowa's Odyssey: Etahdleuh Doanmoe's Sketches from Fort Marion," in the volume: 9-13.
 - 17 Valdes-Dapena, "Marketing the Exotic," 35-41.
 - 18 Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918* (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2000), 116.
 - 19 *The Indian Helper* 10, no. 12 (December 14, 1894).
 - 20 Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 117.
 - 21 Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 118.
 - 22 Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 117.
 - 23 Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 120.

Visual Propaganda at the Carlisle Indian School

Molly Fraust

A photograph is a meeting place where the interests of the photographer, the photographed, the viewer and those who are using the photographs are often contradictory. These contradictions both hide and increase the natural ambiguity of the photographic image.¹

Of all the artifacts associated with the Carlisle Indian School, the photographs made in conjunction with the school are among the most widely distributed and best known. The photographs made from 1879 to 1902, under Superintendent Richard Henry Pratt's leadership, served two main functions: to document the happenings of the school and to promulgate Pratt's approach to "civilizing" the Indian students. Pratt used photography as an effective means to promote the success of his educational methods and the continued progress of the Indians. For Pratt, photography was a powerful tool of propaganda that could be used to effectively demonstrate his civilizing mission. In the context of this essay, I understand propaganda to denote any systematic, widespread promotion of ideas or practices to benefit one's cause. Within this definition the following essay will consider Pratt's use of photography as a powerful means for garnering support for the Carlisle Indian School and promoting his cause.

Photography, with its basis in science, was regarded in the late nineteenth century as a faithful means to objectively record the visual world. Because photographs were regarded as a credible medium and believed to be a reliable source of visual information, viewers readily accepted them as truth. Pratt, taking full advantage of the newest technologies and innovations, understood how photography could be used to document and illustrate the transformations being made at the Indian school. With the introduction of glass negatives and the albumen print process, photographers could produce sharp, high quality, inexpensive images in large numbers.² Most of the photographers who worked with Pratt used this process, which explains why nearly all the photographs made for Pratt were of this type.³

Pratt first used photography as propaganda prior to his arrival at Carlisle, when he was in charge of the Indians detained at Fort Marion, in St. Augustine, Florida.⁴ Photographs of the Indians were circulated to various members of the community who were concerned about the presence of the Indians at the fort. By presenting photographs taken of the Indians upon their arrival with photographs taken months later, Pratt illustrated the degree of transformation and assuaged the fears of the concerned community.

Pratt's use of "before" and "after" photographs was so effective that *Harper's Weekly* published a feature article on the Indians⁵ and the Smithsonian Institute commissioned plaster casts of the Indians' faces, to document their appearance in a three dimensional media.⁶ Genevieve Bell wrote of the situation at Fort Marion, "It was the perfect set-up: Indians in small numbers, in a containable place, at a safe distance, and looking progressively less savage with every passing day."⁷ In 1878, Pratt continued and refined his use of "before" and "after" photographs when he brought a number of Indian students from Fort Marion to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institution.⁸ Working with Samuel Armstrong, president of the school, the two commissioned "before" and "after" images of the students to demonstrate the positive effect of the school. "Armstrong reasoned that such photographs might come in handy as a means of defusing criticism about the school's effectiveness," while serving as legitimate evidence of positive change. Pratt carried this idea with him to the Carlisle Indian School.⁹ Whether or not Armstrong and Pratt first thought of using photography in this way, "before" and "after" images that showed improvement would have been familiar to both men through commercial advertising, which had already employed it to promote products such as soaps and patent medicines.¹⁰

At the Carlisle Indian School, Pratt had "before" photographs made of the students to show the Indians as savage and unsophisticated, making the effects of the "after" images that much more dramatic. Through superficial changes in their physical appearance, Pratt subtly convinces the viewer that the Indian students have changed mentally as well, which is the key to the success of these images. Also, by orchestrating the compositions of the photos, Pratt and Choate fashion a particular atmosphere in each image that enhances the apparent change and influences the way a viewer perceives the images.

Portrait photography is a particularly influential medium because portraits contain visual codes that subtly indicate social status and identity.¹¹ In portraiture, the positioning of the body reflects a socially constructed meaning in relation to public status and self-confidence, which is why posture and stance are particularly important in these photographs.¹² Consider the following "before" and "after" photos. The first (fig. 9; cat. 9) shows three young boys in traditional Native American dress, while its counterpart (fig. 10; cat. 10) shows the same three boys, this time dressed in military uniforms. The "before" image suggests that the boys are out of their element; they are awkward and uncomfortable. The students all appear rather



Figure 9. J. N. Choate, *Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe; Upon their Arrival in Carlisle*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 6 (cat. 9).

frightened and stern, out of place in the scene. Their facial expressions suggest uneasiness, as though they are separated from the familiar. Two of the boys sit on the floor, lowering their status, while the third and smallest of the trio stands in the center of the image, overshadowed by his clothes.

In the “after” image, all three boys appear to have more confidence, or are trying to look as though they do. Their posture is erect and they are positioned in a much more formal pose, making it evident that the three boys have already begun to assume the appearance of sophistication. In addition to the noticeable change in posture, the positioning of their hands is relevant as well. In the “before” photograph, the hands give no



Figure 10. J. N. Choate, *Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe; 6 Months after Entrance to School*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 7 (cat. 10).

visual clues as to the life they represent; there are no signs of identity. They suggest little about the personalities of the individuals photographed, as they lay lifelessly in their respective laps. In the “after” image, the placement of the hands is deliberate. Each hand has been placed in specific gestures to show reform and sophistication. They are sturdily resting on a shoulder, knee, or thigh with a dutiful gesture and newly acquired confidence. This calculated arrangement of the hands is done subtly, yet its implications are clear. The poses and positions conform to established Western portrait conventions that viewers would have been familiar with, and interpret as symbols of refinement.

All three boys have received haircuts, which is further complemented by their military uniforms. Additionally, two of the boys are sitting upright in chairs, which make them appear elevated and dignified. The absence of chairs in the “before” photograph must have been a conscious decision. Rather than having them sit on chairs, Pratt shapes the way the viewers see them by consciously removing the trappings of civilization from the image. Also, the painted background in the “after” suggests the interior room of a Victorian home and further enhances the appearance of civilization and manners.

In another set of images, the same “before” and “after” technique exhibits similar contrasts. The photographs represent Pueblo Indians Sheldon Jackson, Harvey Townsend, and John Shields (cat. 39, 40). With a simple change of costume and venue, they “document” a complete transformation from what Pratt referred to as “blanket Indians” to “civilized men.” The “before” image shows the three Indian boys robbed of their dignity, looking uncomfortable even in their own clothing. Although two of the boys sit on chairs, their posture, gesture, and expression all show discomfort with their surroundings. The students in the “after” photograph express a sense of dignity and refinement, as though something more than their hair and dress have changed.

A third set of “before” and “after” photographs shows further evidence of Pratt’s hand in portraying the Indians (fig. 11, cat. 37; fig. 12, cat. 38). This pair of photographs, showing again three Pueblo Indians, represents a greater difference between the “before and after” images. In the “before” photo, Mary Perry, John Chaves, and Bennie Thomas appear in front of a background that suggests a natural environment, while the “after” photograph portrays them in front of a background that suggests the interior of a Victorian room, which imparts the appearance of civilization and manners. The “before” photograph places them in a setting where the floor is covered with hay, and though they are sitting, there is no indication that they are seated on chairs. In contrast, the “after” photograph represents the students in a formal stance, with one seated on a chair. This change in positioning and setting, in conjunction with their haircuts and military uniforms, heightens the drama of their apparent transformation. In this way, the photographs portray the exact results Pratt was hoping to achieve: assimilation of the Indians into the white man’s ways. Having pairs of photos like this on hand when meeting with important financiers and government officials who were directly responsible for the federal funds to run the school would certainly work to Pratt’s benefit.

While the technique and style of photographs made for the Carlisle Indian School were not unusual for their time, Pratt appears to have used them in an innovative way. By using them

as scientific evidence to promote and prove the efficacy of his educational methods, he tapped into the power of the photographic image. As later writers on photography recognized, “pictures themselves are very rarely propaganda. It is the use that is made of the pictures that makes them propaganda.”¹³ Since Pratt was largely responsible for the reproduction and distribution of the images for the Indian School, he was equally responsible for their content as well. In this light, it is worth noting Allen Sekula’s comments:

Photography is not an independent or autonomous language system, but depends on larger discursive conditions, invariably including those established by the system of verbal written language. Photographic meaning is always a hybrid construction, the outcome of interplay of iconic, graphic and narrative conventions. The photograph is invariably accompanied by and situated within an overt or covert text.¹⁴

In the images produced at the Carlisle Indian School there is certainly evidence of an overt, constructed meaning. They are not objective results of a scientific experiment, they are evidence that has been manufactured to support a foregone conclusion. While the photographs capture the actual moment, they have been designed to suggest specific ideas about Indians. They do not capture the Indians solely for the purpose of documentation; they subtly reinforce Pratt’s agenda.

Modern photographic theory addresses many of the ideas that Pratt was using well before they became the object of scholarly inquiry. David Levi Strauss has noted: “The medium of photography has had to struggle with the question of ‘objectivity’ since Niépce and Daguerre first uncovered the process that ‘gives nature the power to reproduce herself.’”¹⁵ Strauss also considers the many decisions a photographer makes when constructing an image and how such decisions greatly influence the end result of the photograph and its “deceptive illusion of objectivity.”¹⁶ The power and the danger of photography is perhaps best characterized by John Berger, who writes:

The way photography is used today both derives from and confirms the suppression of the social function of subjectivity. Photographs, it is said, tell the truth. From this simplification, which reduces the truth to the instantaneous, it follows that what a photograph tells about a door or a volcano belongs to the same order of truth as what it tells about a man weeping or a woman’s body....If no theoretical distinction has been made between the photograph as scientific evidence and the photograph as a means



Figure 11. J. N. Choate, *Mary Perry, John Chaves, Bennie Thomas—Pueblo Indians from Laguna, N.M.*, 1879-1880, albumen print mounted on card, courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 72 (cat. 37).

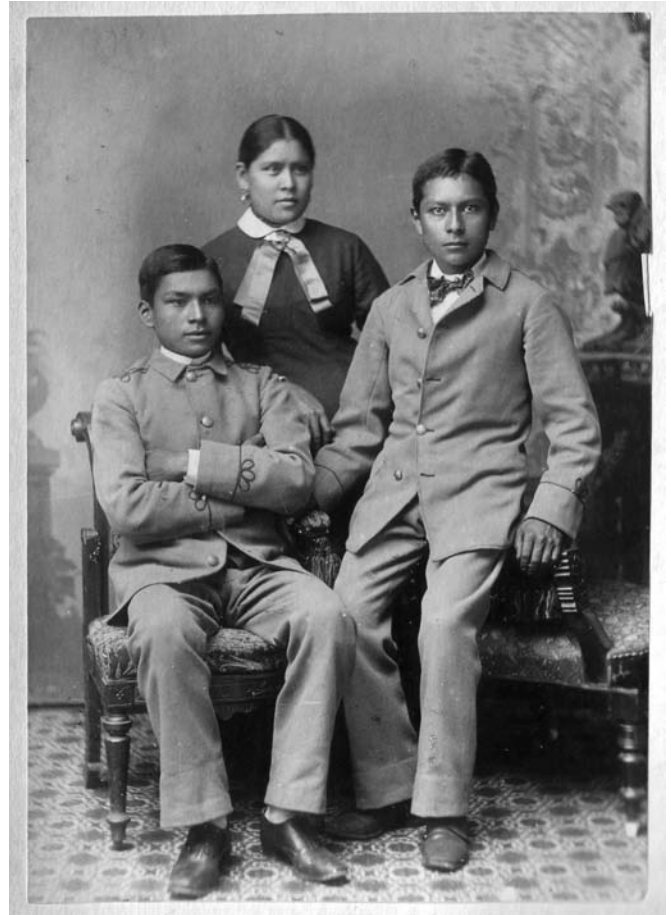


Figure 12. J. N. Choate, *Mary Perry, John Chaves, Bennie Thomas—Pueblos*, n.d., albumen print mounted on album page, courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, PA-CH1-30A (cat. 38).

of communication, this has been not so much an oversight as a proposal.¹⁷

Looking at the many images produced in conjunction with the Carlisle Indian School, the ease with which one is able to control the context of the photographic image is quite apparent. Berger continues:

A photograph is a meeting place where the interests of the photographer, the photographed, the viewer and those who are using the photographs are often contradictory. These contradictions both hide and increase the natural ambiguity of the photographic image.¹⁸

Pratt's use of photographs as propaganda was a technique he frequently utilized when it came to gaining support. In his

book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, he devotes an entire chapter to propaganda and what resources he utilized in order to take full advantage of every opportunity presented to him for the school. Pratt felt strongly that his Indian students needed the same advantages white students had in order to thrive, which is why he believed so strongly in their assimilation. Pratt said that it was "irrational to keep them reserved in their aboriginal environment, away from and outside our civilization, and expect success promoting their Americanization."¹⁹ Despite mounting opposition, Pratt firmly believed in illustrating the progress of his Indians by demonstrating their abilities. All these "success stories" fell under the chapter he titled "Propaganda," as they served not only his purposes, but also provided examples of why his system worked. In his writings on propaganda, he makes numerous references in letters to various benefactors of enclosed photographs, which he used to promote the success of the school. Though the specific images he used cannot be ascer-

tained, one might assume that the images were similar to those he was said to carry around with him. They included various “before” and “after” photographs of students, as well as images of daily life on campus, and scenes of Indian students assimilating into white culture—all to show the positive changes made by these so-called “savages.” In one letter to T. C. Pound, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Pratt writes,

I send you today a few photographs of the Indian youth here. You will note that they came mostly as blanket Indians. A very large proportion of them had never been inside of a schoolroom. I am gratified to report that they have yielded gracefully to discipline and that our school rooms, in good order, eagerness to learn, actual progress, etc., are, to our minds, quite up to the average of those of our own race. Isolated as these Indian youth are from the savage surroundings of their homes, they lose their tenacity to savage life, which is so much of an obstacle to Agency efforts, and give themselves up to learning all they can in the time they expect to remain here.²⁰

In another letter of similar content addressed to President Hayes, Pratt mentions photographs of the buildings on the

Carlisle campus and several photographs of Sioux Indian children that were included with an earlier letter.²¹ His understanding of the power of photographic evidence shows his mastery of the art of communication while demonstrating the need for proof in order to support his mission. By including the photographs of the Indians hard at work during their transformation, Pratt was able to show immediate and satisfactory results to those who may have doubted his cause.

Pratt’s photographs also appeared in the Indian School’s publications *The Red Man* and *The Indian Helper*. These volumes were “especially designed for informing the general public as well as the administrative, legislative, and agency authorities.”²² Additionally, they were all most likely sent to congressional members, Indian Agencies, Pennsylvania officials, and distinguished newspapers. Through such wide circulation, Pratt’s photographs perpetuated his assimilationist message.

Administrators of the Indian Boarding Schools took pride in creating “before” and “after” photographs that showed their power to suppress traditional Native American clothing and culture. Pratt, in particular, was deeply devoted to his mission and used propaganda to promote it. The photographs of students taken at the Carlisle Indian School help to endorse Pratt’s crusade to assimilate the Indians while revealing the power and influence of the photograph.

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- 1 John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 7.
 - 2 Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light: A History of Photography* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 78.
 - 3 Hirsch, *Seizing the Light*, 78. For Choate’s photography at the Carlisle Indian School, see Laura Turner, “John Nicholas Choate and the Production of Photography at the Carlisle Indian School,” in this volume: 14-18.
 - 4 Lonna M. Malmshemer, “‘Imitation White Man’: Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School,” *Studies in Visual Communication* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1985): 54-74.
 - 5 Louis Morton, “How the Indians Came to Carlisle,” *Pennsylvania History* 29 (1962): 53-63.
 - 6 Genevieve Bell, “Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1978), 55.
 - 7 Bell, *Telling Stories*, 55.
 - 8 In the fall of 1877, several young Kiowa and Apache men were taken to the Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia, which had been established as a Freedman Bureau school in 1868. James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).
 - 9 Bell, *Telling Stories*, 56.
 - 10 Advertisers had used “before” and “after” images to demonstrate the efficacy of their products; however, such ads usually employed drawings to illustrate the point. By using photographs, Armstrong and Pratt tapped into the convincing power of this new media, which was much more persuasive because it appeared faithful and reliable.
 - 11 Graham Clarke, *The Portrait in Photography* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 74.
 - 12 Clarke, *The Portrait in Photography*, 78.
 - 13 Beaumont Newhall, *Photography: Essays & Images* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 269.
 - 14 As quoted in Hirsch, *Seizing the Light*.
 - 15 David Levi Strauss, *Between the Eyes: Essays on Photography and Politics* (New York: Aperture, 2003), 14.
 - 16 Strauss, *Between the Eyes*, 15.
 - 17 Berger and Mohr, *Another Way of Telling*, 100.
 - 18 Berger and Mohr, *Another Way of Telling*, 7.
 - 19 Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, Robert M. Utley, ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), 248.
 - 20 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 248.
 - 21 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 249.
 - 22 Beth Haller, “Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda? Publications of the Carlisle Indian School,” *American Journalism* 19 (2002): 65-68.

Ceremonial Imagery in Plains Indian Artifacts from The Trout Gallery's Permanent Collection

Stephanie Latini

This essay considers six ceremonial artifacts from The Trout Gallery's permanent collection: three pictographic cloths, two painted rawhide drums, and a painted rawhide shield. Although it is difficult to draw specific conclusions as to their origin, and in some instances, purpose as well, circumstantial evidence suggests that the objects came to The Trout Gallery from the Carlisle Indian School directly or by way of a third party. Unfortunately, records regarding their transfer to the college and ultimately to The Trout Gallery do not survive.

Despite poor documentation, a photograph taken of a classroom at the Carlisle Indian School provides a suggestive point of inquiry (fig. 13; cat. 46). In this photo, the back of the classroom displays a variety of native artifacts, including several Plains Indian garments. While it is known that students were required to exchange their clothes for a military uniform, it is not entirely clear what happened to the students' native materials. As this photo suggests, in perhaps some instances, the items were kept at the school. As for the six artifacts in question, it is unclear whether the objects were made at the school or brought with the children from the reservation. At some Indian boarding schools, it is known that each student had a trunk in which they were permitted to keep some personal items. One Sioux girl, who attended boarding school in the early 1920s explains, "There was a place called the trunk room. That's where we kept our steamer trunks."¹ Based on the evidence provided, however, it is possible that the six artifacts discussed here and others in the collection were brought to the Carlisle Indian School, either by the students themselves, or visiting relatives. Possibly, they were meant as gifts, to the students, to Richard Henry Pratt, the superintendent, or to the school itself. It is known that upon arrival, the students were forced to surrender their Indian way of life. This involved the cutting of their hair and the replacement of Indian dress with military uniforms. Such articles could have been included in this surrender. It is known that at some boarding schools, some of the students' original belongings ended up in the possession of the school's superintendent.² In this context, it is important to note that Pratt amassed a collection of Indian artifacts, many of which passed through the family's descendants to the Cumberland County Historical Society.³

On the other hand, some of the objects—namely, the painted cloths—could have been created at the school, since these works bear a resemblance to ledger drawings, which we know Pratt encouraged students to make. However, ceremonial objects with obvious native references—like the drums and



Figure 13. Frances B. Johnston, *School Room, 9th Grade, 1901*, vintage gelatin silver print mounted on album card, courtesy Cumberland County Historical Society, JO-2-9 (cat. 46).

shield—were certainly not made at the school under Pratt, since such native art-making techniques were not encouraged during his tenure.⁴ If the drums and shield were made before Pratt's departure, then probably they were brought to Carlisle. There is also the possibility that the artifacts were created after Pratt's dismissal, when Angel De Cora, an art instructor at the Carlisle Indian School, encouraged students to revive and to identify with their native artistic traditions.⁵ Although a documented connection to the Carlisle Indian School cannot be made for these objects, their arrival at Dickinson College at mid-century, their similarity with artifacts owned by Pratt, and their traditional association with the Carlisle Indian School suggest that such a connection is likely.

Cloth Painted with a Sun Dance Ceremony Scene

This large cotton cloth measuring 66 x 35 inches is painted with commercial dyes (fig. 14; cat. 52).⁶ The image has a circular composition, which occupies the center of the rectangular cloth. The main focus of the scene concentrates on a vertical pole, which divides the circle into two equal halves. Figures in the circle appear to take part in a ceremony and direct their attention towards the central pole. A group of females occupy the bottom left-hand corner, just inside the circle. Both male and female spectators appear at the entrance to the circle. To

the right of this group is a horse-drawn wagon driven by a white man.⁷ A grouping of tipis fills each corner of the cloth.

The most important identifying features in the composition are two figures tethered to the central pole by lines that connect to their chests. This detail clearly identifies the activity as a Sun Dance ceremony.⁸ The ceremony was a celebration of prayer, sacrifice, passage into adulthood, and thanksgiving. In 1910, reservation agent James McLaughlin recorded such a ceremony:

...The Sun dance was the most baneful of the old-time practices of the Sioux people...It was held for the purpose of propitiating by personal sacrifice the Great Spirit, and placating the pernicious spirits of the earth. It was an obligation purely, the persons taking part desiring to show that they were willing to submit to personal suffering in the hope that the community would be blessed in the harvest, or in any undertaking in which they were about to engage.⁹

This ceremony was both a celebration and a rite of passage from boy to man, which insured the stability of Plains tribes. The Sun Dance lasted several days and climaxed in a piercing ceremony, which involved the Sun Dance pole. Typically, the pole was about twelve inches in diameter and twenty feet in length. It was referred to as the Sacred Tree. The pole was placed in the center of a circle, which most likely represented the sun. At each of the four compass points, flags were placed to determine the limitations of the circle. To the west of the tree was an altar consisting of a pipe rack and a buffalo skull. Tipis placed around the circle were designated as preparation tipis. Dancers participating in the ceremonies often carried a pipe, which they presented to the Medicine Man, who was keeper of the pipes. The Sun Dance ceremony reached its climax with the piercing ritual, during which a knife was thrust under and back out of the skin of a young warrior's chest, to form a pair of parallel slits. A stick or eagle claw was then pushed through two slits in the skin and attached to a rope that was tied to the pole. During the ceremony the warrior worked his body in a direction away from the pole until the tether ripped through the skin. Small pieces of the skin were cut from the warrior's body and offered in sacrifice at the altar.¹⁰

By comparing this description of the Sun Dance ceremony with the painted cloth, one can identify a number of common features. Apart from the pole, ceremonial dancers, and the tipis, which one finds easily in the composition, one also identifies warriors who appear tethered to the pole. Their actions clearly represent the events of the piercing ceremony. Within

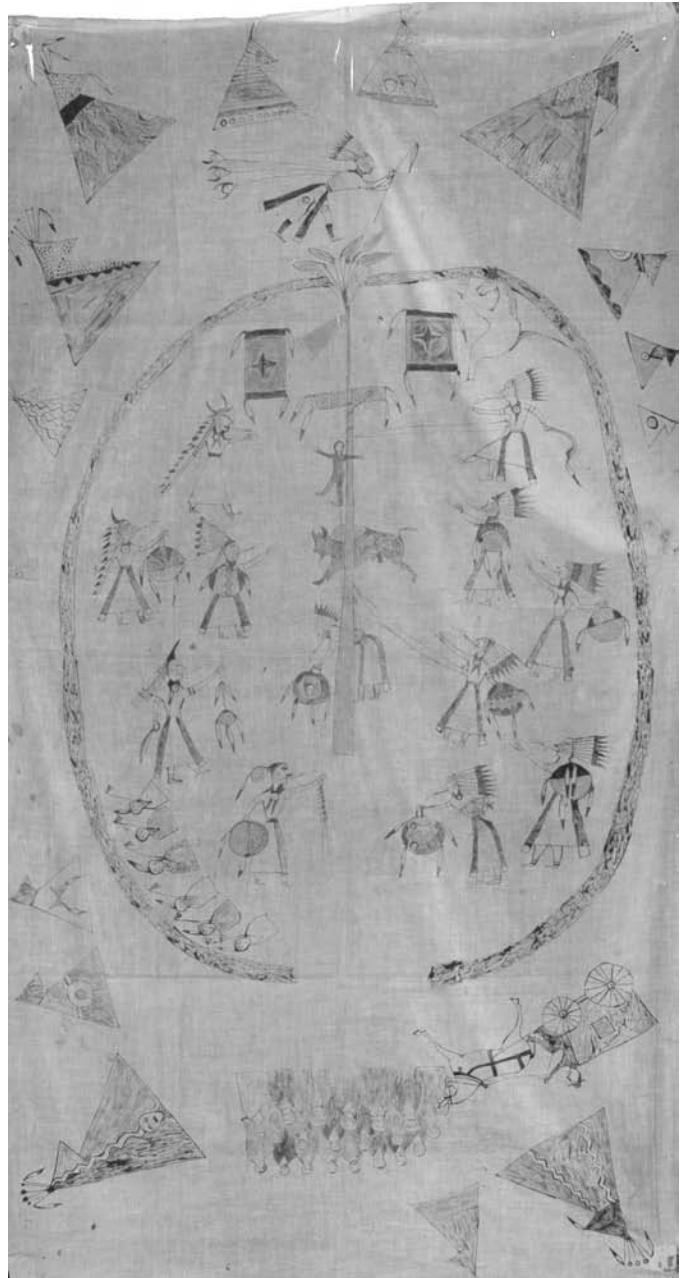


Figure 14. Plains Indian Style, *Cloth Painted with a Sun Dance Ceremony Scene*, n.d., cotton cloth and commercial dyes, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.13 (cat. 52).

the circle and around the central pole one also finds pipe-wielding dancers and figures carrying circular shields decorated with buffalo heads.

Overall, the composition is symmetrical left to right and top to bottom. The forms are arranged parallel to the cloth and do not overlap, creating a two-dimensional effect. The painted

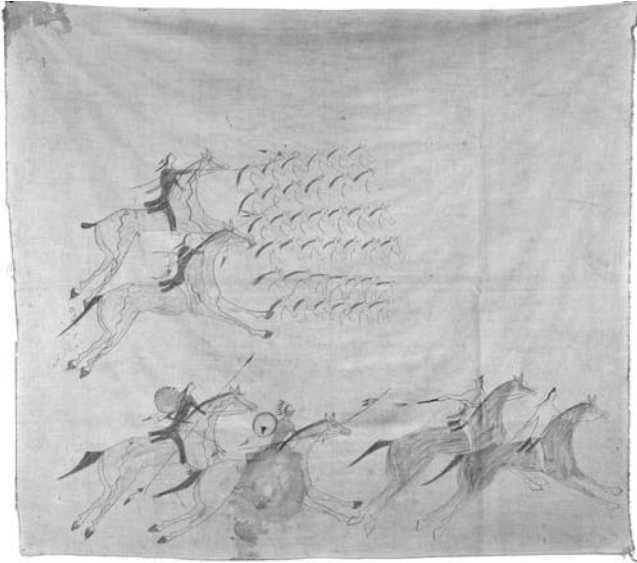


Figure 15. Plains Indian Style, *Cloth Painted with a Horse Capture Scene*, n.d., cotton cloth painted with commercial dyes, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.11 (cat. 53).

colors are solid and unblended, which enhance the composition's two-dimensional appearance. While the objects appear to be stacked from bottom to top, to suggest that those at the bottom are closer to the viewer than those at the top, the inverted placement of objects along the lower margin (tipis and wagon) indicates that the painter approached the surface from more than one viewpoint, perhaps even from the center out. Figures are drawn with head and body as two separate outlines. The arms are always attached and the legs are shown from the side. The faces, however, appear frontal with either blank or conventionalized features. There are no references to the surrounding background or setting (e.g. hills, trees). Although the cloth appears somewhat like a large ledger drawing since it is painted in a similar pictographic style (cf. cat. 50b, c), its overall concept is quite different. Ledger drawings often reflect the influence of Western painting style and follow a horizontal landscape format. The vertical orientation of this cloth and the inverted location of the tipis and wagon is closer to the native pictographic tradition as it appears on painted rawhides.

The association of this painted cloth to painted rawhide is relevant, since it is the most closely related traditional art. Skin painting was widely practiced by the Plains Indian warrior, who used it to depict war victories on hides as well as robes, tipis, and shields. The imagery served as a means of communication among members within the tribe as well as to members of different tribes.¹¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, however, inter-Indian warfare and hunting declined to minor activity and the

demand for rawhide painting diminished.¹² As early as the 1840s, the hide robe was considered out of style for the majority of Plains Indian tribes.¹³ Even though buffalo hides were still abundant, warriors began to use the readily available commercially made materials for illustrating their pictographic history. The ledger drawings are an example of this change.¹⁴ It would seem that the Sun Dance painted cloth was produced under such changing circumstances. Like many ledger drawings, it may be that this painted cloth was made for sale.

Although the style of the painting is clearly rooted among the Plains Indians, it is difficult to assign the painted cloth to a specific group because many of the Plains Indian tribes share a common artistic style.¹⁵ Moreover, most of these tribes practiced a version of the Sun Dance ceremony, so one cannot isolate the painting on the basis of religious practices. With no known comparable painting on cloth and no precise context for its use, the exact function of this work is unknown. While the subject of the painting is certain, its purpose remains unclear.

Cloth Painted with a Horse Capture Scene

This cotton painted cloth measures 39 x 35 inches (fig. 15; cat. 53). Although smaller and of lighter weight fabric than the Sun Dance cloth, it is painted with commercial dyes in a similar style. Horse capture was a popular scene among Plains artists. Horses were vital to the Plains Indians, particularly in hunting and warfare, and the facility in capturing horses was an important asset to the tribe.¹⁶ There appear to be two scenes in this composition: in the center-left part of the cloth, two riders direct a herd of horses to the right. In order to denote a crowd, the artist draws only the horses' heads, intended to stand for the whole animal. Below this scene and running across the lower third of the cloth are four riders.¹⁷ The two riders on the left appear to be pursuing a pair of riders on the right, one of which turns backward to fire his rifle at those pursuing him. The rider who appears second from the left carries a shield with a buffalo head motif. It is not clear if the riders and horses above and the four riders below are to be read together as one event or independently as separate events.

Unlike the Sun Dance scene mentioned earlier, the action moves from left to right and more closely resembles ledger drawing in the stylization of the figures and overall horizontal orientation. Also, unlike the Sun Dance image, the scene of horse capture was popular among Plains Indians and it appears frequently in rawhide painting.¹⁸ But like the Sun Dance painting, the circumstances regarding the production and function of this cloth remain unclear. Considering its similarity to the Sun Dance cloth, one wonders if they were made at the same place, under similar conditions. Perhaps it represents a particular hunt or recalls the tradition of the hunt in general.

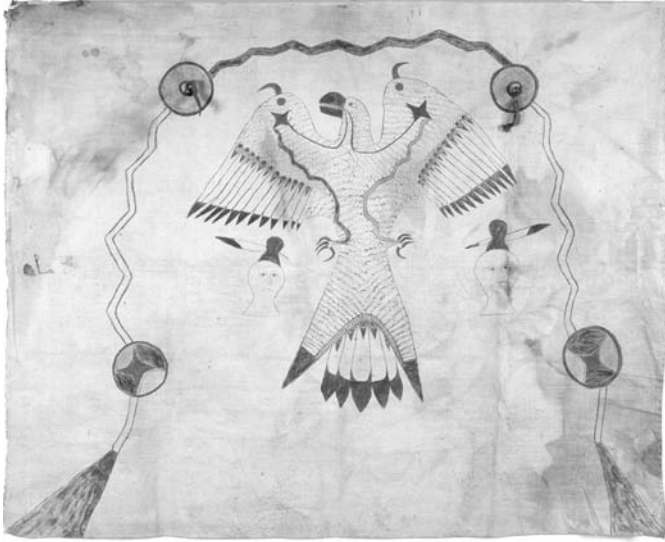


Figure 16. Plains Indian Style, *Cloth Painted with an Outstretched Bird Motif*, n.d., cotton cloth with grosgrain trim, brass bells, and painted with commercial dyes, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.12 (cat. 54).

Cloth Painted with an Outstretched Bird Motif

This cotton cloth measures 43 x 34 1/2 inches (fig. 16; cat. 54). It was painted with commercial dyes and decorated with ribbons and two small brass bells. Unlike the narrative scenes painted on the two previous cloths, this painting is emblematic in nature and represents a large bird with wings spread. A human head appears on either side of the bird, each wearing a feather. The central group is surrounded on the top and sides by a jagged band that connects a series of colored circles. The color is most vibrant in the two upper circles, which are a flat red. These red circles are decorated with a pair of brass bells and ribbons, which are stitched to the cloth. A jagged blue line connects the disks across the top of the composition. A pair of jagged lines connects the upper red circles to a pair of lower circles that are decorated with an hourglass design. These lower circles are painted in red and blue.

Although the bird may represent an eagle, which was important to the Plains Indians, it is also similar to a thunderbird motif that appears on a double-sided drum from around 1890. This could be the thunderbird, the Pawnee spirit of the Grass Dance.¹⁹ As for the jagged lines, they appear to represent lightning, which supports an association with the thunderbird.

Although its original function is unclear, the upper corners of the cloth indicate that at one time it was displayed on a wall or similar surface. The accumulation of adhesives in the corners suggests that it was used in this manner for at least some part of its existence. The bells stitched into the design, as well as the

ribbons attached to the fabric, suggest that the cloth was fastened in such a way that allowed it to move freely. The ringing of the bells and the fluttering of the ribbons would have contributed to a ceremonial function. That it entered The Trout Gallery's collection in conjunction with the other two painted cloths is curious and suggests that they may have been made or displayed in the same context. Landis suggests that this cloth may have been made at the Carlisle Indian School.²⁰

Rectangular Drum and Bell-Shaped Drum

The rectangular drum measures 17 1/2 x 13 x 2 1/4 inches (fig. 17; cat. 55) and the bell-shaped drum measures 20 1/2 x 16 1/2 x 2 3/4 inches (fig. 18; cat. 56). Both are made of hide stretched over wood frames. Whereas the bell-shaped drum is shaped from irregular pieces of wood, the rectangular drum's frame was once part of a commercial wood crate used for shipping seeds. The nails used in its construction are hand-forged and suggest that the wood crate was constructed in the mid-nineteenth century.²¹ The drums are painted on the front and rear with commercial and vegetal dyes. The rectangular drum has evidence of a bloodstain, which may have been added for ceremonial purposes. The bell-shaped drum has internal bells indicating that it could be both beaten or shook to produce sound. The two drums are in relatively good condition; however, the bell-shaped drum has warped considerably. A leather strap is fastened to the top of each drum, which suggests that they were probably hung when played and or when stored.

The front of the rectangular drum features a horned figure. The figure could be the actual animal (buffalo, bull), or a ceremonial dancer in the guise of the animal. Its face is blank except for two eyes and its body is flanked by what looks like wings. The figure is outlined in black and its body is red with black dots. The neck and wings are black, whereas the face is a pale yellow. It appears to represent a spiritual being or a ceremonial figure dressed as such. The space around the figure is painted deep red while a dark reddish brown band appears along the drum's top edge.

The bell-shaped drum presents a horned figure as well, but it is flanked on either side by smaller, full-length horned figures. The figures are painted black with red faces, and carry catlinite pipes.²² Since they stand on two legs, they probably represent ceremonial dancers dressed in the guise of the buffalo or bull spirit. The main figure on this drum could denote a buffalo or bull, a popular motif among Plains Indians. The top part of this drum is painted black while the lower areas around the figures are painted a greenish-yellow. The main figure has a red mouth and red eyes as well. The backs of both drums are painted with a dotted pattern. The back of the rectangular drum back is painted mostly black with bands of white and red



Figure 17. Plains Indian, *Painted Hide Drum (rectangular)*, n.d., rawhide stretched over wooden box frame, painted with natural commercial dyes, blood stained, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.12 (cat. 55).



Figure 18. Plains Indian, *Painted Hide Drum (bell-shaped)*, n.d., rawhide stretched over wooden frame, painted with natural and commercial dyes, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.14 (cat. 56).



Figure 19. Plains Indian, *Rawhide Shield and Corn Cloth Painted with Eagle and Buffalo Head Motif*, n.d., rawhide backing with cotton duck facing, painted with natural and commercial dyes, blood stained, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.17 (cat. 57).

at the top and bottom. It is covered with rows of red and blue dots, some surrounded with white circles. The back of the bell-shaped drum includes only black spots on a red field.

It seems that both drums appear to depict spirits to which they intended to make sacrifices. The image of the buffalo, which makes a thundering sound as it runs, is appropriate for drum imagery. In what specific context these drums would have been used, however, is unknown.

Shield with Eagle and Buffalo Head Motifs

This shield measures 19 inches in diameter and is constructed of rawhide backing with cotton duck facing and was painted with commercial dyes (fig. 19; cat. 57). Rawhide was the material of choice because it could effectively block an arrow or spear. This shield appears to have been made from the skin of a buffalo's neck, which shrank when heated.²³ This may explain in part the presence of a buffalo head motif on the front. The shield includes a representation of an eagle in flight with talons poised. A jagged line creates a wedge shaped space that includes an image of a buffalo's head on a yellow field. A small blood stain on the shield appears near the eagle's right wing. It appears to have been added intentionally, as if it were the result of a sacrificial or ceremonial event. Around the edge of the shield, one finds strands of string stitched into the cloth

cover. These strings were once used to attach feathers and/or other spiritual amulets.²⁴ In its complete form, the shield and feathers represented the sun and imparted great spiritual power to its owner. Although the shield lacks its feathers, such decorations can be found in shields represented in the Sun Dance cloth painting, mentioned above.

The shield was one of the warrior's most sacred possessions. It acted as a protective device from both physical and spiritual forces. The painted design was revealed in visions and dreams, and also acted as war medicine.²⁵ Since shields symbolized the sun and were granted by the sky spirits, they were never allowed to touch the ground. Often older men of the tribe would construct shields for the newly declared warriors of the tribe. The

precise meaning of the imagery was not revealed to the young warriors in order to retain the shield's power.²⁶ For the same reason, the design on the front of the shield was not meant to be exposed, except in battle. Most shield painting was intended to protect the warrior from enemy weapons while their symbolic decorations were intended to offer spiritual protection.²⁷

Although evidence is only circumstantial, it does seem likely that these six artifacts can be associated with the Carlisle Indian School. However, for the purposes of this exhibition, the objects, particularly the cloth representing the Sun Dance ceremony, represent the "savage," "uncivilized," and "pagan" ways of the Native Americans that Pratt so fervently sought to eliminate.

1 David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience: 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 115.

2 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 107.

3 Many of the artifacts at the Cumberland County Historical Society were donated by Nana Pratt Hawkins, daughter of Richard Henry Pratt.

4 Kathleen McWeeney, "A Kiowa's Odyssey: Etahdleuh Doanmoe's Sketches from Fort Marion," in this volume: 9-13.

5 Kathryn M. Moyer, "'Going Back to the Blanket': New Outlooks on Art Instruction at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," in this volume: 30-34.

6 Geoffrey Landis, "A Catalogue and Description of the Dickinson College Indian Collection: Artifacts Recovered from the Carlisle Indian School" (n.p., thesis, Dickinson College, 1973), 12; on deposit at The Trout Gallery.

7 According to Karen D. Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 294, a wagon with a cover and the horse's harness was a symbol for whites.

8 Thomas E. Mails, *Sundancing: The Great Sioux Piercing Ritual* (Tulsa: Council Oak Books, 1998), 2. In 1881, United States Government Reservation agents banned the Sun Dance ceremony because they regarded it as an "absorbing, flesh-piercing ritual."

9 Mails, *Sundancing*, 4.

10 Mails, *Sundancing*, 4-13.

11 Linda F. Smith [Witmer], "Pictographic Drawings from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *Cumberland County History* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1988): 100-107.

12 Norman Feder, *Two Hundred Years of North American Indian Art* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 14.

13 Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, 22.

14 On ledger drawings, see Kathleen McWeeney, "A Kiowa's Odyssey: Etahdleuh Doanmoe's Sketches from Fort Marion," in this volume: 9-13.

15 However, all ceremonies did not involve torture rites, a feature that is certainly pictured in this pictographic cloth; see Mails, *Sundancing*, 13.

16 Gilbert T. Vincent, Sherry Brydon, Ralph T. Coe, eds., *Art of the North American Indians: The Thaw Collection* (Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association, 2000), 104.

17 The tendency to group figures into horizontal registers is common in the pictorial arts of the Plains Indian. Christian F. Feest, *Native Arts of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 52-53.

18 A much larger hide drawing entitled *War Record* (Museum of the American Indian, New York), provides a compelling comparison; see Vincent et al, *Art of the North American Indians*, 138-139. It appears that this hide was intended to display the warriors' achievements.

19 Vincent et al, *Art of the North American Indians*, 123.

20 Landis, "A Catalogue and Collection," 15.

21 Landis, "A Catalogue and Collection," 8. This establishes a date after which the drum could have been made.

22 These drums are similar in imagery to ones discussed in Feder, *Two Hundred Years of North American Indian Art*, 88. He attributes them to either the Assiniboin or the Sioux. The figure on the right of the bell-shaped drum appears to be holding a catlinite pipe, which was common among most Plains tribes. A pipe similar to this appears in the Sun Dance painting, mentioned earlier.

23 Landis, "A Catalogue and Collection," 10.

24 Vincent et al, *Art of the North American Indians*, 160. A similar shield by the Crow Indians of Montana (c. 1860) can be found in the Museum of the American Indian (New York).

25 Vincent et al, *Art of the North American Indians*, 160.

26 Vincent et al, *Art of the North American Indians*, 160.

27 Nigel Cawthorne, *The Art of Native North America* (San Diego: Laurel Glen Publishing, 1997), 54.

“Going Back to the Blanket”: New Outlooks on Art Instruction at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Kathryn M. Moyer

At the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, art instruction, unlike the industrial trades taught at the school, was viewed largely as a pastime rather than a viable course of study. Under Richard Pratt’s leadership, fine art instructors emphasized the Western tradition of still life and landscape painting. However, the appointment of Angel De Cora as director of art instruction in 1906 provided a forum in which Indian students were encouraged to focus on their own native artistic traditions (fig. 20; cat. 48). The introduction of native arts in the classroom at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School marked a significant change in the educational practices imparted to young Native American students.¹

In the late 1870s, the United States federal government enacted a comprehensive educational program for Indian students that was fundamentally based on Euro-American values. Richard Henry Pratt, a military officer who had worked on previous occasions with both Indian prisoners and students, established one of the first non-reservation or boarding schools at the old army barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1879.² Here, he began the process of converting so-called “blanket Indians” into properly “Anglicized” pupils.³ Pratt enforced a strict assimilation process that would eliminate all facets of tribal life and immerse students in the ways of white society. Within their first few days at Carlisle, the children were stripped of everything that was Indian about them, from changing their names to cutting their hair. Pratt’s ultimate goal for the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was to provide students with the background necessary to assimilate into Euro-American society. In Pratt’s mind, extending to the Indian a Western education, the ability to read and write in English, and the skills required to pursue an industry, provided students with the tools necessary to gain access into Euro-American society. “To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay,” was Pratt’s motto for the school.⁴ Pratt ran his school much like a military unit “with discipline, crystal clear instructions and total inflexibility.”⁵

As superintendent, Pratt largely disregarded art instruction at Carlisle. Although Pratt believed that “the unconscious drive to ‘create’ pictures came naturally to these students brought to Carlisle from the Great Plains,” he was unflinching in terms of his educational goal. Under his direction, art instruction occupied a marginal role because it was not a trade in which Indian students could easily apply their work within the constructs of American society. Although he did not abolish its practice, formal art instruction in the classroom was minimal.⁶ Further-



Figure 20. Photographer unknown, *Angel De Cora*, n.d., toned gelatin silver print, courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, 12-2-3 (cat. 48).

more, classroom instruction during the Pratt years was based exclusively on the European tradition. Students were not permitted to practice their native arts.⁷ “The arts were not scorned by Pratt, but his fear that his students would slip back into Indian ways caused them to be taught in an odd way.”⁸ Because their ability to produce imagery reflective of their native backgrounds represented an aspect of their native culture that he could perhaps never eliminate, Pratt centered all art instruction at Carlisle around the European traditions of still life and landscape painting.

Students were instructed by visiting art instructors, including J. Wells Champney and Professor Little (the “Chalkman”), to paint landscapes according to the standard academic traditions of Western art.⁹ It was through such instruction that Indian students experimented with Western styles of still life

painting in particular (cat. 47).¹⁰ Artworks made at Carlisle during this period have a markedly forced quality. As seen in Thelma Greenwood's still life, Western academic tradition was the order of the day in Carlisle art classes (cat. 72). The still life paintings produced during Pratt's years at the Indian school reflect student attempts at imitating Western art. Greenwood's still life is well composed, accurately drawn, and skillfully painted; however, just as in the cutting of hair and forcing Indian students to wear military uniforms to make them appear to be Westernized, the maintenance of superficial appearances remained in all aspects of life at the Carlisle Indian School. As a result, Greenwood's still life may be viewed as another attempt, on Pratt's part, to keep up appearances.

Twenty-five years after opening the doors of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Pratt remained steadfast in his educational philosophy. Even as educational objectives instituted by the federal government began to shift to be more inclusive, providing Indian students with a formal education while allowing them to maintain some of their native talents, Pratt abstained. In fact, he vehemently opposed such changes, always fearing that Indian students would not receive the full assimilation experience if not forcibly converted into Anglo ways.¹¹ While educational approaches to Indian education were evolving, Pratt's did not. It was this staunch opposition to change that resulted in his dismissal from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1904.

Francis E. Leupp, commissioner of the Indian Bureau at this crucial time, believed that certain aspects of Native American culture, in particular the arts, should be included in the curriculum at the Carlisle Indian School, and the new director, William A. Mercer, was willing to comply. Leupp appreciated "the Indian for what is Indian in him;" unlike Pratt, Leupp was not a proponent of complete assimilation.¹² Commissioner Leupp sought to promote and develop the skills and traditions that students brought with them to Carlisle. Consequently, Leupp changed various aspects of Indian educational programs at the government run schools. Regarding previous art instruction at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, he stated: "The Art Department at Carlisle had been engaged in teaching Indian children, whose own mothers were masters of decorative design, to paint pansies on plush pillows and forget-me-nots on picture frames. It was not the fault of Carlisle that the standard of art in America should resemble the counter of a department store; it was the fault of our whole civilization."¹³ Commissioner Leupp no longer wanted Carlisle students to imitate European artistic traditions; instead he sought to provide them with instruction in their own native arts. Leupp was one of the earliest members of the federal government to openly support Indian culture, and worked to preserve it.

In 1906, Leupp appointed Angel De Cora as the director of art instruction at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Her appointment exemplifies the evolving methodology in the education of Indian students at the turn of the century. In contrast to art instruction during Pratt's years at Carlisle, students at the school would receive formal instruction in Native American art by a Native American.

Angel De Cora could identify with her students because, like them, she had studied within the off-reservation school system at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. Born on a Winnebago reservation in Nebraska in 1871, De Cora was sent to the Hampton Institute when she was seventeen. After graduating from Hampton, she went on to study art at Smith College. For many of her college friends and colleagues, she was the only Indian with whom they were familiar. "She was in an ambivalent situation at Smith," because she was unlike her peers but not the "archetypal Indian princess or queen of the forest" either.¹⁴ In 1896, De Cora received her degree and graduated as the college's first Native American. She then studied at the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, and later at the Boston Museum School. Several years later, she moved to New York City and opened her own gallery of illustration.

Angel De Cora's early illustrations incorporate a romanticized vision of the Indian. Although she states that, "Perhaps it is well that I had not over studied the prescribed methods of European decoration, for then my aboriginal qualities could never have asserted themselves," her illustrations in Zitkala-Sa's *Old Indian Legends* supply nothing more than the popularly romanticized view of the Indian of the time.¹⁵ It is probable that these illustrations reflect the desires of the editor, who would have been more attuned to the interest of the average American consumer of the time period, and not to the more progressive views of the artist.

Despite her familiarity with the Barbizon school, American Romanticism, Realism, and Impressionism, De Cora did not neglect her own native heritage or the art of the Winnebagos. Furthermore, it appears that at Carlisle, De Cora found a forum where she could explore more traditional aspects of native art, design, and illustration. When Commissioner Leupp approached her to take the position at the Carlisle Indian School, De Cora stated that she would accept the appointment with the condition that, "I shall not be expected to teach in the white man's way, but shall be given complete liberty to develop the art of my own race and to apply this as far as possible to various forms of art, industries and crafts."¹⁶ At Carlisle, Angel De Cora provided her students with instruction in the traditional techniques and designs of the Native Americans, thereby allowing them to freely examine, promote, and in some instances revitalize their artistic heritage.

However, De Cora was at first greatly dismayed by the unfamiliarity of her students with their own native traditions. This fact may reflect a combination of changes occurring within Native American populations at the time. Neglect, repression of traditional cultural practices, lack of traditional materials, changing tribal roles and values, and the Euro-American push for Indians to assimilate into American culture all negatively affected the production of native arts of Indians who were living on reservations or attending government schools. Although turn-of-the-century policies regarding educational practices were beginning to change, incorporating certain aspects of Indian traditions in school curricula, many students had never been exposed to traditional tribal life or art. Upon arrival at the Carlisle Indian School, De Cora remarked: “when I first introduced the subject—Indian art—to the Carlisle Indian students, I experienced the discouraging sensation that I was addressing members of an alien race.”¹⁷ Angel De Cora was unaccustomed to dealing with Indian students who could not identify with their own cultural traditions. An active voice in the promotion of Native American art and its instruction, De Cora could not comprehend the apparent resistance from students to incorporate Indian art into the curriculum at the Carlisle Indian School. Much like Pratt, De Cora saw it as her duty to provide her students with the necessary tools to become successful citizens; however, unlike Pratt, De Cora’s goals hinged on the examination and practice of native culture and the arts, and not their repression.

Throughout her tenure at the Carlisle Indian School, Angel De Cora was determined not to stereotype Indian art; her program did not instruct her pupils to create the romanticized image of the “noble savage” that was popular at the time. Instead, she chose to examine specific tribal traditions and motifs. By adding the study of native art and artifacts to the arts curriculum at Carlisle, De Cora introduced a style and type of art that is fundamentally different in function than the pictorial tradition of Western art.

In Native American cultures, traditionally, artists worked for the well-being of the tribe, striving to integrate nature with tribal belief systems.¹⁸ All Native American artifacts, paintings, clothing, beadwork, weaving, and pottery were created with specific functions in mind and not merely for their artistic value. The creation of art formed an integral part of everyday life within the tribes. Although traditions and styles varied from tribe to tribe, much of the imagery emphasized organic forms inspired by nature. The art of the Indian, De Cora stated, “like himself is indigenous to the soil of his country, where; with the survival of his latent abilities, he bravely offers the best productions of his mind and hand which shall be a permanent record of the race.”¹⁹ She adds that native art may be divided into two



Figure 21. Cree, *Beaded Headstall (bridle)*, n.d., cotton with gros-grain trim, wool panels decorated with beaded applique, brass bells, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.26 (cat. 66).

distinct tendencies: the first being the use of art as a form of sign language and the second implemented purely as a means of decoration. The execution of “purely conventional and geometric” designs in the Native American art was considered by De Cora to serve as the foundation of all Indian decorative arts.²⁰

Designed to serve a particular function, each piece held its own place in the workings of daily life. Objects were then decorated to incorporate motifs specific to each tribal culture. Bold colors were used to enhance both floral and geometric designs. Because of their size and the great variety of colors that were available through trade, “seed beads” were commonly used in many intricate beadwork designs. Although a comprehensive analysis of Native American art is not possible here, a harness (fig. 21; cat. 66) originating from the Northeast, most likely the Mic Mac culture, serves as a representative example.²¹ The beadwork, an elaborate leaf-chain pattern, was applied to enhance the design of a harness. A highly stylized and bilaterally symmetrical blue beaded vine with alternating yellow and black or red and green leaves has been sewn on all sections of the harness. Blue berries, outlined in black, are located where leaves connect. The red fabric background with blue trimmed edges adds to the contrasting color choices carried throughout the harness design. The contrasting colors add a distinct, flat quality to this design. Although natural forms inspire the design, there is little attempt to create a literal representation of it, reflecting a tendency to impose order upon the irregularities of natural forms, resulting in a two-dimensional pattern of color and geometric shapes which is commonly seen in Great Lakes beadwork patterns.²² Indeed, the emphasis on two-dimensional design, bold colors, and strong repeating patterns

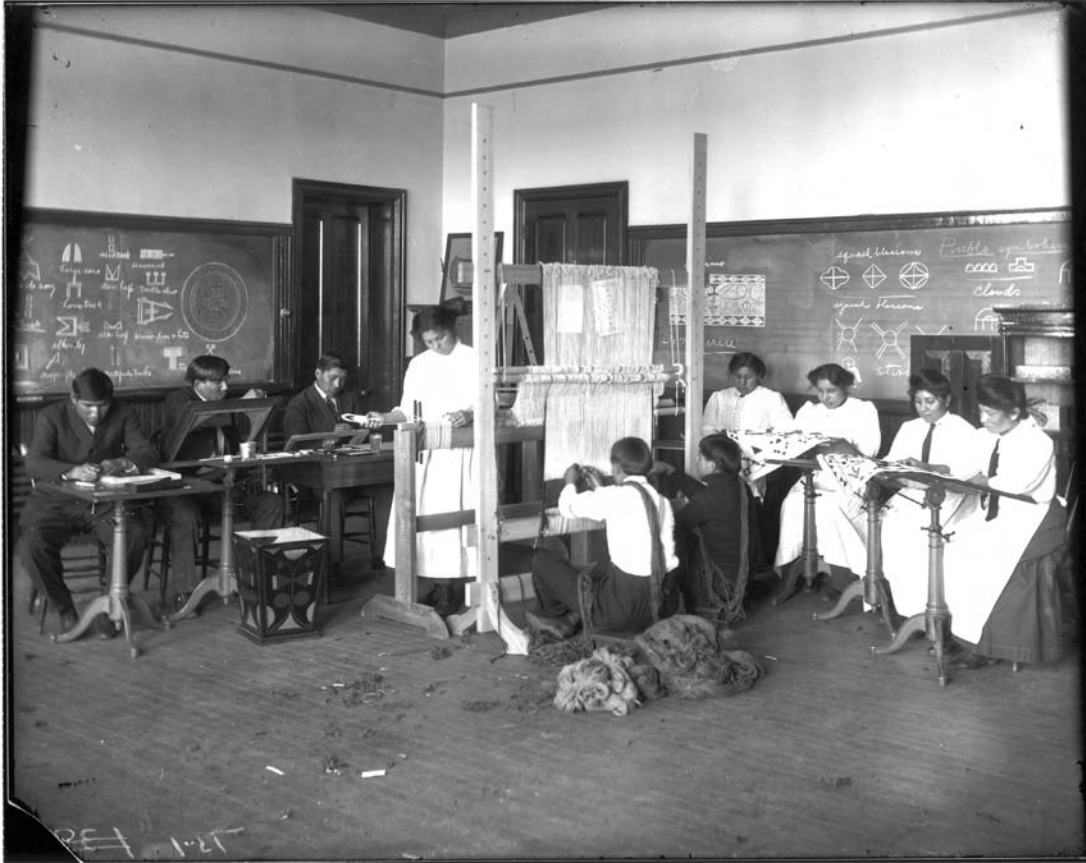


Figure 22. A. A. Line, *Carlisle Indian School—Weaving*, n.d., modern gelatin silver print from vintage glass negative, courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, 314A #30 (cat. 49).

are characteristics shared among many Native American art forms.

De Cora compelled her students to explore their own artistic heritage in objects such as this harness, examining designs unique to their particular tribal affiliations along with those of other nations.²³ Students would have been instructed on the significance of geometric patterns, solid colors, and repeating forms commonly incorporated into Native American art. Students wove rugs and blankets, which were advertised in various school magazines, like *The Red Man* and *The Indian Craftsman*, to be sold to the public. Looms were regularly set up in De Cora's classroom and designs were drawn on the blackboards to provide illustration of various tribal motifs. Pottery, basketry, jewelry design, painting, and other skills were also taught. Detail was given to identifying specific tribal traditions, and as seen in a photograph (fig. 22; cat. 49), the tribe affiliated with the motifs was supplied. In this instance, the designs on the classroom blackboards are entitled "Pueblo Symbolism." In addition to creating more traditional objects, students designed

all of the motifs and illustrations used in *The Red Man*, the school's magazine, and other school publications. De Cora focused on designs in the classroom because she felt "that designing is the best channel in which to convey the native qualities of the Indian's decorative talent."²⁴ As students became familiar with traditional designs, they began to develop their own stylized interpretations of them.

In the classroom, De Cora's students were given the opportunity to examine native traditions, as both artists and Native Americans. Unlike art instruction at Carlisle while Pratt was superintendent, students were taught that their native talents were of value. Although the Carlisle Indian School benefited economically as a result of blanket and other art sales, the students benefited by having formal instruction in the native arts. De Cora's program reevaluated the designs and techniques used to create Indian art, and despite initial concerns about students' unfamiliarity with their own native designs, De Cora found Carlisle students to be quite skilled. She stated in the March 1911 edition of *The Red Man*: "There is no doubt that the

young Indian has a talent for the pictorial art, and the Indian's artistic conception is well worth recognition, and the school-trained Indians of Carlisle are developing it into possible use that may become his contribution to American Art."²⁵ A result of her diligent efforts, Angel De Cora established a larger, more comprehensive appreciation for Native American art by speaking to groups who supported these new methods of instructing Indian students, examining traditional approaches to native art.

Unlike the initial exposure of the first Carlisle students to a formal education, students who studied with Angel De Cora were given the opportunity to study traditional Native American art. The weaving of blankets in the traditional manner using native designs marked a complete reversal in art instruction as well as the overall educational initiatives of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Although blanket weaving was not the only example of this dramatic change, it is among the most potent symbols of this transformation. Taken from their homes, the "blanket Indians," who became the first Carlisle students, were stripped of everything native about

them, and the repression of native culture under Pratt's direction was complete. Later, as new educational policies were adopted, a period of re-examining native traditions occurred. It was during this time that Indian students were taught to weave the very blankets that had originally been confiscated; this change in procedure marks just one of the ways in which educational procedures were updated to include Native American culture in the classroom. As interest in teaching native arts became popular, many other non-reservation schools took part in the widespread initiative to return Indian students "to the blanket," or back to their own cultural traditions. This development was important for both the Carlisle Indian Industrial School as well as for its students. With the appointment of Angel De Cora as art director of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the appreciation of Native American art and culture grew. De Cora's advocacy established a sense of cultural pride in her students, while creating a place of significance for Native American art and traditions within Western society.

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- 1 Although no definition of art existed within native populations, for the purposes of this essay, Native American art may be loosely defined as any artifact or object created by a Native American or member of a tribal society. For more specific definitions of Native American art, see Christopher F. Feest, *Native Arts of North America* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992), 14.
 - 2 David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction, American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 51-55.
 - 3 Richard H. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, Robert M. Utley, ed. (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 248.
 - 4 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 283.
 - 5 Genevieve Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1998), 62.
 - 6 At Fort Marion, Pratt encouraged students to make drawings of their tribal experiences before coming to school, in transit to the fort, and their activities in school. See Kathleen McWeeney, "A Kiowa's Odyssey: Etahdleuh Doanmoe's Sketches from Fort Marion," in this volume: 9-13.
 - 7 Linda F. Smith [Witmer], "Pictographic Drawings at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *Cumberland County History* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1988): 100-107. It should be noted, however, that Pratt kept a collection of Native American artifacts, clothing, and ceremonial objects. These items passed by descent to Nana Pratt Hawkins who donated them to the Cumberland County Historical Society.
 - 8 Sarah McAnulty, "Angel De Cora: American Indian Artist and Educator" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1975), 171.
 - 9 Stephanie Stockbridge, "James Wells Champney, *Sunset Landscape*," *Images of Transience: Nature and Culture in Art* (Carlisle, Penn.: The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 2003): 32-33; see McWeeney, "A Kiowa's Odyssey," 11, for Champney's early contact with Pratt.
 - 10 Smith, "Pictographic Drawings," 106.
 - 11 Bell, "Telling Stories Out of School," 83.
 - 12 Robert Fay Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board, An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 7.
 - 13 Natalie Curtis, "The American Indian Artist," *The Outlook* (Jan. 1920), 65, as cited in McAnulty, "Angel De Cora," 171.
 - 14 McAnulty, "Angel De Cora," 150.
 - 15 Angel De Cora, "Angel De Cora—An Autobiography," *The Red Man* 3, no. 7 (March 1911), 285; Zitkala-Sa, *Old Indian Legends*, illustrations by Angel De Cora (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).
 - 16 Curtis, "The American Indian Artist," 65, as cited in McAnulty, "Angel De Cora," 170.
 - 17 McAnulty, "Angel De Cora," 171.
 - 18 Robin K. Wright, "Native North American Art, Painting Before European Contact," in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 22, Jane Turner, ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1996), 587.
 - 19 Angel De Cora, "Native American Art," paper read before the first annual conference of the American Indian Association, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 12-15, 1911, *Papers of the Society of American Indians*, part 2, series 2, John W. Larnier, ed. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1987), 5.
 - 20 De Cora, "Native American Art," 3.
 - 21 Geoffery Landis, "A Catalogue and Description of the Dickinson College Indian Collection: Artifacts Recovered from the Carlisle Indian School" (n.p., thesis, Dickinson College, 1973), 15; on deposit at The Trout Gallery.
 - 22 Andrew Hunter Whiteford, "Native North American Art, Beadwork and Shellwork, Woodlands," in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 22, Jane Turner, ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1996), 644.
 - 23 McAnulty, "Angel De Cora," 178.
 - 24 De Cora, "An Autobiography," 285.
 - 25 De Cora, "An Autobiography," 285.

Marketing the Exotic: Creating the Image of the “Real” Indian

Antonia Valdes-Dapena

The commercialization and commodification of a race emerges after there has been a power struggle and one culture has been clearly marked as dominant.¹ In nineteenth-century America, a battle over land, but more importantly over power, took place between the increasing white population and the Native Americans.² With the conclusion of the Indian Wars in 1881, whites occupied a position of uncontested authority. Once the Native Americans were “powerless or safely dead,” they became the subject of gross commercialization and commodification.³ Defenseless to the marketing of their race, Native Americans became “other” to the white man; their exotic qualities were now a sellable commodity. The commercialization of their “other-ness” resulted in pecuniary gain for whites, but more importantly it reinforced white identity, views, and truths.⁴ Whether these truths were inaccurate, fabricated, or overly simplistic mattered little; they became the established “truth” as the Anglo culture constructed a history of the Native Americans. As a consequence, the history of the Native Americans, as portrayed by whites, becomes a reflection of white superiority, justifying their role in the devastation of a culture.

The first large-scale marketing of the Native Americans began with the surrender of Sitting Bull on July 19, 1881. Regarded by whites as the last great warrior, Sitting Bull’s defeat marked the end of the native population as a threat. The introduction of the reservation system afforded whites the opportunity to view the Native Americans with a sense of nostalgia rather than fearing for their lands and lifestyle. It was this nostalgia that surrounded Sitting Bull and transformed him into a celebrity.⁵ White Americans eagerly sought the opportunity to pay for his autograph, photographs at his side, and personal trinkets. It was recorded in the *Chicago Tribune* that one tourist was willing to pay the substantial sum of one-hundred dollars to buy Sitting Bull’s pipe.⁶

George Dix and his business partners Bailey and Meade commissioned photographer William R. Cross to create a photographic series of Sitting Bull, capitalizing on his popularity.⁷ Cross’s photographic series began with an autographed cabinet card of Sitting Bull. On the back of the card, the curious buyer could read Sitting Bull’s height, weight, and number of wives.⁸ The Sitting Bull card was part of a larger trend in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century card production and collecting. Native American trading cards were widely produced for the consumers to collect and trade.⁹ During the 1880s the largest producers of these cards were the tobacco companies which, simultaneously, were beginning to produce the first



Figure 23. J. N. Choate (after George Catlin), *The first Indian boy who applied to Capt. Pratt—Ft. Berthold, D.T., Sept. 19, 1878—for education at Hampton, Va., n.d.*, albumen print mounted on card, courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 27 (cat. 34).

baseball cards. Both the baseball cards and Native American trading cards were used to advertise various tobacco products.¹⁰ Through advertisements, the image of the Native American was transformed into the exotic, and marketed to consumers. Trading cards were produced by the thousands and packaged inside products, quickly becoming one of the most important forms of mass marketing at the turn of the century.¹¹ The wide circulation of Native American trading cards helped to

construct a stereotypical image of the Indian. This image of the Native American fulfilled what the white consumer came to expect and desire.

The tradition of stereotyping the Native American through visual imagery has a long tradition dating back to the painted ethnographic portraits of the 1600s, which typically show fanciful images of so-called primitives with seemingly realistic or authentic details and props.¹² Often these props were randomly chosen native artifacts from different tribes and even different parts of the world. This practice expanded dramatically in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century when the invention of the camera made such imagery commonplace.

An example that marks the transition from painted image to photograph is a cabinet card by J. N. Choate, a photographer who worked closely with the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. The portrait, bordering on caricature, is captioned on the back of the card as *The first Indian boy who applied to Capt. Pratt—Ft. Berthold, D.T., Sept. 19, 1878—for education at Hampton, Va.* (fig. 23; cat. 34). Although the image appears to be a photograph that documents the figure as captioned, it is known that it reproduces a Mandan ritual representing the forces of evil. By translating the illustration into a photograph and applying a misleading caption, this image of the Native American takes on a new meaning and power.¹³ The nineteenth-century consumer, having little direct contact with Native Americans, would have no way to differentiate between an accurate portrayal of a Native American and this misleading illustration.

Because of their apparent objectivity and fidelity, photographs were held as truth or historic evidence. However, seem-

ingly authentic portrayals were often shaped with the audience in mind. One nineteenth-century photographer, Edward S. Curtis, known for his photographs of the Native Americans, actually carried wigs for his subjects to wear so that their appearance would satisfy and confirm the viewer's preconceived notions of how an Indian ought to appear. Frequently the photographers used the camera to portray a story of dominance. They depicted heroic images of the white men fighting to remove the savage natives from their lands. This theme was the basis for the ever popular Wild West shows, which appealed to the Victorian spectators because they always ended with the inevitable conquering and submission of the Indians. Viewers could enjoy the display of the savage, secure that their home, hearth, and culture were never in threat.

At the Carlisle Indian School, the notion of white and Indian warfare was transferred from the Plains to the arena of competitive sports. Through the ritual of sport, warfare becomes a ceremony, and the white's greatest fears play out within the rigid structure of athletic rules and regulations. Order is scrupulously maintained throughout the game, and the dominant culture's position is never truly threatened. At the Carlisle Indian School's football games, the spectators saw the Indians battle the whites on the playing field. One student athlete, Jim Thorpe, became a national sports hero. A member of the Sac and Fox tribe, Thorpe was an all-American halfback (1911-1912) on the Carlisle team; however, he was marketed as more than an athlete.¹⁴ For many, he embodied the racial stereotype of Native Americans as fierce savage fighters. The Carlisle Indian School publicity contributed to this stereotype, often categorizing the sporting competitions as conflicts between Indians and whites. Newspaper headings such as "Indians Scalp Army 27-6" or "Jim Thorpe on Rampage" characterized the Indian-ness of the students on the Carlisle team.¹⁵ A photograph of Jim Thorpe and the 1911 football team (fig. 24; cat. 42) emphasizes the purposeful racial split between the competing athletes. The inscription on the football reads, "1911, Indians 18, Harvard 15." By characterizing the match as a battle between races, the game attracts greater attention. An alternate wording, "1911, Carlisle 18, Harvard 15," would therefore receive less interest, not drawing attention to the team's Indian-ness. The Carlisle team was not seen as a team of football players, but rather as a group of Indians.¹⁶

Press accounts covering the games, like the Carlisle Indian School's publications, described the events in the language of white/native conflict. When the white team won the game, the victory was portrayed as a conquest for civilization. A vivid account from the *Philadelphia Press* described the sport event as a brawl between races where the future of white civilization was at stake. Nevertheless, the article depicted the white athletes as



Figure 24. Photographer unknown, *Carlisle Indian School Football Team after Defeating Harvard, 18 to 15, 1911*, gelatin silver print, courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, 15A-01-14 (cat. 42).

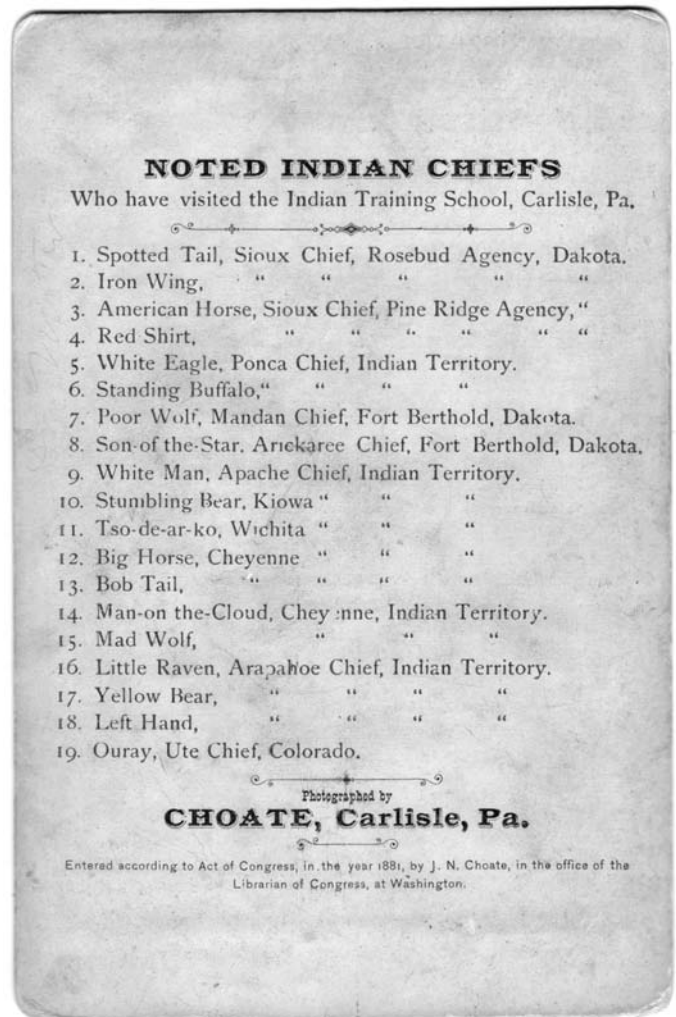


Figure 25. J. N. Choate, *Noted Indian Chiefs*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 11 (cat. 26).

fated to win, using language similar to that of manifest destiny.¹⁷ For the white audience, such sporting events provided an experience similar to that of the Wild West shows. The image of the Native American as athlete complemented and reasserted the stereotype of what audiences expected an Indian to be. Jim Thorpe was visualized as the leader of the barbarous Indian athletes, leading them into battle on the football field. In this way, many of the Jim Thorpe images resembled those of Sitting Bull. They represented him as a “real” Indian.

Chiefs, regarded by the whites as being a rare breed of Indians, were highly marketable. Chiefs visiting their children at the Carlisle Indian School became a common subject for the Carlisle school’s photographers.¹⁸ One photograph titled *Noted Indian Chiefs* (fig. 25; cat. 26), combines images of nineteen

Native American chiefs who visited the school, all listed with respective tribe on the reverse. The individual chief’s images depicted on the front of the card were drawn from independent cabinet cards and assembled to make this new composite. In some instances, the independent cards have survived and illustrate how the full-sized portraits were cropped and inserted into the finished composite card. Toward the center-right of the *Noted Indian Chiefs* card, one can find the image of Son of the Star (no. 8) taken from a full-sized portrait of the chief (cat. 24). However, note how the feathers were retouched in the final composite card to make room for the chief above. While the portraits of each chief are from actual photographs, many of the torsos were retouched or drawn in later. Chief Ouray is also featured on the card, located on the center-right side (no. 19).

Likewise, the source of his image is taken from a full-sized portrait (fig. 7; cat. 25). The reverse of Ouray's card catalogs other chiefs in the series. The list enables the consumer to keep track of which chiefs he has yet to collect, the aim being to own all the chiefs listed. The back of the Ouray card documents the marketability of the chief image, while *Noted Indian Chiefs* promotes the sale of these individual cards. The Indian chief cabinet cards were created to satisfy the growing interest in collecting Native American images.

Like the cabinet cards, the invention of the stereograph further fueled the commodification of the Native Americans. Mass production of stereographs was made possible in the 1870s with companies producing over 3,000 views each day.¹⁹ There were over 6,000 stereographs in homes around the United States at this time.²⁰ Stereographs were taken of the Carlisle Indian School further demonstrating the marketability of the Native American images. One example, *Miss Sarah Mather and Indian Girls Upon Their Arrival at Carlisle, 1879* (fig. 26; cat. 12), shows the group in native clothes. By producing this image as a stereograph, the native girls are likened to other unusual and exotic stereographic images from the time: the Grand Canyon and Yosemite National Park. The Native American girls become a tourist attraction to be acquired, viewed, and consumed without leaving the comforts of one's drawing room or parlor. Under these circumstances, Michel Foucault's theory of visibility is particularly relevant. Foucault argues that the phenomenon of "being seen" is an unnatural process, directly linked with a power struggle. In other words, a photograph enables the spectator to view, and by extension to control, the individual depicted in the image without his or her consent.²¹ The native girl students of the Carlisle Indian School were captured on film and their images were sold to Victorian audiences who viewed them at their every whim, thus placing the power/control in the hands of the white consumers. By virtue of being viewed, these students became "other" to the spectator.

The concept of "other" has been intensely debated. Toni Morrison has argued that the white self and white identity depends upon the marginalization of the other races, or the "other." She believes it is impossible to have freedom without repression. It is impossible to have white without black.²² In this case, the white man gains definition through contrast with the red man. This is perhaps best expressed by an Iroquois phrase, "Indians and whites are false faces peering into a mirror, each reflecting the other."²³ In other words, the Native Americans become more "other" when confronted with an equally false "white" face. As "other" it was believed that the native culture was the exact opposite of the white culture. This concept was extended beyond culture to biology.

According to some nineteenth-century scientific theories, the Native Americans were not of the same species as the white man. They were categorized as a less developed form of man, *Homo sapiens americanus*.²⁴ Scientists supported this theory with what they viewed to be objective facts. Combining Darwin's thoughts on evolution with craniology, studying the size and shape of the skull, they believed they had scientifically proven white man's superiority to the Native American. They saw any physical difference between the whites and the Native Americans to be proof of the biological dominance of the white race. This scientific racism supported the Vanishing Red Man Theory, which argued that because the Native Americans were biologically inferior, they were doomed to extinction.²⁵ It was believed that the Indians did not develop or change unless it was towards their own termination as a people.²⁶ Lewis Henry Morgan theorized that men had evolved from the primitive to the civilized. He ranked all men into one of three categories, each with three subsets: lower, middle, upper savagery; lower, middle, upper barbarism; and lower, middle, upper civilization. Morgan categorized the Indians as savage.²⁷ Considering the potential for assimilation through educational programs like the Carlisle Indian School, Morgan thought it might be possible for the Native Americans to change, but that this change was not to happen quickly as "Indians still had the skulls and brains of barbarians, and must grow slowly toward civilization as all mankind have done who attained it by progressive experience."²⁸ Believing the possibility of actual assimilation to be slim, Morgan pleaded with the public to save the Native Americans as if they were a priceless artifact for future generations and science. Particularly, he preached to the museums and to the newly forming universities to begin collecting Indian artifacts to educate the public on this disappearing species of man.²⁹

The Vanishing Red Man Theory spurred scientists, museums, universities, and collectors to acquire Native American art and artifacts. The large scale collecting of Indian art and artifacts was from 1880 to 1940.³⁰ Just as with the photographic marketing and advertising, now that the Native Americans were safely removed from white culture, the commercialization through collecting could begin. As the native culture was presumed to be vanishing, these artifacts were becoming rare and thus more collectable.

Like the photographs, many of the objects collected and held to be traditional Indian pieces were created explicitly for the white consumer. Thomas Keam, a merchant in the 1890s, was responsible for the Hopi mass production of goods, the introduction of new styles of ceramics, and the use of Kachina figures on ceramic goods. He also requested that the Hopi attempt to reproduce the appearance of ancient techniques on



Figure 26. J. N. Choate, *Miss Sarah Mather and Indian Girls Upon their Arrival at Carlisle*, 1879, albumen prints mounted on stereoscopic card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 16 (cat. 12).

new products. In other words, he asked the Hopi to make their goods look old and authentic.³¹ Similarly, traders C. N. Cotton and J. B. Moore altered the design of Navajo blankets to make them more appealing to their buyers on the East coast, asking the Navajo to use Turkish carpet patterns and commercial dyes. In this way, they redefined “traditional” arts and consequently had a hand in the defining of a culture.³²

Thomas Keam and other such traders sold these “traditional” items to museums. In one sale, Keam sold 2,400 examples of Hopi artwork to the Hemmenway Exhibition for \$10,000.³³ It was not just merchants and traders who commissioned artifacts to sell to the museums. R. Steward Culin, the first curator of the Brooklyn Museum, frequently commissioned works from the different Native American tribes. Culin would often provide the “correct authentic” materials to aid the Indians. It was understood that the Indians themselves had forgotten their history and had to have it recreated for them. Through nineteenth-century eyes, he was helping the Native Americans to learn about their past and educating the white population about this history at the same time.³⁴ Today, this method of collection would be viewed differently, as the shaping of a

culture, the creation of a singularly white view of history.³⁵

Dickinson College, while not actively seeking to collect Native American artifacts, became a repository for materials associated with the neighboring Indian boarding school. Surviving documentation regarding the Carlisle Indian School artifacts now located at Dickinson College fails to shed light on the precise nature of their origins or their means of acquisition. While many of the photographs in the college’s collection are certainly connected to the Carlisle Indian School, other artifacts are more difficult to directly associate to the school. As with all collections, there is the compulsion to create a story around these objects, encoding them with meaning. As history has shown, the stories behind the objects and their meaning evolve in tandem with the changing attitudes toward the Indian boarding schools and Native Americans in general.

Because these artifacts were placed in museums, buildings perceived to be the conveyers of truth, the idea of constructing the Native Americans’ image is more problematic here than in the photographs or advertising campaigns mentioned earlier. Upon their acceptance into the museum, these artifacts become authentic examples of traditional Native American art.³⁶ They

enter the realm of truth and historic fact. Unfortunately, few museum installations address the precise nature of these artifacts, the complex conditions of their production, and their means of acquisition.

In the United States, the practice of collecting and displaying Native American artifacts has undergone a dramatic change, particularly in the presentation of human remains, which were once exhibited to support claims that the Native Americans were less developed as a species. On November 23, 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was signed into law.³⁷ This legislation requires museums to reassess their collections and repatriate human remains of Native Americans and any objects of ceremonial importance.³⁸ This act reverses the centuries-old pattern that has defined Indian-white relations in the United States as a one-way transfer of Native American property to white ownership.³⁹ The legislation seeks to address this imbalance. In this way, NAGPRA is a historic landmark for the Native American fight to regain control over themselves and be seen as human rather than “other.” It represents a change in basic social attitudes

toward Native Americans by the museum and scientific communities.

After the Sioux and Sitting Bull surrendered, and the last of the Native Americans were placed safely away on reservations, whites began fervently to create their version of the Native American history and image. They grouped them into one all-encompassing category, that of Indian, and told them how to make themselves and their art look authentic. White society constructed and sold the image of an unchanging but rapidly vanishing Indian of the past. Through legislation like NAGPRA, the Native Americans have managed to regain some power; however, the “real” Indian, as a stereotype, persists in movies, sports teams, and product packaging. Through the marketing of the Indian, the idea of the “real” Indian has become commonplace. Although the image of the Indian today is not as blatantly barbaric as that of the nineteenth century, the image retains its “other-ness.” “Like a cosmetic, the exotic comes in a variety of thicknesses.”⁴⁰ The exotic cosmetic of today is more subtly applied, but it cannot be mistaken for natural.

1 Frank Goodyear, “The Narratives of Sitting Bull’s Surrender: Bailey, Dix & Mead’s Photographic Western,” in *Dressing in Feathers*, Elizabeth S. Bird, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 31.

2 David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 25.

3 Elizabeth S. Bird, “Introduction: Constructing the Indian,” in *Dressing in Feathers*, Elizabeth S. Bird, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 4.

4 Stuart Hall, “The Spectacle of the ‘Other,’” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Stuart Hall, ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Open University Press, 1997), 240.

5 Bird, “Introduction,” 7, notes that while the marketing of the Native American began in the nineteenth century, it has continued into the present. Henry Lambert, a modern Cherokee, dresses in feathers and poses for souvenir photographs. This self-exhibition as exotic has become his main source of income and economic improvement. By posing as what tourists view to be a real Indian, just as Sitting Bull did for his photographs more than a century before, Lambert has fully paid for his son to go to law school.

6 Goodyear, “Narratives,” 32-33.

7 After having made a substantial profit, they never again published another photograph.

8 Goodyear, “Narratives,” 33.

9 These cards can be bought today for prices ranging from thirty to eighty dollars.

10 John Bloom, *A House of Cards* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 3.

11 Jeffery Steele, “Reduced to Images: American Indians in Nineteenth-Century Advertising,” in *Dressing in Feathers*, Elizabeth S. Bird, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 46.

12 Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 88.

13 Lonna M. Malmshiemer, “‘Imitation White Man’: Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School,” *Studies in Visual Communication* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1985): 68-69.

14 On Jim Thorpe, see Rosemary K. Updyke, *Jim Thorpe, the Legend Remembered* (Gretna: Pelican Publishers, 1997); Jack Newcombe, *The Best of the Athletic Boys: The White Man’s Impact on Jim Thorpe* (Garden City, NY: Double Day, 1975).

15 John Bloom, “There is a Madness in the Air: The 1926 Haskell Homecoming and Popular Representations of Sports in Federal and Indian Boarding Schools,” in *Dressing in Feathers*, Elizabeth S. Bird, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 97.

16 The term “Indian” is in itself a white constructed term, grouping together all the different native cultures into one ambiguous category. When the different tribe members reached the Carlisle Indian School, only then did they become “Indian.” The process started upon their entrance to the school with the stripping of their traditions, clothes, and languages, but the football team reinforced a sense of a collective “Indian,” as opposed to separate tribes. The different Native Americans, visibly united in opposition to the white athletes, would begin to see themselves as the “other.”

17 Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 187.

18 Pratt appears to have helped shape the photographs produced at the school. See Molly Fraust, “Propaganda at the Carlisle Indian School,” in this volume: 19-23; *Noted Indian Chiefs* (cat. 26), however, would not have furthered Pratt’s mission; photographers at the school would have had a different use for such images.

19 Goodyear, “Narratives,” 33.

20 Goodyear, “Narratives,” 33.

21 Stuart Hall, “Introduction,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Stuart Hall, ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Open House University Press, 1997), 10.

22 Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 44.

- 23 Jean-Jaques Simard, "White Ghosts, Red Shadows: The Reduction of North American Natives," in *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policy*, James A. Clifton, ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transactions Publishers, 1990), 333.
- 24 Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 40.
- 25 Mason, *Infelicities*, 32.
- 26 Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 47.
- 27 Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 53.
- 28 Robert E. Bieder, "The Representations of Indian Bodies in Nineteenth-Century American Anthropology," in *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* Devon A. Mihesuah, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 34.
- 29 Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 54.
- 30 Steel, "Reduced to Images," 51.
- 31 Janet Catherine Berlo, *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 7.
- 32 Berlo, *The Early Years*, 8.
- 33 Berlo, *The Early Years*, 8.
- 34 Kathryn M. Moyer, "'Going Back to the Blanket:' New Outlooks on Art Instruction at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," in this volume: 30-34, argues that after Pratt's dismissal from the Carlisle Indian School, art instruction under Angel De Cora helped the Native American students to regain some of their lost artistic traditions. She sees such instruction, however, as being altruistic, rather than intrusive.
- 35 Berlo, *The Early Years*, 74.
- 36 Since most of the surviving Native American artifacts post-date white contact, the quest for unadulterated native art is a fabled search at best.
- 37 Jack F. Trope and Walter R. Echo-Hawk, "The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act Background and Legislation History," in *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* Devon A. Mihesuah, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 200.
- 38 Relevant artifacts in The Trout Gallery have been reported according to NAGPRA requirements.
- 39 Trope, "Native American Graves," 205.
- 40 Mason, *Infelicities*, 131.

Exhibition Catalogue

Photographs — Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College

The works catalogued in this section represent the entire holdings of photographs related to the Carlisle Indian School in the Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College. The photographs have not been previously exhibited or published. Dimensions are in inches and centimeters, height before width. Reverse prints are provided in instances where they preserve imagery or information that is not easily transcribed.

- 1 J. N. Choate
Josep Cox, Sioux, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.6 cm); print: 5 11/16 x 3 15/16 in. (14.5 x 10.0 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Choate Carlisle Pa [imprinted]; reverse: 126 / Josep Cox / Sioux [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 3. Source: unknown.



- 2 J. N. Choate
Susie Martinez & Doll, Delaware, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.4 x 10.7 cm); print: 5 11/16 x 4 in. (14.4 x 10.1 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Choate Carlisle Pa [imprinted]; reverse: 129 / Susie Martinez & Doll / Delaware [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 14. Source: unknown.



- 3 J. N. Choate
Lois Pretty Scalp, Crow, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.6 cm); print: 5 3/4 x 4 in. (14.4 x 10.0 cm).
Inscriptions, obverse: Choate Carlisle Pa [imprinted]; reverse: 170 / Lois Pretty Scalp / Crow [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 4. Source: unknown.



- 4 J. N. Choate
White Buffalo, Cheyenne, Nature Dress, 1881

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.6 x 13.2 cm); print: 7 5/8 x 4 7/8 in. (19.4 x 12.4 cm).
Inscriptions, reverse: No 86 / White Buffalo / Cheyenne / Nature Dress / Choate / Photog'r [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 9. Source: unknown.



- 5 J. N. Choate
White Buffalo, Cheyenne, 1884

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.4 x 10.8 cm); print: 5 5/8 x 3 15/16 in. (14.4 x 10.0 cm).
Inscriptions, reverse: 124 / White Buffalo / Cheyenne [ink, handwritten]; Choate, No. 21 W. MAIN STREET, CARLISLE, PA [imprinted]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 13. Source: unknown.



- 6 J. N. Choate
Rose White Thunder, Sioux, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.6 cm); print: 5 11/16 x 4 in. (14.4 x 10.1 cm).
Inscriptions, obverse: Choate Carlisle Pa [imprinted]; reverse: 176 / Rose White Thunder / Sioux [ink, handwritten].
Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 2. Source: unknown.



- 7 J. N. Choate
Wounded Yellow Robe, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.4 x 10.7 cm); print: 5 11/16 x 3 15/16 in. (14.2 x 10.0 cm).
Inscriptions, reverse: 177 / Wounded Yellow Robe [ink, handwritten]; Choate NO. 21 W. MAIN STREET, CARLISLE, PA. [imprinted].
Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 5. Source: unknown.



- 8 J. N. Choate
Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe, Upon their Arrival in Carlisle, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.6 x 13.3 cm); print: 7 5/8 x 4 3/4 in. (19.4 x 12.1 cm).
Inscriptions, reverse: Choate / Photographer and Dealer in / Chromos, Mouldings, Frames, Stereoscopes and Views / LIFE-SIZE CRAYONS, COPYING AND ENLARGING A SPECIALTY / Photographs of Indian School for Sale. / NO. 21 WEST MAIN STREET, CARLISLE, PENN'A. [imprinted]; 167 / 1 Wounded Yellow Robe / 3 Timber " " / 2 Henry Standing Bear [ink, handwritten].
Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 6. Source: unknown.



- 9 J. N. Choate
Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe, Upon Their Arrival in Carlisle, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.6 x 13.3 cm); print: 7 7/8 x 5 in. (19.9 x 12.6 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: Taken upon their arrival in Carlisle. [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 6. Source: unknown.



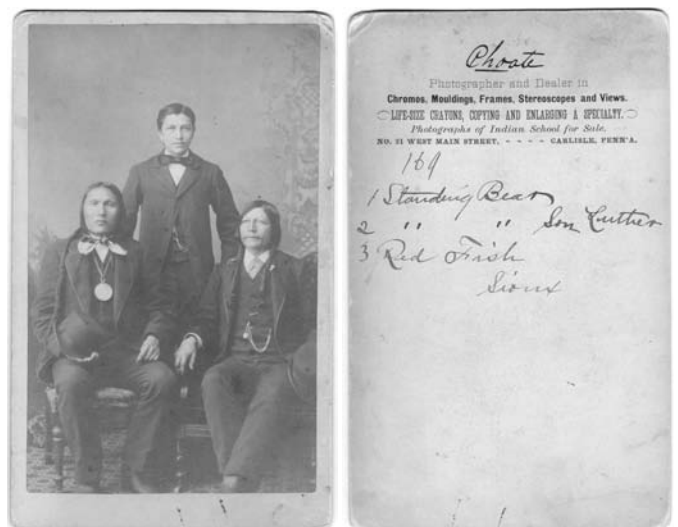
- 10 J. N. Choate
Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe, 6 Months after Entrance to School, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.6 x 13.3 cm); print: 7 7/8 x 4 7/8 in. (19.8 x 12.3 cm).
 Inscription, obverse: Taken 6 months after entrance to School. [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 7. Source: unknown.



- 11 J. N. Choate
Standing Bear, Luther Standing Bear, Red Fish, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.6 x 13.3 cm); print: 7 5/8 x 4 3/4 in. (19.4 x 12.0 cm).
 Inscriptions, reverse: Choate / Photographer and Dealer in / Chromos, Mouldings, Frames, Stereoscopes and Views. / LIFE-SIZE CRAYONS, COPYING AND ENLARGING A SPECIALTY. / Photographs of Indian School for Sale. / NO. 21 WEST MAIN STREET, CARLISLE, PENN'A. [imprinted]; 169 / 1 Standing Bear / 2 " " Son Luther / 3 Red Fish / Sioux [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 7. Source: unknown.



- 12 J. N. Choate
Miss Sarah Mather and Indian Girls Upon their Arrival at Carlisle, 1879

Albumen prints mounted on stereoscopic card. Card: 3 15/16 x 7 in. (10.0 x 17.7 cm); each print: 3 1/4 x 3 1/16 in. (8.2 x 7.7 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Photographed By J. N. CHOATE. / No. 21 West Main Street, Carlisle. [imprinted]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 16. Source: unknown.



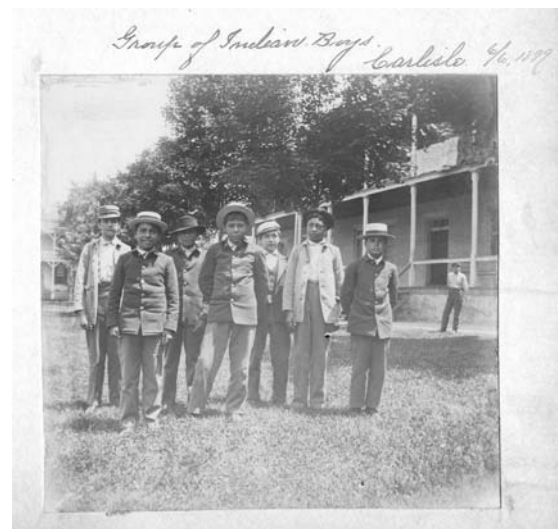
- 13a Photographer unknown
Carlisle Indian School. Group of Indian Girls, June 6, 1899

Albumen print mounted on album page. Page: 6 3/4 x 10 3/4 in. (17.0 x 27.1 cm); print: 3 7/8 x 3 3/4 in. (9.8 x 9.5 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Group of Indian Girls. / Carlisle. / 6", 6", 1899 [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 33. Gift of Mrs. James L. Burdette, 1987.



- 13b Photographer unknown
Carlisle Indian School. Group of Indian Boys, June 6, 1899

Albumen print mounted on album page. Page: 6 3/4 x 10 3/4 in. (17.0 x 27.1 cm); print: 3 3/4 x 3 7/8 in. (9.5 x 9.8 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Group of Indian Boys. / Carlisle. 6/6, 1899 [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 33. Gift of Mrs. James L. Burdette, 1987.



- 14 Photographer unknown
Students at Government School at Carlisle, Pa., n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 5 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (13.3 x 21.6 cm); print: 4 11/16 x 7 13/16 in. (11.9 x 19.8 cm). Inscription, obverse: Students at Government School at Carlisle, Pa. [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 4. Source: unknown.



- 15 Photographer unknown
Group of Girl Students at Indian School, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 5 1/4 x 8 1/8 in. (13.3 x 21.6 cm); print: 4 3/4 x 7 5/16 in. (12.1 x 18.6 cm). Inscription, obverse: Group of Girl Students at Indian School. Carlisle, Pa. [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 5. Source: unknown.



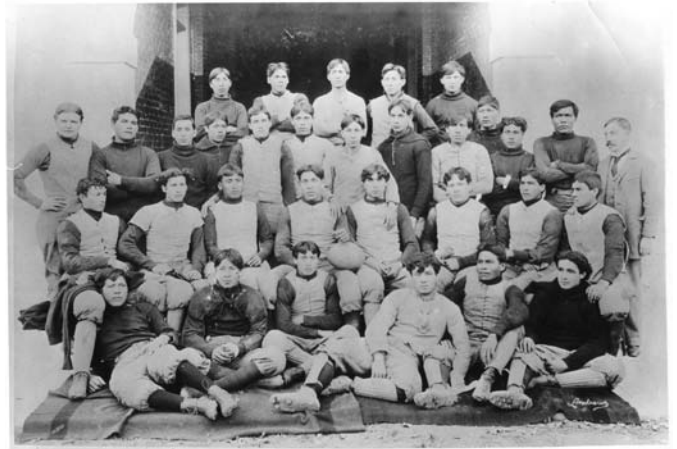
- 16 J. N. Choate
"A Happy Group" Girls' Quarters, Carlisle Training School, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 5 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (13.3 x 21.6 cm); print: 4 5/8 x 7 7/8 in. (11.8 x 19.9 cm). Inscriptions, reverse: 161 / "A happy group" girls' quarters, Carlisle Training School [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 10. Source: unknown.



- 17 John H. Andrews
Carlisle Indian School Football Team, n.d.

Gelatin silver print; photograph of original vintage print.
 Card: 8 1/8 x 9 13/16 in. (20.5 x 24.8 cm); print: 6 1/4 x 9 1/4 in. (16.0 x 23.5 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Andrews;
 reverse: Carlisle Indian School Football Team [graphite, hand-written]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 24. Source: unknown.



- 18 J. N. Choate
Carlisle Indian School: Graduating Class of 1890, 1890

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 7 x 9 5/16 in. (17.8 x 23.7 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Graduating Class, 1890. Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa. / William Tivis, Comanche. / Jemima Wheelock, Oneida. / Dennison Wheelock, Oneida. / Stacy Matlack, Pawnee. / Levi Levering, Omaha. / Veronica Holliday, Chippewa. / Benjamin Lawry, Winnebago. / George Meaus, Sioux. / Howard Logan, Winnebago. / George Vallier, Quapaw. / William Morgan, Pawnee. / Carl Leider, Crow. / Percy Zadoka, Keechi. / Benjamin Thomas, Pueblo. / Lawrence Smith, Winnebago. / Rosa Bourassa, Chippewa. / Nellie Robertson, Sioux. / Julie Bent, Cheyenne. [imprinted]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 30. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



- 19 J. N. Choate
Carlisle Indian School: Class of 1891, 1891

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 7 1/16 x 9 7/16 in. (17.9 x 24.0 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Graduating Class, 1891. Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa. / Robert Mathews, Pawnee. / Martin Archiquette, Oneida. / John Tyler, Cheyenne. / Wm. H. Froman, Miami. / Chas. E. Dagenett, Peoria. / Henry S. Bear, Sioux. / Josiah Powlas, Oneida. / Etta Robertson, Sioux. / Yamie Leeds, Pueblo. / Levi M. St. Cyr, Winnebago. / Harry Kohpay, Osage. [imprinted]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 29. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



20 J. N. Choate
Graduating Class, 1892, Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa., 1892

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 6 7/8 x 9 9/16 in. (17.6 x 24.3 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: Graduating Class. 1892. Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa. / Thomas Metoxen (Oneida.) / Hattie Long Wolf (Sioux.) / Reuben Wolfe (Omaha.) / Luzena Choteau (Wyandotte.) / William Baird (Oneida.) / Albert Bishop (Seneca.) / Benajah Miles (Arapahoe.) / Joseph Hamilton (Piegan.) / Benjamin Caswell (Chippewa.) / Frank Everett (Wichita.) / Lydia Flint (Shawnee.) / Fred Peake (Chippewa.) / Photo. by Choate. [imprinted]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 28. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



21 J. N. Choate
Graduating Class, 1893, Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa., 1893

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 7 1/8 x 9 7/16 in. (18.2 x 23.9 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: Graduating Class, 1893. Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa. / John Baptiste, Winnebago. / Malcolm W. Clarke, Piegan. / Fred Big Horse, Sioux. / S. Arthur Johnson, Wyandotte. / John G. Morrison, Chippewa. / Emily E. Peake, Chippewa. [imprinted]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 27. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



22 John H. Andrews
Graduating Class of 1895, Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa., 1895

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 6 3/4 x 9 1/8 in. (17.4 x 23.1 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: GRADUATING CLASS OF 1895, INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, CARLISLE, PA. / Clark Gregg (Assinaboine.) / David Turkey (Seneca.) / George Warren (Chippewa.) / Laura Long (Wyandotte.) / Wm. Hazlett (Piegan.) / Wm. Lufkins (Chippewa.) / Isaac Baird (Oneida.) / Lewis Williams (Nez Perce.) / Ida LaChappelle (Chippewa.) / Melissa Green (Oneida.) / George Suis (Crow.) / Alice Lambert (Chippewa.) / Chauncy Y. Robe (Sioux.) / Wm. Moore (Sac & Fox.) / Nettie Freemont (Omaha.) / James Van Wert (Chippewa.) / Antoine Donnell (Chippewa.) / Samuel Sixkiller (Cherokee.) / Susie McDougall (Chippewa.) / George Buck (Sioux.) [imprinted]; reverse: Andrews / PHOTOGRAPHER, / No. 1 South Hanover St., / Carlisle [purple ink, stamped]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 26. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



23 John H. Andrews, attributed to,
Graduating Class of '97, Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, PA., 1897

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 6 5/8 x 9 1/8 in. (16.9 x 23.3 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: GRADUATING CLASS OF '97 INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, CARLISLE, PA. / Samuel Gruett, Chippewa. / Rob't. Depoe, Siletz. / Clarence Whitethunder, Sioux. / Edw. Rogers, Chippewa. / Brigman Cornelius, Oneida. / Mary Miller, Chippewa. / Frank Jones, Sac & Fox. / Wm. Sherrill, Cherokee. / Chas. Mishler, Chippewa. / Henry Redkettle, Sioux. / Lizzie Hill, Sioux. / Grace Redeagle, Quapaw. / Mabel Buck, Sioux. / Julia Williams, Chippewa. / Martha Owl, Cherokee. / Annie Kowuni, Pueblo. / Alexander Upshaw, Crow. / Nancy Seneca, Seneca. / Clark Smith, Klamath. / Edith M. Smith, Tuscarora. / Albert Nash, Winnebago. / Sara Smith, Oneida. / Frank S. Shively, Crow. / Olive Miller, Stockbridge. / Christine Wirth, Assinaboine. / Louis Mishler, Chippewa. [imprinted]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 25. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



24 J. N. Choate
after, Son of the Star, n.d.

Gelatin silver print. 6 3/8 x 4 3/4 in. (16.2 x 12.0 cm). Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 15. This print is one of two in the collection, both of which are made from the same negative, which copies the cabinet card representing Son of the Star. Source: unknown.



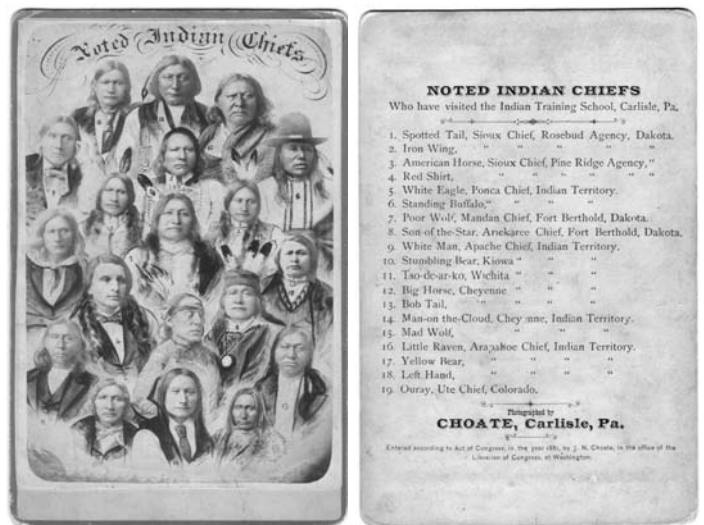
25 J. N. Choate
Ouray and his Wife Chipeta, Utes, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.7 cm); print: 5 5/8 x 4 in. (14.3 x 10.0 cm). Inscriptions, reverse: see text fig. 7. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 12. Source: unknown.



26 J. N. Choate
Noted Indian Chiefs, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card; gilded border. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.6 x 10.8 cm); print: 5 7/8 x 4 1/16 in. (14.9 x 10.3 cm). Inscriptions, reverse: see text fig. 25. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 11. Source: unknown.



27 J. N. Choate
Apaches from Fort Marion, c. 1887

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 7 1/4 x 9 5/8 in. (18.4 x 24.6 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: 30 [pencil, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 31. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



28 J. N. Choate
Piegian Chiefs (Blackfoot Confederacy) Visiting Carlisle Indian School, 1891

Gelatin silver print from vintage negative. 8 1/8 x 10 in. (20.5 x 25.4 cm). Inscriptions, reverse: Front Seated Left—Running Crane, Chief of Lone Eaters Band (ca. 1826-1902). Center—Little Dog, Chief of the Black Patched Moccasins Band (?). Seated Center Left—White Grass (ca. 1828). Right of Center—White Calf, Head Chief of Piegiens in Montana (ca. 1831-1903). Far Right—Little Plume, Chief of...Band (?). Standing Left—Four Horns (?). Center—Brocky (?). Right—Bear Chief (1856-). photo by J. N. Choate, Carlisle, Pa. [typewritten label affixed to the photo reverse]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 1. Source: unknown.



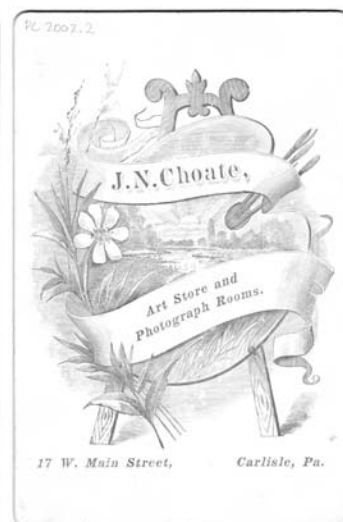
- 29 Photographer unknown
Captain Pratt with Visiting Chiefs and Others, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 5 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (13.3 x 20.6 cm); print: 4 13/16 x 8 1/8 in. (12.2 x 20.7 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: Groups of Visiting Chiefs [ink, handwritten]; (NO) [graphite, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 3. Source: unknown.



- 30 J. N. Choate
Captain Pratt, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/8 in. (16.5 x 10.8 cm); print: 5 7/16 x 3 7/8 in. (13.8 x 9.8 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: Cap't Pratt. Supt of Indian School / Carlisle Pa / [ink, handwritten]. J. N. Choate Carlisle, PA. [imprinted]; reverse: J. N. Choate / Art Store and Photograph Rooms, / 17 W. Main Street, Carlisle, PA. [imprinted].
 Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 1. Source: unknown.



- 31 J. N. Choate
Carlisle Indian School Staff, n.d.

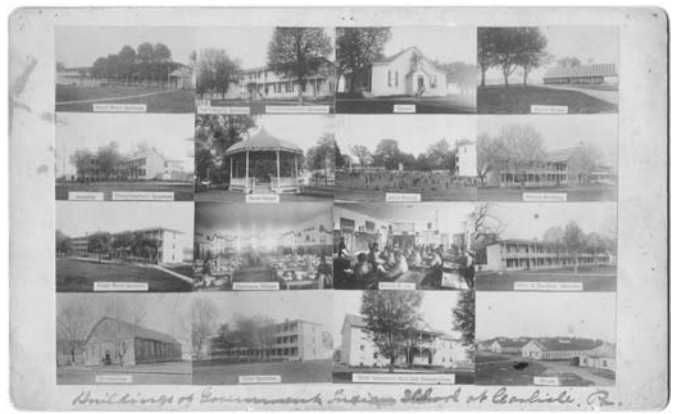
Albumen print mounted on card; gilded edge. Card: 8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.3 cm); print: 7 1/2 x 9 3/4 in. (18.9 x 24.8 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: Choate Carlisle, Pa. [embossed]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 32. Gift of Wm. P. Niehoff, 1986.



32 J. N. Choate

Buildings of Government Indian School at Carlisle, Pa., n.d.

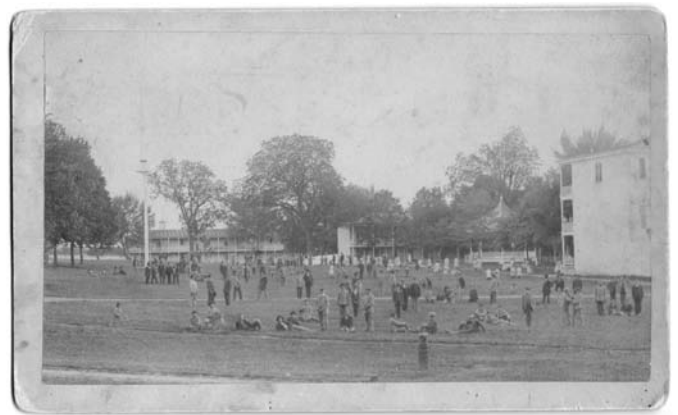
Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 5 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (13.3 x 21.6 cm); print: 4 5/8 x 7 1/4 in. (11.9 x 18.4 cm).
Inscriptions, obverse: Buildings of Government Indian School at Carlisle, Pa. [ink, handwritten]. Labels incorporated into photograph: Small Boys' Quarters / Ass't. Supt's. Quarters / Superintendent's Quarters / Chapel. / Guard House / Hospital / Disciplinarian's Quarters / Band Stand / After School / School Building / Large Boy's Quarters / Christmas Dinner / School Room / Office & Teachers' Quarters / Gymnasium / Girls' Quarters / Girls' Industrial Hall and Dining-room / Shops. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 2. Source: unknown.



33 J. N. Choate

After School, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 5 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (13.3 x 21.5 cm); print: 4 9/16 x 7 7/8 in. (11.6 x 20.0 cm).
Inscriptions, reverse: Choate / Photographer and Dealer in / Chromos, Mouldings, Frames, Stereoscopes and Views. / LIFE-SIZE CRAYONS, COPYING AND ENLARGING A SPECIALTY. / Photographs of Indian School for Sale. / 21 WEST MAIN STREET, CARLISLE, PENN'A. [imprinted]; 163 / After School [ink, handwritten]. Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 8. Source: unknown.



Photographs — Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania

The works catalogued in this section represent a selection from the extensive collection of photographs related to the Carlisle Indian School at the Cumberland County Historical Society.

- 34 J. N. Choate (after George Catlin)
The first Indian boy who applied to Capt. Pratt—Ft. Berthold, D. T., Sept. 19, 1878—or education at Hampton, Va., 1878

Albumen print from a negative made of an illustration, mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.3 cm); print: 5 7/8 x 4 3/16 in. (14.9 x 10.6 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: The First Indian Brought to the School by Captain Pratt in 1827 [ink, handwritten]; reverse: ...15. The first Indian boy who applied to Capt. Pratt—Ft. Berthold, D. T., Sept. 19, 1878—for education at Hampton, Va., was called out of the medicine lodge painted and decorated as seen in the picture...J. N. Choate's, 21 W. MAIN ST., CARLISLE, PA. [imprinted]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 27.



- 35 J. N. Choate
Richard Doanmoe, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.7 cm); print: 5 5/8 x 3 15/16 in. (14.3 x 10.0 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: J. N. Choate CARLISLE, PA. [imprinted]; reverse: Richard Doanamo [ink, handwritten]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 4.



- 36 J. N. Choate
*Frank Cushing, Taylor Ealy, Mary Ealy, Jennie Hammaker,
 Pueblo Indians from Zuni, N.M., 1879-1880*

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.4 x 10.8 cm); print: 6 x 4 in. (15.2 x 10.2 cm).
 Inscriptions, reverse: Teai-e-se-u-lu-ti-wa Frank Cushing / Tsa-we-ca-tsa-lun-ka Taylor Ealy / Tsau-au-tit-sa Mary Ealy / Jan-i-uh-tit-sa Jennie Hammaker / Pueblo Indians from Zuni N.M. / No 20 ["0" superimposed over "9"] [ink, handwritten]; J. N. Choate, ART STUDIO 21 W. Main St., Carlisle, PA. [within an elaborate monogram design; imprinted].
 Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 68.



- 37 J. N. Choate
*Mary Perry, John Chaves, Ben Thomas, Pueblo Indians from
 Laguna, N.M., 1879-1880*

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.7 cm); print: 6 x 4 in. (15.2 x 10.2 cm).
 Inscriptions, reverse: Wat-ye-eh Ben Thomas / Ki-ot-se Mary Perry / Kowsh-te-ah John Menaul / Pueblo Indians from Laguna / No 19 N. M [ink, handwritten]; J. N. Choate, ART STUDIO 21 W. Main St., Carlisle, PA. [within an elaborate monogram design; imprinted].
 Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 72.



- 38 J. N. Choate
John Chaves, Mary Perry, Bennie Thomas—Pueblos, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on album page with other photographs. Page: 9 7/8 x 15 1/4 in. (25.2 x 38.6 cm); print: 5 7/8 x 4 1/16 in. (14.8 x 10.2 cm).
 Inscription, obverse: John Chaves, Mary Perry, Bennie Thomas—Pueblos. [ink, handwritten].
 Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, PA-CH1-30A.



- 39 J. N. Choate
Sheldon Jackson, John Shields, Harvey Townsend, Pueblo Indians from San Felipe, N.M., n.d.

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.7 cm); print: 5 7/8 x 4 in. (14.8 x 10.1 cm).
 Inscriptions, reverse: ...18. Watte—Sheldon Jackson / Keise-te-wa—John Shields / He-ri-te—Harvey Townsend / (Pueblo Indians from San Felipe, N.M....)J.N. Choate's, 21 W. MAIN ST., CARLISLE, PA. [imprinted]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 74.



- 40 J. N. Choate
Sheldon Jackson, Harvey Townsend, John Shields—Pueblos, n.d.

Albumen print mounted on album page with other photographs. Page: 9 7/8 x 15 1/4 in. (25.2 x 38.6 cm); print: 5 7/8 x 4 1/16 in. (14.8 x 10.2 cm).
 Inscription, obverse: Sheldon Jackson, Harvey Townsend, John Shields—Pueblos. [ink, handwritten]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, PA-CH1-31.



Sheldon Jackson, Harvey Townsend, John Shields—Pueblos

- 41 J. N. Choate
Our Boys and Girls At the Indian Training School, Carlisle, Pa., n.d.

Albumen print of a drawing mounted on card. Card: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.4 x 10.7 cm); print: 6 x 4 in. (15.2 x 10.2 cm).
 Inscriptions, obverse: Choate CARLISLE, PA. [imprinted]; reverse: OUR BOYS AND GIRLS / At the Indian Training School, Carlisle, Pa....[followed by a list of thirty-four numbered names that correspond to the numbered pictures on the obverse]...Photographed by CHOATE, Carlisle, Pa.... [imprinted onto sheet of paper that is glued onto the card].
 Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, CS-CH 88.



Choate CARLISLE, PA.

- 42 Photographer unknown
Carlisle Indian School Football Team after Defeating Harvard, 18 to 15, 1911

Modern gelatin silver print made from negative taken of damaged albumen print. Paper: 8 1/8 x 10 in. (20.5 x 25.3 cm); image: 7 x 9 1/2 in. (17.2 x 24.2 cm). Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, 15A-01-14.



- 43 J. N. Choate
 Unknown, 1891

Albumen print mounted on card. Card: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.6 x 13.3 cm); image: 7 3/4 x 4 15/16 in. (19.7 x 12.6 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: J. N. CHOATE, COPYRIGHT, 1891. CARLISLE, PA. [a label reading "Two Strikes" was inadvertently attached to the glass negative and appears in the print over the figure's chest]; reverse: J. N. Choate, Art Store and Photograph Rooms. 17 W. Main St., CARLISLE, PA. [imprinted]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, BS-CH-7.



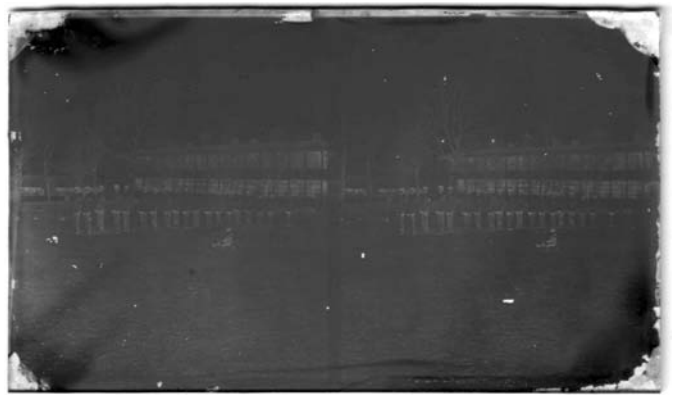
- 44 J. N. Choate
Girl Students at the Carlisle Indian School, n.d.

Albumen prints mounted on a stereoscopic card. Card: 4 1/2 x 7 in. (11.3 x 17.8 cm); each print: 3 3/4 x 3 1/4 in. (9.6 x 8.2 cm). Inscriptions, obverse: Photographed by J. N. Choate, No. 21 W. Main St., Carlisle. [imprinted]; reverse: Photographs of Indian School for sale By Morning Star Office. Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, Pa. Address, A. S. Ely [imprinted on label affixed to card]; C H Duey No 4 [ink, handwritten]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, SG-3-5.



- 45 J. N. Choate
Students on School Yard in Winter, n.d.

Glass negative for a pair of stereoscopic prints. Glass: 4 1/8 x 7 in. (10.3 x 17.7 cm). Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, PO-28.



- 46 Frances B. Johnston
School Room, 9th Grade, 1901

Vintage gelatin silver print mounted on album card. Card: 9 7/8 x 11 3/4 in. (25.1 x 30.0 cm); print: 7 1/2 x 9 7/16 in. (19.1 x 23.9 cm). Inscription, reverse: School Room - 9th grade [ink, handwritten]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, JO-2-9.



- 47 Frances B. Johnston
Art Class—Charcoal, 1901

Vintage gelatin silver print mounted on album card. Card: 9 7/8 x 11 3/4 in. (25.1 x 30.0 cm); print: 7 1/2 x 9 3/8 in. (19.1 x 23.9 cm). Inscriptions, reverse: Art Class—Charcoal [ink, handwritten]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, JO-3-2.



48 Photographer unknown
Angel De Cora, n.d.

Vintage toned gelatin silver print. 9 5/8 x 7 1/2 in. (24.4 x 19.0 cm). Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, 12-2-3.



49 A. A. Line
Carlisle Indian School—Weaving, n.d.

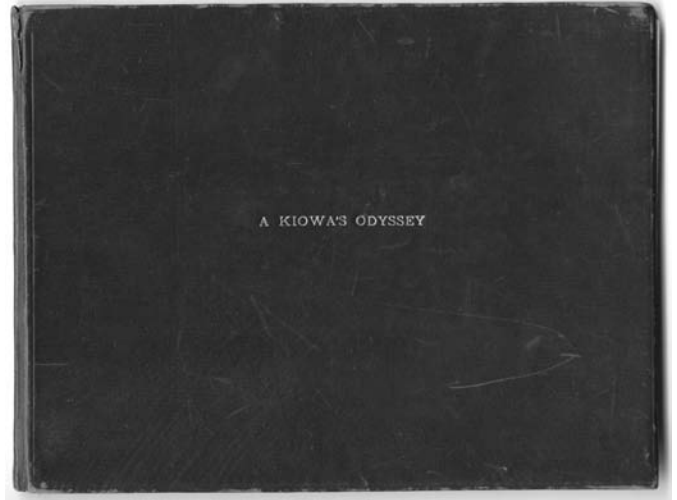
Modern gelatin silver print from glass negative. 8 x 10 in. (20.2 x 25.4 cm). Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, 314A #30.



The works catalogued in this section represent the museum's collection of artifacts and ceremonial objects related to the Carlisle Indian School.

50a Mason Pratt, compiled by (after 1924)
A Kiowa's Odyssey

Bound leather album. 8 3/4 x 11 1/2 in. (22.3 x 29.2 cm). Cover: "A KIOWA'S ODYSSEY" embossed in gold-leaf. Two albumen prints are pasted onto the interior surfaces of the cover boards; one each onto the front and back (see below). Contains 29 folios (13 bifolia, 2 flysheets, 1 folio inserted) stitched into the album spine. Each folio measures 8 3/8 x 11 1/8 in. (21.4 x 28.3 cm). Folios are blank except for folio 2 verso, which has a marbled cardboard cover glued to it (marble-side facing folio 2 verso). The visible surface of the cardboard cover bears a handwritten pencil inscription by Richard Pratt: "Drawn by Etah-dle-uh / Kiowa prisoner / Fort Marion, Fla. / April 26 1877 / A present to Mason from Papa." Other independent elements received with the album: 2 loose drawings (cat. 50b-50c) which were once bound into the album; 1 typewritten preface by Mason Pratt which was once bound into the album (cat. 50d); 7 interleaving tissues used in the album (some with offset from drawings); 1 four-color printed reproduction of Charles Marion Russel's *The Buffalo Hunt* which was once bound in the album; 2 marbled cardboard covers matching the one noted above, one bears the handwritten pencil inscription by Richard Pratt that reads: Drawn by Bear Heart (Cheyenne) / Ft Marion Fla. Mch. 20 1877; 1 loose drawing (cat. 51). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.1. Source: unknown.



J. N. Choate
John W. Okestehi, Henry Pratt Taawayite, Paul Zotom, Edward Etahdleuh, David Pendleton, n.d.

Albumen print with paper inscription, both pasted onto the inside front cover of *A Kiowa's Odyssey*. Photo: 10 7/8 x 8 5/8 in. (27.6 x 22.0 cm). Label: 2 x 8 in. (5.1 x 20.4 cm). Photograph reproduced here oriented vertically for ease of viewing; top of the photograph corresponds to the fore edge of the album cover; inscription at the bottom corresponds to the album gutter. Inscription: John W. Okestehi / Cheyenne; Henry Pratt Taawayite / Comanche; Paul C. Zotom / Kiowa; Edward Etahdleuh / Kiowa; David Pendleton / Cheyenne; Formerly prisoners at St Augustine Florida. (1875-1878) [ink, handwritten].

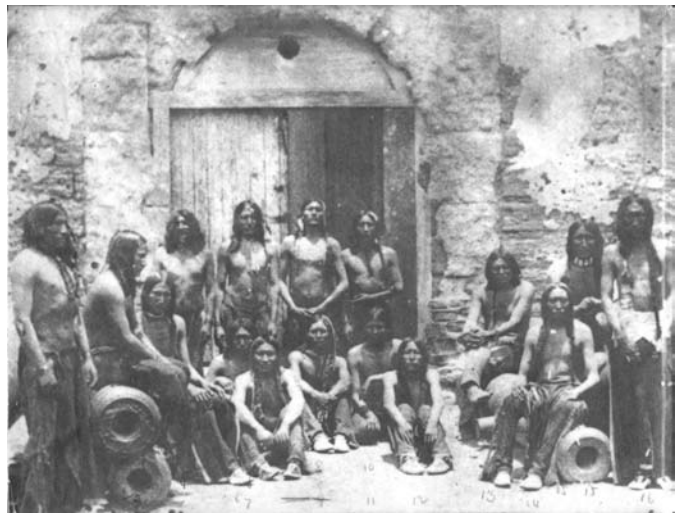


Photographer unknown

Indian Prisoners Shortly After Their Arrival at Ft. Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, 1875

Vintage gelatin silver print pasted onto the inside back cover of *A Kiowa's Odyssey* (photograph reproduced here as oriented in album). Print: 8 1/2 x 11 1/8 in. (21.6 x 28.2 cm).

Individuals are numbered 1-16 (L-R, bottom margin) in blue colored pencil. Corresponding numbered legend does not survive.



50b

Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Kiowa (1856-1888)

A Kiowa's Odyssey: Leavenworth, Kansas, where the prisoners were entrained, 1877

Graphite and colored pencils on paper. 8 3/8 x 11 3/16 in. (21.3 x 28.3 cm). Inscriptions: Leavenworth, Kansas, where the prisoners were entrained. [typewritten]; 12 [ink, factory stamped page number]. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.2r. Source: unknown.



Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Kiowa (1856-1888)

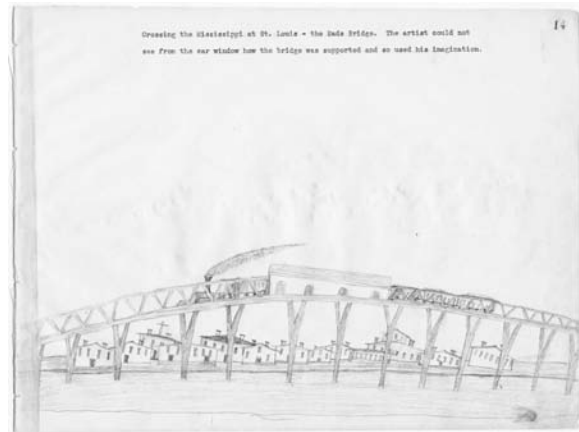
A Kiowa's Odyssey: When there was water the prisoners were taken to wash and bathe, 1877

Graphite and colored pencils on paper. 8 3/8 x 11 3/16 in. (21.3 x 28.3 cm). Inscriptions: When there was water the prisoners were taken to wash and bathe. [typewritten]; 11 [ink, factory stamped page number]. Linen tape runs the length of the right (binding) edge. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.2v. Source: unknown.



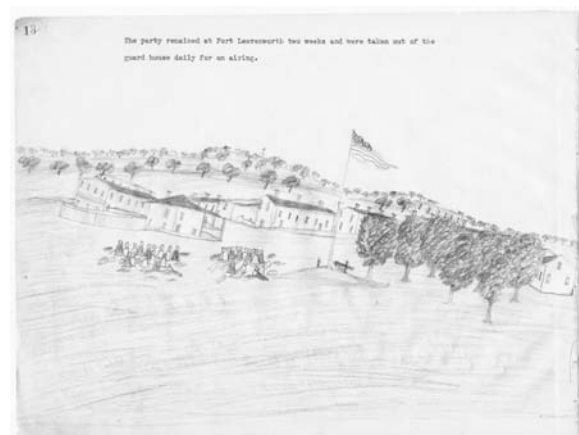
- 50c Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Kiowa (1856-1888)
A Kiowa's Odyssey: Crossing the Mississippi at St. Louis—the Eads Bridge, 1877

Graphite and colored pencils on paper. 8 3/8 x 11 3/16 in. (21.3 x 28.3 cm). Inscriptions: Crossing the Mississippi at St. Louis - the Eads Bridge. The artist could not see from the car window how the bridge was supported and so used his imagination. [ink, typewritten]; 14 [ink, factory stamped page number]. Linen tape runs the length of the left (binding) edge. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.3r. Source: unknown.



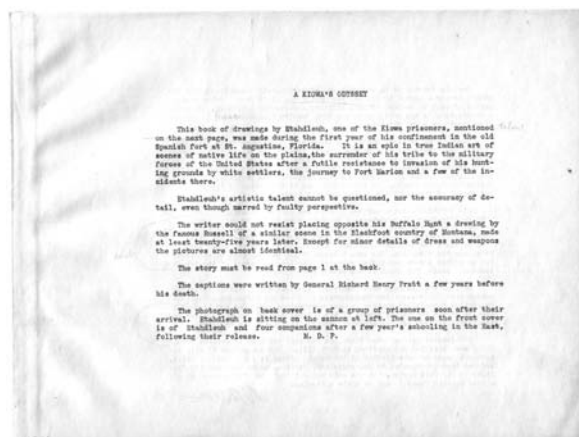
- Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Kiowa (1856-1888)
A Kiowa's Odyssey: The Party Remained at Fort Leavenworth Two Weeks and Were Taken out of the Guard House Daily for an Airing, 1877

Graphite and colored pencils on paper. 8 3/8 x 11 3/16 in. (21.3 x 28.3 cm). Inscription: The party remained at Fort Leavenworth two weeks and were taken out of the guard house daily for an airing. [ink, typewritten]; 13 [ink, factory stamped page number]. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.3v. Source: unknown.



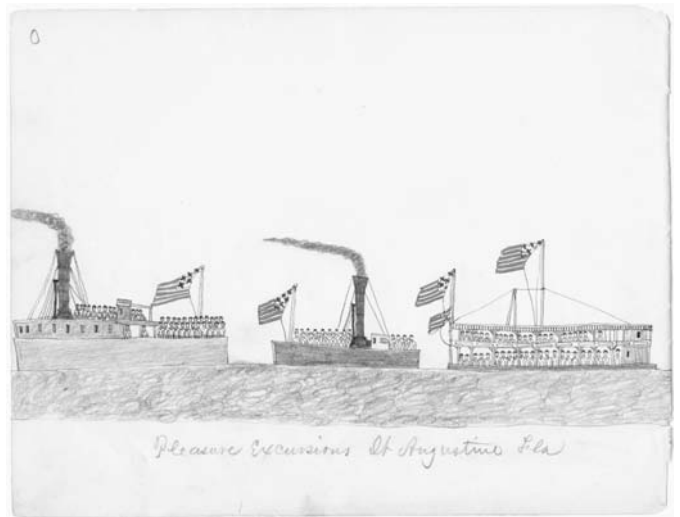
- 50d Mason Pratt
A Kiowa's Odyssey: Preface, after 1924

Paper. 8 3/8 x 11 3/16 in. (21.3 x 28.3 cm). Inscription: A KIOWA'S ODYSSEY / This book of drawings by Etahdleuh, one of the Kiowa prisoners, mentioned on the next page, was made during the first year of his confinement in the old Spanish fort at St. Augustine, Florida. It is an epic in true Indian art of scenes of native life on the plains, the surrender of his tribe to the military forces of the United States after a futile resistance to invasion of his hunting grounds by white settlers, the journey to Fort Marion and a few of the incidents there. Etahdleuh's artistic talent cannot be questioned, nor the accuracy of detail, even though marred by faulty perspective. The writer could not resist placing opposite his Buffalo Hunt a drawing by the famous Russell of a similar scene in the Blackfoot country of Montana, made at least twenty-five years later. Except for minor details of dress and weapons the pictures are almost identical. The story must be read from page 1 at the back. The captions were written by General Richard Henry Pratt a few years before his death. The photograph on back cover is of a group of prisoners soon after their arrival. Etahdleuh is sitting on the cannon at left. The one on the front cover is of Etahdleuh and four companions after a few year's schooling in the East, following their release. M.D.P. [ink, typewritten]. The text on the verso provides a laudatory biography of Richard Pratt and a signature in ink that reads: Mason. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.4r. Source: unknown.



51 Bear's Heart, Cheyenne
Pleasure Excursions, St. Augustine, Fla., 1877

Graphite, blue colored pencil, blue ink on paper. 8 3/4 x 11 1/4 in. (22.1 x 28.5 cm). Inscription: 0 / Pleasure Excursions St Augustine Fla [graphite, handwritten]. Verso is blank. Although it entered the museum's collection with other parts of *A Kiowa's Odyssey* and shares the same subject matter, evidence indicates that this drawing was not part of it. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.7.11.8r. Source: unknown.



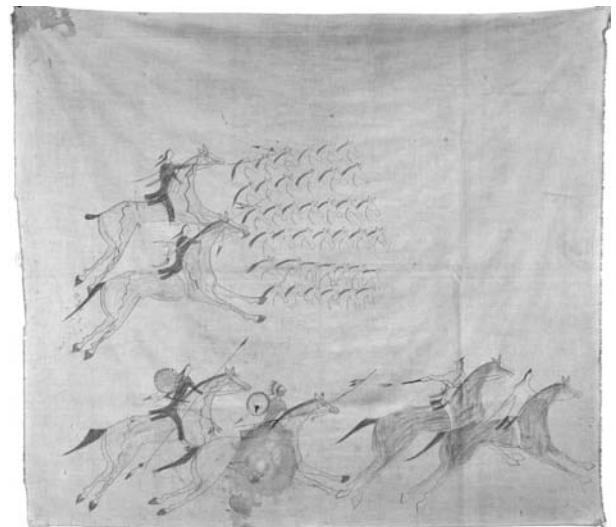
52 Plains Indian Style
Cloth Painted with a Sun Dance Ceremony Scene, n.d.

Cotton cloth painted with commercial dyes. 66 x 34 1/2 in. (167.8 x 87.6 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.13. Source: unknown.



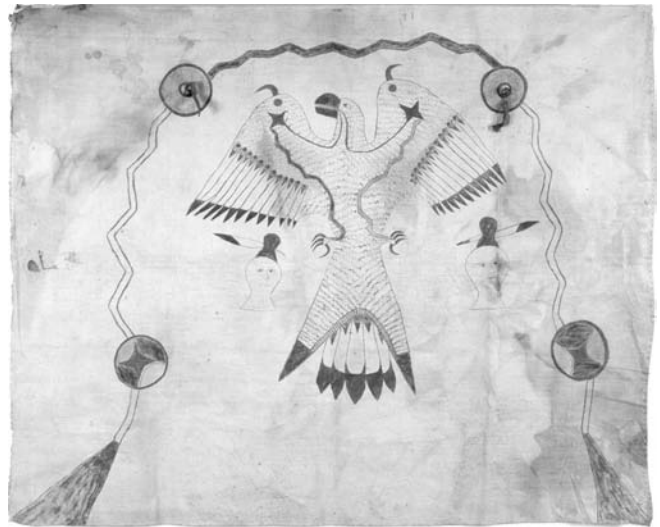
53 Plains Indian Style
Cloth Painted with a Horse Capture Scene, n.d.

Cotton cloth painted with commercial dyes. 35 x 39 in. (89.0 x 99.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.11. Source: unknown.



- 54 Plains Indian Style
Cloth Painted with an Outstretched Bird Motif, n.d.

Cotton cloth with pale blue grosgrain trim and red wool panels decorated with beaded applique in pale blue, black, yellow, and pale green; streamers of grosgrain ribbon in pale blue and white with brass bells; painted with commercial dyes. 34 1/2 x 43 in. (87.6 x 109.2 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1958.1.12. Source: unknown.



- 55 Plains Indian
Painted Hide Drum (rectangular), n.d.

Rawhide stretched over wooden box frame, painted with natural and commercial dyes, blood (?). 17 1/2 x 13 x 2 1/4 in. (44.5 x 33.0 x 5.7 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.12. Source: unknown.



- 56 Plains Indian
Painted Hide Drum (bell-shaped), n.d.

Rawhide stretched over bell-shaped wooden frame; rawhide handle; leather glove tied onto side; painted with natural and commercial dyes. 20 1/2 x 16 1/2 x 2 3/4 in. (52.1 x 41.9 x 7.0 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.14. Source: unknown.



- 57 Plains Indian
Rawhide Shield and Corn Cloth Cover Painted with Eagle and Buffalo Head Motifs, n.d.

Rawhide backing with cotton duck facing; painted with natural and commercial dyes, blood (?). 19 in. dia. (48.2 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.17. Source: unknown.



- 58 Western Great Lakes or Plains Indian (?)
Wood Pipe Stem, n.d.

Oak studded with brass tacks. 21 1/2 x 2 in. (54.5 x 5.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.30. Source: unknown.



- 59 Plains Indian
Wood Pipe Stem, n.d.

Oak wrapped with dyed porcupine quillwork in brown, orange, and white. 14 1/4 x 2 in. (36.8 x 5.1 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.11. Source: unknown.



- 60 Cheyenne
Cradle Model, n.d.

Rawhide with beading in pale blue, yellow, cobalt blue, and red; strap with fringe. Bag: 9 x 23 in. (22.8 x 58.4 cm); fringe: 9 1/4 in. (23.5 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.21. Source: unknown.



- 61 Plains Indian
Roach and Spreader, n.d.

Roach: commercially dyed horse hair in pink and orange, 7 in. (17.7 cm); ribbon streamers: grosgrain cloth in green, black, and tan, 30 in. (76.2 cm); spreader: bone, 4 1/2 in. (11.4 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.22. Source: unknown.



- 62 Northern Plains or Western Great Lakes Indian
Hide Pouch with Quillwork and Fringe, n.d.

Rawhide with porcupine quill border and tin pipe fringe. Pouch: 6 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. (16.5 x 16.5 cm); fringe: 3/4 in. (1.9 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.29. Source: unknown.



- 63 Plains Indian
Pair of Quilled Hide Moccasins, n.d.

Rawhide soles, buckskin uppers; decorated with porcupine quillwork and blue beads. Length: 10 in. (25.3 cm); depth (ankle to sole): 3 1/4 in. (8.2 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.7a-b. Source: unknown.



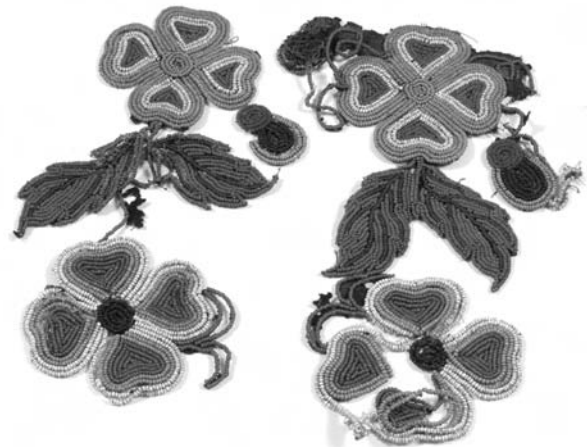
- 64a Great Lakes Indian
Pair of Women's Leggings, n.d.

Buckskin with beaded applique (see below). Length: 14 1/2 in. (36.8 cm); width: 9 in. (22.9 cm); applique panel: 13 1/2 x 4 in. (34.3 x 10.2 cm); panel fringe: 3 1/2 in. (9.2 cm); bottom fringe: 10 in. (25.4 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.20a-b. Source: unknown.



- 64b *Applique Decoration*, n.d.

Beaded appliques from a pair of women's leggings. The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.20c-e. Source: unknown.



- 65 Plains Indian
Necklace, n.d.

Bone, deer dew-claw pendants, rawhide, twine. Length: 24 in. (61.0 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.4. Source: unknown.



- 66 Cree
Beaded Headstall (bridle), n.d.

Cotton with pale blue grosgrain trim and red wool panels decorated with beaded applique in pale blue, black, yellow, and pale green; pale blue and white grosgrain ribbon; brass bells. Width of harness strip: 2.5 in. (6.4 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.26. Source: unknown.



- 67 Plains Indian
Ladle, n.d.

Carved cow horn. 9 in. (22.9 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.6. Source: unknown.



68 Plains Indian
War Club, n.d.

Stone with red and yellow pigments, wood, rawhide. 30 1/2 in. (77.5 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.1. Source: unknown.



69 Plains Indian
War Club, n.d.

Stone, rawhide, wood, bale twine. Combined length: 29 1/2 in. (74.9 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 1973.1.2a-b. Source: unknown.



70 Plains Indian
Arrow Shaft and Tassel, n.d.

Wooden shaft with rawhide tassel. Shaft: 22 1/4 in. (56.7 cm); tassel: 7 1/2 in. (19.0 cm). The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, 190.9.40a-b. Source: unknown.

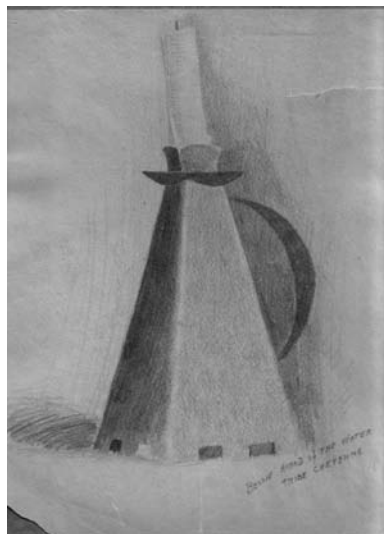


Artifacts — Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania

The works catalogued in this section represent a small sampling from the collection of artifacts related to the Carlisle Indian School in the Cumberland County Historical Society.

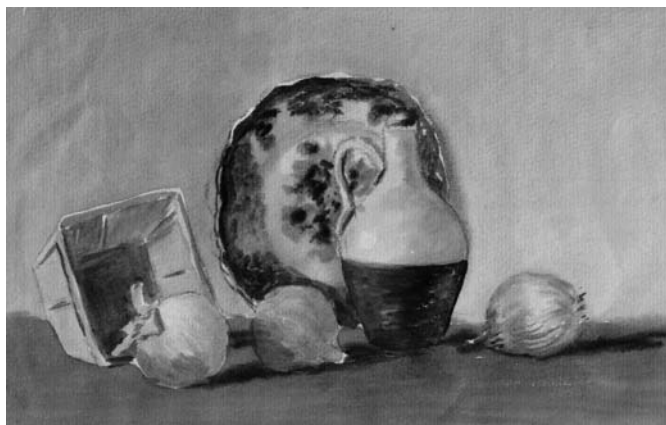
- 71 Bessie Afraid of the Water, Cheyenne
Untitled, n.d.

Graphite drawing on brown paper attached to chipboard.
Paper: 12 x 9 1/8 in. (30.6 x 23.0 cm). Inscription, obverse:
BESSIE AFRAID OF THE WATER / TRIBE CHEYENNE
[graphite, handwritten]. Courtesy of the Cumberland County
Historical Society, 87-36-58.



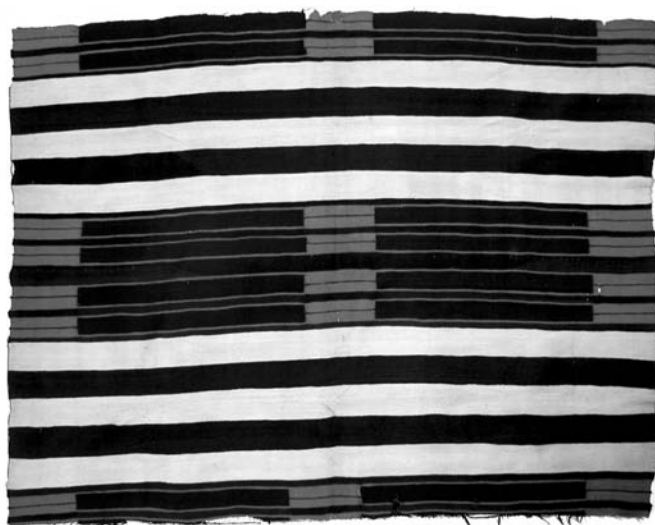
- 72 Thelma Greenwood
Still Life, n.d.

Watercolor on buff-colored laid paper. Paper: 7 1/2 x 11 1/4
in. (19.2 x 28.6 cm); image: 5 5/8 x 8 3/4 in. (14.2 x 22.0
cm). Inscriptions, reverse: Thelma Greenwood / W...nlett / gilt
mould[in]g [graphite, handwritten]. Courtesy of the
Cumberland County Historical Society, SG-3-5.



73 Navajo
Chief's Blanket, n.d.

Commercial dyed wool. 53 x 69 in. (135.3 x 176.5 cm).
Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society,
1935.011P002.



Front cover:

J. N. Choate, *Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe; Upon Their Arrival in Carlisle* (detail), n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 6 (cat. 8).

Back cover:

J. N. Choate, *Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe; Upon their Arrival in Carlisle*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 6 (cat. 9).

J. N. Choate, *Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe; 6 Months after Entrance to School*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Waidner-Spahr Library, Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 7 (cat. 10).

