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Commercializing Craft: Native American Artistry at Residential Schools Within the United States From the Late Nineteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century.

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Introduction

Education and the pursuit of knowledge are significant facets of Native American cultures and livelihoods. Native Americans utilized oral and practical instruction to teach children literature, geography, dance, art, botany, mathematics, music, and so on. Native people contributed their knowledge to the world through agricultural advancements, technological developments, and artistic techniques that were passed down from generation to generation. From the fifteenth to eighteenth century Native Americans interacted with American settlers and learned from these various groups; either times for better or for worse.[1] However, during the nineteenth century, the United States Federal Government took control of Native education and brought forth consequential changes for indigenous peoples and their cultures.[2] As the United States of America invaded the physical boundaries of Native American territories they simultaneously deconstructed Native American cultural boundaries as well.

During industrialization in the late nineteenth century, the United States Federal Government declared that the nation continued to be held back by the affliction they called the "Indian problem."[3] The Federal Government asserted that the "Indian problem" lay in the issue that Native Americans still inhabited large pieces of land and practiced traditional cultures that "modern America" deemed not compatible with their current agenda of progressing America towards Industrialization.[4] The United States Indian Peace Commission tasked with solving the "Indian problem" and performing as the federal government's last major attempt at a peaceful settlement with the various Native American tribes thought they found a solution. In 1870 the

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[1] Lorene Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 1-2.
[2] Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*, 4-6.
[3] Lindsay M Montgomery and Chip Colwell, *Objects of Survivance: A Material History of the American Indian School Experience* (Louisville: University Press of Colorado, 2019), 1-2.
[4] Montgomery and Colwell, *Objects of Survivance*, 3.

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commission proposed that boarding schools should be established to “civilize” Native American children to become “good American citizens.[5]

Richard Henry Pratt, who founded and worked as the superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School, became a prominent voice among residential school advocates following this directive as suggestions increasingly developed among government agents. Richard Henry Pratt took the initiative and created an educational philosophy determined to “kill the Indian to save the man” into each aspect of Native American education.[6] The Federal Government forcibly removed Native children from their homelands and placed them into one of the many residential schools across the United States so they could be molded to fit the Anglo-American ideology of what a “productive citizen” looked like. Upon entry to the boarding schools, students underwent a process to immediately "de-Indianize” themselves from their traditional dress, hair, language, and cultures.[7]

The United States Government’s motivation behind educating Native Americans did not work to advance them intellectually but to train them for their laborious position within society so that they could contribute to the American workforce in ways the Federal Government deemed fit. Therefore, the government prioritized incorporating classes that focused on instructing students on vocational trades such as shoe making and sewing.[8] Between the late nineteenth to early twentieth century a national phenomenon occurred that upon first glance contradicted the "de-Indianizing” methods at residential boarding schools. The United States Federal Government enacted courses on indigenous artistry for Native children at residential boarding schools across the country to produce indigenous crafts. Through the development of

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[5] Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona 1891-1935*, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 5-7.
[6] Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 5-7.
[7] Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 6-9.
[8] Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School*, 6-9.

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these new indigenous art classes, the United States Federal Government repackaged the same motive of getting Native children to contribute to the American workforce uniquely.

My thesis specifically focused on federally instructed and federally implemented Native American art at residential boarding schools from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Specifically, I analyzed the evolution of the Native art curriculum at the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma which operated from 1884-1980, and the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania which ran from 1879-1918. I chose these two schools for the thesis because they reflected commonalities experienced at most residential schools across the nation when it came to how and why the Federal Government implemented the Native art curriculum at residential schools. Second, the geographic locations of the schools show that the indigenous craft phenomenon did not take place in a specific area but in various states across the country. From the Chilocco Indian School, I gathered evidence that showed the advertisement of indigenous crafts in the schools' local papers and journals. From the analysis of the Carlisle Indian School, I collected findings on the United States Federal Government's assimilation of indigenous art through reading the words of Angel De Cora, a Winnebago tribal art instructor who worked at the school and specifically taught indigenous crafts. To unite both schools in their adherence to federal residential school regulations I evaluated the federal curriculum written by Estelle Reel while she served as the superintendent at all residential schools during the early twentieth century.

The two research questions that drove my thesis were as follows: What were the Federal Government's motives behind integrating Native American art education into residential schools between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Then from finding that the Federal Governments' motives were focused on economics, I questioned: How did these economic motives affect the indigenous art curriculum? My thesis argued that the commercialization of indigenous crafts and the profits it brought to the country at large constituted the chief

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motivation for the United States Federal Government to incorporate Native American curricula into residential schools. Based on that conclusion, I claimed that the commercialization of indigenous artistry prioritized the survival of traditional indigenous art over traditional Native children, and by doing so took artistic autonomy out of the hands of Native Americans and into the pockets of the Federal Government.

To support my thesis the primary sources that I first evaluated included the residential school course studies directed by and published by the Federal Government in 1901. These course studies issued strict guidelines for how and what Native children could be taught in residential schools. To assess the motive of commercialization, I inspected advertisements from the *Indian School* Journal; a journal published by students and printed in the print shop at Chilocco that included articles and advertisements about the Indian service. Specifically, I analyzed publications from the journal that promoted the sale of indigenous crafts that came from the work of Native students. Evidence that supports the claim of the loss of indigenous autonomy will be provided through an analysis of photographs and through the writings of a Native American teacher named Angel De Cora, a former employee at the Carlisle Indian School who taught traditional indigenous artistry. My research asserted that the resurgence of traditional Native American artistry in residential school curricula is an extension of Pratt's "kill the Indian to save the man" mentality that drove both economic incentives and cultural assimilation motivations. While I acknowledged that the production of indigenous craft in some respect allowed Native American students to interact with their cultures, my thesis contended that such interactions took place under the guise of "killing the Indian," by taking creative autonomy out of their control and hence, "saving the man", by having them contribute to the American economy as any "good-standing citizen" would.

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The terminology that my thesis followed concerning the utilization of the word art versus craft varies depending upon the application. Throughout my thesis, I referred to the artistry that Native students completed at the school as a craft rather than the term art because of the intention behind these pieces. Traditionally, craft is defined as an item that is made with a function in mind and requires the training of a specific skill.[9] Examples of crafts include skills in pottery, weaving, and joinery. Whereas, art, is not always made with a function in mind and the object is a physical expression of the maker.[10] The indigenous Art Curriculum at residential boarding schools trained students to practice a specific craft that would make them better basket weavers or pottery makers. The objects that students created all had a function in mind that consumers bought the item for. Unlike other artists, students did not have creative liberties with their aesthetics so their freedom to express themselves artistically was not under the same conditions. Therefore, my thesis used the term craft rather than art to highlight that the indigenous art curriculum trained students to craft products that American consumers demanded rather than encourage personal expression through artistry. The term art is used throughout my thesis only in regard to the title of the curriculum program and the words of federal guidelines. Nevertheless, it is important to state that indigenous crafts made at residential boarding schools were no less significant than other arts and merit a global appreciation for their work. Native art is a completely free form of expression of indigenous makers, Native craft at residential boarding schools was the antithesis of that.

The thesis followed a thematic format to answer the two main research questions. The first section discusses the history of the industrial art program at the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School and the way it led to the incorporation of the indigenous art

[9] Sally J. Markowitz, "The Distinction between Art and Craft," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 28, no. 1 (1994): 55–70, https://doi.org/10.2307/3333159. 57.
[10] Markowitz, "The Distinction between Art and Craft," 58.

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curriculum. The Industrial Arts program functioned to civilize and train students into becoming productive American citizens. The Federal Government capitalized off the labor that students completed but the Bureau of Indian Affairs found a new way for schools to profit off Native work. This change takes my thesis into the second section that focuses on the Federal Government's incorporation of indigenous crafts into residential schools and the Federal Government's motives. Estelle Reel's 1901 curriculum guide for residential schools across America highlighted the Federal Government's pursuit of monetary benefits that came from instructing and selling indigenous crafts. The curriculum guide instructed all residential schools across the country to adopt an indigenous art program, which meant that this phenomenon did not just happen at a handful of schools. The third section of the thesis delves into the indigenous art program curriculum at just two schools; the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle School. Insights into what these Native art classes looked like, the content they learned, and the people chosen to instruct students on indigenous arts showcased the lack of cultural autonomy that students had over their own artistic expression. Native aesthetics and patterns pandered to what white Americans deemed trendy and from there residential schools selected what indigenous crafts students supplied. The thesis ends with a reflection on the commercialization of indigenous arts that came straight from the residential schools to the American public. Advertisements and exhibit photographs taken of indigenous crafts provide evidence that the Federal Government decision to incorporate a Native art curriculum came from an economical driven motive.

Historical Background

During the nineteenth century, the industrial art program at residential schools behaved as the main feature to uphold the Federal Government's economic motives. The Federal

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Government first introduced and instructed Native students in industrial arts before indigenous art. The main motive behind the Federal Government's reasoning for integrating Western art education into residential school curricula advanced due to the need for capitalizing off industrial labor.[11] Art education became a tool for schools to prepare children for their future industrial careers in the American workforce. These federally introduced "industrial arts" taught residential school students how to paint carriages, make shoes, perform metal work, and acquire skills in carpentry.[12] To finetune these handiwork skills, residential school students took courses where they painted portraits and learned new color forms to help them adhere to the Anglo-American style of art they would need to assimilate into the workforce.[13] The curriculum tasked residential schools with preparing students to become "good American citizens" and productive workers of society. The Federal Government wanted the most bang for its buck, so if they invested a lot of money to "civilize" Native American children there needed to be a way to capitalize on that investment.

Nonetheless, during the peak of the industrial art program at residential schools in the early twentieth century, the Federal Government observed that the return on investment they hoped to gain did not live up to their expectations. While student success in adopting industrial art skills climbed, the schools' success rate in transitioning students to the American workforce declined because of racist treatment.[14] The unwillingness of employers to hire Native American led many students to "return to the blanket" of their home reservation and reside there. The

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[11] Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, and Peter Meyer, "Education, IQ, and the Legitimation of the Social Division of Labor," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 20, (1975), 233-235. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41336295

[12] Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer, "Education, IQ, and the Legitimation of the Social Division of Labor," 233-235.

[13] Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer, "Education, IQ, and the Legitimation of the Social Division of Labor," 233-235.

[14] Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze. Primitivism, Modernism, and the Transculturation in American Art* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 59.

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Federal Government saw Native Americans returning home to the reservation as a loss of their investment and a failure of their ability to properly assimilate Native American children.

Superintendent of Residential Schools Estelle Reel implemented a new curriculum that would have indigenous art at the forefront in place of the industrial arts. In response to the failure of the industrial art movement, Reel developed a new curriculum focused on preparing students for their future occupations in a way more tailored to their community.[15] In 1901 Reel launched the initiative of integrating traditional Native American craft into the curriculum at residential schools so that the Federal Government could "save Native American art from dying out as an art form."[16] Returning to Pratt's philosophy that residential schools must fulfill the call to "kill the Indian to save the man," Estelle Reel's curriculum change demonstrated the true motives of the Native American art program that sought to save indigenous crafts more so than the men themselves. From the government's perspective, no longer was the focus on saving the man from the perils of being Native American but much rather on rescuing the profitable crafts that were threatened with extinction. The federal course of study began to be enforced at each residential school across the United States including the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School. The Federal Government encouraged residential students far and wide to practice and produce traditional indigenous crafts that could be sold to and put on display for American society. Welcomed with open arms by residential school leaders, Reel's curriculum continued to be utilized far into the mid-twentieth century.[17]

The "Indian craze" drove the indigenous art curriculum at residential schools across the country to new heights.[18] The origin of the term comes from an assortment of journal articles on the widespread appreciation for collecting indigenous craft in the beginning of the twentieth

[15] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 60.
[16] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 61-62.
[17] Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School,* 20.
[18] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 2.

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century.[19] The trend in collecting indigenous crafts stemmed from the increased availability of Native American art to white Americans.[20] During this time period, Native baskets, blankets, and jewelry became more available at all sorts of commercial venues.[21] Some locations where indigenous crafts were sold included department stores, galleries, and Native reservations. However, a last avenue that led to the dramatic increase of indigenous art production while still dedicated to the eradication of Native culture was residential schools.

Historiography

The historiography includes three main themes: the assimilation tactics embedded into the residential school curriculum, the history of Native American crafts at residential schools, and the sale of Native American crafts from the reservation off to American society. Rarely are these themes discussed in conjunction with one another because scholars often set these themes apart. My historiography takes a thematic approach rather than a chronological one so that the literature is organized by topic. The following historiography will address each theme as well as the scholars that reside within each topic. Additionally, there will be a discussion on how each scholar's piece of literature will connect to the argumentation made in my thesis.

The first historiographic theme is the focus on the imperialist motives and practices that residential boarding schools enforced. A group of authors that belong to this specific theme are Lorene Sisquoc, Jean A. Keller, and Clifford E. Trafzer in their book titled, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences,* published in 2006. The book discusses the experience of Native American boarding schools that provided both "positive and negative influences" for Native children.[22] Sisquoc and her colleagues state that the government

[19] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 3.
[20] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 3.
[21] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 3.
[22] Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues,* 1-20.

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succeeded in providing vocational education to Native children and aided them in learning artisanal skills that could be implemented in American society, but they failed to assimilate Native children entirely and destroy the essence of Native cultures.[23] My thesis aligns more with the negative side of what Sisquoc and her colleagues argue. While I contend that in some ways Native students kept their cultures alive, I insist that residential schools colonized Native students and took away their decision-making power over their art.

A second work within the historiography that aligns with the theme of residential school imperialization is Ward Churchill is, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools,* released in 2004. Churchill's book evaluates the genocidal impact that Native American residential schools had on Native children.[24] Unlike Sisquoc and her colleagues, Churchill does not discuss how Native American students found outlets to escape assimilation and routes to preserve their cultures. Similar to Churchill, I claim that the incorporation of a traditional indigenous art curriculum into schools behaved as education imperialism, but unlike Churchill, I still contend that Native students interacted with their cultures in ways that could be viewed as empowering during the time period.

The second main theme within the historiography discusses the relationship between art education and American Indian residential schools. One author who contributes to this theme is Marinella Lentis in her book *Colonized through Art: American Indian Schools and Art Education, 1889-1915,* published in 2017. The author claims that the Federal Government used art education as an instrument to "colonize the consciousness" of Native American children while instilling values and ideals of Western society.[25] Lentis argues that during the early

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[23] Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*, 7-8.
[24] Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2004), 5-8.
[25] Marinella Lentis, *Colonized through Art: American Indian Schools and Art Education, 1889-1915* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1r69w37, 1-3.

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twentieth-century educational theories viewed art as a way to promote virtues and a foundation for morality.[26] The author specifically studied the Albuquerque Indian School and the Sherman Institute that operated in California to explore how the Federal Government instructed Native children to abandon their cultural heritage and produce artificially "indigenous" crafts by the demand of the Federal Government.[27] The work of Lentis lines up with my thesis because I discuss how the installation of Native American craft is a continuation of cultural imperialism that placed Western values at its core. My thesis differs in that I evaluate the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian school for my study.

A second work that aligns with the theme of discussing art education at residential schools is Elizabeth Hutchinson's work titled *The Indian Craze* from 2009. In her book, Hutchinson defines the "Indian craze" as the "widespread passion for collecting Native American art" which resulted in heightened production of indigenous craft.[28] The author sketches out a concept of indigenous aesthetics and their relation to the obsession with Indian-made objects.[29] My thesis expands on the framework that Hutchinson laid out by discussing the ways that the Federal Government portrayed Native American craft aesthetics to appeal to the general public. Specifically, my thesis discusses the stereotypical aesthetic of what the Federal Government determined indigenous craft to be and not to be. *The Indian Craze* leads me to the third section of the historiography that deals with the commercialization of indigenous craft.

The last theme within the historiography is the commercialization of indigenous crafts and the effects of selling indigenous work to the American market. One author that aligns with this theme is Norman Denzin in his 2016 book titled, *Indians on Display: Global*

[26] Lentis, *Colonized through Art*, 31-33.
[27] Lentis, *Colonized through Art*, 35-36.
[28] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 51-54.
[29] Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze*, 55.

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Commodification of Native America in Performance, Art, and Museums.[30] Denzin transforms and adapts the ethnographic research data collected into a historical ethnodrama.[31] The book claims that the United States government commodified indigenous crafts for the gratification and pleasure of oppressive outsiders. My thesis extends the perspective of Denzin, who discussed the commodification of indigenous crafts that came from the work of Native students. Specifically, I narrowed my focus exclusively to the sale of indigenous crafts that took place at residential schools and its regulation by the Federal Government.

A second group of authors who have made arguments on the theme of commercializing indigenous art are Carter Meyer and Diana Royer. In the 2001 released work, *Selling the Indian*, Carter Meyer and Diana Royer address the issue of non-Native consumption of inaccurate depictions of indigenous art.[32] To elaborate on the effects of cultural imperialism that the indigenous art curricula had in the hands of the Federal Government, my thesis adopts the stance that Meyer and Royer took by emphasizing the indigenous authenticity that is at stake when it comes to the Federal Government seizing control over the indigenous art curriculum. My thesis implemented Meyer and Royer's stance but also provided another specific example of how "selling the Indian" can also be examined at residential boarding schools from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

In sum, while the current historiography on residential schools, Native American art, and the commercialization of indigenous craft is rich in content; the disconnection between these three subjects has created a major gap on the topic of the sale of Native American artistry at residential schools. I aspired to fill in some of these gaps in the literature and have my work serve as a stepping stone so that more research can eventually be conducted in this field.

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[30] Norman K. Denzin, *Indians on Display: Global Commodification of Native America in Performance, Art, and Museums* (Walnut Creek: Routledge, 2013), 13-15.
[31] Denzin, *Indians on Display*, 13-15.
[32] Meyer and Royer, *Selling the Indian*, 216-218.

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Furthermore, my thesis takes a connected approach that incorporates all three topics of cultural imperialism, Native American art education, and commercialization by applying them to specific schools such as the Carlisle Indian School and Chilocco Indian School. In doing so, my thesis provides a fresh research intervention on the sale of indigenous crafts at residential boarding schools within America from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

A History of the Two Schools

In 1879 the United States government formed the first residential school located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania to start its assimilation efforts of "killing the Indian to save the man."[33] The Carlisle Indian School's founder and first superintendent, Richard Henry Pratt, carried out the mission to remove as many Native children from their reservation so the Federal Government could de-Indianize them.[34] Pratt's main objective at the Carlisle Indian School was to prepare Native American youth for societal assimilation that would equip students with sufficient skills to behave as any other American citizen. While the school only operated for about thirty-nine years from 1879 to 1918, enrollment at the Carlisle Indian School reached over 10,500 students in total and students came from nearly every Native nation in the United States.[35] Pratt recruited students from every indigenous reservation to universalize his experiment, and to facilitate the obliteration of Native cultures.

The curriculum implemented at the Carlisle Indian School focused heavily on the instruction of industrial skills. Native students learned vocational trades that prepared them for integration within white American society and labor off the reservation.[36] The superintendent

[33] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, and Susan D. Rose, "Introduction" in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations,* Edited by Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 25.
[34] Fear-Segal and Rose, "Introduction," 27.
[35] Fear-Segal and Rose, "Introduction," 25.
[36] Fear-Segal and Rose, "Introduction," 11.

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advocated that for Natives to "become the white man" they essentially had "to work like the white man."[37] Pratt's Carlisle Indian School "experiment" of transforming Native children from "savagery" to "civilization" proved to be a desirable blueprint for the Federal Indian School Boarding system and residential schools across America followed in its lead.

Pratt's "successful" process of "killing the Indian to save the man" led to the establishment of the Chilocco Indian School and many other residential schools across the nation. Established in 1884 and closed in 1980, the Chilocco Indian School was located in Newkirk, Oklahoma.[38] Over the years, the Chilocco Indian School enrolled students from a wide range of tribal backgrounds that included among others the Ottawa, Sioux, Wichita, Seneca, Pawnee, and Eastern Cherokee tribes.[39] The student population of the school varied from time to time, but by the time the school closed after 94 years of operation, over 18,000 students had attended the school.[40]

The curriculum at the Chilocco Indian School varied between agricultural and industrial subjects, depending upon the success it had with the student population. First established as an agricultural school, the Chilocco Indian School agricultural program became subordinate to the need to teach students to be self-sufficient workers.[41] More generally, by the early twentieth century the school's popular industrial curriculum quickly overpowered agricultural instruction as the priority in education. The industrial curriculum covered a basic educational plan but strongly emphasized manual labor. These vocational classes had girls learning domestic skills, whereas boys attended trade department classes such as carpentry and blacksmithing to keep them on a vocational track.

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[37] Fear-Segal and Rose, "Introduction," 12.
[38] Tsianina Lomawaima, K, *They called it prairie light: the story of Chilocco Indian School,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 10.
[39] Lomawaima, *They called it prairie light,* 16.
[40] Lomawaima, *They called it prairie light,* 18.
[41] Lomawaima, *They called it prairie light,* 18.

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While much investment went into the vocational program at the Chilocco Indian School, the school recognized the incorporation of Native American crafts could be a great financial investment. Nevertheless, even though the industrial programs at the Carlisle and Chilocco Indian Schools performed with much social popularity, the Federal Government saw a monetary opportunity to invest in the newly incorporated indigenous art curricula. The Federal Government believed that agricultural and industrial skills alone were not enough to capitalize on; the instruction of Native American crafts became the answer to how they could make more money from the schools.

Industrial Art Curriculum at Residential Schools

Before the installment of indigenous art education at residential schools across the country came the enforcement of industrial art practices at each school. Industrial arts are defined as a course of study that aims at developing the technical and manual skills that are necessary when working with tools and machinery. The primary motivation that influenced the introduction of industrial arts at residential schools came from the conclusion that training students in a vocational trade would entice them to take these new skills to the American workforce rather than the reservation. The goal of the industrial art program was to transform "uncivilized" Native children into productive American workers. The following section addresses the motivations for industrial art practices and how their primary motivations translate into the same rationale for introducing indigenous art programs at each residential school.

The federal industrial art curriculum that students adhered to at residential schools included the study of industrial careers, techniques, and styles that Native students could adapt to learning and then utilize once they enter the American workforce.[42] Some industrial art skills for

[42] Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man*, 5-8.

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boys included shoe making, blacksmithing, and carpentry; whereas the instruction to young girls covered expertise in areas such as cooking and sewing.[43] The main reasoning that lay behind the Government's motivation for integrating industrial art education into residential school curricula advanced due to the need to capitalize off industrial labor. Industrial art education became a tool for schools to prepare children for their future industrial careers in the American workforce. The Federal Government's ingrained mindset of "killing the Indian" to "save the man" meant that they could control the fate of Native Americans by indoctrinating them into compliant, hard-working citizens.[44]

Figure 1 Photograph of the Sewing Room at the Chilocco Indian School, 1891

The implementation of the industrial art curriculum at the exemplary residential programs of the Chilocco and Carlisle Indian schools is evident in numerous photos taken at the schools. Captured in June 1891 at the Chilocco Indian School, Figure 1 shows a class of thirteen young

[43] Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man,* 5-8.
[44] Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer, "Education, IQ, and the legitimation of the social division of labor," 233-235.

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girls positioned beside their sewing machines.[45] The school commissioned American Frontier photographer William Prettyman to take this photo alongside a collection of others.[46] Although the picture is posed, it provided evidence to the Federal Government and American society of the physical improvement and adaptations that Native students made at the residential schools, as these types of photos were often circulated among the Bureau of Indian Affairs to track the progress of Native assimilation. The photograph served as evidence that these schools could "kill the Indian to save the man" through industrial art programs and identified the Federal Government provision of money to the program.

While hand sewing has been an essential skill throughout various Native American cultures, the photo shows that students could no longer use those skills to sew items onto their traditional dress but now had to use sewing skills towards patching up their residential school uniforms. In the sewing classes like the one pictured in Figure 1 students often sewed not to create new clothes but to patch up old ones that had turned to rags, as the material given to students often deteriorated and wore away very easily.[47] The dresses that the students are wearing in the photograph were mostly patched up by themselves, not once or twice but continuously until they grew out of the dress and could pass it down to another student at the school.

The Federal Government implemented sewing as an industrial art so that students could not only practice a skill that could be used in the American workforce but also for the government to make an investment. Instead of using paid laborers to patch up student clothing, the Federal Government employed the students themselves. From an economic perspective, with

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[45] William S Prettyman, photographer, "Photograph of the Sewing Room at the Chilocco Indian School," Arkansas City, KS: 1891, From Oklahoma Historical Society: *Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection,* https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc1621155/?q=chilocco%20indian%20school
[46] Prettyman,"Photograph of the Sewing Room at the Chilocco Indian School."
[47] Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man,* 5-8.

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more clothing repaired, there would be fewer new uniforms the school would have to buy. From an investment standpoint, the industrial art program capitalized off student work at the school as well as their future career in the American workforce. The school hoped young women like those pictured in Figure 1 would implement their sewing skills acquired at the school to tailor American textiles in their future careers. The Federal Government seized the opportunity to invest in the industrial training of Native students so that they could make money off their future labor.

Figure 2 The Shoe Shop – Soling and Finishing Soles, 1901

The Federal implementation of the industrial art program was evident at schools across the country through their various vocational training classes, one of which was shoemaking. Taken at the Carlisle Indian School in 1901, the photo in Figure 2 shows three male students and a white male instructor working in the shoe shop.[48] The Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioned

[48] Johnston, "Shoe Shop- Soling and Finishing Shoes."

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American photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston to document the Carlisle Indian school and this photo was taken in the process.[49] The photo was presented alongside a collection of other photographs taken at the school to be presented to an American audience and hence pandered to that. This way, people who had never seen the school could get a glimpse of the de-Indianization progress.[50] In Figure 2 students were dressed in their Carlisle School uniform which consisted of a buttoned shirt, pants, shoes, and smock to keep them clean. Additionally, all their hair was cut short to fit the American style.

Like many other photographs, Figure 2 served as a testament to the Federal Government that these industrial programs worked in "de-Indianizing" students. Figure 2 demonstrated that students had forgotten their indigenous culture and adapted to the life of an average American citizen by learning the necessary skills such as shoemaking. By including the white instructor in the photograph, Figure 2 highlighted assimilation efforts that happened under the hands and instruction of white Americans. The Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioned these photographs to collect evidence that through Federal financial support the industrial art program Americanized Native students; therefore, the Bureau claimed that the Federal Government should continue to fund the industrial curriculum.

The photograph posed the male students in a fashion to display to American society that these students were hard at work under the instruction of their white teacher. Specifically, Figure 2 shows students soling and finishing shoes that would be given to students at the school. Again, the Federal Government gained back on its investment in teaching students a trade they could learn to contribute to the American labor force and used student employment to their utmost advantage. Capitalizing on Native students became the main reason why the curriculum at residential schools was tailored towards industrial skills.

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[49] Johnston, "Shoe Shop- Soling and Finishing Shoes."
[50] Fear-Segal and Rose, "Introduction," 20.

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The industrial art curriculum played a key role in the education of Native American children at residential schools where students learned industrial careers and the skill of "industrial drawing." The practice of industrial drawing involved the instruction of Western art concepts such as portraits and paintings to finetune the handiwork of Native students. The prior sentiment behind it is best explained by Edward Isaac Clark in the 1885 Government Report *Art and Industries* as he stated, "'Industrial drawing'...is equally necessary, whether the after training of the child is to be that of an artisan or a citizen engaged in any productive pursuit."[51] Additionally, Clark asserted that "all can be taught to draw...that many are thereby fitted to become skillful workers in artistic industries."[52] The concept that industrial drawing could help train skillful workers and the ideology that "anyone can learn to draw" was slowly applied to the Native Americans during the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

Even at a time when many white Americans believed in a racialized difference and held lower standards for Native crafts, the economic gains that could come from the skills of industrial drawing outweighed their prejudices. The Federal Government believed that by investing in the industrial art education of Native American students, they could capitalize off the work they contributed both during their time spent at the school and once they graduated. They also believed that industrial drawing was the best way to train students in both hand and eye coordination so that students could apply these skills to the manufacturing of goods.[53] Additionally, to avoid industrial inferiority on a global scale, America called on everyone to learn industrial drawing to compete with international markets and that included Native students.[54]

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[51] Isaac Edwards Clarke, Art and Industry, *Education in the Industrial and Fine Arts in the United States. Part I: Drawing in Public Schools, (Washington*, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), 25.
[52] Clarke, *Education in the Industrial and Fine Arts in the United States*, 25.
[53] Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man*, 30.
[54] Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man*, 30.

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In these industrial drawing courses, Native students learned about the utilization of color, form, and technique.[55] The curriculum varied in the type of drawings the students made depending upon the student's age and skill. Younger students would be instructed to build an understanding of colors by classifying shades with the goal of developing a "proper" way of seeing the world.[56] Different Native American cultures perceived color in various ways; however, those perceptions were eradicated and replaced with an Anglo-American outlook. The Bureau of Indian Affairs felt that not only did students need to be taught new skills but also reprogram any indigenous knowledge they still maintained.

As children progressed in the program, they were instructed to work on their drawing form and technique. Most popularly this was done by drawing still life such as fruit, flowers, and landscapes.[57] This area of expertise required students to be able to replicate what they saw before them, a transferable skill that could be taken to an industrial career. The curriculum did not allow for students to have creative liberties and was repetitive. The industrial drawing programs at residential schools were established so that students could become fruitful American laborers, not artists. The Bureau of Indian Affairs perceived student craft more as a form of manual training than as actual American art.

[55] Lentis, *Colonized through Art: American Indian Schools and Art Education*, 25.
[56] Lentis, *Colonized through Art: American Indian Schools and Art Education*, 25.
[57] Lentis, *Colonized through Art: American Indian Schools and Art Education*, 25.

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Figure 3 Female Student Painting at an Easel, 1914

An example of an industrial drawing that took place at many residential schools to finetune Native handiwork is captured in Figure 3. Photographed in the year 1914 at the Carlisle Indian School, the picture located in Figure 3 depicts a female student standing in front of an easel, copying a drawing of flowers that sits before her.[58] The Cumberland County Historical Society identified the female student as Nettie Standing Bear, a member of the Sioux tribe, and although her age is not identified she appears to be in her teenage years.[59] The posed nature of the picture that has Nettie Standing Bear in a squared standing position with her eyes trained on flowers and her hand held in an upright position speaks to how industrial drawing was intended

[58] "Female Student Painting at an Easel." Photograph. C1914. From Carlisle Indian School Resource Center: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1910-1919. https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/female-student-painting-easel-c-1914
[59] "Female Student Painting at an Easel."

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to appear. This photo would have been circulated within the Bureau of Indian Affairs to attest to the success that industrial drawing had with imparting manual labor skills onto Native children.

Nettie Standing Bear practiced the art of replication so that her drawing would look the same as the example she was given. This skill was intended to help sharpen her drawing abilities and train her to work strictly with what image she was shown. No artistic liberties were taken with these drawings because the task was not to test students' creative abilities but their hand-eye coordination. It was these skills used to draw flowers that could be applied to carriage painting, woodworking, sewing, and so on. Therefore, the Federal Government deemed these drawings and painting classes worthy enough to include in the residential school curricula.

Residential schools across America employed the industrial art program to "civilize" Native students into becoming productive citizens. The industrial art program instructed Native students to obtain technical and manual skills that were essential when working with tools and machinery. The Federal Government encouraged graduates to leave reservation life behind and assimilate into American society by using the vocational skills they acquired at the school. Both the work that students completed at school and in the workforce served as opportunities for the American Government to capitalize off their labor. Nevertheless, the Federal Government noticed that a lot of Native graduates were returning to their reservations rather than entering American society due to racist treatment that left them jobless. The Federal Government perceived the return of Native Americans to the reservation as a loss of their investment and a failure of their ability to properly assimilate Native children.[60] As a solution to this problem, the Federal Government introduced the indigenous art curriculum into residential schools across America.

[60] Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues,* 29.

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The Federal Regulation of a Native American Art Curriculum

The incorporation of indigenous arts at Native American residential schools across the United States began with federal guidelines created and disseminated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. One official, Estelle Reel, performed as a key player in the Federal Government by transforming the curriculum at Native American residential schools. Reel served as a high-ranking woman in the federal bureaucracy by fulfilling the role of Superintendent of Indian Schools from 1898 to 1910.[61] Much like the superintendents before her, Reel traveled to residential schools across the country to report everything she noticed as she inspected the curriculum and operations of the schools.[62] Reel recognized that the residential schools across the country were struggling with curriculum uniformity and wanted to remedy the disorganized education. Based on that experience, Reel wrote a *Uniform Course of Study* to homogenize and standardize curricula across all residential schools.[63] By August 1901, Reel completed her curriculum report and over 3,000 copies were made of the report and distributed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs throughout the country for residential schools to adopt new curriculum federal guidelines.

The main purpose of the curriculum guide created by Estelle Reel aimed to implement indigenous art study into every operating residential school in America. In the newly published *Course of Study of Indian Schools*, the Office of Superintendent of Indian School wrote to all agents and teachers at residential schools: "This course is designed to give teachers a definite idea of the work that should be done in the schools to advance pupils...to usefulness and

[61] Tsianina K. Lomawaima and T. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996): 5–31, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24398294, 5.
[62] Lomawaima and Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools," 6.
[63] Lomawaima and Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools," 7.

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citizenship."[64] Therefore, Reel's new course of study fully intended to have strictly enforced guidelines to be adopted into each residential school rather than loose recommendations that residential schools could choose to incorporate or not. Also, Reel declared that the end goal was for students to work towards being seen as useful citizens which were attributes that the Federal Government did not associate with Native students at the time. Reel added: "It should be the constant aim of the teacher to follow this course" so that each school could do its part to achieve the assimilation efforts of the United States.[65] In the same breath, the *Course of Study of Indian Schools* of 1901 desired to have each school adhere to a federal standardized curriculum that would prepare students for their transition to American society and finetune student skills that would contribute towards the betterment of the United States.

One of the new skills that the United States Federal Government incorporated into residential school curricula focused on the creation of indigenous crafts. Indigenous crafts included Native American cultural items that were made with a specific function in mind and required the training of a particular skill to make. Reel evaluated indigenous craftsmanship and believed that Native Americans had great skills in creating indigenous crafts.[66] From Reel's perspective, Native Americans' immense skill in these indigenous crafts demonstrated that these students had room for intellectual growth and adaptability in the American workforce.[67] At the turn of the century, Reel saw the national interest in handicrafts and Native arts that could provide an economic incentive towards training students in indigenous arts.[68] So, when publishing the *Course of Study of Indian Schools* federal curriculum guide, Reel included a whole section on indigenous crafts that should be implemented in each residential school.

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[64] Estelle Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 5.
[65] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*. 6.
[66] Lomawaima and Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools," 18.
[67] Lomawaima and Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools," 18.
[68] Lomawaima and Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools," 18.

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Indigenous basketry was one popular Native craft that the Bureau of Indian Affairs promoted for students to make at each residential school for sale. In the section titled "Basketry and Caning," Reel wrote to agents and superintendents at all residential schools that "it is desired by the Indian Bureau that basketry be taught in the Indian Schools."[69] Reel claimed that the most suitable teachers for this position were "Indian basket makers" who had the ability and knowledge to instruct students on traditional indigenous skills that were required to perform proper Native American basketry.[70] While other aspects of Native American cultures were expected to be forgone, indigenous basketry was one specific area where Native American intervention was accepted. This was because aesthetically, basketry was extremely popular in America in the early twentieth century and recognized as a highly sought-after item. Reel stated that "the demand for baskets was never greater than now" and that "thousands are imported yearly."[71] Indigenous craft was not solely composed of basketry but also items such as pottery and jewelry; however, the Federal Government did not recommend that these crafts also be made at the school because they were not as popular among white Americans. The Federal Government chose which aspects of Native American culture sold best with American society and from there decided that it was these crafts that could be implemented in the training of Native students.

Reel argued that the incorporation of indigenous crafts put American society in the position to save indigenous crafts from cultural extinction and increased the supply of Native craftsmanship. The incorporation of specific indigenous crafts came out of the belief that indigenous basketry "is fast becoming a lost art and must be revived by the children of the present generation."[72] Reel, like many during the period, portrayed Native crafts as a dying art

[69] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 54.
[70] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 54.
[71] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 57.
[72] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 54.

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that was slowly nearing extinction with the passing of each generation. The superintendent stated that these Native students are held responsible to "supply the demands of the markets for such baskets."[73] It is here that Reel stated the true economic aims behind the United States' motivations to include Native craft into their uniform curricula. Indigenous crafts were glamorized as something that needed to be rescued from dying and the only way to do so was by having American society buy Native American crafts to heighten the demand. Reel emphasized in the course guide that "Indian work is always in demand, but is difficult to obtain," thus, to make it easier for people to access Native American students had to increase the supply.[74] Not only were the Federal Government's motives driven by the monetary benefits indigenous art could contribute to the nation, but also by the labor position such crafts provided Native Americans within society.

Further, throughout the *Course of Study of Indian Schools* curriculum guide, Reel discussed the job opportunities that the sale of indigenous arts provided students at residential schools across the country. Reel claimed that by having students create indigenous crafts at school, they would learn the needs of the market and what their contributions could bring to American society rather than just Native American society.[75] Specifically, Reel stated that these artistic contributions could serve in a "larger way" which goes to show that Reel felt that traditional Native American craft needed to be put on display for it to be deemed worthy in the eyes of American society.[76] The new curriculum guide for teaching traditional indigenous crafts was a glamorized package deal; if the Federal Government invested in the training of Native American students, it could profit from their labor and indigenous craft contributions. Reel wrapped up the "Basketry and Caning" section by giving instructions on what forms of basketry

[73] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 54.
[74] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 55.
[75] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 56.
[76] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 56.

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should be taught and the specific school years students should be introduced to different caning techniques.[77]

The instructions on how basketry and caning should be taught to Native American students revealed racial aspects of how white Americans controlled the realm of indigenous craft. As stated previously, the Federal Government desired that Native American women be utilized as instructors for these indigenous craft courses, but it was only their skill they sought to obtain, not their creative autonomy. In the course guide Reel stated, "The Indian teacher of the various arts, when directed by the intelligent white teacher, will become a factor of great good."[78] The Federal Government aimed to employ Native American women not so they could express free reign in the classroom, but to demonstrate out what was acceptable art instruction to the students. Reel claimed: "And the white teacher will add to this good affect by showing them that their work is appreciated and needed."[79] Therefore, residential schools upheld the notion that the importance of students' work was virtually less significant to America if not appreciated by white members of society. Reel's words provided a clear reflection of the Federal Government's ideology on Native American art instruction: that Native American women could not instruct Native students without the intellectual guidance of white female counterparts. This is why even with the inclusion of Native American teachers in the classroom, cultural autonomy was still taken out of the hands of Native students and teachers.

The Federal Government's ideology on Native American instruction within the *Course of Study of Indian Schools* was also detailed in the breakdown on weaving in the school year curriculum. The guide described what students should learn during their first through third year in school at each residential school in the basketry and caning department. The Bureau of Indian

[77] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 56-61.
[78] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 57.
[79] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 57.

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Affairs encouraged schools to have a Native teacher instructing the indigenous art curriculum. However, the Federal Government expected Native teachers to follow weaving illustrations created by white women.

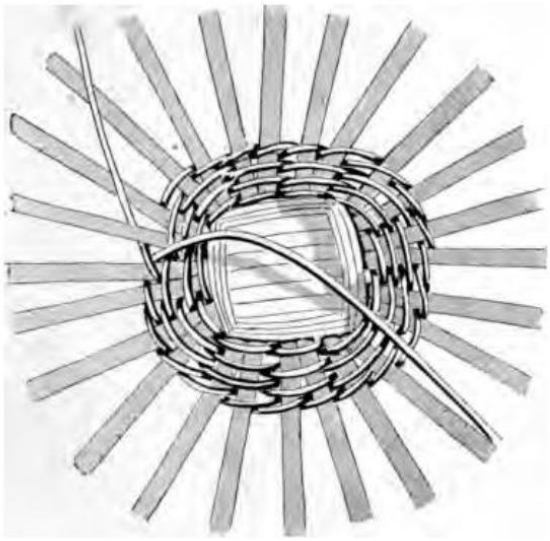

FIG. 5.—ROUND BASE WITH SPOKES SEPARATED.

Figure 4 Illustration of Round Base with Spoke Separated, 1901

In the first-year curriculum section, Reel recommended Native teachers look at illustrations drawn by white authors such as Annie Firth in her book *Cane Basket Work* and Miss Whites' book titled *How to Make Baskets*. Reel stated that these books "contain a number of excellent illustrations" and "show the work step by step."[80] Figure 4 is a figure taken from *Cane Basket Work* by Annie Firth that demonstrates how a round base with double weavers would be made.[81] Firth provided an illustration of the weaving of the base is alongside written instructions. Additionally, each section began with the necessary materials required to weave each specific basket.

[80] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary*, 58.
[81] Annie Firth, *Cane Basket Work: A Practical Manual on Weaving Useful and Fancy Baskets*, Illustrated, 2nd ed (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1901), 12.

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Native American intelligence in basketry was disregarded as a viable option for education. From illustrations like the one seen in Figure 4, students were to strictly adhere to this manual created and instructed by white women. The United States Federal Government saw to it that residential schools prioritized instruction through white women who came from outside the culture instead of being informed by Native Americans themselves. Cultural autonomy over the bounds of indigenous craft was not left to Native Americans to practice but controlled by the Federal Government.

Residential schools adopted and followed the curriculum outlined by Estelle Reel in her *Course of Study of Indian Schools* for the first quarter of the twentieth century. On behalf of the Federal Government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1913 released the *Rules for the Indian School Service*. In the section titled "Course of Study" it stated that "unless a course of study is outlined by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" each Native American residential school should follow an academic curriculum that was somewhat like public schools; therefore if there was a residential school curriculum, schools would stick to the Native course of study rather than deviating to a public school curriculum. [82] The Commissioner of Indian Affairs signed off on Reel's curriculum in 1901 which means that there had been no need for residential schools across the country to deviate from their own curriculum. Hence, the guidelines that recommended the incorporation of indigenous crafts applied at schools across the country and not just in one location. Reel served as Superintendent of Indian Schools from 1898 to 1910, so the incorporation of Native crafts remained an essential feature of residential schools for a short but intense period.

[82] *Rules for the Indian School Service, 1913* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913) https://www.aihc.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Images/Ayer_386_U5_1913/1, 20.

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The 1901 Course of Study created by Reel instructed schools on what forms of indigenous crafts should be taught, how these classes should be instructed, and what types of teachers would be best for the job. The United States Federal Government's curriculum guidelines for Native American students trickled down to each residential school across the country. Schools like the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School were exemplary institutions that carried out the curriculum generated by the Superintendent of Indian Schools. Both schools demonstrated a history of incorporating Native arts into their curriculum to further the Federal Government's agenda of selling indigenous crafts and creating a "socially acceptable" opportunity for Native students to give back to American society.[83]

The Indigenous Art Curriculum at Two Residential Schools

The Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School engaged in an indigenous art curriculum outlined by Estelle Reel during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Within these classes, Native students lacked freedom over indigenous craftsmanship because the Federal Government controlled what specific Native crafts and cultures could be incorporated into classroom instruction. Indigenous craft styles most valued by white Americans that were in high commercial demand were the styles that the Federal Government had chosen to be "saved" from cultural extinction. Another way in which Native autonomy was curtailed in the classroom was by limiting who taught the indigenous art curriculum. While the schools most often selected white female teachers to instruct, Native American teachers such as Angel De Cora at the Carlisle Indian School embodied the relationship between Native representation and lack of of Native teachers within the classroom.

[83] Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian School of the United States Industrial and Literary,* 6.

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Figure 5 Students in a Classroom Studying Native American Culture, 1901

Residential schools incorporated indigenous art classes not to help students engage with a piece of their culture but to acquire a skill that the Federal Government could profit from. Figure 5 is a picture taken at the Carlisle Indian School in 1901 by photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston.[84] Additional background information from the archive suggests that the photo belonged to a collection that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had contracted to document the Carlisle Indian School for an exhibit presented to a large American audience.[85] The posed photograph shows a class of sixteen ninth grade Native students under the instruction of their white female teacher. The photo conveyed the message that these students were becoming "civilized" through instruction while reinforcing the racist ideology that they were subordinate to their white teacher's knowledge, even when it was their own indigenous culture was at the center.

[84] Frances Benjamin Johnston, "Students in a Classroom Studying Native American Culture," Photograph, Washington, DC, Cumberland County Historical Society, 1901, https://www.loc.gov/item/97503299/

[85] Johnston, "Students in a Classroom Studying Native American Culture".

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The white instructor guided a lesson that discussed only a specific piece of Native American cultures which demonstrates the lack of autonomy that the Native children had over their own cultures. In the background of the photograph, hanging against the blackboard are Native American textiles that the students studied. Contrary to these textiles, students in the classroom wore uniforms made to make them appear civilized and more American. So, while students were encouraged to study these textiles for white Americans to consume, Native children themselves were denied the opportunity to wear these textiles to engage with their culture. The only time indigenous materials were supported was when they provided a monetary benefit which left Native children detached from the pieces they were employed to craft. These textiles and Native patterns were carefully selected by the schools for students to study so that they could contribute to the supply of more popular indigenous items. Any interaction that students had with a remnant of their cultures was under supervision and within the realm of what the schools permitted. Again, industrial arts as well as indigenous arts did not encourage student creativity and free thinking but emphasized repetition.

While it was encouraged, when possible, to acquire a Native American teacher to instruct on indigenous art, white women were most often the teachers for these courses so indigenous topics were interrupted by white voices.[86] On the far-right side of the photo, the archive identified a white female teacher that is shown standing with her book open, leading the students. In the back of the class a student is pictured standing, looking down at his book presumably to read a section of the book off to all the class. The students were studying the poem “The Song of Hiawatha" by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.[87] Hiawatha was a legendary Mohawk Chief who lived before European colonization of the Americas in the sixteenth century and co-founded the Iroquois Confederacy. However, the poem is a fictional rendition of Hiawatha’s life that focuses

[86] Lentis, *Colonized through Art: American Indian Schools and Art Education,* 51.
[87]Johnston, “Students in a Classroom Studying Native American Culture”.

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on his adventures and tragic love story with a woman named Minnehaha. The poem, although Native in content, was written by a white man from Maine.[88] So even in indigenous-focused classes, the Native stories that were shared had been crafted by white Americans.[89]

Native students at both the Chilocco and Carlisle Indian school were taught "The Song of Hiawatha" poem by white instructors so they could make an artistic rendition of this story and sell it to the American public. The *Indian School Journal,* printed and distributed by the Chilocco Indian School, featured advertisements for this poem in multiple editions. The 1909 *Indian School Journal* publication had an advertisement for "The Story of Hiawatha," which promoted the sale of a Chilocco, created poem that took artistic influences from the original poem "The Song of Hiawatha" by Longfellow.[90] The first section of the advertisement described the poem as "a very pretty and interesting Indian story." The word choice indicates a desire to allure American customers to buy the poem. The advertisement continued this point and stated that the poem "was favorably commented upon by the literary folk of this and other countries." The poem is portrayed as worthy of reading because of the value American society and other international audiences had assigned to it.

[88] Johnston, "Students in a Classroom Studying Native American Culture".
[89] Johnston, "Students in a Classroom Studying Native American Culture".
[90] *Indian School Journal,* Sequoyah National Research Center. University of Arkansas, Little Rock. December 1909, https://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Images/SNRC_ISJ_19040620-19420206_ED027/41, 54.

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THE STORY OF
HIAWATHA

THIS very pretty and interesting Indian story, as produced by the students of the Chilocco Indian School, bordered on the artistic to the extent that it was favorably commented upon by the literary folk of this and other countries.

Figure 6 Upper Half of The Story of Hiawatha Advertisement, 1909

The 1909 advertisement promoted the peaceful and “one with nature” aesthetic that Native Americans became associated with. Following these words is a large photograph of a posed Native girl in the middle of the advertisement. The Native girl wears a traditional indigenous dress, her body is adorned with beads, her hair is braided, and at her feet are moccasins. Native students were confined to wear their school uniforms, but here the indigenous dress is placed boldly on the page. The advertisement included the indigenous look to market the poem in a way that appealed to white Americans who sought out specific Native aesthetics. The peaceful nature of her stance translates into the tragic love story that the poem advertised. The overall size of the photo and its prominent place on the advertisement grabs the reader's attention.

The advertisement described the physical binding of the book to inspire consumers to buy the poem. The material look of the book is advertised as, “gotten up in a very attractive manner,

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embellished with characteristic illustrations."[91] Both the story and the binding that holds it are visualized to the audience to entice sales. Through the Indian Print Shop, American consumers could buy the poem to read and take it home to share with others.[92] Autonomy over indigenous culture and artistry is taken completely out of the hands of Native students. Their only creative liberties were to add to a Native-focused poem that was written by a white man and to deliver a new story to white Americans. Under the control of the Federal Government, Native students were neither the original artists nor the targeted consumers of a piece that was supposed to center around their own cultures.

Nonetheless, during a time when almost every aspect of Native culture was eradicated from their lives as Native students, any interaction they could have with indigenous cultures in the classroom was deeply impactful. While the autonomy Native students had over their craft was extremely limited, the indigenous art curriculum gave Native children a small window to be reunited with just a sliver of indigenous cultures. Native American resilience (to the white American agenda over indigenous crafts) not only occurred among the students but also the general body of teachers. Angel De Cora was a teacher who impacted the indigenous art curriculum and demonstrated the struggle between Native representation and loss of indigenous autonomy.

There were occasions when Native American women were employed at residential schools to teach the indigenous art curriculum. Angel De Cora was a prominent artist and educator who worked at the Carlisle Indian School from 1906 to 1915.[93] De Cora was once a student at the Hampton residential school system in New Hampshire after she had been

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[91] *Indian School Journal,* 54.
[92] *Indian School Journal,* 54.
[93] Jacqueline Emery, ed, "Angel De Cora (Winnebago)," *In Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press*, 243–51, (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 243.

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kidnapped from the Winnebago reservation in Nebraska.[94] Following graduation, De Cora went on to study art and illustrated many indigenous stories that were published to American audiences.[95] Once De Cora began her work at Carlisle, she helped develop the Native American art education to teach specific designs from a plethora of Native American cultures. In her first year of teaching she wrote, "In my one year's work with the Indians at Carlisle I am convinced that the young Indians of the present day are still gifted in the pictorial art."[96] De Cora saw hope for the new generation of Native students and their ability to maintain some connection to their Native skills and traditional arts. The indigenous art curriculum at the Carlisle Indian School was a better experience than what she experienced as a student and hence felt this curriculum was very promising towards freeing indigenous art.

Although De Cora maintained the awareness that students practiced indigenous arts in ways that she was not able to as a former student in the Hampton Indian school, she believed that students were still not artistically free. In 1907 De Cora wrote, "In looking over my pupils' Native design work, I cannot help calling to mind the Indian woman, untaught and unhampered by white man's ideas of art."[97] De Cora reflected on life at her home reservation where Native artists were free to create what they wanted and liberated from any white American intervention. Native artists did not have to sit in a confined classroom while a white instructor cherry picked what piece of Native American cultures they worked on. De Cora wrote, "She sits in the open, drawing her inspiration from the broad aspects of Nature."[98] De Cora reflected that students did not have the creative liberties to use the texture of the landscape, the feel of the wind, or the

[94] Emery,"Angel De Cora (Winnebago)," 246.
[95] Emery,"Angel De Cora (Winnebago)," 247.
[96] Emery,"Angel De Cora (Winnebago)," 247.
[97] Emery,"Angel De Cora (Winnebago)," 248.
[98] Emery,"Angel De Cora (Winnebago)," 248.

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color of the sky to induce their arts. Native students were confined to create the predestined patterns and items that the school desired for them to produce.

The indigenous art curriculum at both the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School functioned to predestine students to become American manual laborers. Captain Pratt's mantra stated "to kill the Indian to save the man" but it was not the students they were trying to save, but their art. The archives at residential schools do not have many photos of Native students practicing indigenous crafts such as basketry and weaving. This phenomenon is contrary to the industrial art programs that are rich in primary source evidence, especially photographs. The pictures taken of Native students practicing industrial skills required the students to be in the photos because the message of selling student labor could not be conveyed without their presence. On the other hand, pictures taken of indigenous arts did not need Native students in the photos because they were not a part of the product. Therefore, most of the photos that were taken of indigenous crafts at residential schools were not posed photographs like those that captured industrial arts, but were standalone shots of the indigenous arts themselves. Additionally, these photos are mostly found in advertisements calling on American consumers to buy indigenous crafts.

The control students had over the indigenous arts they created was minimal and lacking. Even with a Native American instructor leading the indigenous curriculum, the crafts students made pandered to white Americans and were made to be bought by white Americans. The absence of students in the advertisements of indigenous craft emphasized that the Native art curriculum at residential schools stressed the commercialization of indigenous artistry over the students themselves.

Commercialization of Indigenous Art

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From the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, there was high market demand for indigenous crafts and one of the ways the Federal Government supplied this demand was through the employment of Native Students. Residential schools across the country advertised to the American market indigenous items like basketry, weaving, pottery, and jewelry. The Federal Government took it upon itself to incentivize white American consumers by portraying indigenous crafts as a dying art form that could only be saved from its cultural extinction through American intervention. White Americans flocked to the market to get their hands on indigenous crafts because of the glamorization of indigenous crafts as collector's items. While Native American artistry was also taken off reservations by the Federal Government, it was the reservation schools that provided a great supply to the ever-growing demand for indigenous art.

The biggest source of advertisement that provided information on what indigenous crafts Americans could buy, the price of each craft, and where one could purchase these items was the *Indian School Journal.* The journal itself came from the Chilocco Indian School, but carried advertisements and stories on all sorts of reservation schools across the nation, including the Carlisle Indian School. Operating from 1905 to 1977, the journal published a new issue on Native American reservation schools once a month.[99] The journal was circulated among the Bureau of Indian Affairs as well as students, faculty, alumni, and the public to showcase how successfully residential schools achieved their primary goal of assimilating Native children. Each edition underwent a process of writing and editing by multiple people, so advertisements carried neither a signature nor a particular author. The advertisements the journal posted to sell indigenous crafts were often worded in the same way in various monthly and yearly editions.

[99] Meyer and Royer, *Selling the Indian,* 45.

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This suggests that the journal's advertisement methods were successful enough for them to maintain the same format to reach white American consumers.

Figure 7 Navajo Indian Rug Advertisement, 1915

A 1915 edition of the *Indian School Journal* had a plethora of advertisements from a variety of indigenous crafts that the school sold to the general American public. One section titled "Indian Weaving" discussed the history of Navajo rugs and more importantly the cultural value that they held.[100] White Americans needed to understand what they would be spending their money on and why items such as Navajo rugs should be prioritized. Figure 7 shows the title of a Navajo Indian Rug advertisement on the first page of the May 1915 edition. Consumers are "guaranteed genuine hand-spun, hand-woven, native wool," at a "reasonable price" as an incentive to buy authentic indigenous crafts.[101] The advertisement stated, "We do not handle these blankets for the sole purpose of making money...we want to do our share toward creating a lucrative demand for the main product of these worthy people."[102] The journal claimed that the

[100] *Indian School Journal,* Sequoyah National Research Center. University of Arkansas, Little Rock, May 1915, https://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Images/SNRC_BISJ_191502-192303_ED003/44 , 463.
[101] *Indian School Journal*, 1915, 2.
[102] *Indian School Journal*, 1915, 2.

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commercialization of indigenous crafts was primarily for the benefit of Native communities rather than the financial rewards it provided the residential schools. So, while the journal asserted that making money was not the "sole purpose" it still reinforced the conclusion that profits motivated the demand for commercializing indigenous crafts. The school's true primary motives hid behind the message that selling indigenous crafts aided "worthy students" because it created a demand for their handiwork that risked extinction.

The Navajo rug advertisement promoted the accomplishments schools had with their sales and the popularity amongst the public. The journal stated, "We have had exceptional success in selling these blankets. No blanket sold by us has ever been returned."[103] The United States Indian Service assured consumers that Navajo blankets (also referred to as rugs) were so successful that every customer had been happy and found a place for their Navajo blanket within their home. The Federal Government publicly attributed monetary value to Navajo rugs. Anytime something is publicly given value, consumers swarm to get a piece. The example of just one indigenous culture that the journal chose to advertise demonstrated the aesthetic they favored and the consequences that came as a result.

The sale of Navajo rugs was also mentioned in an article within the *Indian School Journal* regarding residential students which read, "All Navajo girls will receive instruction and practice on blanket weaving."[104] By including the remark that students would continue to learn the skill of weaving Navajo rugs' the journal informed American consumers that the demand was truly high for this craft and that now was the time to buy these collectible arts. Navajo students did not have a choice nor a say in the sale of their products but were forced to supply the demand. The section on "Indian Weaving" within the *Indian School Journal* ended with these

[103] *Indian School Journal*, 1915, 2.
[104] *Indian School Journal*, 1915, 463.

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words, "From an economic standpoint, this a great benefit to the country."[105] The main theme the Federal Government emphasized was the monetary gain for the country from investing in indigenous crafts. While the schools argued that the primary motive of commercializing indigenous art was to aid Native students, picking apart their advertisements of indigenous crafts reveals that the economic gains from marketing indigenous art served as the sole purpose.

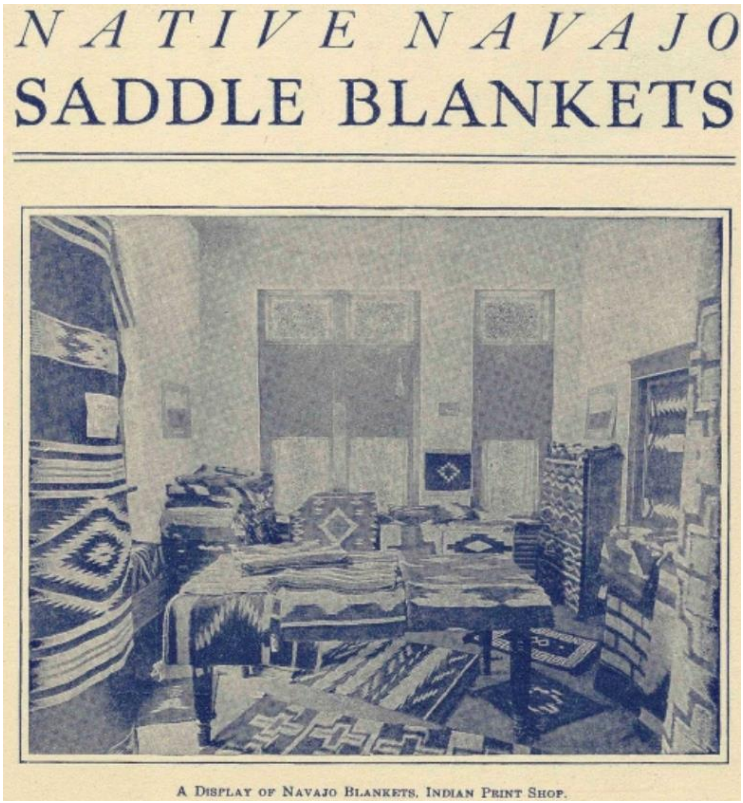

Figure 8 A Display of Navajo Blankets, 1915

In the early twentieth century residential schools continuously put indigenous crafts on display for American consumers to engage with and purchase. Figure 8 shows an advertisement from the 1915 edition of the *Indian School Journal* for Navajo saddle blankets which often carried the same visual aesthetic as the Navajo rugs.[106] The photograph shows how each blanket

[105] *Indian School Journal*, 1915, 463.
[106] *Indian School Journal, 1915*, 59.

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was laid out either on the walls, floor, or table for the audience to inspect. There were a lot of blankets in the room to entice consumers to try and purchase at least one of these prized items.

The Federal Government pursued profit by putting the rugs on display year after year in the *Indian School Journal* and achieved their goal after collecting a wide audience. Right below the photograph is a short informational paragraph that details the purpose of the Navajo blanket and the durable quality of the material. The journal stated, "No two are alike, and they will last for many years, outwearing several of the ordinary rug."[107] They were portrayed as one-of-a-kind items that were unlike anything else in the market for saddle blankets. Additionally, the advertisement depicted the Navajo rugs as unlike any other item on the market and superior to the competition. The main motive was not to share Native culture, but to gain monetary benefits from the country-wide circulation of Navajo blankets. Like in any advertisement, the price of the item was listed, "Prices range from $3.50 up, according to size and weave."[108] Prices of Navajo rugs varied, but their reasonable pricing incentivized consumers to purchase one of the many rugs on display.

Native American artistry by students was displayed and advertised not just in journals but also for country fairs, where these items were directly sold. Both the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School supplied indigenous crafts for sale at world fairs' where American consumers could buy them in person. Faculty photographed indigenous arts made at the residential schools so that the customers could gather a general idea of what crafts could be bought from Native students.

[107] *Indian School Journal*, 1915, 59.
[108] *Indian School Journal*, 1915, 59.

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Figure 9 Display of Native American-Style Rugs, Baskets and Objects, c. 1909

The Carlisle Indian School took many photos of the indigenous crafts the school had selected to be sold to the public. Figure 9 is a picture taken by photographer Everett Strong within the Leupp Art Studio at the Carlisle Indian School in 1909.[109] The items in the photo were all hand-crafted arts by students to be sold to a white American audience.[110] The different indigenous items were laid out before the consumer's eye, not leaving a single item out of focus. On the floor and the forefront of the photograph were Navajo rugs and Hopi-styled platters. These two specific items were consistently advertised by the Federal Government due to their popularity and hence became a focal point of the picture. The Navajo rugs and Hopi-styled platters were placed strategically to grab the attention of the consumers who could recognize the items and enticed a further look at other indigenous crafts displayed throughout the room.

[109] Everett Strong, "Display of Native American-Style Objects," Photograph, Carlisle, PA, Cumberland County Historical Society, 1909.
[110] Strong, "Display of Native American-Style Objects," 1909.

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In the background of the photograph, there were various indigenous crafts that ranged from pottery and basketry to satchels, textiles, and even Native American headdresses. The variety of Native items speaks to the large market that the Federal Government created to circulate crafts that once white Americans deemed subordinate but were now trendy. The crafts on display represented only a small percentage of indigenous styles throughout the country; they conformed to the aesthetics the Federal Government wanted to sell. The main motivation for incorporating an indigenous curriculum was to profit from Native artistry, but to do so in a way that reflected what the consumers demanded. White Americans chose the indigenous aesthetics they appreciated and Native students were forced to stick with that same aesthetic.

Figure 10 Display of Native American Objects, c. 1909

Photographs that showcased for white American consumers the mass of indigenous crafts these schools produced allowed residential schools to promote their sales on a wide scale. Figure 10 is another photograph taken at the Carlisle Indian School in 1909 by Everett Strong is in

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Figure 10.[111] The photograph shows again a wide display of indigenous crafts that are up for sale. The photographer worked at the Carlisle Indian School, so the photos were for the school's use.[112] Many of these photos along with the products themselves would be taken to fairs for American consumers.[113] Therefore, like in any advertisement, based on whether the crafts would sell enough to the public affected the setup of each exhibit and photos.

Residential schools by extension of the Federal Government, displayed indigenous crafts to appeal to the very same perception white Americans had about traditional indigenous cultures. At the forefront of the photo are the Navajo Rugs that are spread across the floor and take up a large portion of the photo. Among these consumers of indigenous crafts, Navajo rugs were one of the most sought-after items and because so would be the first thing viewers would look for in Figures 9 and 10. Scattered across the floor are other indigenous craft pieces like pottery, plates, and basketry. The exhibit also included traditional indigenous bows and arrows as well as headdresses, which are located on the floor of the room and hanging on the back wall. These items are not similar to the more popular indigenous crafts like pots and rugs because they did not serve everyday use. They served as collection items that represented what uncivilized Native American culture looked like. Residential schools banned students from learning how to wield a bow and arrow and wear a headdress, but white American consumers were encouraged to buy these items to hang on their walls. Indigenous crafts were made for and prioritized of white Americans over Native Americans.

The commercialization of indigenous crafts at the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School exemplified the primary economic motives behind the incorporation of indigenous art education. As an extension of the Federal Government, the residential schools did

[111] Strong, "Display of Native American-Style Objects #2," 1909.
[112] Strong, "Display of Native American-Style Objects #2," 1909.
[113] Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man*, 37.

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their best to prove their priorities were pure in aiding the demand for indigenous crafts; however, each advertisement and exhibit revealed their true intentions. Indigenous crafts generated a lot of money from white American consumers who craved certain native aesthetics and sought out the products made by residential school students. Under the control of the Federal Government, Native students became a monetary investment and tool of mass profit.

Conclusion

The first superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School stated that residential schools across the country must carry out the Federal Governments' initiative that required schools "to kill the Indian, to save the man." The indigenous art curriculum enforced at residential schools between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century "killed the Indian" but prioritized saving traditional indigenous craftsmanship as a way of saving "the man." Indigenous crafts found their ways into residential boarding school systems that served their full purpose of eradicating indigenous culture by providing something the Federal Government desired, money.

The Federal Government's decision to incorporate indigenous crafts into residential boarding schools was motivated by economic gain. The country-wide operation of residential schools provided a window of opportunity for the Federal Government to make money on the education of Native Students. The industrial art program functioned similarly to the indigenous art program in that they both capitalized on the labor of Native students and their products. Residential schools instructed industrial arts and vocational trades that would aid students in becoming advanced manual laborers as well as assimilating into white American society. Nevertheless, the industrial art program could not prevent Native students from returning to reservation life rather than acclimating to white American society, thus leaving a need for a new curriculum to be introduced.

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The Bureau of Indian Affairs' introduction of the indigenous art curriculum during the late nineteenth century provided the Federal Government with a new way to profit off Native work. The *Uniform Course of Study* published in 1901 by Estelle Reel paved the path for residential schools across the country to homogenize their curriculum and include the production of specific indigenous crafts. While the residential schools claimed that the primary motive to sell indigenous crafts was to save the crafts from dying out, the real motivation was for the Federal Government was to make money through sales.

Indigenous art classes instructed students on how to produce items such as baskets, rugs, and pottery. Native American art education gave space for students to engage with pieces of indigenous cultures, but at a heavy cost. Native students were neither the "original" artists of the pieces they were instructed to make, nor were they the intended consumers. The Federal Government chose which art students made at the school in alignment with what sold best to the public. Popular items such as Navajo rugs and Hopi pottery sold extremely well among white Americans, which is why those items were prioritized at residential schools. Indigenous craft aesthetics come in a variety of shapes, patterns, and forms, but the only pieces American society appreciated are what the Federal Government made students produce.

School advertisements worked hard to get the message across that indigenous craft faced the risk of cultural extinction and needed American intervention for survival. Exhibits of indigenous crafts and advertisements became a successful tool in creating consistent consumers demand for Native American art. The indigenous art curriculum at the Chilocco Indian School and the Carlisle Indian School exemplified the primary economic motives behind the incorporation of indigenous art education. The sale of indigenous crafts from residential schools to the American public prioritized the financial needs of the Federal Government rather than the creative liberties of Native students.

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