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Photographing the Places of Citizenship: The 1922 Crow Industrial Survey

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ANGELA PARKER

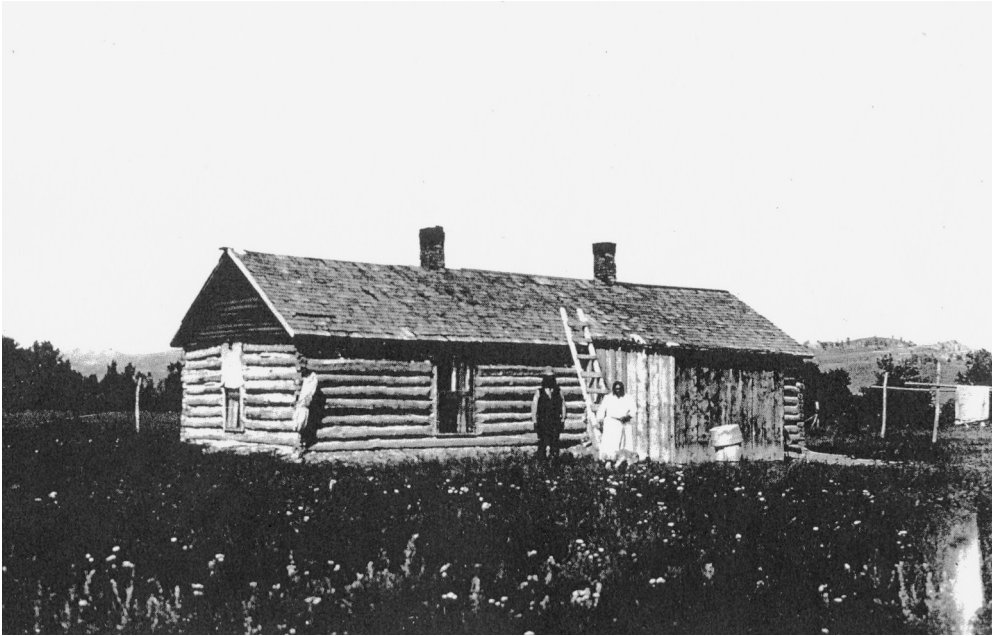
## Photographing the Places of Citizenship: The 1922 Crow Industrial Survey

**CROW TRIBAL MEMBERS** Hazel Red Wolf and her husband, Three Foretops, received a visitor on July 12, 1922 at their log house in the Little Horn Valley, a mile above the town of Lodge Grass, Montana. Crow Agency Superintendent Calvin Asbury came to visit them, their three children, and one grandchild—equipped with a camera and a survey to complete. Asbury intended to photograph their house as a supplement to a narrative survey form requested by the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), as part of their massive Industrial Survey project (1922–29).

The OIA initiated the Industrial Survey—an attempt to photograph and narrate every household on every federally recognized Indian reservation across the country—two years before the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, “to ascertain their condition, needs, and resources, with the view to organizing the work of the reservation service so that each family will make the best use of its resources.”<sup>1</sup> Asbury’s survey sought information ranging from demographics to qualitative data on the “industry” and “health” of tribal members, and their household’s “general condition.” The photographs he took, however, made the 1922 Crow Industrial Survey unique within the context of the dozens of surveys commissioned by the OIA of the reservation era (1880s–1934). For this represented the OIA’s first and last unified, national attempt to connect its data to a vast visual archive of Indian households under government “guardianship”—which during this time period included even “citizen Indians” nominally, but not actually, free of government supervision.

We do not know what Three Foretops and his wife thought when Asbury arrived at their home. Asbury’s impressions, however, constitute the remaining archival record of the visit. Asbury wrote of the family’s home, “Fair house, fairly kept.”<sup>2</sup> His overall assessment reads, “The conditions are only fair. They live at home most of the time and have this year some very good crop. . . . [Three Foretops] says that he is getting too old for work and has to go slow, but he does considerable farming.” Supplementing Asbury’s assessment was this photograph.

Three Foretops’s log cabin dominates the center of the image; the sky above the house is clear, and in the distance rambles a low line of trees to the



**FIGURE 1.** Three Foretops and Hazel Red Wolf home, Crow Industrial Survey. Photograph by Charles Asbury; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

left and foothills to the right. Three Foretops and Hazel Red Wolf, two tiny figures in front of their log cabin, remain mysterious. We cannot see their faces, even though the photograph exposes their bodies, their house, and a portion of their lands to Asbury, to the impersonal and assessing gazes of the OIA bureaucracy members who received and filed the survey documents, and to our own gaze.<sup>3</sup>

This photograph—along with the blizzard of similar images produced as part of the Crow Industrial Survey and the larger Industrial Survey project completed across the country—represents a valuable source base for historians of Native America. The survey and its photographs provide a literal and discursive snapshot of Native American life in the late reservation era, on the eve of the Indian Reorganization Act. And although the national Indian Affairs bureaucracy planned the survey, local Indian agents and their agency employees—“boss farmers,” clerks, and the like—saturate the narratives and photographs with their own voice and framings. Thus, interrogating the Crow Survey—a survey of a “small place,” distinctive and specific—reveals

not only Native lives, but also the lives of reservation Indian Agency bureaucracies and the priorities and intentions of the national Indian Affairs bureaucracy itself. The Crow Survey lends itself to this analysis not only due to its manageable size (photographs and narratives of approximately 250 households), but also because of the well-developed historical work on the reservation-era Crow.

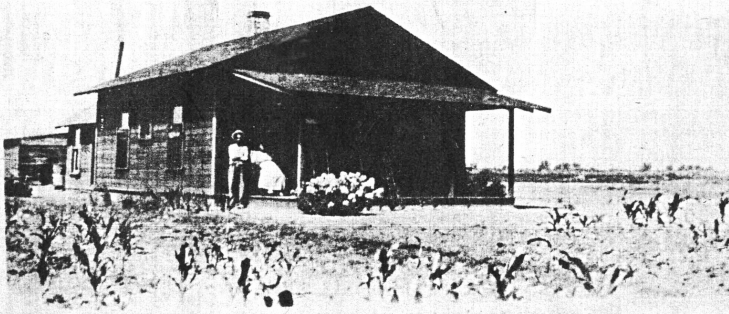
This essay explores the sources that make the OIA's Industrial Survey truly unique: its photographs. To do so, I read the images using the context of their accompanying narratives, photographic genres that influenced their visual syntax, other photographs of Crow lives and places taken in the late reservation era, and their historical context. I do not care to assess the photographs or their accompanying narrative as true or false, hateful or fair. But I do assume that the process of surveying and its eventual photographic and written contents contributed to a powerful epistemology with concrete consequences in the lives of Indigenous people.<sup>4</sup> The following section provides a historical context for place, citizenship, and the Industrial Survey itself during the reservation era. The final three sections explore land, homes, and bodies as three categories of place that frame the contestation over control between the Indian Affairs bureaucracy (both local and national) and the tribal community on the Crow Indian Reservation in southeastern Montana. These explorations expose a key realization: that the key *places*<sup>5</sup> of Indian life—the intimate, lived physicality of Native bodies, homes, and lands—served as crucial sites of citizenship.

### *Place and Citizenship in the Reservation Era*

In early 1922 the OIA issued Circular 1774 to each of its Indian agents and superintendents: an order to compile and produce Industrial Survey Reports for every federally recognized Indian reservation in the United States. The OIA's directive included a sample of how each survey form and photograph should look. Labeled "John Doe," the sample survey photograph shows the front view of a house that dominates its frame. A broad, flat plain with small trees constitutes the background, and two small human figures sit in the graphic center of the house.

The sample survey narrative identifies John and Mary Doe—and their children Susan, Will, and Sam—not only by name, age, and schooling, but also by whether they hold land allotments, and if allotted, how much land and how it is being used. This information is not innocent. The aggregation of biopolitical data served as a step in working to undermine Native family structure and the tribal unit itself. How else would the partitioning, enclosing, identifying, locating, supervising, judging, and calculating<sup>6</sup> take place? Surveys of husbands





John Doe

<u>Allottee No.</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Family</u>
1625	Full	Ward	Wife and three children.

Picture shows John Doe and wife at their home.

John Doe 45 years old. He attended the reservation school through the 6th grade and had 2 years at Haskell. He is handy with tools and can make repairs about the place. Of his allotment of 160 acres, 40 acres are in timber and the remainder under cultivation. He takes great interest in the Rock Creek Chapter of the Reservation farmers organization, holding the position of Secretary.

Mary Doe, wife, 35 years old. Attended reservation school through 5th grade and mission school 2 years. Understands how to can vegetables and fruit, sews quite well, and is a good housekeeper. Her allotment of 160 acres is leased for \$50 a year.

Susan Doe, daughter, 15 years old; is in the 5th grade in the reservation school. Her allotment of 80 acres is not leased at present.

Will Doe, son, 12 years old, is in the 3rd grade in the reservation school. Not allotted.

Sam Doe, son, 10 years old, is in the 1st grade in the reservation school. Not allotted.

This family is living about two miles from the agency, on John's allotment. They have a four-room frame house, shingle roof. It is plainly furnished and fairly well kept. He is planning to paint it as soon as possible. The family takes pride in having the surroundings neat and in having flowers. There is a smoke house, barn, granary, cowshed, chicken house, cave, orchard and a good well on the place.

**FIGURE 2.** Survey sample page 1, included with Circular 1774, an order to complete the OIA's Industrial Survey. Produced by the Office of Indian Affairs; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

and wives, their children, their allotments, their educational levels, and incomes did real work in this contest over Native futures.<sup>7</sup>

The OIA birthed its Industrial Survey from a half century of attempted control over Native lands, homes, and bodies. The major federal policies of its era—allotment, boarding schools, and Indian Office surveillance and discipline—all labored to supervise the places of Indian life. By the time of the OIA's Industrial Surveys, the Dawes Allotment Act had worked for nearly four decades to assimilate Native people and lands into the U.S. body politic by shattering communal land holdings. Meanwhile, Indian boarding schools disciplined tribal communities through the violent control of their children's bodies and consciousness. Indian Office bans on and prosecution of Indigenous cultural expression, or through its "boss farmers" and field matrons, also targeted Native bodies, homes, and allotted lands.<sup>8</sup> The Indian Affairs bureaucracy, swollen like a tick after burrowing deep into the Native land base, struggled with tribal communities over the definition of and control over their places throughout the entire reservation era.

The OIA sought to measure, define, and control these places because they represent, hold, and communicate awareness and culture.<sup>9</sup> Our bodies shape our awareness, build and curate homes that house our kin, and move within our landscapes to produce culture.<sup>10</sup> Foucault's revelation that disciplinary power targets the body<sup>11</sup>—to monitor and punish, to train and work, to rank and observe in order to create docility in individuals and a population—means that the state must also exert its discipline on our homes and landscapes. In its Industrial Survey—as in all survey projects—the Indian Affairs bureaucracy transformed the living flesh and physicality of Native bodies, homes, and lands into numbers, aggregates, images, icons, and photographs.

The photographs of the OIA Industrial Survey worked with the survey narrative to create an archive that intended to narrate and thus control the meanings associated with Indian homes and family life. This project asserted power: the power to define Native people and communities as deviant or respectable using middle-class Euro-American norms. Many bureaucratic institutions invested in photography both as a technology and as an explanation<sup>12</sup> based on photography's supposed replication of physical reality. Photographs, however, can be read multiple ways. To counter the potential multiplicity of meanings, the OIA's project created a "blizzard of photographs"<sup>13</sup>—achieved through the accumulation of a photographic archive—that erased the images' original, contextual meanings. The need to bring order to a chaotic visual archive "required" a subjective survey narrative to accompany the collected "objective" photographs.<sup>14</sup> And through the Industrial Survey, the OIA worked to create a vast "territory of images"<sup>15</sup> of the places of Native life,

in order for their bureaucracy to define and measure ever-shrinking Indian territories. Such representations worked not only to measure an assimilationist project, but also to fix<sup>16</sup> or define Native identities into “knowable” foils<sup>17</sup> of the larger society. Alternately pure or degenerate, noble or servile, the eternal other that could also be possessed,<sup>18</sup> such images of Native existence during the reservation era worked to define not only the possibilities and limits of Native citizenship, but also to consolidate the normativity of white America.<sup>19</sup>

The OIA intended the photographs and text of the Industrial Survey to measure Native progress toward assimilation. By requiring descriptions of education levels, health status, and assets, the surveys gave the local Indian agent conducting them both a cognitive map of the reservation as well as a benchmark of how tribal members used and worked on their land. These benchmarks could then measure the success of—or need for—their assimilationist work. Charles Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote to his superintendents in 1923, “It is important for Indians to do better every year. They can not stand still. If they do not move forward they go backward. All Indians who do not respond will ultimately be left behind in the march of progress. Impress this thought upon each individual Indian. . . . We want every Indian to take account of his situation. If now farming, induce him to farm more and better; if not farming or engaged in some other occupation, get them busy at something that will add to their comfort and welfare.”<sup>20</sup> The proof of progress Burke sought intended to silence the critiques of aggressive reformers. But it also confirmed OIA accounts of Indian backwardness—a narrative that justified their position as service providers.

Indian backwardness, lack of progress, and need for further assimilation linked directly to U.S. citizenship status. The narrative of Indian incompetence and assimilation as progress circulated within the legislation, writings, and decisions produced by the OIA, Congress, the courts, and even Indigenous intellectuals such as those who debated the terms of U.S. citizenship in the Society of American Indians.<sup>21</sup> The fallout from the Dawes Allotment Act fueled much of this discourse. Allotment intended to tie private land ownership to a citizen status but instead produced a maze of assessments—the OIA classified Native individuals as “competent” or “incompetent” depending on a constellation of race- and culture-based evaluations. Supposedly, Indians “competent” to manage their own affairs could provide a living for themselves from their allotment, and dressed and spoke as closely to white Americans as possible. Once deemed “competent,” the OIA transferred ownership of their allotment in fee simple, their lands then subject to taxation. The U.S. government viewed “incompetent” Indians as dependent, in need of guardianship until able to assume the full rights and responsibilities of citi-



zenship. The paths open to Native people interested in becoming U.S. citizens included service in the armed forces; renouncing tribal membership or leaving the tribal land base and adopting “the habits of civilized life”; accepting an allotment; or after amendments modified the Dawes Act, being deemed “competent” to manage one’s own affairs.<sup>22</sup>

Tribal norms and concerns, however, controlled Indigenous political identity just as much as such discourses over U.S. citizenship did. Two years after the initiation of the Industrial Survey, the Indian Citizenship Act (ICA) of 1924 would blanket Indian Country with the formal designation of U.S. citizenship for every individual Indian. Some tribes rejected U.S. citizenship outright. Even in more amenable communities, Native people constructed political identity not only in relation to U.S. citizenship but also in relation to their community—distinguishing membership through kinship, clan, and cultural life. These aspects of community life, while not necessarily political or formally framed through concepts such as “citizenship” or “sovereignty,” shaped the everyday lives and behaviors of tribal members—including in the political realm. Before and after the ICA passed, however, Native communities used existing community structures and employed activist tactics that demanded the right to survive and build a future.<sup>23</sup> Whether accepting or rejecting U.S. citizenship, Native communities built their political identities—as tribal members and in relation to U.S. citizenship—from below just as powerfully as various arms of the U.S. government, or debates among Indian intellectuals, imposed an identity from above.

Developments in Native political identity were structured not only by conceptions of U.S. citizenship, or preexisting community norms, but also by the contestation of control in the places they lived. Native communities recalibrated the places of their lives<sup>24</sup>—villages, settlements, hunting territories, sacred areas—in order to adjust to and at times contest<sup>25</sup> the spatial and political order imposed by the OIA. At Crow, despite experiencing a demographic nadir that did not begin to rebound until the 1920s, Crow family structures and a “locally generated political agenda” continued to structure and sustain political and social life. Although Crow leadership transitioned during the first decades of the twentieth century from pre-reservation leaders to a new guard of boarding school—educated Crow men, these leaders continued to focus on the defense and maintenance of tribal territories. For example, the tribal government shaped the 1920 Crow Act. Although the legislation further allotted reservation lands, Crow leadership set its terms in the face of more than a decade of non-Native agitation for allotment; the Crow version of allotment included the retention of tribal mineral rights and a tribally directed opening of tribal lands to non-Native homesteaders.<sup>26</sup> Although Crow tribal members may not have self-identified as either a Crow

“citizen” or a U.S. citizen during this period, their politically independent and self-asserting actions speak louder than words.

By the time Superintendent Asbury received Circular 1774 with its directive to gather visual and narrative data on every Crow household, Crow notions of place on the reservation held daily power. The five major communities dividing the reservation evolved from the settlements of key, pre-reservation Crow leaders.<sup>27</sup> Crow leadership blunted the final land grab on Crow by using community-generated priorities to set the terms of the 1920 Crow Act. Asbury held significant financial and political control, but it was far from complete. When he bemoaned the need at Crow for “more staying at home, . . . less Indian dances, better homes, more barns, root cellars, wells, more industry and pride,”<sup>28</sup> his list testifies to the primacy of Crow social organization that took them away from their allotted lands to engage in tribal social, religious, and political life. The places of Crow reservation life in the 1920s—Crow lands, homes, and bodies—conformed not to the OIA version of Native industry, but to a “multivalent space”<sup>29</sup> of which Crow social norms formed the backbone. As Asbury worked to respond to the directives of Circular 1774 and to fit Crow households into the neat narrative and visual confines of the circular’s survey sample, Crow tribal members made that task impossible.

The dynamics introduced in this section—the importance of place as a site of control, the OIA’s imposition of their conception of U.S. citizenship tied to assimilative progress, the centrality of Crow norms and concerns, and how the contestation between these two visions in the smallest places of Crow life structured a novel version of political life and citizenship—saturate the following sections. By exploring the photographic narratives of Crow Industrial Survey through the lens of land, homes, and the body, the following sections reveal the enmeshment of place and citizenship in the late reservation era.

## *Lands*

During the lifetime of tribal members like Three Foretops and Hazel Red Wolf, Crow land ownership underwent chaotic change. Between 1880 and 1904, the United States took large chunks of the reservation for the Northern Pacific Railroad, to “open” lands to homesteaders, and for an allotment bill driven by non-Native citizens and politicians. By 1915, of the over 400,000 acres allotted, Crow tribal members farmed only 6,200 acres. Historian Frederick Hoxie notes that by 1920, a few years before the Industrial Survey, less than two million acres remained in collective ownership, and non-Native stockmen leased almost all of them. During the early twentieth century, he asserts, “reservation lands were gradually being turned into cash.”<sup>30</sup> The



**FIGURE 3.** Aimsback, Blackfeet Industrial Survey, 1921. Courtesy of the National Archives at Denver, Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Blackfeet Agency, Entry 64, Blackfeet Industrial Survey, 1921, Box 1, p. 15.

**FIGURE 4.** Guy Black Hawk home, Fort Berthold Industrial Survey, circa 1922–29. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri.





federal government tied allotment and private land ownership to citizenship,<sup>31</sup> initially conferring it via individual land ownership, later through its crude assessment of individual Indians as “competent” or “incompetent” to assume the roles and responsibilities of citizenship.<sup>32</sup>

Both the photography and the narrative of the Industrial Survey referenced and defined tribal members’ allotted lands. The survey narrative duplicated the processes of tying citizenship to allotment each time it sought to assess the success of allotment. The assessment of “competency” and “industry” intertwined not only with land ownership and assimilation, but also with the relative readiness for the rights of citizenship. The framing of the Crow Industrial Survey photographs, which correspond with the OIA circular, suggest a photographer concerned not only with defining the Crow home, but also with the allotted lands on which it sat. Lest this interpretation seem a stretch—because the photographs follow the example set by Circular 1774—images from other northern Plains reservations show how the photography for the same survey project differed depending on the photographer.

Powerful U.S. mythologies regarding land, work, and ownership saturate survey photographs. At times, the photographs of the Crow Industrial Survey evoke older representations of homesteaders: immigrant families eking out a living on their prairie homesteads, sometimes with possessions spread in



**FIGURE 5.** Bearsheart (Old Time Dancer) homestead, Standing Rock Industrial Survey, circa 1922–29. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Kansas City, Missouri.

front of their sod houses, claiming and working parcels of “free land”—160 or 320 acres—as the right of or progress toward U.S. citizenship. The land became theirs through *work*,<sup>33</sup> a labor that sought to extract agricultural wealth from the soil for a larger market. Homesteader photographs themselves represented a visual marking of the progress of European immigration across the North American continent, and reflected a visual rhetoric that, like late nineteenth-century landscape photography in the U.S. West, “took for granted the right of European-Americans to expropriate the land of nonwhites and develop it to support exclusively European-American cultural values.”<sup>34</sup>

This homesteader trope echoes in the Crow Industrial Survey photographs. Consider Bear Ground’s photograph. His house, a Euro-American-style frame house or log cabin, works as a symbol of Indian assimilation to white norms. The house, the family arrayed in front, the narrative accounting of their worldly possessions, and the photograph itself—all together, suggest the larger goals of the project: land reform, a new way of marking space



**FIGURE 6.** John and Marget Bakken sod house, Milton, North Dakota, circa 1895. Photograph by Fred Hultstrund; courtesy of the Fred Hultstrund History in Pictures Collection, North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies—North Dakota State University.





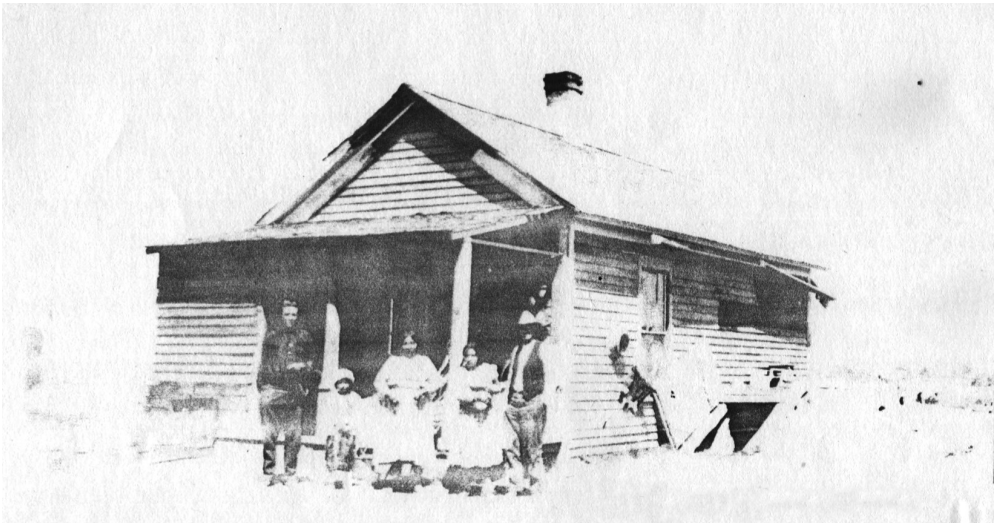
**FIGURE 7.** David Hilton family near Weissert, Nebraska, circa 1887. Photograph by Solomon D. Butcher; courtesy of Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

based on the Dawes Allotment Act (itself modeled on the Homestead Act), and an attempt to conform to a homesteader citizenship through work and assimilation.

Yet Crow tribal members did not conform to the OIA's vision of Native yeoman farmers who stayed on their allotments taking care of their farms and producing agricultural goods for consumption. In the survey narrative, Crow tribal members ride their automobiles around the country. They take off to Crow Fair, to Fourth of July powwows, and to visit their relatives.<sup>35</sup> Asbury's survey photographs, exemplified by Figure 8, present a nuclear Crow family contained within a frame house, the house itself contained within a photograph and within the boundaries of an allotment, the allotments contained on a reservation. His survey narrative, however, reveals irritation at the community's refusal of containment. Asbury often wrote dismissively and sarcastically of tribal members who possessed a relatively new technology of mobility: the automobile. Of one family he observed, "They have an automobile, which requires a good deal of money that should be used for providing a

better home. Their house is poor and rather poorly kept, but they are not able to sacrifice the use of an automobile for such common things as paint and paper or better shelter for their horses."<sup>36</sup> His displeasure signals that while he wished Crow to assimilate to white norms, he did not want them to claim the equal privileges of automotive mobility.<sup>37</sup> The mobility of Crow tribal members and the foundational role of Crow cultural norms may have spurred a photographic representation that reflected the deepest wishes of the OIA: static tribal members contained within Euro-American housing built on their allotments—all within reservation boundaries. OIA bureaucrats seemed to believe that containment would engender "industry," which connoted progress and assimilation, all of which would produce worthy citizens.

Despite participatory democracy being a cornerstone of U.S. citizenship, in the survey narrative Asbury portrayed Crow tribal members who spoke up and had an opinion (and probably made waves in the local agency) as deficient, in need of assimilative efforts, and decidedly not industrious. He found it distasteful when Crow tribal members had opinions and shared them. Asbury wrote dismissively of Ben Spotted Horse: "He is usually too busy with tribal matters and telling the Indians how the Government should be run to spare time for an ordinary thing like farming." Of another tribal member he wrote, "Arnold Costa is of the smart variety. He knows more about how the government should be run than the President or Secretary." Asbury characterized



**FIGURE 8.** Bear Ground home, Crow Industrial Survey. Photograph by Charles Asbury; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

another man as “another one of the very smart advisors and counselors, and if fluent talk in council or in private, would produce potatoes, he would never go hungry.” Of another man he first characterized as one of the “champion beggars” for his relatives’ food, he stated, “He should have been a Senator or Congressman or Judge, rather than a farmer, because they are both strong on talk, but do not like the odor of their own perspiration.”<sup>38</sup>

Yet these men (and likely women) with opinions were building Crow political life and citizenship. The massive land thefts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shaped a Crow politics that centered on the defense of cultural values,<sup>39</sup> land use, and land rights. Crow leadership, forged while shaping the Crow Act, also curbed overgrazing by non-Native lessors, and opposed “dubious oil leases” approved by Asbury.<sup>40</sup> In this context, Asbury’s dismissal of Crow men with political opinions not only conveys his opinion of Crow leadership but implies his notions about the land base, how it should be used and owned, who should profit from it—as well as his resentment toward a Crow body politic and leadership structure that successfully challenged his ideas about their landscape.

The visual and written narratives produced through the OIA’s Industrial Survey drew from and mirrored powerful U.S. assumptions about land, work, ownership, and control. These assumptions required that Crow tribal members be characterized as deficient stewards, inconvenient within their own landscape. The same survey, however, shows that Crow tribal members refused to be contained by these ideas—much as they refused to be contained by allotment or reservation boundaries. Crow social and political life, centered on defending their lands, served as the meat and sustenance for their assertion of a Crow political consciousness and citizenship.

## *Homes*

The Industrial Survey’s photographic meat, and ultimate symbol of assimilative progress, was the Indian home. The Crow Industrial Survey—as in previous and subsequent surveys—counted Crow houses and their families, noted how many of the households lived in tents, had toilet facilities, or water sources.<sup>41</sup> In the OIA’s hierarchy of homes, frame houses symbolized the pinnacle of assimilation and personal industry. Log homes were less acceptable, and tents or tipis unacceptable. A nuclear family living in a permanent house structure such as a frame or log house was ideal, but the OIA found it objectionable when extended or multiple families lived in the same house or even on the same allotment. The OIA saw these assessments and accountings as necessary not only to measure progress, but also to account for the population as a whole. As Asbury noted in 1927, birth figures on Crow were difficult

to obtain because “Indians move around so much in the summer and other times [it is] hard to get an accurate count.”<sup>42</sup>

The two photographic entries for Crow tribal member Plenty Buffalo illustrate the use of the Industrial Survey to measure assimilation via housing. These photographs show two different houses that served as Plenty Buffalo’s homes. Asbury sent the bottom picture, the first home of Plenty Buffalo, with the original Crow Industrial Survey. Asbury sent the top photograph, Plenty Buffalo’s second home, as a supplement a few years later. He noted in his letter accompanying the top photograph what the exact improvements entailed, closing with the statement, “While Plenty Buffalo has an improved house, he has not shown much improvement in his agricultural industry.”<sup>43</sup> These two photographs, specifically the houses pictured, were intended to illustrate progress.

Improvement to the physical house referenced a hoped-for improvement in industry and assimilation. Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merritt replied to Asbury, “Now that he has a comfortable home and a good well on the place this man will surely take interest in cultivating the land and raising sufficient crops to fill his barn and insure a good living throughout the year.”<sup>44</sup> The bureaucracy that eventually hoped to end its guardianship of (and fiscal responsibility for) what they deemed their Indian “wards” hungered for the progress implied in the photographs of Plenty Buffalo’s two houses: Crow progress not only toward assimilation, but also toward a Progressive Era conception of American citizenship.

States often consider the home a site of reform. After all, we return to these places every night, to eat and sleep, and they represent a location of both sustenance and vulnerability. Homes are “an extra skin, carapace or second layer of clothes,” serving to “reveal and display as much as it does to hide and protect.” We make meaning of those home places, imbuing them with and using them to define notions of kinship, acceptable behavior, love, pleasure, and of course identity.<sup>45</sup> Homes are also associated with notions of domesticity, of women’s work, and of judgments of deviance or respectability,<sup>46</sup> and serve as sites of memory, personal history, and political consciousness.<sup>47</sup> This constellation of ideas overlaps with components of citizenship and the idea of the nation<sup>48</sup>—in particular, family, blood, land, work, appropriate behavior, history, and identity. The family itself has often been considered the smallest unit of the nation, a symbol of societal health or endangerment. It thus follows that reformers, muckrakers, social critics,<sup>49</sup> and even the OIA would use the house—the physical structure embodying the home and housing the family—to measure social deviance or conformity.

The Crow Industrial Survey documented the exterior of the Crow house using bureaucratic technologies developed and implemented in the urban





**FIGURE 9.** Two homes of Plenty Buffalo, Crow Industrial Survey. Photograph by Charles Asbury; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.



East. The survey's focus on Indian homes mirrored in some ways the 1909 Pittsburgh Survey, undertaken to mark and measure the "social conditions" of that city's class structure.<sup>50</sup> The Pittsburgh Survey's same bureaucratic management and social science methods underlay the bureaucratic aims of the OIA's Industrial Survey. But whereas the Pittsburgh Survey created synecdochic images representing the houses of various classes, the OIA's Industrial Survey concerned itself with particularity.<sup>51</sup> The OIA sought not to find and exhibit a *representative* set of Indian homes; rather, they sought to accrue an archive of *every* Indian home.

In this respect, the Industrial Survey photographs hold more in common with the older technology of the mug shot in which, as John Tagg describes, "the bodies—workers, vagrants, criminals, patients, the insane, the poor, the colonized races—are taken one by one: isolated in a shallow, contained space; turned full face and subjected to an unreturnable gaze; illuminated, focused, measured, numbered, and named; forced to yield to the minutest scrutiny of gestures and features."<sup>52</sup> The standard focal length Asbury followed faithfully was not new or unusual. This decision, however, coming as it did well after Bertillon's systematic focal length, lighting, and fixed distance between the camera and a criminalized sitter, resonates with the criminality suggested by such standardized treatment. Because our viewing culture is accustomed to full frontal photographs of places—buildings in particular—the effect of the OIA's photographic directive may seem innocent. Yet as Susan Sontag asserted, "To photograph is to frame, and to frame is to exclude."<sup>53</sup> The photograph the OIA attached to Circular 1774 focused just such a gaze on the house as the site of the family—a visual framing faithfully reproduced within the Crow Industrial Survey. The "documentary rhetoric" inherent in the frontality of the photographs of Indian homes should be seen as one decision among many that "sets the stage for either critique or celebration, but in either case evaluation."<sup>54</sup>

While the Industrial Survey narrative comments on the quality and type of housekeeping and furnishings in each household, it never introduces photographs of a household interior. Rather than a romantic elegy to the joys of the domestic sphere, the Crow Industrial Survey presented photographs of Crow homes as individual examples of a larger, universal archive that could allow any individual household to be measured as deviant or industrious—not only by comparing them to one another, but by laying them bare for comparison to an idealized version of white domesticity and industry.<sup>55</sup> The OIA and Asbury did not draw a curtain of privacy by excluding the house interior. After all, the OIA's investment in their field matron program and the work done to build the skills of white middle-class domesticity in boarding schools show a deep investment in regulating the interior spaces of Indian homes.<sup>56</sup> Rather, the exterior focus disregards Crow women's work.

Compare survey photographs with Richard Throssel's 1910 "Interior of the Best Indian Kitchen on the Crow Reservation." The Crow adopted (and even allotted) Throssel, a Canadian Cree who worked for the Office of Indian Affairs at Crow Agency and was the chief photographer for a 1910 survey on health conditions on Indian reservations. He produced "Best Indian Kitchen" for an OIA project intended to model hygienic practices to prevent trachoma and tuberculosis, communicable diseases rampant throughout Indian Country. His photograph presents an Indian family eating at a dining table in their kitchen. Their surroundings indicate relative wealth for the time and context—wallpaper on the walls, a nice hutch, tablecloth, and elaborate beadwork on their clothing. The family, stiff in their pose, makes the tableau seem over-studied. But the Crow woman pictured in her traditional elk tooth dress sits near the center of the photograph.<sup>57</sup>

In fact, Throssel's photograph illuminates a tableau of women's work. The staging resonates with Euro-American domesticity. But the beadwork and Crow dress details are just as important—and not only because the Crows



**FIGURE 10.** "Interior of the Best Indian Kitchen on the Crow Reservation." Photograph by Richard Throssel, circa 1910; courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.

have a reputation for “distinctive and technically excellent beadwork.”<sup>58</sup> The beadwork expressed public and private meanings—care, love, attention, respectability, pride, artistic talent, and industry. The elk tooth dress might have been a gift from the husband to wife, or made in the woman’s few spare hours in a busy household.<sup>59</sup> The creator intended that all the adorned clothing be “touched, worn, smelled,” and kept close to the bodies of beloved family members.<sup>60</sup> So while the picture signals respectability and reenacts tropes of Euro-American domesticity, Crow women’s work literally clothes, sustains, and beautifies the family and the physical structure of the home. Throssel’s photograph depicts the centrality of the work Crow women undertook to organize the Crow family, homes, kinship networks, and, by extension, the structures of Crow social and political life. His interior of a Crow home throws the visual rhetoric of the Crow Industrial Survey into relief—a photographic project whose exterior focus chronicled Crow women only in the visual and narrative margins.

Another Throssel photograph, of Crow tribal member Bear Ground, exposes the photographic framing of the Crow Industrial Survey that rendered an emotional distance between Crow men and their families. In Bear Ground’s survey photo (Figure 8)—posed like many other Crow men in survey photographs—he stands in front of his house, hands in pockets, noticeably separate from his children.<sup>61</sup> Taken and developed indifferently, the photograph in the Bureau of Indian Affairs archives is washed out, in some places barely legible. Produced twelve years earlier, Throssel’s composition focuses on Bear Ground, and the sight lines of all the other people in the picture run toward him. Throssel’s photograph shows Bear Ground and his family in front of a tipi, likely camped by a river for the summer, as many Crow still did well into the 1920s and 1930s. The photograph feels intimate as he carefully holds his child, and the image framing pulls the viewer’s eyes toward the tipi in the center—and thus toward the figure of Bear Ground, who stands near the center of the tipi. In Throssel’s photograph, Bear Ground does not just have a family; he loves his family.

The erasure of Crow women’s work and of men’s familial ties is especially notable in “a community rich with intimate relatives,” in which kinship organized not only community membership but also political structure. Hoxie states, “Households made up of grandparents, parents, children and other relatives formed the basis for Crow family life in the reservation era.”<sup>62</sup> Crow family structure went far beyond the nuclear family. The sisters of one’s mother were also considered mothers, and the father’s brothers were considered fathers. This pulled an extended kin group into tightly woven relationship ties. The matrilineal Crow clan system further multiplied kinship ties, since a person was a member of their mother’s clan and treated their



**FIGURE II.** “Bear Ground (Man) Holding Child outside Tipi; and Open Eye Old Lady; Child.” Photograph by Richard Throssel, circa 1910; National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.

fellow clan members as “brother” and “sister.” Additionally, one’s father’s clanmembers would treat that individual as one of their own children.<sup>63</sup> Women and men were admired for their ability to fulfill and honor the multiple obligations of this family structure. Asbury, in his Crow Survey narratives, showed deep antipathy toward the Crow family structure and the extensive associations necessary to fuel and maintain it. His survey prose reached a nadir when he wrote that the near-total deafness of one man “may be . . . a good thing. Possibly it detracts from the pleasure of social groups and thus results in his staying at home more. If that is the case, it might be advisable to promote deafness.”<sup>64</sup>

The deviance of Crow domesticity—a domesticity founded on the intimacy of Crow family and clan relations, supported by the work of Crow women, and based largely or perhaps even entirely in Crow social norms—constituted the foundation of Crow citizenship even as it produced anxiety for the local OIA bureaucracy. On the eve of the Indian Citizenship Act, the stasis and mea-



surability implied by the Industrial Survey may have comforted the OIA even as the nature and practice of Crow citizenship—and Indian citizenship across the country—remained unresolved in a maze of allotment-generated confusion. But though the visual rhetoric of the Crow Industrial Survey disregarded both Crow women's social labor and Crow men's family intimacy, Crow tribal members insisted on living full lives steeped in Crow social and cultural concerns. Home places helped structure Crow identity and citizenship.

## *Bodies*

The photograph that began this essay, of Hazel Red Wolf and her husband, Three Foretops, illustrates the centrality of strategies of the body in constructing Native citizenship identity. Although the photograph replicates the visual syntax of the Industrial Survey, Hazel Red Wolf disrupted the process. Asbury wrote, "When I suggested to them that they get in the picture, that I was taking, there was some delay while she [Hazel Red Wolf] went to put on her Indian elk tooth dress, which was rather a waste of energy since the photograph does not give her the benefit of that attention."<sup>65</sup> Asbury was correct to assert that the details of the elk tooth dress were lost within the photograph—had the narrative not presented the fact, it would be difficult to know what the woman in the image is wearing.

Regardless, Red Wolf's attempt to turn an instrument of measurement and classification into a portrait reveals the corporeal foundations of citizenship identity. Hazel Red Wolf's determination to wear her elk tooth dress suggests a claim of respectability, or perhaps the fondness she felt for her marriage bonds. It may have been an assertion of wealth or status.<sup>66</sup> It may have simply been her favorite dress—the one in which she felt most beautiful or accomplished. Many families use portraits—of themselves and their families—not only to display in their homes for enjoyment or to mark status, but potentially also to "construct identity, to mark an occasion for posterity, and to stabilize family relationships in the face of complexity and change."<sup>67</sup> And just as Lakota leader Red Cloud claimed the position of photographic subject, seeking control over his image in a "larger struggle for cultural survival,"<sup>68</sup> Hazel Red Wolf also claimed a subject position.

Assimilation begins with the body, the same place a subject position begins. Assimilationist policy permeated the United States during the early twentieth century. Legislators and judges pondered, debated, and created policy on how to define the subjects of U.S. imperialist territorial claims in Puerto Rico and the Pacific. Corporations, philanthropists, tenement workers, and maternalist thinkers attempted to treat the immigrant, the impoverished body, by targeting what they perceived as the illness: cultural difference.<sup>69</sup> Native



bodies, however, represented a source of cultural difference that could not be legislated away or contained through immigration quotas.

Thus Native bodies and their clothes assumed a citizenship valence.<sup>70</sup> For example, the OIA's Last Arrow ceremonies, practiced until 1924, required that tribal members receiving citizenship and fee-simple title to their allotment lands perform a corporeal assimilation in order to claim the rights and status of citizenship. Men, dressed in traditional clothing, shot their "last arrow"<sup>71</sup> before an assembled crowd of tribal members, after which they entered a dwelling and changed into Euro-American-style clothes—their "citizen clothes." After the new "citizen Indian" emerged, the local Indian agent placed their hands on the handle of a plow, explaining that "this act means that you have chosen to live the life of a white man—and the white man lives by work. . . . Only by work do we gain a right to the land or to the enjoyment of life."<sup>72</sup> Women underwent a similar ceremony, minus the shooting of the last arrow, and the Indian agent instead gave her a workbag and purse, stating, "The white woman loves her home. The family and the home are the foundation of our civilization. Upon the character and industry of the mother and homemaker largely depends the future of our Nation." A 1917 newspaper describing the ceremony stated, "The general effect of the ceremonial has proved most happy, and the honor of participating in it has served as a stimulus to many of the Indians to work harder for the privileges of citizenship."<sup>73</sup>

In this context, Hazel Red Wolf's elk tooth dress signifies more than beauty or accomplishment. It signifies identity, even a citizenship identity. Red Wolf's elk tooth dress not only indicated the nexus of the work Crow women's and men's bodies performed—elk teeth, gained two at a time per each elk hunted by men, elaborately ornamented the distinctively Crow-style woman's dress hand sewn, beaded, and decorated by women. It also marked a distinctively Crow body. In a time period in which women's bodies and clothing—and their appropriation or rejection—could become an index of state or even national identity,<sup>74</sup> to insist on wearing the dress for this survey of Crow households hints at an assertion of self-preservation and self-determination.<sup>75</sup> In Hazel Red Wolf's world, and in the portrait she attempted to curate—a Crow woman wearing a beautiful elk tooth dress, her husband at her side, in front of their well-kept log cabin—"Indians aren't weird, heartbroken exiles, or zoo animals for the exposition, endangered species preserved forever in photographic gelatin. . . . They are changed but in control."<sup>76</sup> Just as Sauk women described by Jane Simonsen used images originally produced for white viewers to "unfix and remake them in ways that tell different stories,"<sup>77</sup> Red Wolf did not concern herself with the aims of Superintendent Asbury or the larger OIA bureaucracy. Her concern: to wear her favorite elk tooth dress. If the OIA indeed attempted to measure progress toward citizenship (read: assimilation)

through survey photographs, in at least this case their measurement would include an elk tooth dress.<sup>78</sup>

The Crow Survey and many of the other northern Plains Industrial Surveys sidelined women and their bodies, deeming them irrelevant unless found wanting. Asbury's liberties with the structure of the Industrial Survey at Crow erased the substantive importance of women. For example, while the sample survey sent with Circular 1774 detailed the household individual by individual down to the youngest child, the Crow Industrial Survey condenses much of the detailed household information under a general heading "Remarks." This flattens the household information, naming only the male "head of household" and rendering every other family member nameless and ageless. In the survey narrative describing Asbury's interaction with Hazel Red Wolf, Asbury never recorded or alluded to her name. He referred to her only as the "wife" of Three Foretops, and I had to track her name through other sources. The original survey modeled in Circular 1774 imposes a Euro-American family system and gender norms—assuming that only men are heads of households, and assuming that Native families do (or should) conform to the nuclear family model. But the Crow Survey pushes this dynamic further. Women and children, nameless and ageless, are barely counted or noted as individuals.

Although less than half (approximately 40 percent) of survey photographs contain human figures at all—making Crow bodies more an afterthought or accident than an intention—in the narrative Asbury constantly assesses Crow men's bodies. Asbury tied the age, wellness, and abilities of Crow men's bodies to their "industry," or ability and success in providing for themselves and their family through farm or wage labor. For example, "He is poorly, but he could at least stay at home and attend to a garden and some chickens and a cow and contribute something to the support of his family. I regard him as a hopeless case and explained to him that in my opinion he would very soon starve to death and the sooner the better."<sup>79</sup> Asbury also pointedly noted peyote use. The Crow Industrial Survey, and many other Industrial Surveys, associated peyote use not only with addiction but also with a man's lack of industry and inability to support himself and his family. The overweight Indian body evoked disgust, as when Asbury wrote about one man, "This party says himself that he is a good worker, but the condition of his place and his general attitude does not confirm his admission. He appears to weigh somewhere around 300 lbs." Asbury also assessed the heaviness of his wife (unnamed), and concluded, "It seems to be a sort of rendezvous here for those that have a sort of chronic fatigue." Asbury racialized the Indian male body, tying blood quantum to industry and business acumen: "He is practically white and has some education in reservation and non-reservation schools. . . . His tendency, like many of the mixed-bloods, is to want to do things on a big scale and if they

can secure the credit, they go in debt too much and are presently broken.” Finally, the able-bodied Crow male also came in for his own round of assessment—always through the lens of deficiency and inability to “make a good living” doing farmwork and ranching. Asbury’s narrative created a nexus between assessment of the Indian body, productivity, work, and the Crow landscape and allotted lands, as when he wrote, “The land where they live is very good land and should make him a good living, but they do not work. There are not particular tears to be shed in this case. He is an able-bodied young man. His wife is able-bodied. They could make a good living on the land where they live and if they go hungry, it is their own fault.”<sup>80</sup> Asbury often used the idea of hunger to comfort himself as he made particularly nasty assessments of Crow tribal members, imagining it as a form of bodily discipline that would teach the deficient Crow agricultural worker the error of idleness. In Asbury’s hands, the Crow Industrial Survey assessed Crow bodies largely to dismiss them as wanting.

But Crow tribal members possessed different concerns regarding their bodies, as revealed by Asbury’s dismissive comments. Crow bodies—at times infirm, overweight, or racialized—moved. They traversed the Crow, crossing allotment and reservation boundaries to visit relatives, where their family members likely sustained their bodies with delicious food and conversation and laughter. They dressed their bodies as they saw fit, consciously or unconsciously projecting an identity that had little to do with Last Arrow ceremonies and everything to do with their own notions of beauty and accomplishment. In other words, while the OIA might assess Indian bodies as forever deficient regarding the productivity and “industry” necessary to contribute as full citizens, Crow people lived fully in their bodies—the place that houses consciousness and identity—more concerned with Crow norms of community and citizenship than those the OIA attempted to impose. Such commitment to Crow bodily truths surely shaped their political identities as tribal members and, eventually, citizens.

## *Conclusion*

Historians of the late reservation era have developed sophisticated analyses of federal Indian policy, well-known Native writers and cultural brokers, and the complex interaction between nascent culture industries and Native imagery and performances. Through this work, historians now understand the early twentieth century as a time of intense government control, but also one of creative negotiations and advocacy on the part of Native people. Historians of the late reservation era possess an invaluable historical source in the OIA’s Industrial Survey, as the survey created literal, statistical, and narrative

snapshots of the end of the era through its documentation and accounting of every Indian household on every reservation in the country. The source is rich and compelling, particularly because it weds narrative and statistical data to a vast archive of photographs of the intimate places of Indigenous life.

Examining the valences of the Crow Industrial Survey through the lens of place and citizenship shows, however, that the data and images of the survey must not be taken at face value. Rather, the survey produced visual and written narratives fraught with the anxieties of the OIA's local and national concerns. In reaction to those anxieties, OIA officials attempted to survey, annotate, and define Native bodies, homes, and lands—or what this essay terms the “places” of Indian life. By reading against the grain of the OIA's visual and written narratives—and inserting a tribal historical context—those same flattening and eliding survey photographs and narratives also, perhaps unwillingly, reveal a rich and vibrant community life. Crow political and social values structured this community life, and even the totalizing documents of the OIA's survey cannot hide a Crow body politic that lived and asserted control over their own bodies, homes, and lands in ways that contributed to a Crow-centered citizenship practice.

This analysis—and the contestation it examines between the OIA and tribal members—reminds us that before citizenship is theorized, it is embodied and *placed*. Citizenship happens through the work and performance of our bodies, in the way our bodies curate and develop our homes, and in the way we move through and use our landscapes. Indigenous citizenship—within a tribe or the United States—should contend with the places in which it is forged.

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## Notes

1. Felix Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 26.

2. Crow Industrial Survey, Crow Agency, 1922, Reports of Industrial Surveys, 1922–1929, Crow-Crow Creek, Records of the Industries Section, Records of the Education Division, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration—National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. Hereafter referred to as Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.).

3. For more on the power dynamics of the photographic gaze, see Margaret Olin, “It Is Not Going to Be Easy to Look into Their Eyes,” *Art History* 14, no. 1 (1991): 97.



4. Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009), 31.

5. "Place" refers to human practices that create and assign meaning to the landscapes they inhabit. Culture can be seen as produced from the meaning we make at the physical matrix of our sensing/moving bodies and the landscapes we inhabit. Edward Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009), 346; Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Edward Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomological Prolegomena," in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith Basso (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996), 13–53.

6. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 143; Michael Clifford, *Political Genealogy after Foucault: Savage Identities* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 58.

7. For the tie between assimilation efforts and a focus on the future of Native peoples, see Beth Piatote, *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2013), 4–5.

8. Akim Reinhardt, *Ruling Pine Ridge: Oglala Lakota Politics from the IRA to Wounded Knee* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2007), 50; Frederick Hoxie, *Parading through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805–1935* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Thomas Biolsi, *Organizing the Lakota: The Political Economy of the New Deal on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992); Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Robert Trennert, "Corporal Punishment and the Politics of Indian Reform," *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1989): 595–617.

9. Casey, *Getting Back into Place*, 346.

10. Steven Van Wolputte, "Hang on to Your Self: Of Bodies, Embodiment, and Selves," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 251–69; Karen Tranberg Hansen, "The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 369–92.

11. Clifford, *Political Genealogy*, 43.

12. David Green, "Veins of Resemblance: Photography and Eugenics," *Oxford Art Journal*, 7, no. 2 (1984): 6; Karin Becker, "Picturing Our Past: An Archive Constructs a National Culture," *Journal of American Folklore* 105 (Winter 1992): 3.

13. Siegfried Kracauer, trans. Thomas Levin, "Photography," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 3 (1993): 432.

14. Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 25–26; Deborah Poole, "An Image of 'Our Indian': Type Photographs and Racial Sentiments in Oaxaca, 1920–1940," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84 no. 1 (2004): 38–39.

15. Alan Sekula, "Reading an Archive: Photography between Labor and Capital," in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (New York: Routledge, 2003), 359–60, 446.
16. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 70–71.
17. Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 37.
18. Poole, "An Image of 'Our Indian,'" 39–41.
19. For more on photographic archives and the body, see Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive" in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 352, 357.
20. Letter, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke to All Superintendents and Indian Service Farmers, May 17, 1923, Crow Agency, 1922, Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.).
21. Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.–Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 97–121. For an explanation of the legal landscape surrounding the Indian Citizenship Act, see Bruce Duthu, *Shadow Nations: Tribal Sovereignty and the Limits of Legal Pluralism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 87–93. For more on the SAI, see Lucy Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005); and Philip Deloria Jr., "Four Thousand Invitations," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 25, no. 2 (2013): 25–43.
22. Maddox, *Citizen Indians*, 107–8.
23. John Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879–1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009); Christian McMillan, *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Case and the Birth of Ethnohistory* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007); Hoxie, *Parading*.
24. Frederick Hoxie, "From Prison to Homeland: The Cheyenne River Indian Reservation before World War I," *South Dakota History* 10, no. 1 (1979): 1–24.
25. Troutman, *Indian Blues*; McMillan, *Making Indian Law*.
26. Hoxie, *Parading*, 172, 227, 295–96, 302; regarding the Crow Act, 253–63; Frank Rzeczkowski, *Uniting the Tribes: The Rise and Fall of Pan-Indian Community on the Crow Reservation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 193.
27. Hoxie, *Parading*, 175.
28. *Ibid.*, 302.
29. Glen Mimura, "A Dying West? Reimagining the Frontier in Frank Matura's Photography, 1903–1913," *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2010): 687.
30. Hoxie, *Parading*, 269.
31. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 109.
32. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "The Mutuality of Citizenship and Sovereignty: The Society of American Indians and the Battle to Inherit America," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 25, no. 2 (2013): 337.
33. Patrick Wolfe, "The Settler Complex: An Introduction," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 37, no. 2 (2013): 1–2.
34. Martin Berger, *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 67.
35. Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.).

36. Ben Pease, *ibid.*
37. For a fuller discussion of cars and Native peoples, see Philip Deloria, "Technology: 'I Want to Ride in Geronimo's Cadillac,'" in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 136–82.
38. Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.).
39. Hoxie, *Parading*, 315–16, 324.
40. Allotments to Crow Indians: Hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, 66th Cong. 1 (1919). A bill to provide for the allotment of lands of the Crow Tribe, for the distribution of tribal funds, and for other purposes.
41. Hoxie, *Parading*, 299.
42. *Ibid.*, 300.
43. Crow Superintendent C. H. Asbury to Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merritt, March 3, 1925, Plenty Buffalo, Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.).
44. Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. B. Merritt to Crow Superintendent C. H. Asbury, March 11, 1925, *ibid.*
45. Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones, "Introduction," in *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, ed. Carsten and Hugh-Jones (New York: Cambridge, 1995), 1–46. Although the home can also be a site of violence, abuse, and discord, the larger point holds that homes are the site in which appropriate and inappropriate behaviors become defined or normalized.
46. Adele Perry, "From 'The Hot-Bed of Vice' to the 'Good and Well-Ordered Christian Home': First Nations Housing and Reform in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," *Ethnohistory* 50, no. 4 (2003): 587–610. For more on domesticity as an ordering concept for imperialism, see Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
47. Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
48. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 3.
49. Maren Stange, "Jacob Riis and Urban Visual Culture," *Journal of Urban History* 15, no. 3 (1989): 274–303; Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70, no. 3 (1998): 581–606; George Sánchez, "'Go after the Women': Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915–1929," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Vicki Ruiz and Ellen DuBois (New York: Routledge, 1994), 284–97.
50. Paul U. Kellogg, "The Pittsburgh Survey," *Charities and the Commons* 11, no. 14 (1909): 518.
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52. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 63–64.
53. Susan Sontag, "Looking at War," *New Yorker*, December 9, 2002, 82–99.

54. Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins, "The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of National Geographic," in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Wells, 359–60.

55. Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 350, 360.

56. Lisa Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst of My Own People': Native American Women and the Field Matron Program," *American Indian Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1991): 201–16.

57. "Interior of the Best Indian Kitchen on the Crow Reservation," ca. 1910, photograph by Richard Throssel. Peggy Albright, *Crow Indian Photographer: The Work of Richard Throssel* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 8, 24–26, 34–35, 37–39.

58. *Ibid.*, 8.

59. *Ibid.*, 144.

60. Jeffrey Anderson, *Arapaho Women's Quillwork: Motion, Life, and Creativity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 12–13, 22–25, 73.

61. Bear Ground, Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.).

62. Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 169–71, 183.

63. Robert Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935), 18–32; Rodney Frey, *The World of the Crow Indians: As Driftwood Lodges* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 40–58.

64. Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.).

65. *Ibid.*

66. For more on the use of clothing to mark status or identity, see Terence S. Turner, "The Social Skin," in *Reading the Social Body*, ed. Catherine Burroughs and Jeffrey Ehrenreich (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 15–39; and Alison Guy and Maura Banim, "Personal Collections: Women's Clothing Use and Identity," *Journal of Gender Studies* 9, no. 3 (2000): 313–27.

67. Jane Simonsen, "Descendants of Black Hawk: Generations of Identity in Sauk Portraits," *American Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (2011): 316–17.

68. Frank Goodyear, *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 3, 6, 16.

69. Frank Van Nuys, *Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890–1930* (Topeka: University Press of Kansas, 2002); James Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880–1930," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (1992): 996–1020; Gayle Gullett, "Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915–1920," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1995): 71–94; Nyan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004); Sam Erman, "Meanings of Citizenship in the U.S. Empire: Puerto Rico, Isabel Gonzalez, and the U.S. Supreme Court, 1898–1905," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 5, no. 4 (2008): 5–33.

70. For other examples of the relationship between clothing and a nation's body politic, see Tina Mai Chen, "Dressing for the Party: Clothing, Citizenship, and Gender Formation in Mao's China," *Fashion Theory* 5, no. 2 (2005): 143–72;



and Mary Lou O'Neil, "You Are What You Wear: Clothing/Appearance Laws and the Construction of the Public Citizen in Turkey," *Fashion Theory* 14, no. 1 (2010): 65–82.

71. Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 180.

72. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 881.

73. Albright, 52–53; *Gettysburg Times*, January 5, 1917.

74. Poole, "An Image of 'Our Indian,'" 74–80.

75. Some might also define it as an act of photographic survivance. Ojibwe scholar Gerald Vizenor coined "survivance" to refer to an active resistance toward domination that goes beyond survival. Amy Lonetree applied survivance to Ho-Chunk photographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in her essay "Visualizing Native Survivance: Encounters with My Ho-Chunk Ancestors in the Family Photographs of Charles Van Schaick," in *People of the Big Voice: Photographs of Ho-Chunk Families by Charles Van Schaick, 1879–1942*, ed. Tom Jones et al. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2011), 14.

76. Rayna Green, "Rosebuds of the Plateau: Frank Matsura and the Fainting Couch Aesthetic," in *Partial Recall*, ed. Lucy Lippard (New York: New Press, 1992), 52.

77. Simonsen, "Descendants of Black Hawk," 302.

78. For more on Native women's self-presentation, see Mimura, "A Dying West?" 703–4.

79. Charles Brown, Crow Industrial Survey, NARA (D.C.). See also Joe Sings Pretty; Bird Hat; Cold Wind.

80. Bird Far Away, *ibid.* See also Shows His Gun, or Joe Gun; Ben Pease; Ben Gardner.