SEVEN FEMALE PHOTOGRAPHERS OF THE OKLAHOMA AND INDIAN TERRITORIES, 1889 TO 1907

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PREFACE

This study was conducted to examine female photographers - four professionals and three amateurs - active in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories from approximately 1889 until about 1907. These women offer valuable insights into the history of photography and women's involvement in that history. They appear in this study because examples of their photography exist at the Oklahoma Historical Society and the University of Oklahoma. They were researched further through the United States Census Records and city directories. The results of these record searches are discussed in Chapters One and Two in conjunction with a discussion of the individual women.

This study is organized to place the seven women from the Oklahoma and Indian Territories into the wider history of photography and women's involvement in that history. Chapter One contains information about the trends in professional photography from approximately 1889 until 1907. Incorporated into this general history are four specific women from the Territories: Emma Coleman, Georgia Isbell

Rollins, Persis Gibbs, and Alice Mary Robertson.[1] Chapter Two discusses the history of amateur photography and three Territorial amateur women photographers: Annette Ross Hume, Jessie Gilham, and Jennie Ross Cobb. Chapter Three focuses on a description of specific photographs taken by each of the seven women from the two Territories, particularly their photos of Native Americans. This chapter shows the general subject matter of the seven photographers, but does not analyze their assumed manipulation of their subjects within each picture. Finally, a conclusion presents the general results of the research done in the United States Census Records.

[1]Four specific professional women were researched for this thesis, but while researching them I came across other women's names in census records and city directories. I wanted to keep my focus on these four women because I have actual photographs from them, whereas I was unable to find photos attributed to the other women who may have appeared in a census record.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank all the people who have been so helpful during this process. Several people provided me with vital information along the way. First, I would like to thank John Lovett, librarian of the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma, who helped me with photos and biographies of Annette Ross Hume and Emma Coleman. Jan Prough, curator of the Ponca City Pioneer Woman's Museum, helped me greatly with the loan of her research done for the museum's exhibit on female photographers. I would like to thank Chester Cowen, photo archivist at the Oklahoma Historical Society, who provided scores of information on the topic of photography and spent numerous hours talking with me about these interesting women. I would also like to thank the Oklahoma Historical Society for giving me several of the photos appearing in this study.

I would also like to thank the many other people who were crucial to my study and my two years at Oklahoma State University. First, I would like to thank Susan Oliver, head secretary of the History Department, who helped me put together the finished product. Dr. Amy Carreiro lent me her time and ear continuously through this study and I am

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Lastly, I would like to thank all the people, especially Steve Kite and my parents Nell and Russ Till, who have tolerated my endless discussion of this topic and who provided some very interesting views.

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INTRODUCTION

Until the 1970s, few scholars studied the involvement of women in photography. From its early inception in 1839, women played a prominent role in the history of photography. Beaumont Newhall's History of Photography, published in 1937, touches briefly upon women in certain aspects of the field. According to Newhall, women's contributions were minimal.[1] Helmut Gernsheim's The History of Photography (1955) provides the reader with more information regarding women's opportunities within photography, particularly as assistants to male photographers. However, like Newhall, Gernsheim's details are minor and scattered.[2] Many historians of photography still consider these works to be classics.

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[1]Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present, revised and enlarged edition (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 1982). There were several editions after the first 1937 publication. The 1982 edition is the most recent.

[2]Helmut Gernsheim, The History of Photography: From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1955). The information regarding women is scattered throughout this work but, it offers some details about the specific jobs and the wages women earned in each area (especially p. 287).

Studies pertaining to women in the field of photography did not surface until the 1970s. Ann Tucker edited The Woman's Eye which established the standard for future histories of women's involvement in photography. Tucker's work consists mainly of reproductions of the work of famous female professional photographers. Photographers such as Dorothea Lange, Frances Benjamin Johnston, and Gertrude Käsebier, are frequently examined in histories dealing with women in photography.[3] These women should be studied, but they do not necessarily represent the norm for women in the field of photography because they were famous at the time of their activity. Subsequently, two comprehensive histories of exclusively female photographers emerged. C. Jane Grover's The Positive Image and Naomi Rosenblum's History of Women Photographers fill the gap left by these earlier works. Grover's The Positive Image, published in 1988, studies women at the turn of the nineteenth century living along the upper East Coast. These women photographers were active as both professionals and amateurs.[4] However,

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[3]Ann Tucker, ed., The Woman's Eye (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973). See also Constance Sullivan, Women Photographers (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1990): this work is similar to Tucker's because it consists mainly of photographs taken by famous women such as Julia Marie Cameron and Frances Benjamin Johnston, and provides little narrative or analysis of women's involvement in photography.

[4]C. Jane Grover, The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

Grover's work focuses on women working on the East Coast and excludes the Western states. Rosenblum's A History of Women Photographers, published in 1994, and the touring photographic exhibit based upon her book, are currently the most comprehensive examinations of women in the history of photography.[5]

Coinciding with early comprehensive studies of women in photography were more specific works. One prolific writer, Peter Palmquist, in the 1970s began researching and writing about women in the field of photography. His numerous works focus mainly on unknown or previously unstudied women active in photography, as amateurs and professionals, in California around the turn of the century.[6] Additionally, several articles on women photographers living in Minnesota, Nebraska, and Montana have appeared in recent issues of

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[5]Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York, NY: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994); and Naomi Rosenblum and Barbara Tannenbaum, "A History of Women Photographers," (The National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C., 13 February-4 May 1997 and The New York Public Library, New York City, New York, 19 October 1996-4 January 1997). Both the book and the exhibit are essential for a complete history of women in photography as professionals and amateurs, but Rosenblum and Tannenbaum focus primarily on previously studied women such as Julia Marie Cameron and Dorothea Lange.

[6]Peter E. Palmquist, With Nature's Children: Emma B. Freeman (1880-1928), Camera and Brush (Eureka, CA: Interface California Corporation, 1976), was the first work of Palmquist in a long line of publications about women photographers. For other titles, see the Selected Bibliography at the end of this work.

journals on local history.[7] In the past, studies of the history of photography and women's involvement in photography, tended to neglect women active west of the Mississippi River, especially in rural areas. Histories of female photographers fail to include these women with the better-known professional women photographers.

This study fills the gap left by other histories by providing examples of four professional and three amateur women photographers who were active in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories from 1889 until statehood in 1907.[8] These seven forgotten women illustrate more typical patterns regarding female photographers, like those discussed in the studies of California, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Montana than those studies done of well-known women photographers. The photographs of these seven women establish their activity as photographers, help to date their periods of activity, and shed light on early Oklahoma history and the people involved

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[7]Tracey Baker, "Nineteenth-Century Minnesota Women Photographers," Journal of the West 28 (January 1989): 15-23; Martha H. Kennedy, "Nebraska's Women Photographers," Nebraska History 72 (Summer 1991): 62-77; Deplores J. Morrow, "Female Photographers on the Frontier: Montana's Lady Photographic Artists, 1866-1900," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 32 (Summer 1982): 76-84.

[8]By "professional", I refer to women who worked in an established studio or had their photographs produced on commercial mounts with their names on them. Additionally, professional refers to women recorded on a United States Census Record as a photographer. I use the term "amateur" to refer to women who in their spare time took photographs and who never appear on a census record as a photographer.

in that history.

Many studies analyze the validity of images found in photographs.[9] Historians ask, whether the representation of people, places, and things in pictures be taken at face value without questioning the motives or manipulations on the part of the photographer? For this study, this method of questioning the motives of the photographers is unnecessary because the pictures taken by the seven women are used to help establish their activity, compare them to the established trends in photography, such as props and camera types used, and provide a greater knowledge of early Oklahoma. These photos are not used to describe the women's views of life or manipulations of what those views were for each photographer. One contemporary of the seven women, Eduard Steichen, stated that what a viewer sees or the "results [of motives or manipulations] must always depend upon the photographer, upon his [or her] personality, his technical ability and his feeling."[10] This study assumes that there is some manipulation or personal preference on

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[9]Especially refer to Susan Sontag, On Photography (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977) for an examination of the photo as something to not always trust just because it represents an actual moment in time. See also, Mary Price, The Photograph: A Strange Confined Space (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); and Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1989).

[10]Eduard Steichen, "Ye Fakers," Camera Work 1 (January 1903): 48.

the part of these women. Although a description of specific photographs taken by each of the seven women is included, the photographs are not analyzed.

Connected to the idea of a photographer's personal view or manipulation of an image is the issue of gender. Do women take different kinds of photos than men? Does gender dictate a certain angle a photographer may take of a building? Or, does the sex of a photographer affect the subject of an image? There are supporters for each side; some scholars agree that gender greatly influences the way a person photographs, while others strongly claim that gender plays no role in photography.[11] A few simple suggestions may be made regarding a comparison of male and female photographers in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Overall, it appears that amateur and professional photographers took the same kinds of pictures whether male or female. For instance, amateur photographer, Annette Ross Hume, recorded the settling of the town of Anadarko in 1901.

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[11]For sources that claim there is a gender difference in photography see, Giles Edgerton, "Is There a Sex Distinction in Art? The Attitude of the Critic Towards Women's Exhibits," Craftsman 14 (June 1908): 240; Clarence Bloomfield, "Women Experts in Photography," The Cosmopolitan 14 (March 1893): 581; Grover, Positive Image, xvii; Bobbi Rahder, "Gendered Stylistic Differences Between Photographers of Native American at the Turn of the Century," Journal of the West 35 (January 1996): 86-95. For sources that claim the opposite see, William Culp Darrah, "Nineteenth-Century Women Photographers," in Shadow and Substance, ed. Kathleen Collins (Bloomfield Hills, MI: The Amorphous Institute Press, 1990), 97; Tucker, Woman's Eye, 3-11.

She focused on the crowds of people drawn to the event and the initial structures that these people built. Similarly, the A. B. Swearingen Studio located in Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory, recorded the formation of the town of Guthrie.[12] Regardless of gender, both photographers were interested in recording these historical events. However, Swearingen was most likely paid or commissioned to take the photos of Guthrie, whereas, Hume's motives were personal.

Drawing a comparison between professional photographers of the two territories few differences appear in the images. In the case of studio-based photographers, male and female, the subjects tended to be of the middle class because they could afford photographs. Additionally, subject poses tended to follow the dominant trends in photography. For example, male and female professional photographers often times situated their subjects in wicker chairs.[13] In addition, if more than one person was to appear in a shot, often the photographer seated at least one of the subjects. One apparent difference between male and female professional photographers of the two Territories was the child sitter. In professional photographer Emma Coleman's two collections

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[12]Annette Ross Hume, Phillips Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman; A. B. Swearingen, A. B. Swearingen Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

[13]Emma Coleman, Emma Coleman Collection Box C-12, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman; Author's Collection.

at the University of Oklahoma a majority of her photographs are of small children. But to conclude that women took more photographs of children than men did, more research would be necessary.

The research for this work did not intend to defend or refute particular views about the influence of gender on photography. Several photographs from two male-owned studios from this time were examined. Additionally, the histories of Newhall and Gernsheim are written primarily to describe male involvement in the field. Therefore, some elementary conclusions are made in this study, but they are not intended to prove either side of the gender question. No studies exist of the male photographers in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories from 1889 until 1907 and one should be done. However, the research for this study focuses only on female photographers. The study of women photographers is important to history because these women documented turn-of-the-century Oklahoma. Also, the professionals were involved in an occupation not typical for women during this twenty-year period.

Gender may not have affected the ways photographers took pictures, but it did influence their entrance into the field. From approximately 1839 until 1888, daguerreotype and wet-plate developing processes dominated photography. These processes required numerous toxic chemicals, heavy glass plates, and immediate development. Because of these

characteristics, many women refrained from taking up photography as professionals or amateurs.[14]

Toward the end of the nineteenth century advances made in technology and changes occurring within society facilitated the entrance of women into the field of photography, either as professionals or amateurs. Certain technological advances, like the sewing machine, gave middle-class women more leisure time. These advances provided women with the opportunity to pursue non-domestic endeavors.[15] The relatively cheap hand-held camera which Kodak introduced in 1889 and the dry-plate development process allowed women to enter photography. The middle-class society of the late 1800s that viewed women as naturally nurturing and artistic translated this idea into reasons why women should be photographers. For example, women were thought to take better, more sensitive photos of children. Additionally, as Grover points out in The Positive Image, photography enabled women to meld their

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[14]Karen Current, Photography and the Old West (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1978), 26; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 39, 42.

[15]Grover, Positive Image, 2. Several times throughout the book, Grover links the introduction of the Singer sewing machine to the entrance of women into the field of photography, either as professionals or amateurs. The expectation placed on women to pursue activities outside the home is discussed in, Jay Ruby, "The Wheelman and the Snapshooter or, the Industrialization of the Picturesque," in Shadow and Substance, ed. Kathleen Collins, (Bloomfield Hills, MI: The Amorphous Institute Press, 1990), 262.

domestic lives with the economic world.[16] This idea meant that women were able to take photographs of their domestic realms, especially children and family, and possibly sell their work for postcard art or to an illustrated magazine. Professional women photographers used this supposedly inherent sensitivity to their advantage too, by accepting children and families as clients.

Even with changing views of gender roles in Victorian society, however, women were not always accepted as photographers. In an article dated 1908, Giles Edgerton described the way art critics reviewed an all-female exhibit. Edgerton wrote that the critics were "tolerant and sentimental" regarding their treatment of the women.[17] Additionally, photographic associations and clubs across the United States either excluded women or separated their facilities from those used by men at this time.[18]

With widespread entrance of women into the field of photography as both professionals and amateurs around the turn of the century, it would seem they should be easy to

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[16]Grover, Positive Image, 2, 25, 52; and Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 75, 81-82; Tucker, Woman's Eye, 3.

[17]Edgerton, "Sex Distinction," 239.

[18]Grover, Positive Image, 26, 69. Grover focuses on the discrimination against women in these groupings mainly because of her emphasis on women's involvement in photography but she was not the only one to note the separation; most works cited in the bibliography that discuss the turn-of-the-century clubs at least mention the exclusion or separation of women.

research; however, it is difficult to find information about specific women photographers today. First, amateurs are somewhat easier to research than professionals partly because usually when their work is donated to a library or a historical society it contains a large body of photographs all of which can generally be attributed to that woman. On the other hand, the nature of a professional photographer's work, taking photos of people not within their family, results in the scattering of studio portraits throughout several family collections which may or may not be donated to a historical society or a library. Therefore it becomes difficult as a researcher to see patterns or changes of a certain professional woman. In addition, prior to the 1970s, family members, photographic collectors, historians of photography, and the female photographers themselves discarded or ignored women's contributions because they were seen as insignificant to the overall history of photography.[19] This makes the research of professionals and amateurs equally difficult.

Another complication in researching specific female photographers is the difficulty in identifying the original

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[19]Grover, Positive Image, xiv; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 10, 85. This reluctance to keep women's artifacts was not uncommon prior to about 1970. Women's diaries and correspondence were seen to produce no significant information about a time or place. For a discussion of historians of photography who have omitted or slighted women's involvement in photography, see the earlier discussion of photography histories.

photographer as a woman. This applies mainly to professional photographers. The early practice of photo piracy - where photographers duplicated someone else's image and claimed it as their own - calls into question the original photographer's identity, male or female.[20] Additionally, Martha Kennedy, in her study of female photographers in Nebraska, found that some women used their initials in advertising and on their photo mounts intentionally to hide their gender.[21] Identification is further complicated because typically early studio photographs were stamped with the business's name; women who worked in studios as photographers but were not the owners were not given credit.[22] If a woman worked with her husband as a photographer, her original photos were often attributed to the man regardless of who actually took the photo.[23]

If a researcher, through archives or historical society holdings, is able to isolate women active as professionals, it is still difficult to trace their lives based upon

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[20]Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, The Photograph and the American Indian (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), viii; Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, The North American Indians in Early Photographs (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1986), 16.

[21]Kennedy, "Nebraska's Women," 63.

[22]This issue will be discussed in more depth later with examination of Georgia Isbell Rollins of Norman, Oklahoma Territory.

[23]Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 7; Baker, "Minnesota Women," 15.

national or regional records. Society between 1889 and 1907 shifted to a greater acceptance of women in the workplace but it was not a quick transformation and often census enumerators would leave the occupation space blank for women.[24] At least it is possible to trace and locate professionals through census records and city directories. However, it is impossible to find amateur female photographers using this method.

The seven women studied here were chosen for this work because examples of their photography are obtainable through the Oklahoma Historical Society's Photographic Archives and the University of Oklahoma's Western History Collections. As many of the photographs as possible, found in either of these two places, were examined. The United States Census Records and city directories were studied to see if the professional women were listed as photographers, especially in the years that they are confirmed as active. For the amateur women, the United States Census Records were useful in finding general information about their lives.

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[24]Morrow, "Female Photographers," 76; Peter Palmquist, "Pioneer Women Photographers in Nineteenth-Century California," California History 71 (Spring 1992): 112. One would think that if social norms caused census enumerators not to fill in the occupation space for women that women too might have been hesitant to list a profession.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NEW WOMEN OF THE OKLAHOMA AND INDIAN TERRITORIES: PROFESSIONAL FEMALE PHOTOGRAPHERS

Until the early 1880s, the number of women participating in the field of photography was relatively low. The lack of female photographers reflected the cumbersome nature of the profession. Prior to 1888, the photographic development process required a tremendous amount of equipment, including glass plates, tripods, and chemicals, which together weighed about two hundred pounds. A successful photographer was mobile and not tied exclusively to a studio. This meant that the photographer carried heavy developing supplies on location.[1] Because of the heavy wet-plate developing tools used largely before 1890, most women avoided photography. Additionally, most women avoided the field because of the abrasive and noxious

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[1]Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, The North American Indians in Early Photographs (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1986), 14; C. Jane Grover, The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 5; Chester Cowen, interview by author, July 1996, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. Most books examining the general history of photography briefly discuss the enormous weight of the early wet-plate development equipment.

chemicals used in wet-plate developing.[2]

Starting in the late 1870s, technical innovations in photography emerged, attracting women into the newly evolved industry. Among the many women who entered photography at this time were Emma Coleman and Georgia Isbell Rollins, both of Norman, Oklahoma Territory; Alice Mary Robertson, of Muskogee, Indian Territory; and Persis Gibbs, of Enid, Oklahoma Territory. The first change to occur in the technology of photography was an improved developing technique, called dry-plate. Dry-plate, which appeared on the market in the late 1870s, did not require immediate developing like the cumbersome wet-plate. The invention of dry-plating alone allowed women to travel outside of their studios to photograph. They no longer had to carry heavy developing equipment with them. Dry-plate film was more convenient. It could be carried back to the studio and developed at the photographer's convenience.[3] The second restricting factor to women's involvement in photography was developing chemicals. They were all but eliminated with the introduction of roll film in 1888. One writer of the time, Clarence Bloomfield Moore, reflected a societal view of women and its stereotyped image of cleanliness when he

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[2]Karen Current, Photography and the Old West (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1978), 26; Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York, NY: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994), 39, 42.

[3]Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 55.

encouraged them to enter photography because "the only distasteful portion of the work-staining of the fingers-[could] now be entirely avoided" with the use of roll film.[4] Also, photographic equipment became mass-produced and available at a relatively low price for the consumer.[5] All of these technological advances aided women's widespread entrance into photography toward the end of the nineteenth century.

In addition to the technical developments mentioned, American society at the turn of the century began accepting the idea of women working outside of home. These changes coupled with an increase in middle-class leisure time helped women, including the four Territorial women, to enter

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[4]Clarence Bloomfield Moore, "Women Experts in Photography," The Cosmopolitan 14 (March 1893): 581. Women prior to the turn of the century were seen not only as morally pure and clean but physically as well. For discussions about women and their dislike for staining one's fingers, see also Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 39; Current, Old West, 26; and Sarah Greenough, "'Of Charming Glens, Graceful Glades, and Frowning Cliffs': The Economic Incentives, Social Inducements, and Aesthetic Issues of American Pictorial Photography, 1880-1902," in Photography in Nineteenth Century America, ed. Martha Sandweiss (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1991), 269.

[5]Fay P. Fairbrother, "Emma Alfreda White Coleman: Norman Pioneer, Photographer, and Business Woman" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1993), 17-18; Helmut Gernsheim, The History of Photography: From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1955), 297, 311; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 44.

photography as professionals.[6] In 1890, the total number of professional photographers nationally was 20,040 and out of that number 2,201 were women.[7] In Oklahoma Territory at the time of the 1890 census, there were 27,101 women and out of a total of sixteen photographers, only one was a woman.[8] By the time of the next census, there were 27,029 nationally recognized photographers, and 3,587 of them were women, with the sixteen to twenty-four year-olds being the largest active female group.[9] The number of women living in the two Territories in 1900 had increased to 367,080 with 29 of them listed as photographers.[10] After 1890 the recorded increase

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[6]Grover, Positive Image, 2; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 111.

[7]United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 Part 2, vol. 1 ([Washington, D.C.]: Government Printing Office, 1895), ciii. This number reflects only those people who claimed photography as their occupation on the 1890 Census Records.

[8]Ibid, 334; United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 Part 1, vol. 1 ([Washington, D.C.]: Government Printing Office, 1895), 395. Indian Territory was not yet included in the Census.

[9]United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Special Reports. Occupations at the Twelfth Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 9, 18.

[10]United States Department of Interior, Census Office, Census Reports, Volume 1, Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900, Population Part 1 and 2 ([Washington, D.C.]: United States Department of Interior, United States Census Office, 1901), 501, 517 (Part 1), 528, 539 (Part 2).

in female photographers in the two Territories is slight but reflects the national trend for greater female participation in the industry.

Women entered the occupation of photography in many capacities. Obviously, the first function many women performed was photographer but many others also functioned as studio owner. For example, Emma Coleman was both a photographer and a studio owner in Norman, Oklahoma Territory. Alice Mary Robertson owned her studio in Muskogee, Indian Territory, although it is doubtful she operated as a photographer.[11] An additional job that many women performed, partly because of the low wages many studio owners paid them, was assistant to studio photographers and proprietors.[12] The position of assistant referred to anyone who aided the photographer by developing prints, coloring prints, positioning and primping sitters, or running the studio in the owner's absence.[13] For instance, Georgia

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[11]Lecture of Chester Cowen, "Women Photographers in the Twin Territories," 20 November 1996, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater. During this lecture, Chester Cowen made the comment that Alice Mary Robertson probably did not take photographs herself, but hired others to do so. The information about her in this study reflects this suggestion.

[12]Peter E. Palmquist, ed., Camera Fiends and Kodak Girls: 50 Selections by and about Women in Photography, 1840-1930 (New York, NY: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989, 157; Gernsheim, History of Photography, 287; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 40, 48, 73;

[13]Tracey Baker, "Nineteenth-Century Minnesota Women Photographers," Journal of the West 28 (January 1989): 15;

Isbell Rollins worked in Emma Coleman's Norman Art Gallery during Oklahoma's Territorial period. Also many women involved in professional photography were in partnerships with their husbands. Historically these women are classified as assistants. Persis Gibbs of Enid, Oklahoma Territory, worked as an assistant and photographer in cooperation with her husband. Partnerships and positions as assistants were the main ways in which women entered photography during the late nineteenth century.

Emma A. Coleman and her husband Albert E. Coleman, both born in Iowa, settled in Norman, Oklahoma Territory, after participating in the Land Run of 1889.[14] Upon their arrival, Coleman found a job as a seamstress while her husband started his own harness and saddlery shop.[15] The

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Cowen Lecture; William Culp Darrah, "Nineteenth-Century Women Photographers," in Shadow and Substance, ed. Kathleen Collins (Bloomfield Hills, MI: The Amorphous Institute Press, 1990), 89, 90; Martha H. Kennedy, "Nebraska's Women Photographers," Nebraska History 72 (Summer 1991): 67; Peter E. Palmquist, "Pioneer Women Photographers in Nineteenth-Century California," California History 71 (Spring 1992): 111, 114; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 44, 71. Basically every work that discusses women's entrance into photography mentions the different jobs they held withing the industry; those listed here are just a sampling.

[14]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Cleveland, Custer, Day, and Garfield Counties (Washington, D.C.; Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 33, sheet 5, line 49-50; Fairbrother, "Emma," 5.

[15]Ibid., 28; G. W. McMillen, compiler, Oklahoma State Gazetteer and Business Directory. 1898 vol.1 ([Guthrie, O.T.]: G. W. McMillen, 1898), 254, 448.

initial success of the shop brought the Colemans into Norman's middle class. This social status along, with the general trends in women's activities after 1890, allowed Emma Coleman to enter the photography business with relative ease. Additionally, the Colemans had no children, which gave them the necessary money and Mrs. Coleman more personal time to develop her interest in photography and become involved in business. With no children, Emma Coleman also avoided guilt that many other Victorian women felt as they left home and their families and children to work.[16] At this time it was unusual for a woman to own a business that was not a dress shop. Emma Coleman opened the Norman Art Gallery in 1898.[17]

After 1890, an abundance of books and magazine articles dealing with the processes of photography reached public hands. This allowed many people, possibly Emma Coleman, to teach themselves how to operate a camera as well as maintain

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[16]1900 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 33, sheet 5, line 49-50; Teresa Terrell, "The Life of Emma A. Coleman: Early Day Norman Photographer," (Women's Studies Program, University of Oklahoma, 1977), 2, 4, Pioneer Woman's Museum, Ponca City, Oklahoma; Fairbrother, "Emma," 8; Ann Tucker, ed., The Woman's Eye (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), 2. Coleman is on both the 1900 and 1910 censuses and both show that she gave birth to one child but none were living at the time of either census.

[17]Baker, "Minnesota Women," 23; Cowen Lecture; Fairbrother, "Emma," 1, 28-29.

a studio.[18] The mass-produced photography equipment also allowed someone without the technical knowledge necessary with the older wet-plate processes to enter the field without training. There is no recorded evidence that Coleman received any training, but because of the material on the market aimed at people like her, she was able to open a studio with no formal training.[19]

Although Emma Coleman opened the Norman Art Gallery in 1898, she does not appear on the 1900 United States Census Record as a photographer. In fact, the space for occupation was left blank for Coleman in 1900 while her husband was listed as a harness maker.[20] Also, in an 1898 directory, the Oklahoma State Gazetteer, there is no listing for the Norman Art Gallery or for an Emma A. Coleman; interestingly though, Alfred Coleman appears twice as a harness- and saddle-maker.[21] Not until 1910 does Emma Coleman appear as

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[18]Darrah, "Women Photographers," 90; Alfred Stieglitz, ed. Camera Work: A Photographic Quarterly 3 (July 1903): 67.

[19]Fairbrother, "Emma," 21, 39; Jay Ruby, "The Wheelman and the Snapshooter or, the Industrialization of the Picturesque," in Shadow and Substance, ed. Kathleen Collins (Bloomfield Hills, MI: The Amorphous Institute Press, 1990), 263.

[20]1900 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 33, sheet 5, line 49-50.

[21]McMillen, State Gazetteer, 254, 448.

a photographer in her own gallery on the census records.[22] Coleman's possible reluctance to declare herself a photographer is not that unusual given the way society was slowly adjusting to middle-class women working outside the home. She was not the only woman in the Territories to be unrecorded as a photographer. Based on photos catalogued at the Oklahoma Historical Society, the photo archivist, Chester Cowen, discovered about ninety-eight women prior to 1907 who were active in photography as professionals and amateurs. Comparing this number to the number of women found on the census records for 1890 and 1900, there is quite a gap, sixty-eight women to be exact, even if the questionable seven years between 1900 and statehood are taken into account.[23] This can only mean that women photographers like Coleman left the occupation space blank even if they did own their own studio.

Typical of many studio photographers after 1890, Coleman owned and operated a dry-plate camera manufactured

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[22]The National Archives of the United States, 1910 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Caddo (E.D.'s 48-70) and Cleveland Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 30, sheet 19, line 32.

[23]Cowen Lecture; U.S. Census 1890; U.S. Census 1900. The 1890 and 1900 total for female photographers in the two territories is thirty. Subtracting that from the ninety-eight catalogued women at the Historical Society leaves sixty-eight unlisted women. With ten years falling between censuses, it is difficult to determine exactly how many women entered and left photography in that time.

by Kodak.[24] This type of camera allowed Coleman to take multiple pictures of a person or place without immediately developing the film as with the earlier wet-plate cameras.[25] The Kodak dry-plate camera also allowed Coleman, and many women like her, the freedom to leave the studio to expand the business while maintaining and increasing revenue. During this time many studio photographers owned lantern slide projectors and Coleman was no exception. Coleman, like many other professional photographers of the East and West, found slide projectors profitable. Many photographers increased their revenues by offering picture shows to paying audiences.[26] Emma Coleman probably at some time charged people to view her photos or the mass produced postcard-like images of landscapes and celebrities.

Other features of Coleman's studio also made it typical of the industry. Coleman divided the Norman Art Gallery space into two sections, one for displays of her finished

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[24]Fairbrother, "Emma," 35.

[25]Ibid., 36; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 44, 55; Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1989), 22.

[26]Martha A. Sandweiss, "Undecisive Moments: The Narrative Tradition in Western Photography," in Photography in Nineteenth-Century America, ed. Martha A. Sandweiss (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1991): 108; Fairbrother, "Emma," 34.

work and one for taking pictures.[27] Lighting in most studios of this era came from north-facing windows and huge sky-lights. Coleman outfitted the Norman Art Gallery with a large overhead sky-light, covered when necessary, to shade sitters from the sun. Actually, studio owners had two choices, either the relatively inexpensive investment of a sky-light during construction or the somewhat expensive and not widely available electric light or flash light.[28]

Most portrait photographers of late nineteenth-century America had a large middle-class clientele.[29] Emma Coleman was no exception. Many people, mothers especially, wanted professional pictures of their new babies taken at a formal studio. The Norman Art Gallery provided the mothers this service. Like many women in the field of photography, Coleman focused much of her time and work on the middle-

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[27]Jan Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats: Women Photographers in Oklahoma 1890-1907," (Pioneer Woman Museum, Ponca City, Oklahoma, 28 May 1995 [opening of exhibit]), 4 [proposed script]. Jan Prough was kind enough to lend me the box of research done for their exhibit in addition to several books she ordered for their research.

[28]Cowen Lecture; Fairbrother, "Emma," 30; Gernsheim, History of Photography, 317, 320-321; Peter E. Palmquist, "Photographic Essay on Studio Interiors, Photographers, Etc.," Journal of the West 26 (April 1987): 83, 95.

[29]Cowen Lecture; Emma Coleman, Emma Coleman Collection, Box C-12 and Uncatalogued Collection, University of Oklahoma, Western History Collections, Norman; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 73.

class infants and toddlers brought into her studio.[30]

Norman Art Gallery was characteristic of other studios at this time for an additional reason. Coleman, like so many others, employed a female assistant, Georgia Isbell Rollins, to help her in the studio with such tasks as photo retouching and general upkeep.[31] Rollins's marital status set her apart from a majority of the women discussed here. However, her single status was typical of women involved in photography.[32] Many of the single women involved in some way with photography remained connected to their families. Rollins at thirty-five lived with her mother, step-father, and two step-sisters in Norman.[33] She was instrumental to the operation of the Norman Art Gallery.

Aside from technical help like coloring and mounting photos, female assistants like Rollins helped with female clients. For example, in a male-owned studio, a female

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[30]Cowen Lecture; Josephine Gear, "The Baby's Picture: Woman as Image Maker in Small Town America," Feminist Studies 13 (Summer 1987): 423, 439; Grover, Positive Image, xvii; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 82.

[31]Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 48; Fairbrother, "Emma," 8, 29-30. It is this thesis by Fairbrother that connects Rollins with Coleman as her assistant from 1906 until 1911.

[32]Grover, Positive Image, 45; The National Archives of the United States, 1910 Census, Oklahoma Territory, Counties Caddo (E.D.'s 48-70) and Cleveland Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934): E.D. 30, sheet 16, line 8.

[33]Grover, Positive Image, xvii; 1910 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 30, sheet 16, line 4-8.

customer needed help reapplying makeup or adjusting clothing after traveling to the studio. It was acceptable for woman to help another woman in this way, but etiquette would not allow a man the same latitude.[34] Rollins helped Emma Coleman in ways that a male assistant could not. Additionally, the most advised and acceptable way for a person to learn about photography was through an assistantship or apprenticeship. This may explain why Rollins in her early to mid-thirties worked in Coleman's gallery only from 1906 until 1911.[35]

The case of Coleman's assistant, Rollins, illustrates the problems associated with the identification of an individual photographer's work. The cardboard mounts that Coleman and Rollins applied to the photographs were stamped "Norman Art Gallery". Therefore, if Rollins were actually taking photographs, which at some point she probably did, they would not be attributed to her but to Coleman, the owner of the studio. Also, the 1910 census calls into question Rollins's true function within the studio. On this census, taken during Rollins's employment at the Gallery, the space for "Trade or Profession" is filled with "Photographer," not assistant.[36] Unfortunately, Rollins's

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[34]Cowen Lecture.

[35]Darrah, "Women Photographers," 90; Fairbrother, "Emma," 8, 44; Kennedy, "Nebraska's Women," 71.

[36]1910 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 30, sheet 16, line 8.

photographs, taken while Coleman employed her, are lost to history and attributed to Emma Coleman. This problem of photographer identification affected all people in the field, both men and women; but Rollins's case highlights the point.

Alice Mary Robertson of Muskogee, Indian Territory, is the only other female photographer and studio owner to be in this study. In terms of family background and wealth, her history was somewhat different from that of the other women presented. Probably more than any of the other women discussed, she reflected the trends in studio photography and the type of woman who entered the field as a professional. Unlike the other professional women, Robertson was born in the area where she was to become an active photographer.[37] Raised in a well-off Presbyterian family with a history of missionary activity, her father was the superintendent at the Tullahassee Mission School near Fort Gibson. Later, Alice Mary Robertson became the

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[37]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Indian Territory. Nations Creek (cont'd E.D. 61-end), Peoria, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte, Seminole, Modoc, Ottawa, and Shawnee Nations (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 62, sheet 12, line 77; Emma Coleman was born in Iowa, Georgia Isbell Rollins in Texas, Persis Gibbs in Wisconsin, Jessie Gilham in Missouri, Annette Ross Hume in Ohio, and Jennie Ross Cobb, the only other exception, in Indian Territory, all according to the 1900 and 1910 censuses.

supervisor of the Creek schools in the area.[38] A photograph of Alice Mary Robertson's home reveals Victorian grandeur typical of a well-off family, and on the 1900 and 1910 census records two servants, Fannie Jackson and Lillie, appear attesting to Robertson's upper-class standing.[39] The 1910 census was difficult to decipher; therefore, Lillie's last name is unknown.

Robertson's household also included, in addition to her servants, an adopted Native American daughter, Susanna Barnett and later a Mrs. Williams, a widowed roomer.[40] These additional boarders would not have been possible without a steady income, and these women allowed the unmarried Robertson to maintain an extended family, typical of single female professional photographers. Nationally, most women involved in photography were predominantly single and middle-class. These women had the time and the means to establish themselves in photography. In this respect

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[38]Burnis Argo and Kent Ruth, Oklahoma: Historical Tour Guide (Carpentersville, IL: Crossroads Communications, 1992), 170; M. R. Moore, Moore's Directory of the City of Muskogee Indian Territory 1903 (Muskogee, I.T.: Phoenix Printing Co., [1902]), 79.

[39]Cowen Lecture; 1900 Census ... Creek, E.D. 62, sheet 12, line 80; The National Archives of the United States, 1910 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Muskogee (E.D.'s 113-120), Noble, and Nowata (E.D.'s 125-129, 132, 133) Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 119, line 86.

[40]1900 Census ... Creek, E.D. 62, sheet 12, line 79; 1910 Census ... Muskogee, E.D. 119, line 85. Mrs. Williams had a first name but it is undetermined.

Robertson typified most American female photographers.[41]

Robertson's wealth and class gave her freedom unavailable to women of lesser means. In 1892 without any photography training, she bought out the Muskogee photographer, John F. Standiford. Immediately, she began upgrading the studio by purchasing new backdrops and props.[42] However, Robertson failed to purchase new mounts inscribed with her name and continued to use Standiford's. This causes confusion when giving credit for a certain image. Once Robertson received new mounts, she received credit for every photo produced in her studio even when a hired photographer or assistant actually took the pictures. More than likely, Robertson involved herself in the staging of a majority of the photographs.[43] Some historians note that female photographers often used ambiguous names for their studios or simply used their initials to hide their gender from potential customers. Robertson Studio was the name of the studio in Muskogee.[44]

Photography mounts provided the studio with an instant

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[41]Grover, Positive Image, 16, 36; Kennedy, "Nebraska's Women," 71; Bobbi Rahder, "Gendered Stylistic Differences Between Photographers of Native Americans at the Turn of the Century," Journal of the West 35 (January 1996): 89; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 56.

[42]Cowen Lecture; Grover, Positive Image, 23.

[43]Cowen Lecture.

[44]Baker, "Minnesota Women," 23; Kennedy, "Nebraska's Women," 63.

advertising tool.[45] On all of the photos taken at Robertson's studio the bottom of the card read "Robertson Studio, Muskogee, Indian Territory" so the person would remember who took their picture and where. Friends who looked at the picture knew where to go for a similar shot. Another means of advertising was the city directory. The Muskogee city directories for 1903, 1904, 1906, and 1907 included the Robertson Studio in the section listing Muskogee photographers.[46]

Studios around the turn of the century typically recreated the grandeur of middle-class homes and included a parlor for a display of the studio's work. On the outside Robertson's studio looked like a house. Home furnishings and decorations filled the interior, giving her middle-class clients a relaxing and homelike atmosphere.[47] Sometimes the photographers of the Robertson Studio left the studio to take commissioned pictures for local school clubs and societies. This became common practice for studios toward

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[45]Darrah, "Women Photographers," 91.

[46]Moore, City of Muskogee ... 1903, 117; M. R. Moore, Directory of the City of Muskogee, Indian Territory 1904 (Muskogee, I.T.: Times Publishing Company's Press, [1903]), 174; M. R. Moore, Moore's Directory of the City of Muskogee Indian Territory 1906 (Muskogee, I.T.: Model Printing Co., 1905), 370; M. R. Moore, Moore's Directory of the City of Muskogee Indian Territory 1907 (Muskogee, I.T.: Model Printing Co., 1906), 370.

[47]Grover, Positive Image, 30-31; Cowen Lecture. During Chester Cowen's lecture, he showed slides of both the interior and exterior of the Robertson Studio.

the end of the century.

While owning and participating in the activities of the studio, Robertson also involved herself in Muskogee's community. In 1904 she became the supervisor of the local Creek schools. From 1906 until at least 1910 she served as Muskogee's postmaster.[48] Later in 1920, Robertson became the first woman to represent Oklahoma in the United States Congress, where she served for several years.[49]

After 1890, women became involved in photography through relationships with male photographers, often their husbands. Team efforts between a husband and wife in professional photography were fairly common across the United States. Often husbands assigned their wives chores of assistance, like film processing, retouching, and color enhancement of the photographs. All of these duties were extremely important to the success of a studio but were jobs that did not receive recognition. Many times a husband left the studio to procure clients who were less inclined to make the trip into town to get their pictures taken. Wives sometimes became the photographer for the studio in their husbands' absence.[50] Nonetheless, the husband took the

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[48]Moore, City of Muskogee ... 1904, 119; Moore, City of Muskogee ... 1906, 278; Moore, City of Muskogee ... 1907, 274; 1910 Census ... Muskogee, E.D. 119, line 84.

[49]Argo, Oklahoma, 140.

[50]Baker, "Minnesota Women," 19; Cowen Lecture; Fairbrother, "Emma," 29; Fleming, North American Indians,

credit for the photo and the woman's work disappeared.[51]

The Gibbses of Enid, Oklahoma Territory, were an exception to the usual marginalization of a wife's photography. Persis Gibbs stamped her professional photo mounts with her own name, not her husband's. Delores Morrow's study of female photographers in Montana shows that women married to photographers were more likely than women not married to photographers to be recorded on the censuses as a photographer. Persis Gibbs exemplifies this point because both she and her husband were listed as photographers on the 1900 census record in Oklahoma Territory.[52] Gibbs also appeared in the 1898 Oklahoma State Gazetteer as "Gibbs, Mrs. Persis, photographer," the only female photographer in this study to appear in such a manner.[53] Her husband George is not found in the same Oklahoma State Gazetteer publication. By 1906, the Gibbses moved. The Enid city directory of that year has no Gibbs,

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195; Grover, Positive Image, 6; Peter E. Palmquist, "Photographer in Petticoats," Journal of the West 21 (April 1982): 58-60.

[51]Delores J. Morrow, "Female Photographers on the Frontier: Montana's Lady Photographic Artists, 1866-1900," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 32 (Summer 1982): 77, 78-79; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 7, 40.

[52]Morrow, "Female Photographers," 79; 1900 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 52, sheet 11, line 45-46. Persis Gibbs, unlike Emma Coleman who operated the Norman Art Gallery at this time, appears on the census as a photographer separate from her husband.

[53]McMillen, State Gazetteer, 144, 480.

male or female, listed as photographers.[54]

There are many other women not recorded on census records though they most likely participated in their husbands' studios. The Wingos of Checotah, Indian Territory are one example. On the 1900 census, Jasper Wingo appears as a photographer while his wife Mary's occupation space is blank.[55] Mary Wingo, like many other wives of photographers, was probably not given credit as a studio assistant or photographer. She is another woman who probably took photographs, but was not classified as a photographer because of her status on the 1900 census.

Emma Coleman, Georgia Isbell Rollins, Alice Mary Robertson, and Persis Gibbs are examples of the major trends in female involvement in professional photography from 1889 to 1907 in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Due to the initial development processes and the massive equipment used, many women, prior to the late 1880s, did not participate in the field as professionals or amateurs. With the advent of new developing techniques which allowed for longer lapses of time between exposure and final development, women competed on a professional level with male photographers. These new techniques also made the

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[54]C. R. Wallin and Co., compilers, C. R. Wallin and Co.'s Enid, Oklahoma City Directory 1906 (Quincy, IL: C. R. Wallin and Co. Publishers, no date), 255.

[55]1900 Census ... Creek, E.D. 63, sheet 17, lines 2, 3.

original financial investment more feasible for women. Like their male counterparts, most women owned studios but supplemented their income with occasional photographic outings.

Technical and societal changes allowed these four professional women to enter photography in different capacities. More leisure time and middle-class status made photography an occupation closed to earlier generations of women. The women discussed had money to invest in a studio. Additionally, they did not always face hostility as they entered a profession because increasingly American society accepted that these women left their homes and entered what was previously considered a male sphere. These four women all came from the middle class and they all catered to the middle class. They took photos of early Oklahoma and the people who settled that Territory that have been ignored, yet they represent well the national trend of women in photography at the time.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SNAPSHOOTERS OF THE TERRITORIES: AMATEUR FEMALE PHOTOGRAPHERS

Beginning in 1888, amateurs flooded the field of photography. While professional women may be traced through the United States Census Records, this is impossible with amateur women photographers. Amateur female photographers appear on census records but are never listed as photographer. Therefore, women are often ignored in studies. Fortunately, photographic collections at the Oklahoma Historical Society and the University of Oklahoma remedied this problem. Three women of the Territories, Annette Ross Hume, Jessie Gilham, and Jennie Ross Cobb have accessible collections. Many women like them have yet to be discovered. The advantage in studying amateurs as opposed to professionals is that often amateur photography collections contain many more photos than those of professionals.[1] Studying amateur photographers thus offers the researcher a more complete view of the types of pictures

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[1]Delores J. Morrow, "Female Photographers on the Frontier: Montana's Lady Photographic Artists, 1866-1900," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 32 (Summer 1982): 79.

the person took and what interested that individual photographer. Often their photos remain together while the work of professional photographers is spread throughout dispersed family collections.

Similar turn-of-the-century conditions which influenced the professional female photographer also influenced the female amateur photographers. Initially, photography was the realm of the male professional. The heavy equipment and the chemicals needed for development made photography a hazardous occupation for women.[2] Toward the end of the 1880s, innovations in the technology of photography greatly increased the number of men and women interested in photography as a pastime. The development of the dry-plate film meant that people no longer used noxious chemicals. Dry-plating allowed many people to practice photography without any formal training.[3] Along with a new film type, inventors produced new hand-held cameras. New cameras on the market in 1888 were compact and light. With the advent of both dry-plating and newer, lighter equipment,

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[2]C. Jane Grover, The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 5; Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York, NY: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994), 55.

[3]Tracey Baker, "Nineteenth-Century Minnesota Women Photographers," Journal of the West 28 (January 1989): 21; Marilyn F. Motz, "Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the-Century Midwestern Women," American Quarterly 41 (March 1989): 64.

photography as a recreation boomed.[4] People bought cameras and began photographing immediately without any training. The newer cameras were so light that amateur photographers took them on all types of outings. Largely due to these developments in photography, three women from the Oklahoma and Indian Territories began photographing during this time: Annette Ross Hume, in Anadarko, Oklahoma Territory; Jessie Gilham, in El Reno, Oklahoma Territory; and Jennie Ross Cobb, in the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory.

The first and most famous of the new cameras was the Kodak I, which set the standard for turn-of-the-century cameras. George Eastman introduced the Kodak in August 1888, about one year before he received the patent for the roll film which the camera used.[5] The Kodak epitomized the new style of camera being produced. The Kodak I was

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[4]Helmut Gernsheim, The History of Photography: From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century up to 1914 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1955), 311.

[5]Ibid., 295, 301. Other studies of amateur photography such as, Harry I. Gross, Antique and Classic Cameras (New York, NY: American Photographic Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1965); and Rosenblum's History of Women Photographers, all set the date for the release of the first Kodak in 1888 and the patent in 1889. William Welling, Photography in America: The Formative Years 1839-1900 (New York, NY: Y. Crowell Company, 1978), disagrees with these dates. Welling places the introduction of the Kodak onto the market in January 1889 and the date that Eastman received the patent for the camera at September 4, 1888 (321).

compact, light, and portable.[6] Also, it only required a photographer to point and depress a button, greatly reducing the number of steps necessary to take a photograph. In addition to these characteristics that made the Kodak highly attractive to amateurs, the easy-to-use camera also worked with film that had one hundred frames per roll, giving the new photographer ample opportunity for experimentation.[7] Relatively inexpensive, for twenty-five dollars the camera came pre-loaded with film, creating a huge interest in photography.[8] Eastman's main selling point was that a photographer could return the camera to Rochester, New York, to get the film developed. The camera was returned reloaded with film, all for a relatively low price of ten dollars.[9]

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[6]Robert E. Mensel, "'Kodakers Lying in Wait': Amateur Photography and the Right of Privacy in New York, 1885-1915," American Quarterly 43 (March 1991): 28; Welling, Formative Years, 321: "It was small (63/4 x 33/4 inches) and lightweight (22 ounces)..."; Gernsheim, in his History of Photography, says the original Kodak was "61/2 in. X 31/2 in. X 31/2 in. and weigh[ed] 2 lb. 3 oz..." (301).

[7]Gernsheim, History of Photography, 301.

[8]Ibid.; Gross, Classic Cameras, 58.

[9]Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, The Photograph and the American Indian (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), xix; Gernsheim, History of Photography, 301, 310; Gross, Classic Cameras, 50; Barbara L. Michaels, Gertrude Käsebier: The Photographer and Her Photographs (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1992), 20; Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present, revised and enlarged edition (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), 129; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 55; Welling, Formative Years, 321.

Gone were the days of messy and hazardous chemicals and carrying all the heavy equipment, including chemicals, tripods, and darkroom tents, out into the field.

Kodak continued to improve its early round-image cameras hoping to appeal to more people. Approximately six years after the introduction of the Kodak I, Eastman introduced a new camera which drew more people into photography. An Eastman designer, Frank Brownell, was responsible for developing this new camera, the very first of the "Brownie" production line.[10] Brownell's Kodak was an improvement on the original Kodaks because it was cheaper, smaller, and lighter than the earlier models.

All of the Kodak and similar hand-held cameras were very popular. In the first eight months of production, consumers bought more than 13,000 of the Kodak I model.[11] The Eastman Company was definitely the leader of the new portable camera industry, selling nearly 100,000 cameras per year up until 1900 and producing almost ninety per cent of all cameras in 1902.[12] Kodak was such a success with amateurs that professional photographers felt the impact of the new hand-held cameras on their business. No longer did

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[10]Gernsheim, History of Photography, 304; William Welling, Collector's Guide to Nineteenth Century Photographs (New York, NY: Collier Books, 1976), 91.

[11]Welling, Formative Years, 321.

[12]Bush, The Photograph, xix; Gernsheim, History of Photography, 295.

people rely on the studio photographer to record their lives; they could do it themselves with their own Kodak.[13] One contemporary, Frank Crane, referred to the large number of men and women involved in amateur photography as "[t]he great army of snapshot enthusiasts," for they were everywhere, and he saw "no evidence of [the amateur photographer] diminishing in numbers."[14]

Manufacturers of the hand-held cameras realized that their main income derived from the scores of amateurs interested in photography. Camera manufacturers shifted their advertising from professionals to amateurs.[15] Although the Kodak possessed conveniences, like roll film, that attracted the new photographers, it was popular for other reasons too. The advertising campaigns Eastman concocted targeted outdoorsmen and adventurers. The female amateur became the symbol of the new Kodaks from the late 1870s until 1918. The public knew this image as the Kodak

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[13]Kathleen L. Miller, "The Cabinet Card Photograph: Relic of a Gilded Age," Journal of the West 28 (January 1989): 41.

[14]Frank W. Crane, "American Women Photographers," Munsey's Magazine 11 (July 1894): 398.

[15]Sarah Greenough, "'Of Charming Glens, Graceful Glades, and Frowning Cliffs': The Economic Incentives, Social Inducements, and Aesthetic Issues of American Pictorial Photography, 1880-1902," in Photography in Nineteenth Century America, ed. Martha Sandweiss (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1991), 260-61.

girl, who was active and carried a camera, a Kodak camera.[16]

Eastman directed the Kodak girl specifically at middle-class women and not professional photographers. He recognized that the women of the middle class found an increase in their leisure time due primarily to technological innovations that reduced the amount of time necessary to perform household duties.[17] This increased leisure time gave women time for hobbies, and photography became a perfect and popular hobby. Eastman believed that middle-class women, because of this excess of time, were a market for amateur photography. They wanted to record their children's development. In addition, they usually determined where any extra money was spent.[18] Women emerged from the confines of the home with more and more social acceptance. The Kodak girl not only represented the changes

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[16]Michael Sladden, Curator of International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Interview by Jan Prough, 7 October 1994, notes, Pioneer Woman Museum, Ponca City, Oklahoma. Fay P. Fairbrother, "Emma Alfreda White Coleman: Norman Pioneer, Photographer, and Business Woman" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1993), 18; Grover, Positive Image, 14, 15.

[17]Grover, Positive Image, 3. Grover linked this increase in leisure time mainly to the sewing machine which reduced the time women spent on making and repairing clothing.

[18]Grover, Positive Image, 14; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 39, 111; Jay Ruby, "The Wheelman and the Snapshooter or, the Industrialization of the Picturesque," in Shadow and Substance, ed. Kathleen Collins (Bloomfield Hills, MI: The Amorphous Institute Press, 1990), 262; Sladden Interview.

occurring for women at this time, but she also encouraged women to venture outside their homes and bring a Kodak with them to record their adventures for posterity.

Another invention, the bicycle, came onto the market in the 1890s about the same time as the hand-held cameras. It also coincided with the increase in middle-class women's leisure time. The "bike" greatly facilitated women's exodus from the home and entrance into the outdoors. When leaving home, most bicycle excursionists took their cameras, recording the places and people they saw and later showed their friends.[19] Magazines of the day devoted articles to the logical combination of the bicycle with the camera. In addition to photography magazines, magazines interested in the new movement of all social classes into the outdoors for recreational purposes published these articles.[20]

Many people besides Eastman thought photography was a natural thing for women to take up as a pastime. Society found women in photography acceptable for many reasons. Photography allowed female amateurs to combine their hobby with domestic life. Photographing family and children kept

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[19]Gernsheim, History of Photography, 323; Oddlaug Reiakvam, "Reframing the Family Photograph," Journal of Popular Culture 26 (Spring 1993): 54; Welling, Formative Years, 335; Ruby, "The Wheelman and the Snapshooter," 261, 262, 264.

[20]Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 56. Outing and American Amateur Photographer were two magazines that contained articles linking the bike with the camera.

women close to home and allowed them an opportunity to sometimes travel beyond the home. In addition, because middle-class women experienced an increase in leisure time it was alright to begin a hobby. They were not neglecting their duties to home and children. Although much of the public still perceived women as the pure and morally upright portion of society, they accepted women in photography because there was no concern that women would present anything other than a clean picture of life.[21]

Photography became so popular in the United States that clubs were organized in an attempt to educate the growing numbers of amateurs in the techniques of photography. The United States, like Europe, had small localized amateur clubs to promote, teach, and exhibit photography.[22] However, just as professional associations initially rejected female professionals as members so too did the amateur clubs. Gradually clubs and association admitted women into their ranks just prior to the introduction of the Kodak I onto the market; however, their admittance did not always mean their integration within the group. Often the clubs segregated lectures held during meetings intended to educate the amateur on techniques. The clubs' developing

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[21]Grover, Positive Image, 25, 52.

[22]Crane, "American Women Photographers," 398.

facilities were often closed to women.[23]

With the entrance of men and women into the field of amateur photography in large numbers, a huge industry began catering to them specifically. There were the clubs and associations, but as with Kodak, companies targeted the new amateurs as the new consumers. Journals and magazines appeared at newsstands with advertisements and articles directed at the amateur.[24]

The majority of people involved in amateur photography after 1888 took photos for similar reasons. Most often their motives for taking pictures reflected their desire to record the subjects of events, places, and people that affected their lives. This was contrary to professionals who took particular photos at the request of their paying customers because they needed to keep their studios in business. Female amateurs transformed the camera into diaries; instead of writing a description of the things they saw in their lives, they compiled a visual record of the

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[23]Ibid.; Grover, Positive Image, 26, 69; Welling, Formative Years, 297.

[24]Welling, Formative Years, 335. An example of one such publication was Camera Work: A Photographic Quarterly which Alfred Stieglitz edited starting in 1903. This particular journal devoted itself to discussing the more artistic photography of the established photographer (professional or amateur) around the turn of the century than the initial amateur with little or no experience, but it found amateur readers who were well beyond their first picture.

life they led.[25]

With the primary objective of recording, amateurs took photographs in many different settings and of many different things. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, people of all social classes took advantage of their days off by going on short trips, often on the newly introduced bicycle. Wherever these weekend travelers went, they took their cameras with them.[26] They took photographs of the environment that they came in contact with and the people they saw along the way. The amateur photographers did so all in an attempt to record that day for themselves and to show without a doubt that they had leisure time.[27] These photos are often candid or spontaneous in nature, providing the viewer with a less manufactured image than those of professional photographers. However, a serious amateur reading any of the magazines directed at her learned that her camera must be even with the ground and the picture leveled instead of angled.[28] If she followed this advice,

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[25]Martha H. Kennedy, "Nebraska's Women Photographers," Nebraska History 72 (Summer 1991): 62; Motz, "Visual Autobiography," 72.

[26]Catherine Noren, The Way We Looked: The Meaning and Magic of Family Photographs (New York, NY: E. P. Dutton, 1983), 13; Susan Sontag, On Photography (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 89.

[27]Reiakvam, "Family Photograph," 43, 54.

[28]Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Lynn Luskey, Grand Endeavors of America Indian Photography (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 140; Newhall,

some of the spontaneity was absent from the photo.

Amateurs from approximately 1889 until 1907 also took photographs of daily life around them. For many people it became important to record their home so that later people would see what their life was like.[29] They also recorded the people they found around them and in their lives. If someone's family got together for dinner, that was a perfect opportunity for the amateur photographer to go to work. If a trip into town was necessary to procure items, that too was a good time for an amateur photographer to take pictures. Also, the women from the Oklahoma and Indian Territories had the chance to record over extended periods of time the lives of Native Americans found in these women's communities.[30] The daily life was not always exciting, but it provided subject matter for the amateur who was willing to experiment with her new camera.[31]

Usually, female amateur photographers tended to photograph the things they found in their homes, especially

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History of Photography, 201.

[29]Newhall, History of Photography, 136.

[30]Paul V. Long, Big Eyes: The Southwestern Photographs of Simeon Schwemberger, 1902-1908 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992). "It was usually the amateur who, working over extended periods in the region where he [or she] lived, photographed the routine, daily dimensions of the indigenous cultures" (155).

[31]Gernsheim, History of Photography, 310; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 109-110; Motz, "Visual Autobiography," 80.

children. When the Eastman Company decided to direct its advertising at women because they were more inclined to take up photography so they could record their children, they were right on target. Women's magazines told their female readers how to photograph their children at home.[32] Female amateur photographers also photographed children because to a large extent women were still located within the home a majority of the time. The domestic realm became the dominant subject matter for female amateur photographers.[33]

The three main types of photographs, those of outings, daily life, and domestic life, that amateurs took were typical of all regions of the United States, including the Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Additionally, men and women amateurs usually took the same kinds of photographs, but women seem to have preferred images of children more than men.[34] In studying the three women active in the two Territories - Annette Ross Hume, Jessie Gilham, and Jennie Ross Cobb - some of these trends surface but other types of

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[32]Fairbrother, "Emma," 47. The magazine that Fairbrother found was The Housekeeper, not a photograph guidebook.

[33]Ibid., 26; Grover, Positive Image, xviii; Kennedy, "Nebraska Women," 76; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 99; Naomi Rosenblum and Barbara Tannenbaum, co-curators, "A History of Women Photographers," The National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C., 13 February - 4 May 1997 and The New York Public Library, New York City, New York, 19 October 1996 - 4 January 1997.

[34]Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 99.

images also appear.

Annette Ross Hume lived in Anadarko, Oklahoma Territory, from 1890 until her death in 1933. She photographed until 1910. Born in 1858 in Perrysburg, Ohio, the first daughter of James and Katherine Ross, Hume graduated as the valedictorian of Perrysburg High School in 1874.[35] Ross married physician Charles Robinson Hume in 1876.[36] By 1881, Hume had two sons, Carlton and Raymond, and the family prepared in 1890 to move to the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Agency in Oklahoma Territory following Dr. Hume's appointment as agency physician.[37]

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[35]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Woods (cont'd E.D. 237, sheet 4-end) and Woodward Counties; Oklahoma Territory Indian Reservation; Indian and Military and Naval (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934): E.D. 252, sheet 16, line 2; Southwell, "Annette Ross Hume," 1; Jan Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats: Women Photographers in Oklahoma 1890-1907," Pioneer Woman Museum, Ponca City, Oklahoma, 28 May 1995 [opening].

[36]Annette Ross Hume, Anadarko, to Dr. [Edward Everett] Dale, Norman, 12 October 1927 copy in research packet for Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett, "Annette Ross Hume: Oklahoma's Pioneer Woman Photographer," article to appear in Oklahoma Today, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman; Joseph B. Thoburn, A Standard History of Oklahoma: An Authentic Narrative of its Development from the Date of the First European Exploration down to the Present Time, including Accounts of the Indian Tribes, both Civilized and Wild, of the Cattle Range, of the Land Openings and the Achievement of the Most Recent Period vol 5 (Chicago, IL: The American Historical Society, 1916), 2104.

[37]1900 Census ... Indian and Military and Naval, E.D. 252, sheet 16, line 1-2; "Necrology," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 18 (December 1940): 405; G. W. McMillen, compiler,

In 1891, Hume arrived at the agency near present day Anadarko, and began photographing the area. She continued this hobby for the next twenty years. Many women who took up photography as a pastime in the later nineteenth century did so in their forties mainly because the duties required of them as mother had all but disappeared. Hume began photographing at thirty-two when her youngest son was ten, but most of her photographic activity took place after her sons were grown.[38] She obtained a camera with a tripod, contrary to the usual preference of this time for the hand-held cameras Kodak advertised, and personally developed the film in her bathroom.[39] The Humes belonged to the middle- to upper-class of the agency and this status allowed Hume to enter photography with relative ease.

Nationally, the subjects of women's photographs were predominantly the home and children; in this Hume did not

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Oklahoma State Gazetteer and Business Directory. 1898 vol. 1 ([Guthrie, O.T.]: G. W. McMillen, 1898), 78; Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett, "Pioneer Photographer: Annette Ross Hume," Oklahoma Today 47 (May/June 1997): 32. Within the research packet that John Lovett, librarian at the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma, lent to me there was a xerox copy of an article that Annette Hume's son, Carlton, had written, and in the article he briefly explains when and why the family moved to the agency in Oklahoma Territory.

[38]1900 Census ... Indian and Military and Naval, E.D. 252, sheet 16, lines 2-4; Grover, Positive Image, 41.

[39]Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats," 2 [of biography for Hume used in the exhibit].

follow the national trend.[40] Rather, her photographic collection, now stored mainly at the University of Oklahoma's Western History Collections, consists of over seven hundred images of life in western Oklahoma, showing a "history of this part of the country not possible to obtain otherwise."[41] Most of her photographic subjects were the residents of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Agency, whom she photographed either candidly or posed, producing studio-quality portraits.[42] Primarily her photos reveal a desire to record things and people she saw around her, like the settling of the town of Anadarko in 1901. However, there are other photos that reveal close friendships with some of the people reflected in their relaxed features and smiles.

Throughout much of Hume's life, photography took a secondary position to other interests. Both she and her husband were active in their community especially in the Presbyterian church, where Dr. Hume was elder and treasurer

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[40]Kennedy, "Nebraska Women," 76.

[41]Annette Ross Hume, Anadarko, to Mr. Wardell, Norman, 25 January 1927 and 8 February 1927, copies in research packet for Southwell, "Annette Ross Hume." In another letter found in this research packet from Edward Dale to the President of the University of Oklahoma, W. B. Bizzell, dated 6 December 1926, Dale reveals that the university paid Hume $250 for five hundred negatives.

[42]David W. Baird and Danney Goble, The Story of Oklahoma (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 264; Southwell, "Pioneer Photographer," 32.

and Mrs. Hume the organist.[43] In 1900, the Humes opened their home to a missionary, Ida Roff, and Annette Hume acted as a representative to the Home Mission Board.[44] After Oklahoma achieved statehood in 1907, Hume became the president of the Federation of Women's Clubs in the state.[45] Hume was a member of many other societies, among them the State Women's Synodical Society, the Philomathic Club, the Anadarko Legion Auxiliary, the Oklahoma City Colonial Dames, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, all while continuing to photograph the things in her life.[46]

Until recently, the public remembered Annette Ross Hume for her contributions to these organizations and not for her photography. However, she has begun to be recognized for her photography. She was one of three women exhibited in the Ponca City's Pioneer Woman's Museum's "Photographers in Petticoats: Women Photographers in Oklahoma 1890-1907." A recent issue of Oklahoma Today also discusses Hume and her photography. Most often in discussions of female amateur photographers no comparison is made to the other middle-class women who became active in fields other than

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[43]Philip J. Dickerson, History of Anadarko, O.T.: Its Past and Present and Bright Future (publisher unknown, 1901), 25.

[44]1900 Census ... Indian and Military and Naval, E.D. 252, sheet 16, line 5; Southwell, "Annette Ross Hume," 1.

[45]The Daily Oklahoman (Oklahoma City), 1 March 1953.

[46]Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats," 1.

photography. Similarly, an examination of Hume without seeing all of her interests, including photography and the societies, is not complete.[47]

Another woman active as an amateur photographer in Oklahoma Territory was Jessie Gilham. Less is known about her life because she was less active in her community than Annette Ross Hume. However, Gilham photographed near El Reno, Oklahoma Territory, from at least 1889 until approximately 1907.[48] Gilham, like so many of the women in this study, was not born in the area she photographed actively. Gilham was born in Missouri in 1871.[49] She married Dr. Ernest Gilham in 1893 and they resided on the Darlington Agency where her husband worked as the agency physician, like Dr. Carlton Hume. Unlike Annette Hume, Jessie Gilham had no children to occupy any of her time so she was more free to take up photography as a pastime.[50] Most of the images Gilham took while living at the agency

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[47]Grover, Positive Image, xv.

[48]These dates for Jessie Gilham are approximated. Because of the difficulty in researching amateur photographers through census records, Gilham's dates are not certain. Because one of her photos is round it must have been taken after 1888, when the Kodak I came out, and probably before 1907, long after the Kodak I was replaced.

[49]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census. Oklahoma Territory. Counties Beaver, Blaine, and Canadian Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 21, sheet 8, line 83.

[50]Ibid., E.D. 21, sheet 8, lines 82-83.

were of other agency employees and the Native American residents.[51]

By the time of the next census in 1910, Gilham lived in her sister's home in the town of El Reno; both women were widowed.[52] On the previous census, Gilham listed no profession, but on the 1910 census she was listed as a stenographer for a railroad.[53] It is not known exactly when Gilham stopped photographing. With a full-time job it is unlikely she continued pursuing this hobby avidly. Consequently, there are no photos of hers dating past 1907. Jessie Gilham and her sister Lulu Scott lived together in a house with three other women, all Scott's daughters. The eldest daughter, Mildred Scott, worked as a teacher in a mission and Lulu Scott worked as a milliner in a retail store.[54] Gilham's life changed dramatically from 1900 to 1910. Fortunately, she had the support of a local relative to help her through the transition.

The only female amateur photographer included in this study active in the Indian Territory was Jennie Ross Cobb.

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[51]Hickox Collection, Oklahoma State Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[52]The National Archives of the United States, 1910 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Canadian and Carter Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 89, sheet 10B, lines 52, 56.

[53]Ibid., line 56; 1900 Census ... Canadian Counties, E.D. 21, sheet 8, line 83.

[54]1910 Census ... Carter Counties, lines 52, 53, 56.

She was born the fourth child of nine to Robert and Fannie Ross in December 1881 in Tahlequah in the Cherokee Nation. She was the great-granddaughter of the nineteenth-century principal chief of the Cherokees, John Ross.[55] Her family was very influential in Tahlequah partly due to their ancestry, but also because her father was a sheriff, a Washington, D.C. delegate, and a Cherokee Councilman.[56] This middle- to upper-class status no doubt facilitated Cobb's activity in photography as an amateur.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, photography became accessible to the masses due to technical innovations and because many of the photography journals showed people how to convert part of their homes into darkrooms and studios. From approximately 1896 when she was fifteen until about 1903 when she was twenty-two, Cobb took photographs and developed them in a closet in her home.[57] Most of her photographs consist of images of Tahlequah and the Cherokee Female Seminary, which she attended until 1902. After she left the school, and began a career as a teacher she

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[55]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Indian Territory. Nations Cherokee Nation (cont'd: E.D. 29, sheet 21-end and E.D.'s 30-41) (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 38, sheet 21, line 32-37; Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats," 1 [of biography of Cobb used in the exhibit].

[56]Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats," 2.

[57]Ibid.; Grover, Positive Image, 25; Lecture of Chester Cowen, "Women Photographers of the Twin Territories," 20 November 1996, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

apparently gave up photography.[58]

After Jennie Ross Cobb put aside photography, she married Jessie Clifford Cobb in 1905 and the following year they had a daughter, Jenevieve, in Texas where they relocated. For the next twenty years it is unclear what the family did. Her husband died in the late 1930s and she and her daughter went into the floral business together.[59] Cobb returned to Oklahoma much later and was appointed curator of the George M. Murrell Home in Tahlequah.[60]

All of these women entered the field of photography as amateurs for many of the same reasons that other women from other areas entered. Photographic technology advanced enough to allow these women easy access to cameras, film, and even developing equipment. Also, they all belonged to the middle class if not the upper class of their community and this gave them leisure time and money to spend on such things as photography. Additionally, as the roles for women changed, they found more acceptance to move outside of their homes and practice their hobby of photography.

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[58]1900 Census ... Cherokee Nation, E.D. 38, sheet 21, line 37; Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats," 1; Cowen Lecture.

[59]Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats,", 3-4.

[60]Ibid. George Murrell married a cousin of Jennie Ross Cobb's and built the home for her in 1844; Burnis Argo and Kent Ruth, Oklahoma: Historical Tour Guide (Carpentersville, IL: Crossroads Communications, 1992), 162.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESULTS OF FEMALE PHOTOGRAPHIC ENDEAVORS

The seven professional and amateur female photographers in this study primarily took pictures of people and places found in their own communities. For the four professional photographers, Emma Coleman, Georgia Isbell Rollins, Persis Gibbs, and Alice Mary Robertson, their studios largely depended on walk-in patrons. Often a sitter was Native American. Usually, the subjects of the three female amateur photographers, Annette Ross Hume, Jessie Gilham and Jennie Ross Cobb, were Native American because these three women either lived in the Indian Territory or lived at one of the Indian agencies. Due to the location of these seven women in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories, their chances of photographing Native Americans were much greater than someone who lived elsewhere in the United States.

Starting around 1890, three main trends emerged primarily among male professional photographers of Native Americans. Many professional and amateur photographers across the country tried to emulate their methods. The first style reflected the desire of many amateur and professional photographers, anthropologists and painters, to

record the "vanishing races" before they became extinct or assimilated.[1] This meant, for many, "capturing" the Native American in daily tasks or in infrequent religious ceremonies. For others, this meant constructing an image of an individual contemplating his race's demise. Among these photographers, the most popular devices for illustrating the Native American realizing his or her plight was the buffalo skull and the sunset.[2]

Other photographers, amateur and professional, used yet another method of representation for Native Americans in photography, the "transformation" image. This style commonly placed a Native American in traditional clothing, touching or using new technologies associated with white society, like an automobile or a telegraph pole. Another example of this technique was the "before and after" propaganda pictures taken at Pennsylvania's Carlisle Indian School, showing a rejection of native ways or, more

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[1]Brian W. Dippie, "Photographic Allegories and Indian Destiny," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 42 (Summer 1992): 42, 57; Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, Grand Endeavors of American Indian Photography (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 11.

[2]Dippie, "Allegories," 49-50, 53. The most commonly associated professional photographer with the "vanishing race" imagery is Edward S. Curtis. Dippie explains that the buffalo skulls were "readily interpreted by Americans who linked the fate of the decimated buffalo herds and the Indians, an idea embodied in the buffalo-Indian head nickel (1913-1938) designed by [James E.] Fraser, sculptor of The End of the Trail"(49).

appropriately, a stamping out of those ways.[3]

The third trend in photography of Native Americans after 1890 was the recreation of or lament for what photographers felt the tribes in America had lost. This style often produced inaccurate and overly romanticized images. Part of the reason for this inaccurate depiction came from some of the professional photographers who carried what they considered to be "Native American" props, consisting mainly of Plains Indians' feather bonnets and breast-plates, with them when they worked.[4]

Photographers producing these three types of images were predominantly men. Of course, there were exceptions to this rule. For example, Emma B. Freeman, active in California after these styles had been firmly established, produced images that combined photography and painting to

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[3]Dippie, "Allegories," 45; Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, The Photograph and the American Indian (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), xx; Bobbi Rahder, "Gendered Stylistic Differences Between Photographers of Native Americans at the Turn of the Century," Journal of the West 35 (January 1996): 90. Typically, the Carlisle School took photos upon a student's arrival in Pennsylvania when they still had their non-school attire and their hair had not been cut yet. The "after" shots tended to show a student in the school's uniform with short hair.

[4]Martha A. Sandweiss, "Undecisive Moments: The Narrative Tradition in Western Photography," in Photography in Nineteenth-Century America, ed. Martha A. Sandweiss (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1991), 125; Rahder, "Gendered," 88.

produce a glossy caricature of Native Americans.[5]

All the Territorial women photographers in this study at some time took photographs of Native Americans. However, they were not exclusively photographers of Native Americans and the work of only three of the women, Alice Mary Robertson, Persis Gibbs, and Annette Ross Hume fits into any of the three trends in the photography of Native Americans. For the four professional female photographers, their motives for photographing Native Americans were monetary. Most often they were professionals seeking to keep their studios in business. For the amateur photographers Jessie Gilham and Jennie Ross Cobb, their motives for taking pictures of Native Americans were to record not so much a "vanishing race," but rather a people whose lives happened to touch their own.

Emma Coleman of the Norman Art Gallery in Norman, Oklahoma Territory, took photographs both inside and outside her studio. Many of her outdoor photos recorded features of Norman's early development and many of the University of Oklahoma's activities. Included in her non-studio shots are

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[5]Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers, (New York, NY: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994), 88; for extensive information regarding Emma B. Freeman and her photography see Peter E. Palmquist, With Nature's Children: Emma B. Freeman-Camera and Brush (Eureka, CA: Interface California Corporation, 1976). In many of Freeman's photos, she retouched them in such a way as to look like a painting. The viewer might think that the photo was a painted portrait of the sitter.

many local Choctaws.[6] One such image shows a Choctaw family in front of a one-room log house. In this photo the woman is barefoot and holds a child and the man wears overalls.[7] This particular photo does not fit into any of the three major trends regarding pictures of Native Americans prevalent during this time period. It does not show a recreation of a past that disappeared. The photo may record Native American life, but it is definitely not recording a "vanishing race," but rather a surviving one. The picture may reflect a representation of the "transformation" method because the people are not in "typical Indian" attire. However, this photo shows more realism than the others of this Native American photography genre. Also, it cannot be a "transformation" image because the log cabin and the clothes do not present stark contrasts of past and present; instead, it shows continuity. Another outdoor photo of Emma Coleman contains mainly female Choctaws in calico dresses socializing outside the tent of a camp meeting. The picture is candid and spontaneous, possibly because the women were unaware of Coleman's presence.[8]

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[6]Emma Coleman Collection, Box C-12 University of Oklahoma, Western History Collections, Norman. The images are assumed to be Choctaw because they are labeled as such; however, the labels may not be from Emma Coleman or correct.

[7]Coleman Collection, 47.

[8]Ibid., 46.

Coleman took the Native American photographs both outside the studio, and inside as well. Out of the fifty-nine Coleman photos held at the University of Oklahoma, four were studio portraits of Choctaw women. Interestingly, three had different sitters but the poses mimicked one another, containing only two women, one standing and one sitting, exhibiting no physical contact and showing no emotion. In all four photos, the women wear calico blouses with fashionable puffy sleeves, scarves tied loosely around their necks and shoulders and plain dark-colored shirts with white trim.[9] In none of these four photos does Coleman capture the candid nature found at the camp meeting. Instead, the sitters emit tension and appear very uncomfortable. Portraits by other photographers of this time indicate that these awkward images were not limited to Emma Coleman's work but were perhaps the result of long exposure times or styles in portrait photography.[10]

The photographs that came out of Coleman's Norman Art Gallery were not only of Native Americans. Emma Coleman's collection at the University of Oklahoma includes photos of her family. Coleman photographed her sister Mary Fischer's family in a series of group portraits. In one particular

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[9]Ibid., 10-13.

[10]Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1989), 26.

photo of the Fischer family, the three children appear level with their parents, possibly to accentuate the resemblances within the family (See Figure 1). Only their upper torsos show and the backdrop is a dark color, clarifying their features. In another picture of the Fischer family, the group is in a more relaxed setting with curtains appearing in the background. The children stand while both parents sit. Interestingly, both the young son, Raymond, and the father, Max, appear to be taller than the women of the family because of the levels of their heads.[11] In one photo, members of Emma Coleman's family pose together (See Figure 2). For this photo, she used a plain light-colored backdrop not to detract from the sitters. In another photograph taken at the Norman Art Gallery, five men appear together; all are Coleman's relatives.[12] Three of the men are husbands of her sisters. Her own husband, Albert, also appears in this photo as does her brother, Ray White, and her nephew, Raymond Fischer.

Pictures of photographers themselves are rare because they mainly photographed other people. However, Emma Coleman did not restrict her work to others, she also took some self-portraits. In one picture, Coleman, wearing a

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[11]Emma Coleman Uncatalogued Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

[12]Ibid.

Figure 1: Max Fischer Family. Courtesy of the Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

Figure 2: Emma Coleman uncatalogued photograph.
Courtesy of the Western History Collections,
University of Oklahoma Libraries.

feather boa, gazes off to her left (See Figure 3).[13] The dark dress Coleman wears, coupled with the black boa, emphasize her facial features, especially her large eyes. The backdrop she used in this self-portrait was probably one of two the Norman Art Gallery owned. The backdrop appears several times throughout the Coleman Collection at the University of Oklahoma.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the styles of professional and amateur photography underwent some changes. A new type of photography called pictorial, or impressionist, emerged, blending art with the science of photography.[14] Soft-focus was the common name for this new school of photography because the images presented appeared slightly out of focus. This type of photography originated in the metropolitan areas, especially New York City, and largely remained there with photographers like Gertrude Käsebier and Alfred Stieglitz. However, the pictorial school of photography did appear in the Norman Art Gallery. Emma Coleman took several photographs that show

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[13]Ibid.; Coleman Collection, 1.

[14]Bush, The Photograph, xxii; Fleming, Grand Endeavors, 99; C. Jane Grover, The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 9; Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present, revised and enlarged edition (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), 141; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 74.

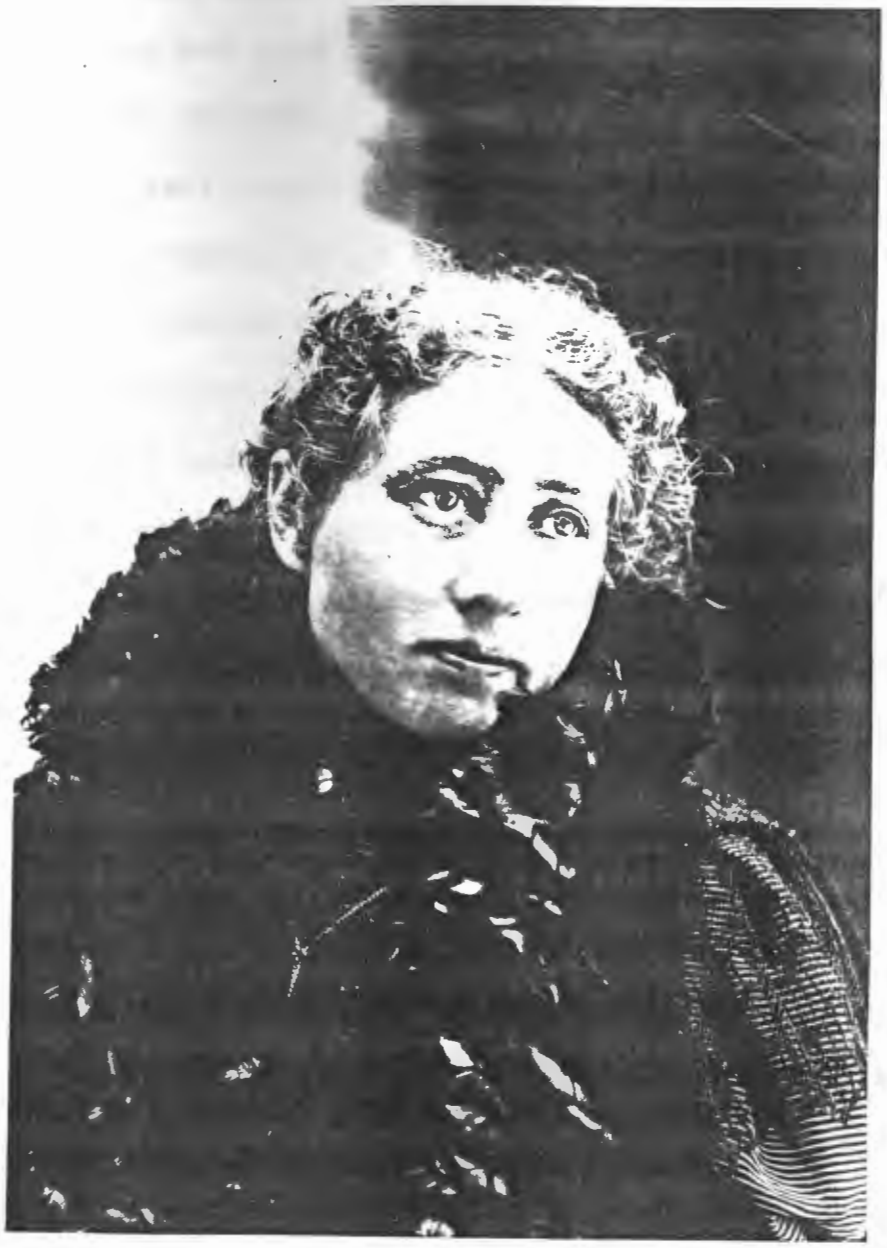

Figure 3: Emma Coleman self-portrait.
Courtesy of the Western History Collections,
University of Oklahoma Libraries.

her awareness of this new style. In particular, one photo of two young women shows them holding a bouquet of flowers in between them; a white veil covering their heads, connecting these two women (See Figure 4). This photo is typical of the new style in photography. The veil not only covers the women but also appears to wrap around their bodies in a sort of dress. Although this photo does not display particularly well the high artistic nature of pictorial photography, it is atypical of studio portraitures of the late nineteenth century even as found in the Norman Art Gallery. Another picture features a young girl circled in dried flowers and reeds (See Figure 5). This may not be soft-focused, but like the photo of the veiled women, it is far from the average studio portrait of the day. This particular child appears in several of Coleman's images. The facial similarities of Emma Coleman and this young girl suggests that they were related; perhaps this young girl is Coleman's niece. The photographs containing this girl express more experimentation than most of the other pictures from the Norman Art Gallery. Another photo of this girl, shows her kneeling and holding her hands together as if in prayer. Also, her eyes look upward toward the heavens.[15] These two images are not as refined as those from the leaders of this new movement in photography, but they show

[15]Coleman Uncatalogued Collection.

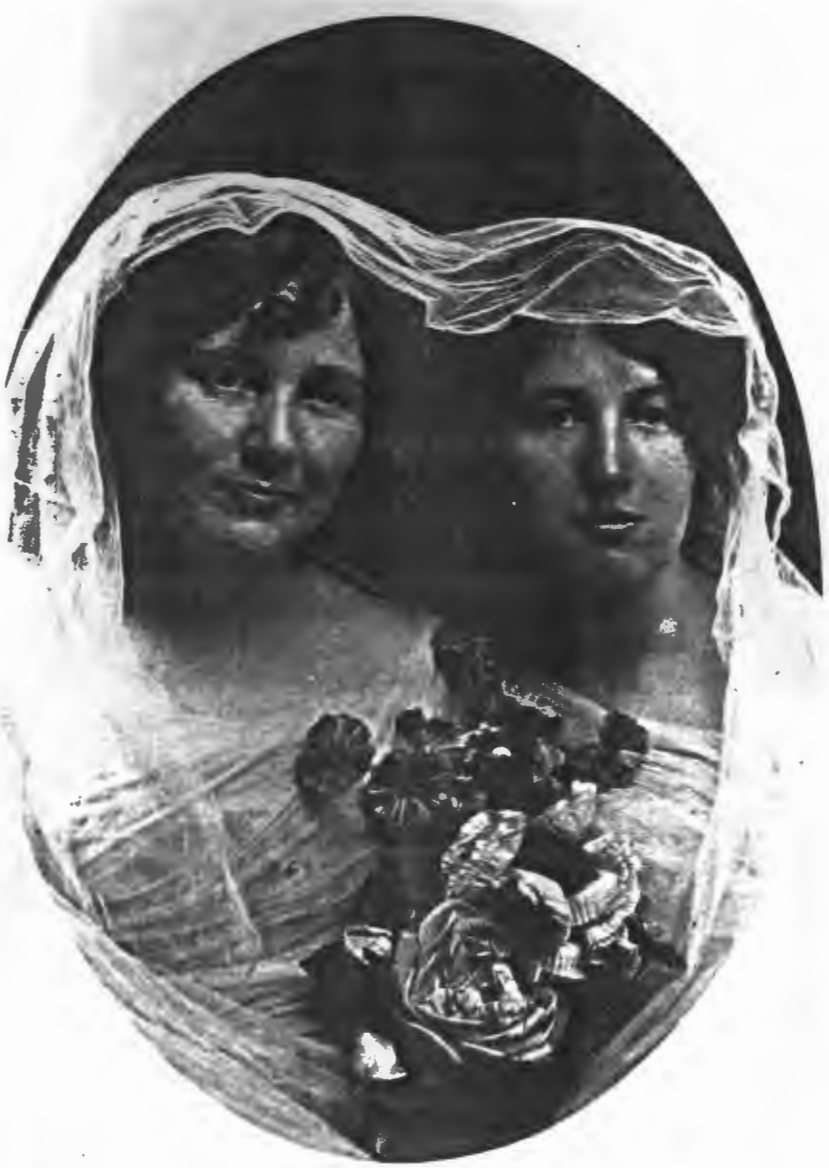

Figure 4: Two young women with veils over their heads and a bouquet of flowers. Courtesy of the Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

Figure 5: Portrait of a young girl.
Courtesy of the Western History Collections,
University of Oklahoma Libraries.

that a desire for artfulness in photography was not restricted to New York City or the coasts.

Emma Coleman and the Norman Art Gallery produced numerous photographs of people and places in the Oklahoma Territory. Some of the photographs for which Coleman receives credit may actually belong to her assistant Georgia Isbell Rollins. However, it is impossible today to determine who was the original photographer. Either way, the work done in the studio shows that many customers requested the traditional stiff-looking portrait. The photos also show that Coleman and possibly Rollins stayed in touch with larger artistic trends in photography while ignoring the styles that characterized photography of Native Americans.

Another professional female photographer from Enid, Oklahoma Territory is Persis Gibbs. Unfortunately, only one photograph remains of her work. Possibly other state historical societies have Gibbs's photos. The fact that she moved out of Oklahoma between the 1900 census and the publication of the 1906 Enid city directory may explain why only one example of her work remains in the state.[16]

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[16]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Cleveland, Custer, Day, and Garfield Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 52, sheet 11, lines 45-46; C. R. Wallin and Co., compilers, C. R. Wallin and Co.'s Enid, Oklahoma City Directory 1906 (Quincy, IL: C. R. Wallin and Co. Publishers, no date).

Gibbs's one photograph is an outdoor image featuring Native American life. Two tipis appear in a "Camp on [the] Canadian River" with two people visible in the distance (See Figure 6). One of the interesting things about this picture is the cardboard mount on which Gibbs placed it. In the bottom left-hand corner of the mount, Persis Gibbs imprinted her name and location of operation. This picture also shows the trend in photo mounts toward the minimal decoration and scalloped edges that were popular from about 1890 until 1896. However, the mount has a handwritten date of 1900 on it. Perhaps Gibbs purchased the mounts when they were in vogue but failed to use them all before they went out of style. Thus, this apparently non-commissioned photo became attached to an out-dated mount.[17] Gibbs's motivation for taking this particular picture appears to be for recording purposes. Perhaps she saw this scene as a vestige from a lost world or as an image of the "last of the Cheyenne" that needed to be taken to show others what life on the Canadian River was once like. It is impossible to guess Gibbs's motive for taking this picture, but it can be suggested that this photo fits into the first genre of Native American photography, "capturing." Unfortunately, this is the only

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[17]Persis Gibbs, Cheyenne-Camps Album, Oklahoma Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma City, 9254; Chester Cowen, interview by author, July 1996, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

Figure 6: Cheyenne "Indian Camp on Canadian River," c. 1893-1895. Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

remnant of Gibbs's work so a comparison with her other works is not possible.

The last professional female photographer of this study is Alice Mary Robertson of Muskogee, Indian Territory. Most of her remaining work shows the citizens of Muskogee sitting for portraits in the Robertson Studio. After Robertson bought her studio from John F. Standiford, she apparently failed immediately to order new photo mounts, so many early Robertson Studio photos are preserved on Standiford's mounts. This causes great confusion about who actually took the photos. In particular, the Oklahoma Historical Society has in its possession one photograph attributed to two different people because of the photo mount (See Figure 7). One copy of the picture appears with Standiford's mount attached, but the date of the photo reveals that the Robertson Studio actually produced it. A second copy of the same picture appears in the Robertson's Collection without Standiford's mount.[18] Many more photos came out of the Robertson Studio without this sort of confusion because they were all stamped with the studio's name.

Portraits attributed to Robertson and her studio consist mainly of the white middle and upper classes of

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[18]Alice Mary Robertson and John F. Standiford, Creeks-Photo Archives Album, Oklahoma Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma City, 1567 (Standiford), 19282.5.45 (Robertson).

Figure 7: Creek Indian Board of Education: J.M. Perryman, George E. Hill and George Tiger, c. 1893. Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Muskogee and its surrounding areas, but there were a number of pictures taken of the resident Native Americans. The Robertson Studio, like many other studios at the turn of the century, took many photos of local school clubs and societies. One particular photo, taken outside and entitled "Indian School Boys," shows approximately twenty short-haired boys dressed in suits and posed on the school's porch. This picture is similar to a Carlisle Indian School "after" shot in the "transformation" genre because of its representation of the boys with cut hair and dress suits.[19] Robertson's most infamous Native American portrait contributed to the late nineteenth-century photographic trend of recreating Native Americans to fit current fantasies of Native American life. The photo shows Creek Chief Pleasant Porter in a Plains Indian headdress (See Figure 8). This recreation motif was very popular in the professional photography of Native Americans. Some photographers, like Edward S. Curtis, carried props with them into the field, while others, like Robertson, kept them ready in her studio's prop room. Porter also appears in front of a typical Victorian backdrop, containing a Greek column off to one side, which would make anyone look

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[19]Lecture of Chester Cowen, "Women Photographers in the Twin Territories," 20 November 1996, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater; Alice Mary Robertson, Robertson Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma City, 19282.79.

Figure 8: Creek Indian Chief Pleasant Porter in western Plains Indian dress from props of the Robertson Studio, Muskogee, I.T. Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

awkward.

In 1907, Robertson sold her studio. Elected in 1920, she became the first women to represent Oklahoma in the United States Congress (See Figure 9).[20]

The female amateur photographers of the Oklahoma and Indian Territories offer a more realistic view of early life in Oklahoma than their professional counterparts. Primarily concerned with recording the things in their lives, they were not paid to portray a non-realistic view, like many professional photographers. The three amateur photographers, Annette Ross Hume, Jessie Gilham, and Jennie Ross Cobb, lived in areas in which Native Americans represented the largest portion of the population. Not surprisingly, the Native Americans also represent the largest portion of the women's photographs.

Annette Ross Hume lived near Anadarko on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita reservation in the Oklahoma Territory. She was very active in the Presbyterian missions in the area, boarding visiting missionaries in her home.[21] Many of

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[20]Cowen Lecture; Burnis Argo and Kent Ruth, Oklahoma: Historical Tour Guide (Carpentersville, IL: Crossroads Communications, 1992), 140.

[21]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Woods (cont'd: E.D. 237, sheet 4-end) and Woodward Counties; Oklahoma Territory Indian Reservation; Indian and Military and Naval (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 252, sheet 16, lines 2, 5.

Figure 9: Alice Robertson in 1923.
Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division
of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

the photographs that Hume took promoted the mission work done in the area.[22] One photo shows two white female missionaries standing and looking downward at an old Native American woman seated on the ground near her cooking utensils (See Figure 10). Hume took this photo outside to show that the missionaries visited the local Native Americans. In this photo it does appear that Hume tried to record this old woman, as an example of the "vanishing races." Another one of Hume's outdoor photos, shows a missionary woman kneeling and facing a Native American boy toward the camera (See Figure 11). The mother of the child is off to the left of the picture and the missionary woman breaks the spacial bond between the family. The Native American woman looks plainly at the camera while the missionary woman looks downward at the fidgeting child. In the background are two large tipis. Again this photo is not easily classified within any of the three types of Native American photography, but, like the other, this photo records the mother and son as if they might soon vanish.

Additionally, Hume concerned herself with photographing her Native American friends at the agency. In none of these photos does Hume show such contrasts between cultures as she does in her missionary photos. Nonetheless, she does show the same apparent desire to record "vanishing races" and the

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[22]Cowen Lecture.

Figure 10: An old Indian woman sitting on the ground visited by two standing white women. Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Figure 11: White Missionary; Indian mother and child. Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

types of clothing that they wore. She established friendships among the Native Americans living on the reservation and often gave them a copy of the photograph.[23] In one photo, two Native Americans, a man and a woman, appear in front of a make-shift backdrop on Hume's front porch.[24] Both the man and woman appear with slight grins on their faces, showing that they are comfortable with the photographer.

In 1901, the town of Anadarko opened through a lottery, and Annette Hume recorded all the events connected with the opening. Hume, like many of the male studio photographers in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories, wanted to record the process of building a town. Hume's photos resemble those the A. B. Swearingen Studio took of the settling of Guthrie, the Territorial capital.[25] She took photographs of the surveying teams, the tent-towns, and the initial buildings.[26]

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[23]Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett, "Annette Ross Hume: Oklahoma's Pioneer Woman Photographer," article to appear in Oklahoma Today, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 3.

[24]Kristina L. Southwell and John R. Lovett, "Pioneer Photographer: Annette Ross Hume," Oklahoma Today, May/June 1997, 33.

[25]A. B. Swearingen, A. B. Swearingen Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 147.

[26]Annette Ross Hume, Phillips Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 35, 104.

Like many middle-class women of the late nineteenth century, Annette Ross Hume had money and time available to photograph life. Hume involved herself in several societies and organizations all while raising a family and acting as a mission host. Both her mission work and her family were important to her and she wanted a visual record (See Figure 12).

Another woman active as an amateur photographer on a Native American reservation was Jessie Gilham. Many of her photos show Native Americans living around the Darlington Agency during Oklahoma's Territorial period. In one photo, Gilham herself appears with a friend (See Figure 13). Both women are dressed as Cheyennes, wearing beaded moccasins and trade blankets and have their hair set in braids. The other woman has a feather tucked in her hair at the back of her head. Another interesting feature of this photo is its round shape. Gilham used either the Kodak I or II to take this photo. Both cameras were popular among amateurs at this time and both produced a round photo.[27] Although it is unknown why these women dressed up as Native Americans, this was not an unusual practice. A professional female photographer, Molly Levite Griffin, made a similar photo. In her version, she outfitted two white children in Plains

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[27]William Welling, Collector's Guide to Nineteenth Century Photographs (New York, NY: Collier Books, 1976),91.

Figure 12: Starting the Twentieth Century,
R.R. Hume, Dr. and Mrs. Hume, and C. Ross Hume
01/01/01. Courtesy of the Western History Collections,
University of Oklahoma Libraries.

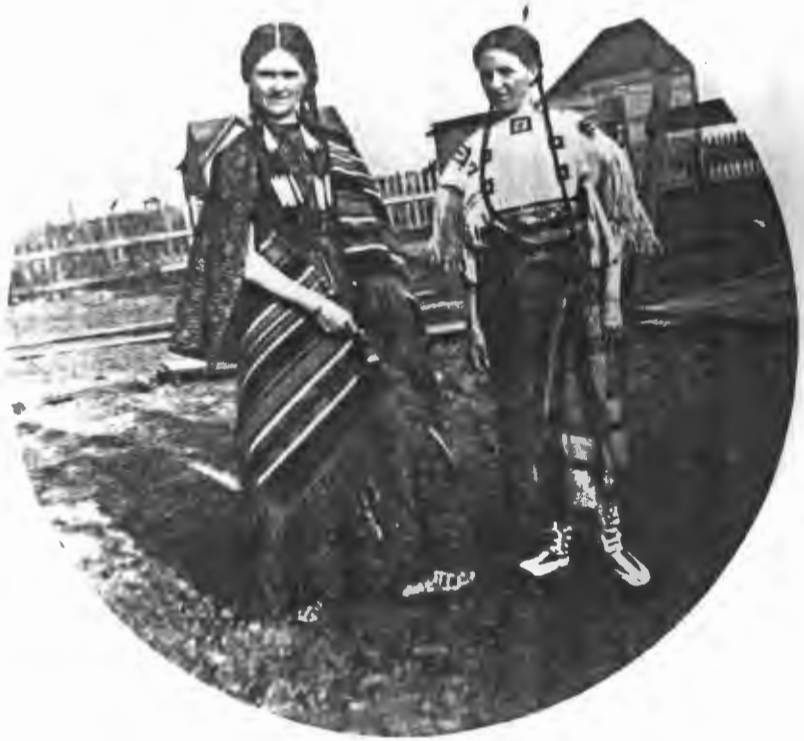

Figure 13: Mrs Gilham and Mrs. Garland Lewis dressed as Cheyenne women. Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Indian clothing and then took their picture in her studio.[28] For some, these types of photos showed their Eastern families that they had gone native and adopted Native American Indian culture.[29] But Jessie Gilham was born in nearby Missouri so impressing Eastern relatives must not have been her motive. Griffin's photo probably is a recreation but because the models are not Native American it diverges from the "recreation" genre. Jessie Gilham continued to photograph life at the agency and, like Annette Ross Hume, recorded people whose lives intersected hers, not whose culture was "vanishing."

The last amateur female photographer, and only Native American in this study, is Jennie Ross Cobb of Tahlequah, Indian Territory. She photographed from approximately 1896 until 1903, a much shorter time than most of the women of the Territories. During most her active period, Cobb lived in the George M. Murrell home; the Murrell's were relatives of Cobb.[30] Many of her photographs show different angles of the house. In one picture, two people, an older woman and a young Native American girl, appear casually standing at the

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[28]Molly Levite Griffin, Molly Levite Griffin Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 19.

[29]Cowen Interview.

[30]Jan Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats: Women Photographers in Oklahoma 1890-1907," Pioneer Woman Museum, Ponca City, Oklahoma, 28 May 1995 [opening], 2; Cowen Lecture.

back fence of the house (See Figure 14). It appears as if they stopped for a minute to pose for a photo.

Jennie Ross Cobb also took photographs of the Female Seminary in Tahlequah where she attended school. The photos taken at the school present an image of Native American life not envisioned by most people. The photos were not stereotypical and there were no Plains Indian headdresses. Many of the women in the photos wear Victorian attire, dark plain straight skirts with white lacy blouses and flat dark hats.[31] Again, as with the other female amateur photographers, Cobb simply records the events in her life; she did not try to capture her culture before it vanished or show how they had "transformed".

The seven women, unaware of the others, had many things in common. All of the women except for Alice Mary Robertson and Jennie Ross Cobb were born outside of the area where they photographed. Coleman was born in Iowa;[32] Rollins was born in Texas;[33] Gibbs was born in Wisconsin;[34] Hume was born

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[31]Cowen Lecture.

[32]1900 Census ... Cleveland, E.D., 33, sheet 5, line 50.

[33]The National Archives of the United States, 1910 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Caddo (E.D.'s 48-70) and Cleveland Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 30, sheet 16, line 8.

[34]1900 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 52, sheet 11, line 46.

Figure 14: Back of the George M. Murrell Home, Park Hill, I.T., c. 1896-1906. Courtesy of the Archives and Manuscripts Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

in Ohio;[35] and Gilham was born in Missouri.[36] The four women involved in professional photography, as assistants or photographers, entered the field in their thirties.[37] Two amateur female photographers, Jessie Gilham and Jennie Ross Cobb, entered photography in their teens. Gilham's starting date of 1889 is not certain, but adding ten years only makes her twenty-eight.[38] These seven women remained in photography for an average of twelve years.

Additionally, five of the women married at some point in their lives. Only Alice Mary Robertson and Georgia Isbell Rollins remained single.[39] Four of the women had no

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[35]1900 Census ... Indian and Military and Naval, E.D. 252, sheet 16, line 2.

[36]The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Oklahoma Territory. Counties Beaver, Blaine, and Canadian Counties (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 21, sheet 8, line 83.

[37]1900 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 33, sheet 5, line 50; 1900 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 52, sheet 11, line 46; 1910 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 30, sheet 16, line 8; The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Indian Territory. Nations Creek (cont'd E.D. 61-end), Peoria, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte, Seminole, Modoc, Ottawa, and Shawnee Nations (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 62, sheet 12, line 77.

[38]Ibid; The National Archives of the United States, 1900 Census, Indian Territory. Nations Cherokee Nation (cont'd E.D. 29, sheet 21-end and E.D.'s 30-41) (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census Microfilm Laboratory, 1934), E.D. 38, sheet 21, line 37. Because Gilham's photo reproduced in this study is round it means she was taking photographs as early as 1888 but no later than 1898, when she was twenty-eight.

[39]Rollins may have married later in life, but through research in census records it is difficult to say.

living children; Coleman lost a child in infancy. Jennie Ross Cobb's daughter was born after she finished photographing. Having no children at home to take care of gave these four women more time to pursue photography. In addition, two of the women who had children, Annette Ross Hume and Persis Gibbs, took up photography when their youngest child was ten. By this time, major motherly duties had passed for these two women, giving them more leisure time like other female amateur photographers.

Reflecting the trend in photography, all of the seven Territorial women entered photography, as either professionals or amateurs, after the advent of the dry-plate development process.[40] For Emma Coleman and many women across the United States, photography became their careers. She remained in professional photography the longest of the four women, a total of twenty years. For other women, photography was a passing phase. Jennie Ross Cobb only took photographs as an amateur for seven years, while Annette Ross Hume documented her life for twenty years.

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[40]The starting dates for these women are based on their photographs and these sources: 1910 Census ... Cleveland, E.D. 30, sheet 16, line 8 (Rollins); Cowen Lecture (Robertson and Cobb); Fay P. Fairbrother, "Emma Alfreda White Coleman Norman Pioneer, Photographer, and Business Woman" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1993), 8, 29 (Coleman and Rollins); G. W. McMillen, compiler, Oklahoma State Gazetteer and Business Directory 1898 vol. 1 ([Guthrie, I.T.]: G. W. McMillen, 1898), 144, 480 (Gibbs); Jan Prough, "Photographers in Petticoats" (Cobb); Southwell "Pioneer Photographer," 32 (Hume); Wallin, Enid ... City Directory 1906, 255 (Gibbs).

These seven women and their photographs represent the major trends in female involvement in photography from 1890 until 1907 in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories. Mostly they photographed the people, places, and events in their communities. The female studio photographers may not have sought Native American clients but their studios largely depended upon walk-in clients to succeed and a patron could often be Native American. The three female amateur photographers took pictures of the things they found around them and it appears, through looking at several of their photos, that they saw many Native Americans. Because all of these women lived in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories they photographed Native Americans and whites because both cultures were present.

In the United States, photography of Native Americans went through several stages. Prior to the 1890s, it was common to find studio portraits depicting ferocious looking Native Americans wielding tomahawks. Next followed the three methods touched upon in this study. One of these images, that of the "vanishing race," survives into the 1990s.[41] Mostly these women of the Territories did not follow these photographic trends. One definite exception is Alice Mary Robertson's recreation of her image of Native

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[41]The survival of the "vanishing race" image is found through a perusal of art catalogues that claim to have "authentic Native American art."

America in the photograph of Creek Chief Pleasant Porter in a Plains Indian headdress (See Figure 8). Through props, this picture created an inaccurate vision of Native Americans at the turn of the century. Annette Ross Hume took a few photographs that in some ways resemble those of the "vanishing race" genre. However, she tried to record cultures meeting and surviving not vanishing. Why then did many of the female photographers from the two Territories fail to represent in photographs the major trends in Native American photography? Possibly the professional photographers' clients dictated the clothing, setting, backdrop and props used. Any conslusions are difficult to make regarding why most of the Territorial female photographers remained outside of the Native American photography trends without more research into the photographs men were taking of Native Americans in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories.

CONCLUSION

Early histories of photography often omitted or ignored women's contributions to the field. The seven photographers examined from the Oklahoma and Indian Territories fill the void left from these early works and illustrate aspects of the history of photography in the United States from 1889 until 1907. Many changing technologies and views affected their ability to enter photography and their decisions to become either professionals or amateurs. Among these changes was the invention of the dry-plate development process. This dry-plate process made cameras lighter and photographers no longer needed to carry all of their developing equipment with them on location because they processed the film at their convenience.[1] This new innovation allowed large numbers of women to enter photography as both professionals and amateurs.[2] Dry-plate gave professional female photographers mobility and allowed them to compete with men in the field. Amateur female

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[1]Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York, NY: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1994), 55.

[2]Susan Fisher Sterling, "A History of Women Photographers: Persistent Presence," Women in the Arts 15 (Winter 1997): 8.

photographers also became attracted to photography because of the mobility associated with the new dry-plate cameras. Additionally, the initial investment in a camera decreased due to the dry-plate process.[3]

In this period too social perceptions of women and their roles changed significantly. The idea of separate spheres for men and women dissolved enough to allow women the freedom to leave their homes with their new cameras.[4] Additionally, society easily connected women with photography because of their "inherent" artistic ability. Also, the many uses of photography, such as recording the growth of children, allowed many women to stay within their role as wife and mother while developing their talents in photography.[5] These changes within society and photography made the entrance of Emma Coleman, Georgia Isbell Rollins, Persis Gibbs, Alice Mary Robertson, Annette Ross Hume, Jessie Gilham, and Jennie Ross Cobb, possible.

The issues of gender and photography are inseparable. Women largely avoided photography prior to the innovative

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[3]Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 59; William Culp Darrah, "Nineteenth-Century Women Photographers," in Shadow and Substance, ed. Kathleen Collins (Bloomfield Hills, MI: The Amorphous Institute Press, 1990), 89.

[4]C. Jane Grover, The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 17.

[5]Ibid., 25, 32, 52; Rosenblum, Women Photographers, 81-82.

Kodaks, whereas, men entered photography in large numbers from its early inception in 1839. After society began to change and dry-plate was introduced, women began to involve themselves in photography more. The question of stylistic differences between the sexes is not easy to answer without a comparative study. However, suggestions can be made. There appears to have been few differences between male and female professional photographers and the kinds of photos they took. Female amateur photographers also appear to have taken similar outdoor photos as professionals. For this study, no male amateur collections were consulted so no conclusions can be made regarding amateur photographers. In order to produce an answer to the question regarding the connection of gender and style a comparative study of amateur and professional male and female photographers must be done.

Large gaps still remain in the history of women's involvement in photography. In order to begin to fill the voids, more studies such as this one should be done. There is a definite need for a comparison among regions or states to provide the historian with more concrete trends in the involvement of women in photography. There are still many more unidentified women from the Oklahoma and Indian Territories that need to be found as well. The seven Territorial women of this study provide views of lives in the two Territories, of women's lives around the turn of the

century, and of lives involved in photography. These seven women are essential to a larger understanding of these three important features of the history of the period.

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