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Abstract

During the latter half of the 18th century, as aggressive and violent militarization continued, the United States legislated against Indian interests while promoting social advancement through industrial education. While boarding schools had been presented to European society as elite institutions for centuries, their transition to 19th century North America signified a radical shift in form and function. Under orders carried out by the U.S. military, Native children were forcibly removed from their families to be educated at residential schools, undergoing training similar to that of military and prison inductees. Therefore the pedagogical roots of American Indian education during the 19th century were steeped in practices meant to assimilate Indigenous children into American society psychologically, spiritually, and physically. Founded in 1879, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was established by United States Army General Richard H. Pratt, and the school ushered in a new era, one that promoted a militarized model for North American Indian education through English only instruction. Through historical analysis and contemporary Indigenous writings, this thesis examines the cultural context of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School curriculum using a framework that supports a collective body of boarding school research embedded within the overall context of American education.

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List of Initialisms

CIIS- Carlisle Indian Industrial School

CCHS- Cumberland County Historical Society

USAHEC – United State Army Heritage Education Center

USAWC – United States Army War College

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REMEMBER US -- those of us whose classrooms were the fields,
the forests, the mountains, the rivers, the
sky, the visible heavens (sun, moon, stars),
We did not have your formal training to
become teachers, but we, too, were and are,
teachers of ~ way of life -- to live in
unity and harmony with and among those
elements in our universe which give us
sustenance from the ground up to the sky and
beyond.
Dr. Hazel Virginia Dean-John

Dedication

This is for all those who were once residential school students.
You are the people whose survival meant our *Onkwehón:we* existence today. May you
find yourself in these pages and know your sacrifices are remembered.

Chapter 1 - The Statement of the Question

The Constitution of Education

American education began long before the arrival of Europeans on the North American continent. Prior to the 15th century, the Indigenous people of Turtle Island educated themselves much in the same way they do now, by adapting to the physical world and the times in which they live.¹ Urban and Waggoner (2004) detailed the educational practices of the Seneca and Hopi, dating them back thousands of years, and detailing the skilled complexities of those communities in terms of food production and intricate communal construction. Bailyn, in Urban and Waggoner, noted that education across the centuries has been, “the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations” (p. 14). Applied globally, education has been developed as an extension of local practices meant to continuously transmit a language, religion, or specific set of customs whenever people migrated, even if it was far from their collective place of origination. These elements, inexorably intertwined, were bound together as a key component for the survival of new settlements.

By the 17th century, several colonizing nations from Europe were seeking to establish permanent territories in what has today become the United States. Not surprisingly there are not many scholars who have examined the origins of American education without correlating them to the anthropological and historical foundations of European society. Therefore the history of American education has followed an established historical narrative by framing the origination of education as beginning in New England after the arrival of the Europeans (Urban and Waggoner, 2004). This would be the start

¹ Turtle Island is the commonly used name of North America used by many of the Indigenous peoples.

then of formal American education, which can be defined as the distinction of children learning apart from their home communities, and which may include being taught by a cultural group different than their own. After the initial founding of outposts and villages by Settlers and colonists, schools of all sizes were established in North America, primarily by the English and French. During the 17th century colonizing nations, and the religious groups that accompanied them, had begun to advocate formal training as an effective way of re-educating the Indigenous peoples of North America. These were both day and boarding schools; each one established as a way to integrate a particular set of Settler interests into Indigenous culture(s) through academic and religious means. Periodically schools would appear and disappear as immigrant Settlers travelled westward. Then during the 19th century, boarding schools for Indigenous people became commonplace through government and military intervention.

At that time the common goal of each Indian school was to introduce and integrate Indigenous people into a new, American way of life through the implementation of English language instruction, which contained civics and religion at its core. However when the United States military became involved in Indian education, it became government policy to educate Indians through whatever means were necessary in order to achieve those ends. As the English, Dutch, Spanish, and French claimed Indigenous lands, social climates began to change and new borders were drawn along the landscape. Settler populations grew and waned according to geographic location and political affiliation, and Indigenous populations were disbursed as a part of those movements. By the end of the 19th century the east coast of America was well established beyond the thirteen original American colonies,

and formal education appeared to be firmly entrenched for those who could spend the time and effort in achieving it.

Yet Indian education continued to ebb and flow over the centuries, and by the end of the 1800s it was transformed into something that no longer resembled the rural, one-room schoolhouse. During this era of rapid industrial expansion in the United States urban populations tended to increase by forming ringed suburbs around major cities and centers of industry. Reese (2005) explained that this created a noticeable difference between urban and rural schooling from 1870 to 1900, as the intersection between education and industrialization marked a division between common schools and public schools. For the first time education was being examined at federal and national levels, and the disparities were discouraging. Unlike their city counterpart, rural education lacked uniformity and often these schools, “did not issue report cards or diplomas” (Reese, 2005, p. 67).

No longer were communities, both Native and non-Native, primarily comprised of rural enclaves and interconnected groups, and at the same time the National Education Association was pushing for a uniform curriculum, complaining that rural schools were “a problem” (Reese, p. 66). The divisions between urban and rural schooling were evident, as public schools with their larger populations became communities of their own, while rural schools were already a part of a pre-existing community. This disparity within the American educational system would prove detrimental to American Indians.

From the time of the Trail of Tears onward, Indian dispossession was taking place in Indian country which was paralleled alongside industrial expansion. School systems were established that reflected these demographical shifts, and over time education became standardized as one-room schools were transformed into large school districts, many of

which are still in use today. At the same time in order to educate Indians en masse, schools were being built specifically for them, and Indian agents were responsible for locating the students to be educated in them. Vocational and industrial methods of education were the foundation for these large school populations, and the public was being led to believe that industry and farming were also being taught in the expanding Indian boarding school system. And then, just as residential schools reached their peak between the World War I and World War II, they began to close. Industry had changed, and with mechanization farming had become less viable economically, factory expansion provided jobs that paid far better. This was an economic trend that would continue for decades, and as the world changed expansion swept up as many Indians into assimilation as it possibly could along the way.

Although there have been hundreds of residential boarding schools on the North American continent for the past four centuries, by the mid-twentieth century many of the buildings have been torn down and their contents disposed of.² However, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1879-1918) is today one of the few remaining residential school campuses still physically in existence, as are many of its records, although initially the significance of this information wasn't apparent. When compared to the whole of residential education this makes Carlisle's archival records unique.

All Native communities have been affected by residential boarding schools in some manner, therefore many books have been written about the longitudinal effects of the schools, yet it appears as though there was, and is, a segregatory factor at play in them in terms of information about the academic educations students purportedly received. This is

² In 1611 French Jesuits opened the first of many mission schools directed at educating Native students.

where Carlisle's records start to take on not only a personal significance to the families of those who attended Carlisle Indian, but a historical role as they serve as one of the few remaining records regarding residential school education from that time period. The establishment of all other residential boarding schools after Carlisle's founding in 1879 can be traced back in various ways to Carlisle; therefore the Carlisle records are of national importance to both educational and military scholars.

Today the cultural, social, economic, and societal aspects of residential school education have been well documented in numerous books and in the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report (2015). However information regarding the physical characteristics of each school, or what Indian students across North America were learning in classrooms has not been widely reported on. This information is in grave danger of disappearing completely in the same way as the campuses have, as the majority of former residential school students are older in age or have already passed on (TRC, 2015). Once the students are gone their memories will go with them and their stories will be lost.

Unfortunately very few accounts of the residential schools have documented their academic side, although generalized accounts tend to agree that the faculty and staff who worked at the schools were white and Christian. This is not enough information to inform a substantive hypothesis regarding those who worked the residential boarding schools, or their perspective of the schools' curricula. The faculty and staff stories are a part of the boarding school issue as well and their recollections would be invaluable in establishing what was occurring at the schools, both in and out of the classroom. However, many of the firsthand recollections included by writers about residential schooling are from select students, many of them former Carlisle students. Therefore while the Carlisle Indian

School has had a long and lasting historical legacy, to limit remembrances to just a handful of students is an injustice to boarding school research.

Why Educate Native Americans?

That question of why Native Americans had been educated at all was never once mentioned in any of the analyses I read. Why then, in a country that was consumed by slavery and Jim Crow laws, were Native Americans being educated? The answer lies with the Hampton Institute in Virginia. Now a university, a full accounting of their history and survival as first a Negro school, and then later as a trade school with the addition of an Indian population, has been well maintained and studied by Hampton University.

"The thing to be done was clear: to train selected Negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor, to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and in this way to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character." Brigadier General Samuel Armstrong, 1866 Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau of the Ninth District of Virginia.

These were essentially the same values espoused by Army Captain Richard Henry Pratt in his bid to establish the Carlisle Indian School for American Indians. By substituting the word Negro with Indian, the United States government followed the Hampton Institutes' example in educating Indians.³

³ What happened to Negro education in America from the 1880s onward shows a divergence from Hampton being a boarding school for freedmen to Jim Crow segregationist education. The illegality of educating a people who were traditionally discriminated against through slavery has been well documented, however this brief intersection of Negro and Indian education during the late 1800s is indicative of what Reconstructionism in America was trying to accomplish.

Yet there was an additional reason that Indians were being educated during the Industrial Age in America. In 1891, Indian Commissioner Thomas Morgan was quoted at the opening of the Phoenix Indian School as saying; "It's cheaper to educate Indians than to kill them" (Singleton, 2012; Trennert, 1983; McAlpin, 2000). From this point forward a financial component would drive Indian education. The Carlisle school was already a model for all of Indian education in North America as noted in the Davin Report (1879), and it was evident by Pratt's Annual Reports how profitable his Indian School really was with an annual federal budget of \$158,000 in 1905.⁴ These numbers do not include student earnings or any other revenue or donations of any kind. Later analyses contained in the Truth and Reconciliation Report (2015), would demonstrate how lucrative residential boarding schools were as demonstrated by funding sources and revenues.

Morgan's views may have stemmed from Carl Schurz' 1882 analysis in which he estimated that it cost \$1,000,000 to kill an Indian, as opposed to \$1,200 to educate one for 8 years (Singleton, 2012). The high cost of the Indian Wars saw a continued loss of life over several decades and which resulted in the United States continuously spending their financial resources to have troops deployed in the western territories. Washington D.C. was spending an estimated \$8,000,000 annually on the Indian wars between 1789 and 1890 compared to the 1905 Indian Affairs Report which put the entirety of all Indian School expenditures at \$1,240,000 (United States, 1894).

⁴ This amount (156K) is equal to \$4,000,000 today. Federal CIIS budget figures are available from 1905 to 1913, numbers which increased each year that they were reported. Working in reverse we can safely assume that appropriations were close to this amount in the years prior to 1905, although they may have been slightly less.

Decades later Margaret Szasz (1974) would echo the governments' propensity for saving, noting that residential boarding schools were appropriated a large amount of funding in 1882 that lead to the expansion of the federal Indian education system, as Congress would be able to save on the cost of transporting Indians to eastern schools by repurposing and building a further 25 schools in the west. Today one of those schools, Haskell Indian Nations University, formerly known as the United States Indian Industrial Training School when it was founded in 1884, still exists and is repurposed as a university. It is one of four remaining residential school campuses that still exist from that era, along with Hampton University, Drexel University, and the U.S. Army War College at Carlisle.

Why is the Carlisle Indian School Unique?

Yet the significance of the Carlisle schools continued physical existence, and the endurance of its vast treasure trove of documents, is relatively unknown outside of historical and academic circles. The fact that many of the original Carlisle school buildings are still standing and today look much as they did then is a testament to not only preservation but the historical importance of the school and grounds. Any new buildings that have been built since the Indian school era, are located away from the original campus and do not detract from the campus' historical background. Another physical feature of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School that makes it unique among all Indian boarding schools is its cemetery, an open acknowledgement that students died while attending school there. Other Indian schools have not been so forthcoming with that type of information, and

therefore to see the cemetery relocated to a place of prominence outside the U.S. Army checkpoint gates is a reminder of the price many Indians paid for education.

As other residential schools adopted Pratt's motto of "Kill the Man and Save the Indian" literally, many of the school buildings and records from that era have been hidden from history through their destruction and the marked absence of any paper trail (Pratt, 1978;1964; Annett, 2008). Since many of the Carlisle Indian School buildings are still standing, they continue to bear silent testimony to the 19th century intersection between Indians and Settlers of that era. It also marks the government's predilection for record keeping, creating a paper window into a world long since gone. The U.S. Army, which has overseen the school grounds for more than two centuries, saved more documents for just this one residential school than exists today for all of the other residential schools combined.

Yet the knowledge that Carlisle was unique in its propensity to save both buildings and documents is mostly unknown outside of certain circles. For example, the first contemporary publication about the Carlisle Indian School was published in 1993, and included information that up until that time had only been accessible in the Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS) archives. This book was published by the CCHS, and written by then director Linda Witmer using primary documents and photographs, providing an illustrative overview of the Carlisle Indian School. This information was then published through a local Pennsylvania publisher, Plank's Suburban Press, Inc. with a limited edition run of 2000 copies. In 2002 the book was re-released in paperback and remains available on the open book market for purchase despite the relative rarity of the numbered first printing.

For two decades, Witmer's book has remained the primary printed source for information about the school. Almost the size of a coffee table book, at 166 pages the majority of the book is comprised of expository text that is used to illustrate the surrounding photographs. Filled with quotes and citations, Witmer's work paints a fairly broad view of what the school was like during its 38-year duration, and she focuses both on the school buildings and the students who attended classes there. Often the two overlap, and she has thoughtfully provided a partial list of students following the Bibliography. Today, while the buildings in those old Indian school photographs can still be seen on campus, it must be noted that all of the students and faculty who once were there have now passed on. Therefore to reconstruct any aspect of the school, primary and secondary documents are essential, as firsthand accounts can no longer be obtained.

Overall books on residential schooling can be classified in three ways; as part of children's literature, scholarly works, and firsthand accounts. Often these categories overlap, as scholarly works and children's books can rely on firsthand student accounts to complete their narratives. However, when Witmer wrote her book in 1993 there were relatively few books about the Indian boarding schools available for study in any genre.

When Margaret Szasz (1988) wrote one of the first books that examined Indian education during the colonial period from 1607 to 1783, she mentioned boarding schools but only in conjunction with Indian education during those years, and they were not the primary focus of her work. The schools Szasz wrote about were not the same type of boarding schools found a century later, yet the overall message of her book was clear, colonists wanted to educate Indians in Settler ways and their primary tools for doing so were schools rooted in religion. This is important as Szasz' history of Indian education demonstrates the

mindset of Settlers towards Indians, an attitude which predates the federal industrial boarding school. This also provides an understanding of how boarding schools evolved from mission schools as the primary form of education for Native Americans by the turn of the 20th century.

Also published in 1988 was an autobiography by Basil Johnston which chronicled his experiences at Spanish, an Indian boarding school that operated in Ontario, Canada from 1913 until 1965. Johnston's was a Canadian publication and as such it wasn't until 1995 that it was released in the United States. Johnston's book is a graphic account of his experiences while away at boarding school, and he writes of how the Roman Catholics mandated that Indian children attend boarding schools. They were forced to leave their parents, his included, and there was no choice for either in the matter.

Johnston described himself and the other boys who were at Spanish as inmates, sentenced to an education. His descriptions of escape are rich in detail, and as he writes about being forced to return to the school and the lack of food there, it is not difficult to imagine that he did not have much of a childhood. Sadly, as later books were published about the boarding school system, the themes in Johnston's narrative became common ones. These educational experiences are well known across Indian Country, yet often unheard of by outsiders, this perhaps has limited the residential boarding school story from being told more broadly.

Since the 1980s there have been other books published in this genre by Michael Coleman (1993), John Milloy (1999), and Myriam Vučković (2008). These were scholarly works, detailing over a century of Indian education. The information in Coleman's book centered on pre-contact, traditional Indigenous education, and included a comparison of

the differences between traditional and westernized forms of learning. Coleman relied heavily on the Carlisle School to support his arguments, and although he discussed curriculum, it was in the broader and more generalized sense of residential schooling. Milloy wrote about the Indian educational system in Canada in much the same manner, categorizing issues, not specific schools. However his source citations were more exacting in providing a clearer trail of previous research to follow, and again, the themes found in Johnston's book can also be found in Milloy's work.

Winnowing the Information

It was at this point after reading over a dozen books on Indian education that I was developing a strategy by which to locate and trace information back through time. By examining Milloy and Coleman's books I was able to garner more of an understanding of the residential school paper trail. Vučković's book was different, she focused on one specific school, Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. She relied on many of the same sources included in Coleman and Milloy's books, however the way in which she catalogued citations in her bibliography was not only illuminating, it demonstrated where and how to find resources on residential schooling that weren't widely known or available. Despite her singular focus on the Haskell Institute, Vučković was able to weave mention of other residential schools into her work, relating their story to Haskell's history. This was important; in doing this she provided an understanding of how a school system long gone was interconnected through multiple government agencies across North America in conjunction with various religious groups, while also demonstrating how those who worked in the field of Indian education were common across that spectrum. This was

crucial in winnowing through the pan-Indian perspectives most often provided in relation to residential schooling, as it clarified who the key figures were in Indian school education at that time.

There were also several points in Vučković's book that could easily have been about the Carlisle Indian school, and the interchangeability of that information speaks to the underlying governmental effort in mandating Indian education. The daily schedules for both Carlisle and Haskell were nearly identical in structure and form, and since Pratt claimed to have established the Carlisle Indian School himself, Vučković's writing supported the idea that other schools were modeled after CIIS adding credibility to that claim. In writing about Haskell's curriculum, Vučković mentioned a book of Indian stories compiled by the Haskell students, a book that was also used at Carlisle and is listed in their records. Connections such as these between residential schools only serves to strengthen Vučković's convictions and demonstrate that Indian boarding schools were part of a larger interconnected system.

Yet only Vučković mentioned the schools' daily schedules, other authors didn't examine the shared rigorous daily as part of the methodologies used to implement curricula across multiple schools. Vučković opened the door to further inquiry, which should consider the daily schedule of an Indian school as an integral part of Indian school instruction. This mention shows the progression of residential school research over the past two decades. Vučković's chapter on Haskell's curriculum featured two prominent focal points of residential schooling, the instruction of the English language and industrial education. By including these motifs as a part of the Haskell curriculum, both as content

and subject matter, she continued to further the conversation that both Milloy and Coleman has started fifteen years before.

While Vučković's chapter was not the detailed analysis of prescribed academia that might be seen in a Harcourt basal reader today⁵, it did serve to corroborate many similar points mentioned in Carlisle school documents, and provide further academic clues as to what and how Indian students were learning across all residential schools. Her chapter on curriculum was one of the few, albeit generalized, works that mentioned libraries and reading materials as being instrumental to literacy learning in the Indian schools. Yet four pages don't adequately illustrate classroom materials and the classroom practices at Haskell, or any other residential school for that matter. The mechanical aspects of a working curriculum have far too often been ignored when telling the residential school story.

While books such as Coleman's, Milloy's and Vučković's signified a scholarly beginning of the residential boarding school story being told, an important piece of that story was missing with the ambiguity about what the exact curricula of these schools had been. Also absent in books was mention of how curricula had been developed, both methodologically and pedagogically. The presumption therefore was that this was American education, and culturally it would mirror American society and politics. Therefore American education became the vehicle by which the English language transmitted cultural practices and ideological values to American Indians in residential schools.

⁵ Several publishing companies, including Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, Inc. pre-package and sell a scripted curriculum in which school districts expect teachers to be on the same page, at the same time, on the same day. This should fall under the heading of herding cats.

While most authors of books about residential schooling didn't delve into a detailed dissection of their academics, what they did mention was generalized in order to convey a broader message about the schools. Often curriculum was discussed across multiple institutions, sometimes without specific details as to which schools, students, subjects, or content was involved in these tellings. Some authors, even though they wove similar themes of English language instruction and industrial education into their accounts of curriculum, glossed over what I considered to be the primary function of an institution of learning, academics. Yet without any type of specificity how would anyone be able to reconstruct what an actual day in the life of a residential school looked like, or be able to study instructors or textbooks? Clearly there was much work to be done on the topic of what Indian students were learning academically, not just socially and personally while in attendance at these schools.

Coleman had included a chapter on curriculum in his book, and much of what he wrote about also had to do with the Carlisle Indian School. However his account of Indian education spanned multiple schools, times, and various student recollections, not quite a detailed analysis that established pedagogy. By focusing on student's recollections of learning, manual (labor) instruction and religion, Coleman was able to produce a chapter on residential school curriculum, yet it still wasn't clear exactly how or what students were learning. Besides the Bible, other books or reading materials students were reading either after they learned English, or as a part of learning the English language, weren't mentioned. What was clear was that this reading was taking place in the English language since Indian languages for the most part at that time were oral. How then had students acquired the skills needed to read and write the English language?

Narrowing the Topic: From Curriculum to Question

This was a problem, not only did I have relatively few resources to work from to answer such a question; I also had to narrow my topic in order to write my dissertation. With the knowledge that there had been over 500 residential schools for Indigenous people across North America, American Indian residential boarding schools as a dissertation topic became far too broad. As Carlisle was the institution most commonly mentioned in regards to residential schooling, I consolidated my readings and noted which authors mentioned CIIS and in what capacity. From there I began to survey bibliographies, looking for the books or theses closest to the Carlisle school era in order to establish a reverse timeline of information and materials. I also looked at these resources for the frequency of sources that were mentioned in conjunction with the Carlisle Indian school. Over time themes began to emerge in this data, and I was able to narrow my research towards the curricula of those schools.

Based on this information and my interest in the historical intersection between education and Native culture, I decided that I would research the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, gathering materials wherever and whenever possible in a tentative effort to reconstruct the school's curriculum. Since sources on Indian issues and residential schooling mentioned Carlisle in some way, it seemed that with the vast amount of ephemera still extant that had been produced at Carlisle, that this should be the school that I focused on.

One of the first scholarly writings that I located about the Carlisle Indian School was Ward Churchill's (2004) book entitled "Kill the Indian, Save the Man". The title of Churchill's book was the motto of the Carlisle schools superintendent, Capt. Richard H.

Pratt, and it was frequently in the school's newspaper as well as in government reports. Churchill's use of the motto as his title was meant to illustrate how the motto had been used to justify the educational colonization of the American Indian. Unfortunately Churchill's book spans multiple schools and time periods, and so he also uses the motto as a metaphor for the pan-Indian effects of residential schooling, correlating the argument that this type of education was genocide for Native people. Churchill was presenting a scholar's viewpoint about these issues, yet following the publication of this book he personally was been surrounded by political and ethnic controversies, and his tribal affiliations have come into question.

This is significant in terms of who is, and who can be, the 'authentic' voice of Native America, and by extension the residential school experience. Outsiders often have a viewpoint that is not affected by personal association or connection to a topic. In this instance scholars and non-Native people are often unrelated personally and historically to the boarding schools, however does that give them the right to tell someone else's story from their unrelated viewpoint? An insiders' perspective on residential schooling may very well include knowledge and information not shared elsewhere, whereas the outsiders' perspective is limited in scope by accessibility to privileged information.

Therefore while being non-Native may very well be the case with Churchill as his ethnicity has been questioned, is it relevant to the story he is telling? It's an odd juxtaposition when others decide your identity and ethnicity based on their perception of what is and what isn't real. That said there are instances when the abstract objectivity of an outsider leaves the humanity out of the storytelling, much in the same way the canvas of an artist painting a landscape from nature differs from that of an artist painting the same

scene from a postcard, they are two very different ways of viewing the same subject. While Churchill's authenticity is in question along with his ethnicity, it has never been the Native way to question to what degree someone is Indigenous in the same way that the government and the white man has. In the United States only Native people are required to prove their blood quantum, and somehow when Churchill's affiliations came into question, so too did his scholarship. Historically it has been the traditional Native way to examine a work, such as Churchill's book, for its merits and not the author's tribal quantification for two very good reasons.

First, the Indigenous nations now residing on North America have been fractured, and for decades many groups have cobbled their resources together trying to find a way to exist. Federally the Indian Termination Policy, which was active in the United State after World War II until the mid-1960s as a policy of assimilation, decimated nations. When Indigenous nations were dismantled politically they were told they no longer existed. Combined with the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 in which thousands of Native people were encouraged to move to urban areas with financial assistance to pursue vocational trades, these two policies combined to cause an unknown number of Native people to lose their status as Indigenous, and to not be registered as part of their nation to retain tribal sovereignty. So who is to say what, or who, Churchill is, and by whose measure?

Secondly, while other scholars have questioned Churchill's blood quantum, it is his scholarship that should be examined without trying to discredit him through his ethnicity. While Native studies may not be as large a field as some others, and Churchill is scholar who may not be as academically popular, he does not deserve to have his work discounted or positioned as flawed from his ethnicity alone, and therefore spotlighted as such.

Statistically speaking outliers are not independently evaluated, and they are never to be excluded; they are always included in a study even when they may skew the results in a direction not anticipated. Therefore within this research paradigm I considered Churchill as an outlier in Native American studies, and included his work on residential schooling.

Evaluating the Available Information

There are many instances when an outsider can present an accurate view of an issue, such as seen in the work historians do. They are often outsiders when it comes to investigating the past, and they usually do not provide a first hand account. Their presentations of the past are based on historical perception and opinion that comes with access to a wide range of information. Such is the case with authors who write on Native issues and residential schooling. Margaret Connell-Szasz is an excellent example of a historian who specializes Indigenous and Celtic history, yet she has no tribal affiliations, nor does she claim any. Szasz did not attend a residential school and yet she does an admirable job in her work in Indian education.

Consequently, I looked past Churchill's personal controversies and examined his book for information, and this is what I found. His arguments centered on the whole of residential school education as being a form of genocide. To illustrate his points he quoted and cited an extensive body of literature, much of which I found pertained to my own interests in residential schooling. He had 546 footnotes, many of which were helpful in terms of source citations, and he categorized those in such a way as to emphasize where he found his resources and how he used them. Churchill also included a partial list of the residential schools across Canada and the US, one of the very few published resources

regarding this information. While no one author, including Churchill, had the comprehensive list of all resources about the schools, combined the authors I've mentioned were an excellent place to start.

It was at this point, with many books and articles read on Indian issues and residential school education, that the academic piece of the residential school puzzle was still missing. With my focus on the Carlisle Indian School I turned back to the first few books I had located on residential schooling and combed through their bibliographies looking for other resources in an effort to determine if there was enough information to focus on the Carlisle curriculum as a thesis topic. At the same time, I had begun preliminary fieldwork in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Churchill had listed five theses in his bibliography, none of which were germane to my study, and I was intent on finding other scholars who had examined either of those two topics in some way. At this point I was preoccupied with thinking about theses and then searching for them as part of a review of the literature on the Carlisle Indian school and residential schooling. Therefore when I went to Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS) I was interested to see what they might have in their holdings that might not be found elsewhere.

Preliminary Research

At the CCHS the director, Barbara Landis, asked me if I had seen a copy of Genevieve Bell's 1998 dissertation, I hadn't. I was given a three ring binder with a paper copy of Bell's work to look at, and then Barbara explained to me that the CCHS a repository of many of the extant Carlisle Indian School items, such as photographs, artifacts, and

ephemera. Not only are those items held in their collection, the CCHS continues to add to their holdings and do their best to include hard copies of any dissertations or theses written about the CIIS. That is how I came to examine Bell's dissertation, which I was eventually able to purchase in a digital format, as it had never been published. From start to finish Bell's dissertation was 447 pages, and she had nine chapters that covered the duration of the school's existence. Much of what Bell wrote about was student centered, although she did mention the five superintendents that had run the school. She also wrote almost 60 pages of appendices and references, and there at the very end of her dissertation on page 446, were eight theses.

This inclusion led me to Dr. Carmelita Shea Ryan's 1962 dissertation on the Carlisle Indian School. The title of her unpublished dissertation from Georgetown was in fact, *The Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, and although it appears as a citation in a search about the school, its significance was not readily apparent. A historian by training Dr. Ryan, as noted in her obituary from the Washington Post, was a specialist in U.S. Indian Affairs at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and she worked at the National Archives (NARA) at the time of her dissertation until her retirement in the 1980s. An archivist, Dr. Ryan was an expert on the Indian holdings at NARA, and in 1975 published a paper on them, as well as several book reviews on the same topic during the 1970s and 80s. However, it was her dissertation that I was interested in, and with such a broad title I could only hope it would have pertinent information to my topic.

As part of due diligence I also ordered the other seven theses cited in Bell's dissertation from the World Catalogue Library and hoped for the best. Those eight citations spanned 60 years, and I had no way of knowing if any extant copies of these works were

available. Two were, Beulah Fitz' 1935 masters thesis on the *History of the Carlisle Indian School* and Ryan's 1962 dissertation entitled simply, *The Carlisle Indian Industrial School*. No mention was made of what students were learning in terms of teaching, pedagogy, and methods, as well as who were the purveyors of that curriculum, namely educators. The names of faculty were listed within the CIIS documents, yet a more tangible representation of the CIIS student experience was needed to reconstruct curriculum. It would be difficult to form a thesis question around pedagogical methods without having substantiating evidence.

Curriculum Reconstruction

Photographs of the school provided more clues about the curriculum, with pictures of classroom board work and images of students writing and reading in various locations. This finding led me to look for concrete examples of the educational materials being used in the CIIS classrooms. I considered writing about what students were learning at CIIS, however that question would require a hypothetical stance based on intangible pedagogical methods, which was of course what I was trying to discern through primary documentation. For example, I knew that students were learning English as a second language, yet how students acquired English was almost impossible to discern from student records and the school's newspapers.

I felt as though I was close to a thesis question that focused on the Carlisle Indian School, yet I needed to be exact and cognizant of the materials that were available for study. Other than primary documents from the school, Fitz' and Ryan's theses were the next chronological pieces of writing about the school that I was able to obtain. Tangible

curricular evidence became the lens then that I used to examine their work for solid, physical representations of the Carlisle curriculum. Fortunately both of their theses mentioned the curriculum in detail, citing book titles not found anywhere else. After reviewing Fitz' and Ryan's work I was able to determine that there was enough substantive information contained in their two theses to form a solid foundation for a dissertation.

I was now closer to understanding what the Carlisle students were learning about, yet I still needed an overarching question by which to define my dissertation. What the students of the Carlisle Indian School were learning was far too broad an inquiry and could potentially be coloured by my modern theoretical lens. As I was looking to conduct historical research in an effort to illuminate America's educational past within a cultural context, my research question would examine the curriculum of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. This topic was broad enough to encompass a variety of findings, yet narrow enough to present a concrete picture of what the materials were that students studied at the school. Using a frame narrative the overarching question for this thesis became: what were the curricular materials available to, and being studied by, the students of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School?

Chapter 2 – The Historical Underpinnings of American Education

This chapter examines the entrance of the North American Indian into methods European of education; beginning with the abrupt shift in Indigenous learning that began when Columbus arrived on Turtle Island. I highlight the differences between the two ways of living, and note the intersectional clash of ideologies that often resulted in violence throughout the American colonial period. I establish this educational history as a baseline for the political and epistemological underpinnings surrounding the reasoning for the boarding school's implementation being specifically targeted towards Native students. I then give a brief history of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School before I explain where the remnants of the school currently are.

The History of the Indian in Colonial Education

When amateur historian Evelyn C. Adams, wrote about American Indian education in 1946, she summed it up in eight words, “Indian education is as old as Indian life” (p. viii). Although Indian life differed greatly from the ways in which Europeans conducted themselves when they arrived on Indigenous shores, Indians had been educating themselves since time immemorial through oral traditions that relied on narrative, ceremonies, and the ever-present cycle of seasons. They shared this knowledge almost freely; and to their detriment when it was used against them during times of conflict in order gain ground politically (Spring, 2005). However Indian education was about to take

an entirely different turn, one that diverged in ways unknown by the Arawak people before Columbus' arrival.⁶

From the moment Columbus stepped foot off his ship, the Arawaks who encountered him quickly learned by his deed and action that he was dangerous and not to be trusted.⁷ Historian Howard Zinn (2003) detailed several instances where Columbus enslaved or killed the Indians that he encountered, citing the Arawaks generosity with material possessions as a factor in what Columbus assumed would be the Arawak's compliance as slaves. As more ships arrived, the practices Columbus had brought with him soon spread to other islands in the Caribbean. However after each incident the Arawaks sought escape, fleeing to the hills to avoid being maimed, or worse. Zinn estimated that half of the 250,000 Indians on what today is known as Haiti, died from "murder, mutilation, or suicide" within a two year period. Therefore to be cognizant that there are many types of learning, formal or not, is crucial in understanding that from the beginning of Columbus' arrival, instruction and learning rapidly accelerated among Indigenous peoples in vastly different ways than they had known before.⁸

From the 15th century onward, an organized effort by the Vatican had been underway to dispossess Indians of their lands by any means possible (Vera, 2012). Steven Newcomb, Indigenous law scholar, decoded the Doctrine of Discovery explaining how

⁶ From Columbus' own journals and the writings of Bartolomé de las Casas the atrocities committed against the Arawak peoples have been chronicled in horrifying detail.

⁷ Howard Zinn in his *A People's History of the United States*, redefined American history when he used Columbus' and de las Casas' writings to paint a picture of 1492 and beyond.

⁸ Formal education is not a shared set of understandings based on natural laws, instead it is comprised of institutional principles which are grounded in an abstract and often encoded set of social and cultural expectations.

non-Christian lands were considered to be the Promised Land of the Old Testament. Therefore undergirded by the Papal Bulls, the Doctrine of Discovery was to be used as a legal justification to undermine negotiations between Europeans and Native people in order that all agreements favoured religious colonization. As Europeans began to colonize what they called the New World, treaty negotiations included educational provisions as well, and combined they created the perfect storm. A prejudicial system of justification was created by the Doctrine of Discovery, which Europeans then used to resources from those who they termed ‘savage pagans’ in an effort to undermine the autonomy of Indigenous peoples as human beings (Newcomb, 2008).

One example of this type of subjugation is the treaty negotiation between the United States and the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians in 1794 (Kappler, 1903). Article 3 stated that:

The United States will provide, during three years after the mills shall be completed, for the expense of employing one or two suitable persons to manage the mills, to keep them in repair, to instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and sawyer, and to provide teams and utensils for carrying on the work of the mills.
Stockbridge-Munsee Treaty of 1794

The keyword here is instruct, and indeed the United States fulfilled this promise just not in the methods prescribed. Therefore when religious education first began to appear in the Americas after St. Thomas Aquinas University was founded in Santo Domingo in 1538 (Parry, 1990) and the Society for Jesus established a school in Havana, Cuba for the Indians of Florida in 1568, an extension of the Old World merged with the New.⁹ French Jesuits

⁹ The Society for Jesus was founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1540 and backed by Papal Bull with members of the Society functioning as Soldiers of God. Amerigo Vespucci has been credited with coining the term “New World” to distinguish the era just after Columbus’ arrival in the Americas.

provided further education, and in 1611 they too opened mission schools on the northeastern shores of North America in order to educate Indian children in French ways.¹⁰ By 1650, Harvard had also made provisions for educating Indians, and they educated several students before abandoning their project during the 1690s. During the same era in 1723, The College of William & Mary also began a program to school Indians, however they too abandoned their project by the end of the Revolutionary War.

Moor's Charity School founded by Eleazar Wheelock, trained missionary children and Indians in Connecticut from 1754 until 1770, when the school was moved to New Hampshire and renamed Dartmouth (Henry, 1972). The similarities between education and the division of North American territories by Imperialist powers were becoming evident. Remnants of these vestigial components of Indian education can still be seen today through the embedded cultural components of their respective geographical locales, such as seen in the Mohawk nation territories that straddle the Canadian and U.S. border. Those who live in Canada are required to learn French, and those reside in the United States learn English, and so language further divided tribal entities. It was only recently that the Mohawk language, after being declared critically endangered, has been taught in newly founded nation schools.

However, these were brief and sporadic methods of cultural and political integration, by the time the thirteen colonies declared their independence from Great Britain, Indian education was as Grande put it, "a well-established weapon in the arsenal

¹⁰ See Noriega in M. Annette Jaimes' *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, Margaret Connell Szasz' *Indian Education on the American Colonies, 1607-1783*, and Evelyn C. Adams' *American Indian Education: Government School and Economic Progress*, for in-depth analyses of Indian education before 1800.

of American imperialism long before the first shots of the Revolutionary War were ever fired” (2004, p. 11). At the same time in American education, the State of Massachusetts was paving the way for trends that would affect not only Indian education, but create a standard for public education, one that is still followed to this today. Early in the 17th century laws were passed that required education for children, and for the employment of educators. By the mid-1800s high schools were required in Massachusetts and a Board of Education had been established as well. The institutionalization of American education had begun, founding a system that would spread, continuously seeking to reinvent and reform itself for the next two centuries.

Historically, education has been rooted in religion, and in the past that learning was often no different for Native students than it was for Colonial children. Margaret Connell Szasz (1988), Joel Spring (2005), and William Reese (2011) have all written histories of American education. From Missionary Schools to the Common School, these three authors have explained how as the American colonies progressed there were several forms of education available to various groups, many of whom also were charged with educating Indians.

Szasz wrote about the Puritan’s influence on the Indians of the 1600s, citing conversion efforts that proceeded in tandem with financial considerations. In 1641 the Massachusetts Bay Colony sent two agents, the Reverends Thomas Weld and Hugh Peter to England on the pre-text of needing funds to convert the Indians to Christianity (Szasz, 1988, p. 103). Part of the funds sent were meant to convert the Indians through education, the rest were used to establish a financial network that bought property in England and

Wales, as well as paid for goods in New England. Thus the profitability of Indian education in colonial America was established (p. 104 & 105).

Spring (2005) discussed religion in early colonial education as being grounded in segregatory practices that saw groups individually educated. Spring also wrote about the cultural imperialism that dominated early American education, and for Native Americans this meant that Christianity dominated their education, providing a favorable positioning for the Protestants and the English (p. 22 & 23). This would prove to be the foundation for race relations in American education. Reese would echo these segregatory practices, especially in the south, noting how this carried over into every aspect of American education through the advancement of the Common School. These would become the public schools of America, maintaining segregatory practices in the United States until 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education*. At that time the United States Supreme Court struck down *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which had previously upheld state sponsored segregation in education.

However, despite the United States' longstanding history of attempting to separate church and state, the government funding to various political and religious groups for educational purposes was an amalgamation of these two entities, and just as American education was tied to religious ideology, so too was education for American Indians (Jefferson, 1802). Since its inception, the United States had allocated large amounts of money to various groups to educate Indians, yet after the establishment of the U.S. Civilization Fund in 1819, additional funds were set aside to educate tribes along the ever-expanding American frontier (Indian Affairs, 1899). The following year, as per Secretary

of War John C. Calhoun (1817-1825), educational expenses for Indians were redesigned to include provisions for industrial training and mechanical arts. These programs would rely on missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners (ABC) to teach the Indians, and in 1825 The Indian Office of the Department of the War reported that “216 teachers had been deployed to handle 916 students in thirty-two schools” (Jaimes, 1992). Missionaries were running the government funded manual labor schools for Indian students.

The manual labor school provided a way for students to be educated, and the type of instruction they received supported the burgeoning American Industrial Revolution with courses in shop(s) for boys, and domestics for girls.¹¹ From the Colonial period onward, the customs of the educators were embedded in the curriculum and language of this education, and by extension into Indigenous society. From its inception in America, Indian schools were designed to not only colonize Native students but to replicate imperialist cultures within Native communities through generations of compulsory education. It was a repetitive method by which to bring Indigenous people “into imperialist/capitalist structures” through an economic system designed to supersede their own societies, a process by which Native people found it difficult to resist “conquest and colonization” Jorge Noriega (1992) in (McAlpin, 2008, p. 38).

Yet contrary to what contemporary writers have written, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS) founded by Captain Richard Henry Pratt in 1879 was *not* the first

¹¹ The forerunner of the industrial school would later be referred to as vocational training.

residential boarding school for American Indian students.¹² During the first half of the 19th century it had been the standard practice by various religious groups funded by the United States government, to educate Indians on their home territories, and many of those schools were structured as residential institutions. According to the 1907 *Handbook of American Indians* produced by the United States Bureau of Ethnology, Carlisle Indian School was the first *military* run boarding school for Native Americans (Hodge, 1907). The Carlisle School is also considered to be the first *non-reservation* school established for Indian students, in part, for Indian prisoners of war.¹³ This distinction is crucial in establishing the history of formal American Indian education post-contact, as well as in understanding the Carlisle School's proper place in the history of American education.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was just one in a long line of schools designed by non-Natives for Native students (Dehyle and Swisher, 1997). Yet this particular school has become the most famous residential boarding school, in part due to the Industrialized Age that saw the increased production, collection, storage, and retrieval of information. As the Indian Wars of the 19th century drew to a close and the population of the United States increased, so too did public forms of disseminating information. With that growth also came the expansion of public institutions and libraries causing information to have a broader audience than ever before. Capt. Pratt the founder of the Carlisle Indian School, was aware of these advancements and marketed the school as a viable educational opportunity through multiple publications (Akwesasne Notes, 1980). Pratt produced

¹² Often misrepresented in this way, it appears as though English education for Indians began in the United States only when Pratt established the Carlisle Indian School.

¹³ Jacqueline Fear-Segal's book, *White Man's Club*, provides a detailed account of how Capt. Pratt began the Carlisle Indian Industrial School with Prisoners of War who had been held at Fort Marion, Florida.

weekly and monthly periodicals that extolled the virtues of boarding school education, thereby leaving behind extensive records by which life at the School can partially be reconstructed.¹⁴

The History of Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Before 1879 – How Carlisle Was Founded

Long before the United States ever came into being the area now known as Carlisle, Pennsylvania was once home to the Susquehannock Nation. The Lenape and Delaware Nations were also located close by along the Chesapeake watershed. By the 18th century the Susquehannock would be pushed out of their homelands, with some members being subsumed into the Iroquois Confederacy. Others were forced to move westward, far away from their traditional territories as the Settler presence in that area continued to increase (Wallace, 1961). Once an intersection of Indian trails, the area that eventually would become the borough of Carlisle began as an encampment, yet as events leading up to the Revolutionary War progressed Settlers began building a town made of stone and brick (USAHEC, 2014). The military would continue to strengthen its position there, erecting more permanent structures many of which can still be seen today.

Firmly entrenched by the end of the Revolutionary War, the U.S. Army would continue its presence in Carlisle over the next century, transitioning from military outpost to educational institution throughout the era preceding the Civil War. By 1865 the Carlisle

¹⁴ Today Pratt's widespread publications would be called a marketing campaign with a media blitz, but in 1889 it was a form of public persuasion which led to myriad documents being produced and re-produced, many of which were for sale by Pratt at the CIIS. Indeed Pratt produced so many papers that today it is relatively easy to obtain inexpensive copies on public Internet selling and auction sites.

settlement had formally become a military outpost replete with stone buildings as the U.S. Army built barracks that are still standing today. During this era Carlisle would once again play a role in war, with a skirmish fought in the borough on the same day as the Battle of Gettysburg. After the Civil War the Carlisle Barracks would continue to educate soldiers training to fight in the Indian Wars out west, until Army operations were moved westward and the Barracks were officially closed in 1871 (USAHEC, 2014).

Elaine Goodale Eastman quoted Pratt in 1935 when she wrote, “Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania, has been abandoned for a number of years.” as part of Pratt’s pleas to the federal government that he be allowed to educate Indians there (p.77). The Barracks at Carlisle would remain empty from 1871 until Pratt opened the Indian School in 1879, however during the intervening years the buildings would become in need of repair, and Pratt would have to find a way to adapt them for School use (Pratt, 1964). Eastman and Pratt both wrote of the transformation needed to make the barracks into a school, yet in Pratt’s memoirs he focused on the financial aspects of this undertaking and revealed very little about the actual physical process. When and how improvements took place is not clear in existing historical records.

So in 1875 while the Carlisle Barracks were standing empty in southern Pennsylvania, at the same time U.S. Army Capt. Richard Henry Pratt had been assigned the duty of transporting 72 Indian prisoners from the Plains conflicts to Fort Marion in Florida. Pratt’s time with the prisoners in Florida inspired his belief that it was possible to rehabilitate Native prisoners through educational methods as a way to assimilate them into mainstream American culture (Pratt, 1964; Fear-Segal, 2007; USAHEC, 2014). It was

during this time that Pratt began his efforts to launch an educational program for American Indians similar to the one that had been implemented for African Americans at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in 1868 (Pratt, 1964). Through the connections he had developed in his Plains endeavours, Pratt requested use of the Army Barracks at Carlisle from the Department of the Interior and the War Department (Reel, 1901; Fear-Segal, 2007; USAHEC, 2014). He was granted permission from Washington DC, and on November 1, 1879 the Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened on the site of the Carlisle Barracks in the Susquehanna Valley (USAHEC, 2014).

Yet there is a conflicting report about the official opening date, Linda Witmer (1993), former director of the Cumberland County Historical Society, uncovered differing information in the archives. She noted Pratt as being in residence at the school as early as September of 1879, with him bringing 52 students east to Carlisle from the Plains tribes on October 8th. This number was far short of the 120 students Pratt needed to start the school with. Since the government had mandated that Pratt begin with an enrollment of 120, it was imperative that he increase his numbers (Goodall-Eastman, 1935, Bell, 1998). According to his own memoirs, Pratt recruited students from the Plains tribes specifically for this purpose, and additionally he was “loaned” eleven of the Florida prisoners by the federal government in order to meet his quota (p.234, 1964).

The transition at Carlisle from prisoner to student would lay the groundwork for decades of Native incarceration in institutions other than prisons, such as asylums, hospitals, laundries, and of course more boarding schools. Today scholars such as Michelle Alexander (2012), Anthony Nocella (2013) and Christen Clemson (2015) recognize and

write about the education to prison pipeline, yet in a stunning historical reversal that has frequently overlapped and crossed borders in both directions, the Carlisle Indian School was the inauguration of Native prisoners being educated instead of incarcerated in Armories during the postbellum era. Often overlooked in the historical recounting of the school was that it was founded with prisoners, and during its existence continued to educate American Indians who were classified as prisoners of war (Fear-Segal, 2007; Witmer, 1993; Pratt, 1964).

The fact that was Pratt was able to secure the Native prisoners' release into his custody for the purposes of education, speaks volumes as to the absence of political validity in regards to the Indians' incarceration. Regardless, what happens to a person after they are incarcerated is so startlingly similar to the induction procedures that were at the Carlisle Indian School, that the comparison is impossible to ignore. These procedures included the assigning of new identities, whether it was by name or number, and the altering of appearances, both processes meant to accommodate institutional guidelines.¹⁵ Anthony Nocella examined these and other issues in his work, noting how the industrial complex feeds off the consumption of human beings, using prisoners to support an internal structure which is dependent on their incarceration.

The same can be said of education, a school without students is like a prison without prisoners, and the compulsory factors that are embedded in both practices are difficult to overlook. When the Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened its doors in the fall of 1879,

¹⁵ Pratt (1964) noted how immediately upon arrival at CIIS, student's hair was cut and they were issued clothing. In Canada this is often referred to as Settler or English clothing. Also changed were students name, much like when prisoners are given numbered identities, prison clothing and have their hair cut.

Pratt had done so with the assistance of the Native Prisoners of War, it was they who were responsible for rebuilding the military barracks that the school now occupied (Pratt, 1964). This practice would continue during Pratt's years at Carlisle, with student labour being required to run most of the day-to-day operations, yet many accounts of the school overlook these factors.¹⁶

1879 and the Early Years of the School

Although the official opening of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School had been listed as November 1, 1879, when the school began it had eighty-two students of both genders enrolled, ages six to twenty-five (Witmer, 2002; Lookingbill, 2006; Fear-Segal, 2007). The majority of those students were recruited by Pratt from the Dakota Territories, and included some of the prisoners that had been under his command at Fort Marion in Florida (Witmer, 2002). Then, after all the reports of the initial opening, there is a gap of almost ten years before the first graduation took place in the spring of 1889. Not much is known about what was taking place at the school during that first decade, as the next time school reports were disseminated was during the 1890s. I believe there is information to be

¹⁶ One few scholars who has dared to examine the prisoners who were at Carlisle was Jacqueline Fear-Segal (2007). She uncovered the story of Kesetta Roosevelt, a Lipan-Apache girl and her brother, Jack Mather. Both had been taken prisoner in 1877 when their Lipan Apache Band was attacked south of the border between the United States and Mexico by Col. Ronald McKenzie's Fourth U.S. Calvary unit. Their father survived, their mother did not. The United States government then transported and housed the children at Carlisle Indian School. Neither child ever returned home despite the years their father spent looking for them. Mather died in 1888, and Roosevelt, who later bore a son Richard Kaseeta, died in 1906 at the age 35 in Philadelphia. For 123 years their story remained lost until Fear-Segal uncovered their records and made the association, notifying the great-grandson of Mather and Roosevelt's first cousin. Further examination of the National Archives ledgers demonstrated that rations, and not supplies, were being purchased for the school well into the 1890s. These purchases support the continued presence of presence of military prisoners at the School during this time.

found from these early years, yet without knowing exactly which archive holds those records I was not able to access it.¹⁷

The Superintendents of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

The initial curriculum of Carlisle was reported to be similar to that of the Hampton Institute program, and later records show that students attended an alternating morning and afternoon schedule. They were in the classroom for half of the day, and the other half of the day would be spent in learning industrial arts such as harness making for boys, or cooking for girls (Reel, 1901; Lindsey, 1985; Fear-Segal, 2007, p.172). This was very much a top down model and the added factor of having the military infrastructure as the foundation for the school itself reinforced the male hierarchy, common to that era.

While Richard Pratt established the original Carlisle curriculum, it would remain intact for the duration of the school through successive administrations. Over the 38 years the school was operated, there were five superintendents who ran the school. Each affected the academic portion of the school in some way, however short their tenure may have been. The five superintendents of the school were:

Capt. Richard Henry Pratt (1879-1904). Originally a United States Army Captain, Pratt would continue serving in the military while he ran Carlisle, eventually being promoted to General while still head of the school. As superintendent for the first 24 years of the school's existence Pratt was the face of the school, and the CIIS newspapers often

¹⁷ The interesting thing here is that the school newspapers I was able to gain access to were all dated in the 1890s as well. The official records state that school published papers of all sorts almost from its inception, however to find and read them is another matter entirely.

referred to him as the “Man on the Bandstand”. This designation was meant to give readers the idea that Pratt was always watching over students at the school (Hernández-Avila, 2005).¹⁸ Much has been written about Pratt and he was well known for his public speaking, in later years he wrote his autobiography which added to his popularity as a supporter of Native rights (Adams, 2005).

In the early years of the school Pratt had developed what he called an ‘outing’ program in addition to the educational and industrial curricula he had instituted. Boys and girls were placed in rural homes to work and learn English, some as far away as Maryland or Delaware for the entire school year (Trennert, 1982; Bell, 1998). The girls were employed as housekeepers, and practiced the “domestic arts” while the boys farmed (CIIS Catalogue, 1902). Both were paid wages, part of which were kept in an account for them, the rest was used for their expenses (Bell, 1998; Fear-Segal, 2007). Records indicate that these outing program students were supposed to attend local schools as a part of their placements, however the details of their school attendance often were not recorded.

It was during Pratt’s years at the school, that the football team had come into great prominence with the addition of Glenn “Pop” Warner to the school’s faculty (Warner, 1912). Pratt remained in charge of the school until 1904 when President Roosevelt removed him after a long-standing feud between Pratt and Department of the Interior Secretary Hitchcock and Indian Commissioner Jones (N.Y. Times, 1904). Pratt’s removal may have also occurred in part, by Pop Warner leaving Carlisle to return to coaching at Cornell University. Only after Pratt’s had left would Warner once again return to Carlisle, going

¹⁸ While the bandstand was actually a white, wooden gazebo centrally located on what was then the parade grounds of the School, today, in nearly the same location there is a new gazebo erected, meant to recapture a historical picture and feel of the original grounds.

on to recruit Jim Thorpe, the school's most famous football player and student. Adams (1946) noted that during his lifetime Pratt considered himself a friend of the Indian, often advocating on their behalf with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Today Pratt is most often remembered for his genocidal educational practices, and his papers are housed at Yale University in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Churchill, 2004; Adams, 1946).

Captain William A. Mercer (1904-1908) - Mercer succeeded Pratt after his removal from the school, and he was superintendent when Jim Thorpe (1907-1912) came to Carlisle. Mercer, a U.S. Army officer who had served with 7th Cavalry, had military experience with Indians in the western part of the United States. Not much has been written about Mercer, although school records indicated that it was during Mercer's tenure that the Leupp art studio was built (1906) by students. Francis Ellington Leupp (1849-1918) was Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1904 to 1909 and would publish *The Indian and His Problem* in 1910. The inference here is that Leupp was assisting behind the scenes at the school under Mercer's administration. During Mercer's time at the school the sports program was also accelerated, bringing Pop Scobey Warner (1899–1903, 1907–1914) back to coach the football team.

Moses Friedman (1908-1914) – Friedman was the first educator to serve as head of the school, and it was during his tenure that academics began to shift from industrial to vocational. Friedman would continue to maintain the programs that Pratt and Mercer had implemented, as evidenced by the 1908 School Catalogue, unfortunately little more than that is known about Friedman.

Oscar Lipps (1914-1917) – Also an educator, Lipps spent his career working in various Indian schools and agencies. Shortly after leaving CIIS Lipps wrote *Daily Lesson Plan Book for Vocational Instructors* in 1919. Interestingly enough in his book Lipps cites Colonel Francis Parker, an educator who was instrumental in the Superintendent of Indian Affairs Estelle Reel's design of the Indian School curriculum in 1902. After a brief introduction and a suggested outline for the use of the book as a planner, the rest of Lipps' book is blank. His papers are archived at the University of Oregon.

John Francis, Jr. (1917–1918) – Francis was a lawyer who had worked for the Indian Service and was brought in to attend to the details of Carlisle's closing. From the historical record his presence at Carlisle appears to have been largely symbolic. Unfortunately that's where Francis' information ends, as an illusory footnote in the Carlisle Indian School history.

However all of the CIIS superintendents had prior associations to government service before coming to Carlisle, yet biographies inclusive of each superintendent is one area that still has much work yet to be done in it. One thing is clear as noted by the Catalogues, it appears that all of the superintendents followed the prescriptive method of industrial education developed and mandated by Pratt. While there were physical changes made to the school after Pratt's departure, such as new buildings being constructed, the daily school schedule was consistent for all the years the school was in operation. This suggests that that the core of the school remained essentially the same no matter who was in charge, strengthening the position that Pratt's program had indeed been a model of Indian education.

Carlisle Indian School 1918 to the Present Day

After the Indian School closed the buildings were reused as a hospital for several years in order to house returning WWI soldiers. Later the campus would be used for various schools, both medical and military, until the U.S. Army moved the War College to Pennsylvania in 1951.¹⁹ Today the former Indian School continues to be a War College, although now it is an official military base for the Army as well. As such the campus follows strict security protocols set forth by the military, and enjoys a protected status as part of the National Historic Landmark District. This provides the legal continuation of the campus, and has ensured that the buildings are maintained much as they were in the days when the Indian school was there.

As for the other remnants of the Indian school, many of the records were shipped to several different institutions in Pennsylvania and Washington D.C. There were books left over as well, and some were donated to the local library in Carlisle. However, after the original Bosler library was torn down to make way for a new one, it was discovered that many materials had been de-accessioned and discarded, among them the Carlisle donations. Pratt was also given books, and as he retired to Rochester N.Y. there is the possibility that those books still remain there or are now with his descendants. Where the remaining volumes are is unknown, and although student and teacher collections occasionally surface at auction, individual books rarely do.

¹⁹ The War College was originally established in Washington DC in 1901, then closed during WWII, before reopening at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in 1950. A year later the War College moved back to the east coast to its present location in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Historical records indicated that additional donations were sent to the Pennsylvania state capital in Harrisburg. Materials were mentioned as being given to the state library, however today their catalogue only lists reports about the school, with many of them having been published after the school closed. The entirety of the Carlisle school collection at the state library dates to 1969, 51 years after the official closing of the Indian school. Other records indicated that Carlisle school materials were sent to the Pennsylvania State Archives. However, whether they are there and not publically accessible, or have been redistributed elsewhere, remains unknown as librarians were unable to locate any, citing the extensive length between the time of the purported donation and my inquiry in 2013.

Three institutions local to the Carlisle Indian School: Dickinson College, the Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS), and the United States Army Heritage Educational Center (USAHEC) also currently house Carlisle school objects and artifacts. Their collections assist in keeping the memory of the school alive with exhibitions and dedicated online pages that list their holdings. Each of these collections contains student records and photographs, although there are many other items to be examined in all three locations. There continues to be permanent Carlisle School exhibitions at the Cumberland County Historical Society and the USAHEC. Both are located in Carlisle, PA, just miles from the original site of the school. Often items on loan in both of these displays are not mentioned in digital databases.

The largest holder of Carlisle school ephemera is the National Archives (NARA) in Washington D.C. According to Hill (1981) there are 91 linear feet of materials from the Carlisle Indian School archived there, and these records include photographs and student

files, some of which have been digitized. The NARA materials were removed from the school and shipped by truck to be stored in Washington D.C. prior to the U.S. Interstate Highway System being built in the 1950s. This is an astounding revelation considering that most other schools would have simply discarded and destroyed their records, and in the case of the Indian school, they have. However, why the Carlisle school records were removed in the first place, and are now housed in several different locations, is troublesome considering that the United States military has had a continuous presence at the Carlisle barracks since the Revolutionary War. The expectation here was that since the Army has had a permanent presence at Carlisle since the late 18th century that they would have maintained their records there, keeping them at the school instead of transporting them to a distant location.

Despite the continued physical existence of the campus the fact that the school's records have been so widely distributed makes finding specific information difficult. Families who seek to find their relatives' school records also face a similar challenge as the last class at the Indian school graduated in 1918. After the passage of almost a century those who were once students there are now long gone. All that remains of the Indian school are buildings that are today a part of the War College, and permission to view them must be granted by the U.S. government. Nearly the same issue exists with the school records, finding them and viewing them is a labour-intensive process which relies on the assistance of librarians and archivists. Although with the records now being digitized more than ever before, perhaps more answers about the history of Indigenous education can now be found.

Chapter 3 – The Methodological Aspects of Historical Research in Education

Chapter 3 deals with the more traditional and methodological aspects of a dissertation, such as locations where on site research was conducted, and the secondary materials used to support this thesis. Prior academic research regarding the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS) is also included, as it has been widely referenced and written about in regards to the history of residential schooling. However, here it must be noted that there are very few theses that have had CIIS as their central topic; instead the history of the Carlisle school has been used as a source to support opinions about the pan-Indian residential school experience. Many of those works promoted inquiries into the socio-cultural and political effects of Native American boarding schools.

Today, many books can be found which cite the Carlisle Indian School as foundational to the whole of residential schooling, unfortunately this has given the misperception that there is a dearth of academic research about the School, there is not. In the broad spectrum of residential schooling, tangible links between experience and evidence have also difficult to establish, therefore this chapter assists in creating a roadmap of Carlisle Indian School resources. Authors have presented various arguments using information about Carlisle, however when that material is examined in depth it can often be traced to only one source. This has been limiting in terms of the triangulation of evidence for accuracy and verifiability. Therefore this chapter also deals with nuanced mechanics of historical research while providing a background cognizant of the myriad of printed information that surrounds the Carlisle Indian School.

Locations

Over a period of three years, from 2011 to 2014, on-site research for this thesis was conducted in Carlisle, Pennsylvania and Washington D.C. During the same time frame I also conducted a search of digital databases looking for any publication remotely connected with the school that would assist in supporting an inquiry into its curriculum. As a part of due diligence I traced primary and secondary sources back to their original citations, finding obscure literature that would later prove essential in determining the Carlisle curriculum. I also crosschecked citations that in their original context seemed unrelated, although later it would become apparent that contemporary authors were using the same sources to bolster their arguments. At the end of this process there were very few directly attributable source citations, and locating them would offer a different type of challenge.

However, the government's propensity for record keeping allowed for many original CIIS records to have been saved and archived in several different locations. The National Archives in Washington D.C. houses an extensive collection of digitized photographs and student records, as does the United States Army Heritage Education Center, (USAHEC), Dickinson College, and the Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS), all of which are located in Carlisle PA. As a majority of the existing curricular materials of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School are housed in Carlisle, the primary location for conducting much of the research for this paper was done at the Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS).

Located in the heart of the historical district in downtown Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the Cumberland County Historical Society has promoted and publicized the Carlisle Indian Industrial School by bringing a new awareness of Native American education to the public

through its' exhibits, conferences, and book publications. Comprised of original holdings from the Carlisle School, the Hamilton Library, and the local historical society, the Cumberland County Historical Society continues to add to its ever growing Carlisle school exhibit and collection through purchases and donations. It was here that I would find information conducive to my research, but only with the assistance of those who worked there. The CCHS provided countless hours of insight and support, with no request too large, and no piece of information too small.

The second location that contained integral for information on the Carlisle curriculum was the National Archives in Washington DC. Built in 1931, the United States National Archives (NARA), is an imposing limestone, neoclassical building on Pennsylvania Avenue. At this location is housed Native American Record Group 75, which encompasses the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) files on all public records pertaining to Native Americans in the United States. Appendix A, prepared and published by NARA, outlines details of the records in Group 75, including but not limited to, Carlisle student records, letters, and faculty information which is referred to as personnel. Also in this group are the official ledgers that detail the purchases made at the school from the 1880s until the early 1900s when the school closed. These are large, oversized volumes with neatly scripted handwriting detailing all expenditures in scripted, list form.

Other school records are located at United States Army and Heritage Education Center, (USAHEC) as well as Dickinson College, both located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Re-organized in 2013 much of USAHEC's holdings have been digitized, with their facility being a primary resource center for the U.S. Army War College located nearby. There are several facilities at this location that feature the Army and its history, the newest building

erected in 2011. Conversely, Dickinson College was founded in 1783 and was the first college in the United States. It is located within walking distance of the former Indian School and the Cumberland County Historical Society. A quaint campus, walking the paths at the College is almost like stepping back in time to the days when the Indian students were at Carlisle. Dickinson has also begun digitizing their Indian School collection, and in 2012 jointly hosted the first of five biennial conferences held on various topics regarding the Indian School with the Cumberland County Historical Society.

There are other holdings that contained information relevant to the Carlisle School Indian story, however these were most often student records. As my focus was not on individuals I excluded student's files as well as Yale's collection of Pratt's papers, as they contained more about Pratt than the school.²⁰ However, while I was examining all extant records I would occasionally find a notated reference as to where Carlisle school materials had been sent to decades ago, and there the trail would end. For example, there was a notation in the CCHS archives that materials had been sent to the State Library, yet what they were, or where they went after that became a dead end in terms of the CIIS curriculum (CCHS Archive).

Carlisle Indian School Ephemeral Materials

A secondary source for Carlisle school information was the many newspapers produced at the school. These have been frequently cited in relation to research on the Indian school, making them a snapshot of reported events. Today copies of those papers exist in many public libraries and archives, and while some issues were sewn and bound

²⁰ Student records, or files, were brief and contained information such as name, nation, and if the student was at school or not. They are usually pieces of paper the size of index cards and are forms that have been filled out by persons unknown, and as such may not be accurate.

into volumes for preservation, others were stored loosely as they were originally published. Frequently different issues and editions of these publications come up for sale, although some of the papers have been digitized and are accessible in that format as well. Not all of the newspapers are available to be read, or in one location, making them a bit of a researcher's red herring. In addition the information they contain is not always reliable since it was discovered that Marion Burgess was the editor and much of the copy was revisionist writing (Lomawaima, 1995).

There were many references in the various editions of the school's newspapers to the "Man on the Bandstand" or the "M on the B". This reference painted a visual picture of a lone figure standing on the school's gazebo, watching the students as they went about their daily lives. It has been suggested that the M on the B was General Pratt, however it is also thought that the M and the B stood for Marion Burgess (Silko, 1981). Whoever the Man on the Bandstand was it is clear with historical hindsight that the articles written in the school's newspapers always favoured the official school position on any issue. Therefore these publications cannot be accepted as an accurate historical record when only the administration's voice is privileged.

Considering Foucault's panoptic-like applications of the Man on the Bandstand reference, I did not rely heavily upon the school newspapers as a primary source as I could not verify their accuracy in relation to the records that mentioned individual students (1995). In looking for the school's curriculum I had hoped that the student's stories, as that was what much of the newspaper's content contained, would shed light on the more academic aspects of the school. Yet they did not. So it was with these thoughts in mind, that even though the stories about the students were entertaining and current to the time in

which they were written, they were not especially helpful in pinpointing curricular materials. There were other publications produced by the school from their own press, although no complete catalogue of those items as yet exists.

Official Publishers

The Carlisle Indian Press

There were two publishers, or printers, that were responsible for all materials distributed by the school. The first print shop was at the school itself, and Pratt had established the Carlisle Indian Press early in the school's existence, thereby ensuring that he controlled almost all the information written about the school (Pratt, 1964). The ability to self-publish was made possible with the donation of a printing press in 1880 by the Quakers and Susan Longstreth of Philadelphia. It was the start of many Carlisle Indian School publications, and these included the newspapers and magazines printed by the students, as well as books and occasionally government printing sent up from Washington D.C. (Pratt, 1964). Many of the periodicals were sold directly from the school by subscription through the mail, with premiums such as cabinet card photographs included in renewals (Red Man, 1892). Many of the school newspapers have survived intact despite being printed on thin newsprint which has brittle over the years. Oftentimes the papers were collected and together then sewn by machine and then bound into volumes. Easily readable, partial collections of these publications can be found in many different places, and can be identified by the Carlisle Indian Press mark.

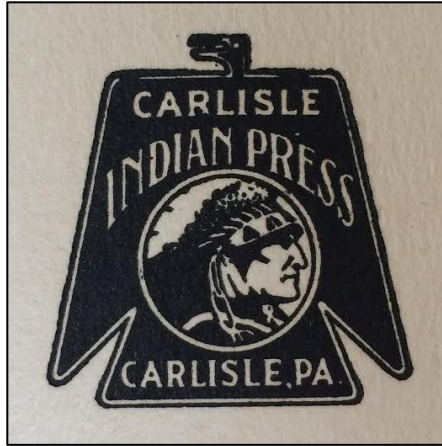


Figure 1. Carlisle Indian Press logo circa 1900.

Items published at the school can be easily identified by the Carlisle Indian Press mark; currently however there are not many items available for study or that are listed in public catalogues. There is one booklet publication from 1910 available, entitled *Before the White Man Came* by R.H. Adams. Adams was mentioned in the March 1914 copy of *The Red Man*, which was how I located a copy of this booklet. However it is unknown as if Adams was a student at the Carlisle School or a poet of that era whose work was published at the school (1914, Volume 7, Number 1). Adam's booklet is printed on cardstock, with the words Alexandra Japan embedded in the paper used for the poem itself. Alexandra Japan was a paper product of the Strathmore Paper Company during this era (The Printing Art Sample Book (JOURNAL, Feb 1912, Vol. IX Number 1(1912).

Along with this identifying mark, there was mention of the Carlisle school printing class in Adams' pamphlet, indicating that there would have been many more items published at the school than are currently known. For instance the school menus that were published in the school's newspapers would certainly have been printed on site, as well as

the forms for student's records would have been. The Annual Reports that Pratt wrote were also printed at Carlisle, and by the 1910s there is mention in the ledger notes that the printing class was also responsible for the rebinding and printing of books.²¹

United States Government Printing Office (GPO)

The second publisher associated with Carlisle Indian School materials is the U.S. Government Printing Office (GPO). They were responsible for producing secondary materials related to CIIS, such as Indian Superintendent Estelle Reel's 1901 *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, which outlined the curriculum for all Indian schools based on many of the practices found at CIIS. Located at the corner of North Capitol Street NW and H Street NW in the District of Columbia, the Government Printing Office has continuously published a vast amount of materials since 1861. Today the GPO offers an online, digitized database listing available publications, their history, and previous publications.

Since the Carlisle Indian School was, and is, a government run facility, the Government Printing Office (GPO) was responsible for the production of books associated with Carlisle and the other Indian Schools as well. This is good news for the historian as GPO materials were widely distributed, with many of them still in existence today due to the quality of the paper and binding used. The Internet has inadvertently provided a way for these books to be found as well, as thousands of extant copies of GPO books are put up for sale each year, from training manuals to official Congressional Reports. Often these books have been deaccessioned from library collections, which is good news indeed as this

²¹ The ledger books dated in the 1890s have many notations about books being sent to Wannamaker's Department Store in Philadelphia to be rebound. Over time, as capabilities in the Carlisle printing class increased, mention of books being sent out to be rebound disappeared from the ledgers.

means not only were there many books printed, it means that they're available to study today since they survived and were preserved. When a query of GPO materials is entered into The World Catalogue search engine over 433,000 results are listed.

The issue here is that often a search of GPO book contents do not return findings for the Carlisle Indian School even though books such as the *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 4* (1988), and the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (1907), both GPO publications, include information pertaining to the school. Winnowing through 433,000 results for mention of the school itself is not prudent either. Keppler's (1903) *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties* mentions the financial aspects of CIIS, yet the contents of the information included in the Carlisle Indian School entry illuminates nothing about the academic side of the school.

There are however decades of GPO Indian Affairs Reports dating from the 19th through 20th centuries that contain information on the Indian schools, Carlisle among them. They are illuminating accounts which were helpful in estimating student enrollment numbers and they contained information relevant to reconstructing the Carlisle curriculum. However locating extant copies is another matter entirely, as no one facility houses an entire collection, not even the National Library of Congress. There are digitized copies available on the Internet but to examine them in their original format is to verify their authenticity, essential to the history of the book itself (Hall, 1996). Often these Reports contained information directly attributable to Pratt, and this too is problematic as it is difficult to verify the information that he presented as the sole voice and head of the Indian

school. There may be further publishers that printed information relevant to the CIIS curriculum, only time and future research will tell.²²

Therefore the two principal publishers of Carlisle School information were the Carlisle Indian Press and the Government Printing Office. While other sources, such as the handwritten student records also provided information, I found that photographs taken at the school were far more accurate in capturing details not found elsewhere. Today, thousands of school records are publically available, including many photographs, some of which can be found on the Internet free of charge. Yet like the student records, the photographs are limited in the ways in which they can provide information. Many are undocumented, meaning that when the pictures were taken is unknown, as well as who is in them or who took them. And although it is clear these are photographs of the school, it can be an impediment to using specific images for the undergirding of an argument. Without providing an explicit analysis that explains how conclusions have been drawn, images remain undocumented and the effort expended on scholarship is wasted.

Carlisle School Photographs

Surprisingly, there is no evidence that Pratt had an in-house photographer at the school, instead John, or JN, Choate and Frances Benjamin Johnston are today credited with documenting the Carlisle residential school experience. Many of the available photographs that I relied on for this thesis were taken during Pratt's time at Carlisle and are attributed

²² From time to time children's literature of that era included stories about Carlisle written by adults, for children. St. Nicholas Magazine, and the *Young People's New Pictorial Library of Poetry and Prose* (1888) featured pieces on the school, as did *Harper's Magazine* and a book, the *History of the World's Fair* (1893). Much of the information in these essays can be attributed directly to Pratt.

to Choate. John Nicholas Choate (1848-1902) is most remembered for his before and after pictures of students that were made famous as advertisements extoling the transformative physical effects of residential schooling. These cabinet card pictures were meant to demonstrate to the public the civilizing effects of education that were being provided to students at the School.

Some of these images were typical student photographs, the kind that are still taken for senior pictures in schools across the United States today. Oftentimes these types of photos were used as premiums, sent to those who purchased subscriptions to the School's publications. Occasionally one will come up for sale and command prices of hundreds of dollars. Later superintendents seemed to have discontinued the practice of individual photographs and subsequent publications used group pictures instead. These group photos were often taken using the school as the setting and backdrop. Therefore assuming that the subjects of the Carlisle photographs were posed, by examining these backgrounds, as well as the students pictured in the foreground, new information can be extrapolated from these images.

Frances Benjamin Johnston's photos of Carlisle were also grouped settings that featured students going about their daily lives. Originally part of an exhibition on Indian schooling for the Paris Exposition of 1900, Johnston's work later reappeared as part of a collection on residential schools published by the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1966. The forty-four pictures were entitled *The Hampton Album*, and demonstrated the first tangible link between Hampton and Carlisle. The Museum chose these 44 in order to illustrate Native students learning alongside their African-American counterparts. From

Johnston's photographs I was able to ascertain classroom applications of residential school curricula, and later I would be able to correlate those findings to Estelle Reel's Indian school curriculum.

Johnston's photographs also appeared (undocumented) in Reel's book on the Indian school course of study. Seeing Johnston's photographs paired with a generalized course of study reconceptualized the ways in which I studied the Carlisle images in order to uncover the Carlisle curriculum. No longer did I view the Carlisle images as staged opportunities to promote the school, instead I considered them as evidence that testified to how students were learning in classrooms. There were many photos of the students in classrooms, and it was at this point I knew that a comparison, and perhaps contrast, of the images attributed to Carlisle would need to be done. While there are digitized photos from the Carlisle Indian School on the Internet I went to the source of many of them, the official School Catalogues.

Catalogues

Catalogues containing photographs, news, and information about the school were published in volumes printed at the school. In all likelihood there were probably more Catalogues produced than the four that are known to exist today, yet the four were enough to establish an academic baseline of course offered at the school. Two of the four original Catalogues can be found in the CCHS archives, one dating from 1902 that was reprinted at CCHS in 2012, and the second is an original dating from 1915 on display in the Carlisle school permanent exhibit. The 1908 and 1912 Catalogues have now been digitized and are available online as well as in a reprinted format, and the originals are held at Duke and Cornell Universities respectively.

These catalogues may have been annual, serving as both a type of yearbook and promotional material, and they contained information about the school not found elsewhere. Information was delivered by two mediums, textually and pictorially, and combined the two could be considered as an advertisement for Indian education. The photographs also played an important role in 20th century attempts to Americanize those who were considered wild Indian savages by showing before and after pictures of the students, pictured first in their native clothes and then as they appeared after the cutting of their hair and the putting on of the Carlisle Indian School uniform. These images were considered the model for Indian education and appeared in many different publications. Additionally, the catalogues demonstrated the many features of a boarding school education, such as sports and academics. Students were shown as participating in both types of activities as a part of the schools' civilizing efforts.

Carlisle Indian School Catalogues

The photographs I examined for curricular content were published at the school in 1902, 1908, 1912, and 1915 respectively.²³ Although much of the catalogues' content is photographic in nature they included written information about the academic side of Carlisle, with images of the school buildings, classrooms, and grounds used to illustrate text. Photographs provided clues as to Carlisle's curriculum, and the images from the 1902 catalogue pictured the Indian School in the days when Pratt was still in charge. His methods of operation were captured in these images, exemplifying the educational aspects of a Carlisle education.

²³ A 1910 publication, perhaps a Catalogue is listed on the World Catalogue however it requires in-library use in California, therefore it was excluded from this thesis.

Each catalogue contained important information, however the format shifted over the years from largely pictorial in 1902 to mainly text based by 1912. As the records from the school that have survived they are vital to the Carlisle Indian School story, and have a story of their own to tell. Having images to assist in verifying what was being reported about in the text was critical to not only telling, but also demonstrating the Carlisle story.

1902 - While the actual 1902 catalogue does exist in an archive, I worked from a replica version that has a maroon cover and gold lettering superimposed over black graphics. The content is primarily composed of pictures, and these fall into two groups, photographs of students and pictures of the grounds, although most of the images are of students. There is a brief introduction to the history of the school in this edition as well as a section containing short course synopses and a list of graduates at the end.²⁴

The 1902 catalogue was meant to be a record of the 23 years the School had been in operation, yet at the same time it also serves as a snapshot of what the School looked like by the end of that same year. The compilation of the photographs were designed to tell the visual story of Carlisle from it's inception through 1902, and each photograph in it's own right paints a picture of what daily life at Carlisle may have been like. The first photographs in the catalogue show scenes from when students arrived in 1879, which are then followed by pictures of the grounds and students in academic endeavours, although these images are undated they appear to be somewhat in chronological order. At times it is

²⁴ By 2015 the Cumberland County Historical Society (CCHS) was halfway through a 10-year series of biennial conferences about the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. In the fall of 2012, I attended the opening symposium, much of which was held at Dickinson College. One afternoon, in the lobby of the building we were meeting, there were several ephemeral items offered for sale, one of them a replica copy of the 1902 school catalogue. At that time I knew I'd be writing on the Carlisle Indian School, although I had not yet narrowed my topic to the curriculum. I bought the catalogue not knowing where it might fit into my research. I assume originals are held by CCHS and Dickinson College.

difficult to imagine that these images represent a way of life completely unknown in the 21st century. These however were the formative years of the school and most procedures and materials were in place when these pictures were taken.

1908 - By the time the 1908 Catalogue was published General Pratt had been replaced by Captain Mercer as School Superintendent, and although the Catalogue reflects this administrative change it also demonstrates continuity. Entitled *This is Carlisle*, the 1908 edition was produced using the same format and colours as the 1902 pictorial Catalogue. To glance at them they look identical in size and style. However the new catalogue demonstrated how very little had changed publically in print form at the school since Mercer had replaced Pratt.

Besides bearing a striking resemblance to the previous edition, I discovered that many of the images from the 1902 version were used again in the 1908 catalogue. While much of the original structure of the school seems to have remained intact after Pratt's departure, the repeated use of the Academic Dept. photographs indicates to me that perhaps there was nothing new taking place in classroom education during this time. The other reason I considered for this blatant duplication was that Mercer was not maintaining Pratt's legacy at the school and therefore did not have classrooms filled with students to take photographs of. This in direct contrast to government reports which claimed an increased attendance, and so the other possibility is that the Outing Program was where most of these students were being educated instead of on the Carlisle campus.

1912- This catalogue marked a direct shift in the school's focus from industrial education towards vocational training, and it reads as a detailed compendium of courses taught at the school. While photographs are included in this edition as well there are several

small images presented on each page with very few exceptions. They are difficult to see and I have only seen this catalogue in a digitized, replicated format which limited my examination of it.

1915- Much of the information found in this catalogue was previously published in the other three, and it is the quantity of information in the 1915 edition that makes this catalogue unique. This would be the only school publication that contained a list of Faculty and Officers, followed by the history of the school's location as well as detailed information about the school buildings. Courses were outlined as "requirements for admission", and on p. 16 there was a section entitled "School Government" which stated the "school is military only so far as necessary and is beneficial for discipline and character-building".

Gone was the ambiguity of the previous catalogue publications, and now each department was explicitly explained in relation to the rest of the school. While this catalogue only contained a few select photos of students, there were many illustrations created by students under the supervision of Angel de Cora and her husband. The 1915 edition that I examined was the second printing and the catalogue was produced at The Carlisle Press and was 120 pages altogether. An original copy can be found in the CCHS archives however I worked from a reprint paper edition.

The Issues Surrounding the Catalogues

After reviewing all four Catalogues there were several items that were problematic and needed to be addressed. First and foremost, where the other annual Catalogues are that have yet to turn up in public remains a mystery. Occasionally large collections of CIIS

ephemera will come up for auction or appraisal, however where those items have ended up and are now remains unknown, and in private collections those materials are inaccessible for study and research.

Secondly, if for some odd reason there weren't any other catalogues published and these were not annual publications, why weren't they? The years 1902, 1908, 1912, and 1915 don't correspond to any major events or shifts at the school, and since the print shop had been fully functioning since the 1880s being able to publish wasn't a new development in the course of the school's history. Why then would the first catalogue have been produced in 1902 instead of earlier or later? 1904 would have seemed more likely a time to have a commemorative catalogue prepared since it was the school's 25th anniversary, yet that was the year Pratt left so that may explain why there is no catalogue for 1904. However it still doesn't explain why today the 1902 edition is the first one. Therefore if there are other catalogues they remain hidden away, or perhaps are held in archives that do not have widespread public access.

The last concern is the duplication of the photos in the 1902 and 1908 editions, which needs to be addressed in depth, as there appears to be no discernible reason for this replication. This issue was outside the parameter of my research question, yet it is relevant as it calls into accountability the use of photographs as a source of primary documentation. There were other issues that were cause for concern, such the student's ages and grades that at first don't seem to correspond between the photographs and the textual explanations. Without an understanding of these issues, use of the catalogues as a resource for verification is confusing. Therefore in the next section I will examine the explain why

student ages are important to an understanding of the Carlisle School curriculum as I review prior academic research on this subject.

Seminal Research

The final sources for this dissertation were the many contemporary books on residential schooling that referenced not only each other, but also the seminal pieces of historical writing that contained a vast treasure trove of pertinent information. Collectively these books were essential to uncovering the historical underpinnings of residential schooling at Carlisle as well as at many other residential schools and government facilities. Additionally, the CCHS had listed many references on their website, some of which referred to historical fiction and antiquarian publications, as well as educational and research publications. Each of these texts was also essential in establishing the time line of past research. I found historical fiction to be the least helpful genre, and educational and research publications the most accurate sources when examining CIIS as a whole. I have included all the primary and secondary sources I located at the end of this thesis in the section entitled References.

I wish I could say all the information contained in this work came to me in chronological and sequential order, but that is not always the way the universe unfolds its secrets. Much of what is written here has been pieced together after years of locating and examining primary source citations. Unpublished theses containing crucial information were extremely helpful, although Beulah Fitz's (1935) paper was incredibly difficult to obtain, as was Dr. Carmelita S. Ryan's (1962) dissertation. They were obscure references, yet after locating them I believed they were vital to uncovering the curriculum of Carlisle. Ryan's dissertation contained a veritable road map of Record Group 75 in the NARA

archives, and both Ryan's and Fitz's theses were invaluable in finding other primary materials.

So, as historians often do, I found myself working backwards tracing a trail of citations that I hoped were accurate and hadn't fallen into complete obscurity, although in the end I found that many had. Often I would follow a lead only to find a citation or title without any reference as to what had happened to the original work. Such is the life of a historian however, and when I could find what I was looking for it made the search very exciting. For example, it was critical that I investigate as much academic research on the Carlisle Indian School as I could. I discovered that Genevieve Bell had conducted the most recent research on the Carlisle Indian School during the 1990s. While many cotemporary authors of books that referenced the Carlisle Indian School had cited Bell, their citations made it appear as though Bell's research was essential to the telling of the Carlisle Indian School story. I was able to purchase a digitized scan of her 1998 unpublished dissertation, and found that she had focused more on stories about former students than the school's curriculum.

Excluding front matter, Bell's dissertation was 447 pages long, incorporating statistics that she herself had compiled in several different content areas. In some aspects I found her dissertation to be helpful if only because it challenged me to verify her overall findings, especially in relation to student nations and numbers. However the lack of citations in her work made it difficult to ascertain credibility, or replicate any of her work by using prior research. While Bell did of course have a reference list in her text citations, how she arrived at some of her findings was very much absent. I found there were areas

where her work intersected with mine and this provided the opportunity to authenticate her numbers in conjunction with my own work regarding student graduation and enrollment.

In her analysis, Bell had focused on student attendance, number of runaways, and graduates, however she didn't state how she arrived at her figures, or where her data had come from. For instance, her tally of the Carlisle graduates was significantly lower than the official number, and off by 148 students. According to the School Catalogues, which repeated graduate information each time one was published, 748 students had graduated over the 38 years the school was operational, as compared with Bell's estimate of 600. Nowhere in any of the official school publications does this number change, yet how and why Bell arrived at her graduation rate is unknown. To me such a significant gap indicated that there would be others in her work.

False Assumptions

As a methodologist, transparency in research is important in establishing timelines and baselines that other scholars can build on. The groundwork that Bell (1998) did should have provided a foundation for future research, yet instead it serves to illuminate the disparities between school, government, and now academic records, thus illustrating the need for academic integrity in research. When I realized that as a part of due diligence that I was going to have to read Bell's entire dissertation, I did so with a dual purpose in mind. First, I wanted to verify Bell's numbers, although without sources it would be difficult to authenticate her numbers. Secondly, I wanted to draw parallels between her findings and mine if at all possible, as multiple research projects strengthens data and undergirds arguments. Initially I thought that if I could link our work it would build bridges of

understanding, but in the end the discrepancies that skewed her findings stemmed from a lack of transparency in how she had arrived at many of her conclusions, tainting the whole of her work.

In addition to the incorrect graduation rates from Bell's front matter and Figures, there were other items that did not add up. The first was that her statistics contained factual errors and there were sections where she contradicted herself. For example, Bell used tribal affiliations that had been assigned by the School, citing Iroquois as the name of a tribe when in fact it was, and is, a term used for the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.²⁵ Therefore, as I was checking her figures for students from the Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Tuscarora, Cayuga, and Seneca nations, more often than not Iroquois was listed instead. There was no disclaimer as to this anomaly, or codicil explaining why she used these terms interchangeably when they should not have been.

There were also instances when she counted some of the nations as Iroquois but not all, however this differed Figure by Figure. To be clear, there are six nations that are a part of the Iroquois Confederacy, and in the 19th century students were often listed as Iroquois by educators instead of by their correct home nation. The overarching concern here is that the nation tribes listed in the School's records and Bell's dissertation are the Anglicized versions, and as such were often misused. Therefore all the student's names cannot be, nor were not, correlated correctly. Overall there were eight designations used for students from the Iroquois Confederacy, a large geographical area directly north of the Indian school. This misrepresentation causes all other tribal affiliations to be considered as questionable.

²⁵ Technically there are five nations and the addition of the Tuscaroras in 1712 was as the younger brother to the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida, and Seneca Nations.

Secondly, while the curriculum does not focus on specific students, I was interested in the age of students in relation to the curriculum, such as what the ages were of students studying which subjects and when. I believed that this information was vital to my research in that it would provide academic illumination regarding the Indian school curriculum. As student records are kept in several different locations so there is no one cohesive database. Consequently when records are digitized and made public new information is available to be examined and therefore can skew prior research, and need to be correlated as such.

Therefore it was important to review Bell's numbers even though in the years since her dissertation was completed the student numbers in every area of tabulation have become outdated. I assumed (incorrectly) that Bell's numbers were an estimate from official school documents, however as my work differed from hers I did not come across any records by which to verify where and how she arrived at her own figures. This made me hesitant about using Bell's work as I could not determine if it was fact or hypothesis, and I did not want to incorporate her findings based on conjecture, unless it was explicitly stated that her premise had resulted in a verifiable conclusion.

A prime example of this would be at the time of Bell's dissertation in 1998, she listed the student population of the Indian School at 7,711 (p. 399). Fourteen years later the Cumberland County Historical Society estimated that number at 10,600 (as of 2012), and by 2015 the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media had increased that number to 12,000 (CCHNM, 2015). I contend, based on official government reports, that student enrollment was an average of 1,000 students per year as based on the Annual Report of 1885. Excluding the initial student numbers between 1879 until 1885 for a cautious margin of error with 1000 students per annum for every year thereafter, it's probable that the

numbers are even higher than can currently be documented. Therefore the minimum number of students, using the government's own numbers, would be more in accordance with 32,000 students over 38 years. Regardless of conjecture there is room for research and analysis within this area.

Again since there is no one location where student records are kept, and as research increases in this area, I expect that in time actual student numbers will continue to climb. Therefore while Bell had noted that many of the government's records were purged and sanitized, it is difficult to rely on any one set of records, or numbers such as used in her dissertation, by which to tally an exact number of students, therefore cross checking information is essential to documenting the continuing Carlisle school story.

Missing Information

In conjunction with the lack of an accurate and cohesive student enrollment number, there were many instances when I looked for individual records of students known to have gone to the school, only to find nothing. Subsequently it again seemed likely that the number of students who were reported as attending CIIS is higher than the government records currently demonstrates.²⁶ This is important for two reasons, the first is that researchers need to be aware that Carlisle records are held in multiple locations and not all the student records have yet to be located or made public. The second is that there are many unknown and privately held collections of Carlisle ephemera, and therefore absolute conclusions about the School cannot be drawn in their absence.²⁷

²⁶ I have seen supporting official Carlisle school documentation, which is privately held, to substantiate this claim.

²⁷ Occasionally there are reports of collections of Carlisle ephemera surfacing and then disappearing again. In 2012, Doyle's auction house in New York City sold for \$12,500, a collection that was collected and

Another puzzling issue was Bell's claim that the average age of students at the school ranged from 14 to 18 years of age (Figure 4, 1998, p. 400). One look at school photographs clearly dispels that claim as myth. Photographs taken from 1885 through 1900 by both J.N. Choate and Frances Benjamin Johnston show children comprising the foreground of the entire student body. To read Bell's work in isolation is to assume that all students at CIIS were past the age of 13, which is a complete inaccuracy. When I noticed the incongruities of what I had read in Bell's thesis as a part of my background research, it became apparent that I would have to include a section in my own work that disproved Bell's conclusions. Below is one of the most widely reproduced photographs of CIIS, which has become emblematic of the residential schooling Native American children received.



Figure 2. Carlisle school photograph, 1885.

owned by Alfred W. Ramsay, an instructor at the school. No further information about his collection is available. In 2010, the collection of Carlisle student Savannah Beck surfaced in Washington DC on PBS' *Antique Roadshow*. Owned by her niece, the collection was appraised at between \$15,000 and \$25,000, and has not been seen since.



Figure 3. Carlisle students, 1892, JN Choate, photographer.



Figure 4. Classroom photo, 1900. Frances Benjamin Johnson, photographer.

In the photograph above, Figure 4, the students' small statures in comparison to the desks, and the clothes they're wearing give them away as children. Pinafores for the girls and short pants for boys were a common look for children during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Perhaps after Pratt was forced to resign his posting in 1904 the median age of students changed, however Bell's figures give a skewed view of the actual demographics of student ages for the entire 38-year span of the Carlisle Indian School.²⁸

²⁸ Almost nothing I read for my dissertation cited Bell's work. I only knew about her thesis because it was mentioned on one of my early visits to the Cumberland County Historical Society, and a paper copy of her thesis is housed there. However, obtaining my own copy to reference was difficult and I resorted to buying a digitized version. This was often the case, that theses about the Carlisle Indian School were listed as

Most troubling was Bell's statement that she was the first person to examine the Carlisle School materials housed at the National Archives (NARA) since the school closed in 1918. This also was simply untrue as Ryan's work attests to by its very existence, a dissertation that Bell herself had cited. Bell had stated NARA had a 72-year privacy rule, (1998, p. 13) and that she was the first person to touch the Carlisle records since 1934. This rule had obviously not affected Dr. Ryan's work in the early 1960s, but then Dr. Ryan worked for NARA, and in fact she spent her entire career working there and this may have facilitated her use of Record Group 75 for her dissertation. 52 years later in June of 2014, I used Ryan's specific citations to ask for the Carlisle School records when I visited the National Archives. I can only assume that since Bell knew of Ryan's work that she had done the very same thing.

These are significant research flaws in a discipline that prides itself on contributing to a larger body of knowledge. Surely Bell must have realized that she was only one researcher in a long line of academics to study the school. Historians had been writing on Carlisle for nearly a century when Bell began her work, and today they continue to do so with new publications every year. Even though Bell's reference section is a collection of prior research, I would not have needed to spend so much time verifying that work if she'd been transparent in her process and citations. As the discrepancies in Bells' writing became apparent, most notably in the Figures she put forth, I felt that to exclude this aspect of her work did a disservice to the Carlisle students, their families, and other researchers.

references and were on the World Catalogue system; yet being able to access them as resources was near impossible. Nicholson Baker in *Double Fold* (2001) wrote how newspapers in American libraries had been discarded in favour of keeping them only in microfiche form. This resulted in almost no extant paper copies available for study. This also appears to be the same with paper copies of masters and doctoral theses. Very few paper copies exist, and those that do are often retained by their institution and not available to be lent. This then results in having the microfiche copy available only for sale, if it even exists. On occasion when looking for a resource it was clear that only the part of a reference available was its citation.

These findings were not what I had expected before I read Bell's dissertation. I had assumed I would be able to use her work to bolster my own information about the Carlisle Indian School, yet this was not the case. Instead, I found incalculable conclusions based on inadequate statistics. I had expected her numbers, such as the school's graduation rate, to be the same as official sources, yet since they were not Bell told only a fraction of the Carlisle story in her thesis. I would like very much for Bell's work to not to take away from the history of Carlisle, and while her work was informative it relied on rhetoric that supported residential boarding school education while hinting that there were other points of view, yet she failed on many levels to recognize what those views might have been.

An Overview Regarding the Classifications of Students

*We're not Indians and we're not Native Americans.
We're older than both concepts.
We're the people, we're the human beings.
John Trudell*

Coloured People v. People of Colour

The second issue I had with Bell's work was her unquestioning belief in the information she cited in order to create conjecture in her own research. Her dissertation focused on the mechanics of the School, yet like so many others she failed to portray that Carlisle was meant to be a *school*, for *children*. Instead she cited her incorrect statistics in such an abstract way that Indian children ceased to have a humanizing component. By employing the term Indians as an objectified term, the students she discussed in her work were portrayed only as subjects and adults.

Often when I read historical accounts the semantics of the historical terminology employed are important in that they frame the ways in which society views not only the past, but also the future. Bell often positioned the Carlisle students as adults instead of children, incorrectly portraying students as agents of free choice. Therefore if I refer to the children who went to the CIIS as coloured, it positions them in a spectrum comprised of hierarchical sociological meaning attributed to race, ethnicity, and an intangible construct assigned to them as an outside group. If I refer to the same group of children as people of colour, I have now equated them with all of humanity as children in a context that is easily relatable. The differences may appear negligible, yet they are not.

The historical underpinning of the term ‘person of colour’ is also fraught with controversy as it was originally used during the area of slavery in America as a way to designate people across a racial divide. While historically this term was meant to perpetuate the differences between people who were Black or White, today it has come to encompass all who are not White in a further effort to segregate populations. It has also become an umbrella term for anyone who has a language other than English, a religion other than Christian; the construct applications here are endless. This diminishes the historical significations of the term, yet it is the sentiment that remains when discussing the historical and contemporary applications of racial categorizations.

Where do Indians, now Native Americans, fall into this spectrum regarding people of colour? The truth is that they really don’t. Neither Black nor White, Natives are considered Red historically, and today in modern society as well. When Native people self-name as Red however it is not a term to be used outside of the context in which it is presented as it has become a political statement. Yet people of colour is the kindest

contemporary renaming that can be provided in a historical context that was dependent upon the subjugation of one group by another. Those groups were White, Christian, and military, with all three contexts dependent upon one another. To rename those who were being subjugated is to resist the oppression that is perpetuated in the continued usage of prejudicial, although historical, terminology.

By temporarily removing the sociological context, new meaning is given to not only to students' stories, but the information that is published about the School as well. Far too many times when authors recount the history of Carlisle, such as in Bell's dissertation, the humanity involved in residential schooling seems to have been lost, instead devolving into a statistical analysis of specific skill sets which are presented in abstract, quantifying rather than personalizing participants. Those who discuss Carlisle students often do so within the construct of blood quantum, and by doing this they have overlooked compassion when referring to students using these kinds of objectified terms.

Kate Buford's (2010) book on Jim Thorpe is an excellent example of this type of abstract categorization when she introduces him as having been 7/8 Sac Fox and mixed blood. Why blood quantum, a demoralizing aspect of racial relations for centuries, is the way Carlisle students are often defined is an attribute not seen in other types of schooling. In fact, many accounts of Native Americans pay particular attention to this aspect of the student's lives, yet the students, the children, who went to Carlisle were all someone's relation and they are remembered as such in their home communities. These were people who were not solely defined by their time at CIIS, yet that is how many writers remember them, only for the brief moment of time in their lives that they were at the School. By

quantifying students by blood quantum or one aspect of their lives their humanity is pushed aside in favour of historical retrospection.

No one ever wants to be defined by one moment in his or her life, but yet that is exactly what has happened to many of the students who were at the Carlisle Indian School. By isolating students into quantifiable objects, Bell's work lost sight of what the government, including U.S. Army General Richard H. Pratt was saying that Carlisle was supposed to be, which was a school for children. Carlisle Indian Industrial *School*, an institution of learning and education. Why then did Bell, as well as many others, gloss over time and time again what I considered to be the prime directive of any school, namely academics, in favour of an agenda that focused on Native students abilities to acclimate to colonization?

This humanity is what has been missing from the research on the Carlisle Indian School, and perhaps it is a coping mechanism, a way for those who study the past to distance themselves from it. Therefore the next chapter on the organizational aspects of the school must be cognizant that these were people, not numbers that went about their daily lives at the school, often for years at a time. They are not merely a statistical analysis to be consumed as a part of American progressivism.

Chapter 4 - The Structure of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

In this chapter I take an in depth look at the information printed in the school's publications as to how the school's daily schedule and academic departments influenced one another using the top down educational model designed by Pratt. I examine student's ages and student enrollment as a part of this process, and how they related to the departments that supported classroom academics.

The Organization of the Carlisle Indian School

From Pratt's writings it is suggested that the initial structure of the Carlisle school schedule was similar to that of the Hampton program, with students attending classes on an alternating morning and afternoon schedule. Half of the day was to be spent attending academic classes, and the other half learning the industrial trades (Reel, 1901; Fear-Segal, 2007, p.172). There was one significant difference between the two schools, Pratt had instituted an Outing Program at Carlisle whereby boys and girls would be placed in rural homes, some as far away as Maryland and New Jersey, to learn English while working in those communities. Therefore there were several different kinds of learning taking place at Carlisle, yet the specifics of classroom instruction has until now largely remained unwritten about. In most accounts of Carlisle, and residential schooling as a whole, the details of pedagogy and methodology have been overlooked.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School should be viewed as a broad, singular educational entity under which there were two components, the industrial and vocational side of the school where trades were taught, and the academic portion of the school where classroom learning took place. From the beginning of the school's inception, all students

who attended the Carlisle Indian School needed to learn English, and it was only once students were able to understand, and be understood in English, were they expected to progress into academic work (Annual Report, 1880; Pratt, 1880). These early government reports noted the extensive length of time that it took for the students to learn the English language, therefore I contend the Outing Program came into existence in part, to facilitate the acquisition of the English language by Native students.

Students would of course have lost their languages, as they were transported hundreds of miles away from their home communities and other fluent speakers. With no one to speak to and the daily pressures of assimilating to an English only environment, there was little choice but to linguistically assimilate. Language acquisition is built on repetition, and Pratt was providing that opportunity to inculcate through an English only immersion program. He also expected students to develop the cultural mores that were embedded in the English language, including encoded customs, religion, and hygiene. These values would be repeated over and over again throughout the many publications and reports that the school produced.

From a Collectivistic Culture to Living in a Top Down Hierarchical Model

For the first 25 years the school was in operation Pratt was at its head, the top rung on a metaphorical ladder. The faculty and staff were the next rungs down in Carlisle's hierarchy, and supporting this structure were the students, thousands and thousands of them over thirty-eight years. Pratt was a military man and Carlisle was modeled in much the same way as the U. S. Army was, going so far as to house students on a military base complete with guard house where they were punished. His was a male dominated hierarchy

that featured patriarchal methods of societal control, and Pratt's assimilationist idea of "kill the Indian and save the man" had been conceived of when he had been charged with transporting and guarding the Fort Marion prisoners. His ideas had fully taken shape as he served under President Ulysses S. Grant (R), and by the time President Hayes (R) succeeded Grant, they were easily implemented within a military framework. What better way to civilize Indians than to educate them, and this model was meant to provide American society with an acceptable form of societal control while offering the Indian a way to survive.

The daily needs of such a large institution required personnel to manage the grounds, farms, and students. This would have called for the delegation of responsibilities within a contingency of people who could maintain control while overseeing the day-to-day operations of the school. There would have been a staff of adults to oversee the running of the school as well as the student population on campus, as Pratt was often reported in school newspapers as travelling extensively on behalf of the school (Red Man, 1895, 1894, 1893). Additional support would also have been needed from teachers, and indeed many of them were expected to preform secondary duties such as overseeing the dormitories.

As the United States government sought to assimilate Native students through instruction in mechanized industrial and vocational training, education was a way by which by labour laws were easily circumvented. Child labour laws had been passed in and around New England since 1832, however child labour wasn't regulated federally in the United States for a century until 1932 with the Fair Labor Standards Act. Industrial training in the Indian schools was a method by which to put students work while maintaining an educational façade. Students at the residential boarding schools were given daily chores

that were overseen by older students and teachers thereby imitating the chain of command found in the military. This was not a matter of students making their beds or putting their things away, these students were responsible for much of the daily labour done at the school and worked in the various departments, including the school farm.

Unfortunately, modern society has been acclimatized to the kind of compartmentalization that is needed for a hierarchical model to be effective. The associations that are needed to understand the student experience of Carlisle must transcend time and space, focusing on the misdirection contained in Carlisle School information, while being historically cognizant of the disparities between the Indian school and its American counterpart. Student ages and grades are a prime example of possible misinterpretation without the understanding of a top down model that relied on a student labour force.

Student Ages and Corresponding Grades

The 1902 catalogue included graduation lists of students from 1889 through 1902, and was the first publication that contained the brief summations of nineteen different Industrial Departments as well as synopses of the courses from the first through tenth grades that were available for study. These departments and courses varied from Catalogue to Catalogue although language, reading, and math were mentioned most often. However, without the ability to speak English beginning students would not have been able to participate in the advanced academic courses.

The academic grades at the Carlisle were not the same grades that we would commonly associate today with first grade for six-year olds, second grade for seven-year

olds, etc. The catalogue promoted that there were two types of First Grades, one for adults and one for children, however images of adults comprised the majority of the 1902 Catalogue academic department photographs.



Figure 5. First grade, Adult Class, Carlisle Indian School 1902

This is one of the photographs that were used in both the 1902 and the 1908 catalogues to promote the Academic Department, and the duplication caused a re-examination of each photograph from both editions. What I found was that the 1908 Academic Department photographs were exactly the same as those in the 1902 Catalogue. While these catalogues served as an advertisement for the school and a testimony to its successes, there was something not quite right with the duplication of these photos, or the discrepancies in the official records that reported student's ages. This finding illuminated additional disparities regarding reports about students. The first issue was that while younger students were pictured and officials reported CIIS as having a five-year course of study, the students that graduated were all adults.

This meant that the course of study at Carlisle Indian had to be longer than five years, for two reasons. The first was that language acquisition was an issue as noted by

Pratt, and therefore the school did not have any graduates until 1889, a full ten years after the school began. The second reason is that the 1902 Catalogue had ten grades listed. If going to Carlisle was a five-year course of study, why then were there ten grades offered? Perhaps it was a five-year *minimum* term of study, because it took longer than five years to learn the English language enough to complete the academic courses, yet nowhere was this noted in any of the official documentation. These issues undermine the credibility of every record and photograph associated with the school. Then there is the problem of the thousands of students recorded as attending the school, with only 748 of them having graduated. The graduation photos documented these small numbers and that not one of the graduates was a child, only adults were earning diplomas.

One of the most widely published images of the Carlisle School, Figure 6 below, is of the Carlisle students in 1885 (Courtesy U.S. Army). Notice that a majority of the students pictured are children. Given the seventeen-year difference between Figures 5 and 6, even if the children from the 1885 photograph had grown up and graduated, what had happened to the rest of the students? They certainly hadn't graduated or it would have been noted in the Catalogues. Another concern is why there are children in the foreground of the 1885 photo, and then by 1902 they are only mentioned in passing. Time and time again this issue of age would arise in relation to the academic curriculum and how they correlated to the grades of the students as they were depicted in records and photographs.



Figure 6. 1885 photograph of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School students.

While Pratt's memoirs and many contemporary works unequivocally stated that the school began with a mixture of adults and children, many of these early images only captured the children. By 1902 the Catalogue contained a predominance of adult images, and the mention of Adults in First and Second Grades. The adult students in the images of the Third through Tenth Grades are also pictured, yet there is no mention as to what classes they are, or if they are in Advanced classes as well.²⁹

Pratt's was a complicated system to be sure, and he was attempting to educate students of all ages and different languages using a different social norm than the ones students had known. By masking the ages of the students that were at the school it distracts the public from the pictures of children as young as five attending the school for five consecutive years. What remains unknown is how many of these young children were then placed in the Outing Program and sent to distant farms in order to work and learn English. Existing records point at the Outing Program students being teenagers in their placements,

²⁹ By 1892 the National Education Association determined that a 12-year course of study for American students comprised of 8 years of elementary school and 4 years of high school was appropriate. This system is still in place today.

but what if that was simply untrue and children were sent as well? Unraveling the information Pratt left behind is a complex task, one that at times does not provide a clear picture of what kind education was taking place for the Indian children at Carlisle.

The Daily Schedule

As part of the effort to reconstruct what students were doing, and when, at the Indian school, the daily schedule that demonstrated a military influence and extensive activities is included as part of the curriculum. Since Carlisle was a boarding school where students lived on campus, this schedule reflects the need to keep students structured twenty-four hours a day. The CIIS schedule was maintained over the duration of the school with no noticeable changes. Reproduced here is the schedule from the 1916-1917 school year, and was printed in the Print Shop by the Indian School students in 1916. This is the Monday schedule and while weekdays were almost indistinguishable from one another, the weekends promoted a different type of agenda, one that revolved around chores and church rather than academic activities.

CIIS Daily Schedule

A.M.

6:00am Rising Bell and Reveille

6:15am Assembly Call

6:25am First Breakfast Call

6:30am Second Breakfast Call

7:25am First Work Whistle

7:30am Second Work Whistle

8:25am First School Call

8:30am Second School Call

11:25am First Recall From School

11:30am Second Recall From School

11:30am Recall Work Whistle

11:45am Assembly Call

11:55am First Dinner Call

12:00 noon Second Dinner Call

P.M.

12:55pm First Work Whistle
1:00pm Second Work Whistle
1:10pm First School Call
1:15pm Second School Call
4:00pm First Recall From School
4:05pm Second Recall From School
4:10pm Physical Culture – Girls of odd section
5:00pm Recall Work Whistle
5:15pm Assembly Call
5:25pm First Supper Bell
5:30pm Second Supper Bell
6:00pm Band Rehearsal
6:55pm First (Bell) Study Hour (in Quarters)
7:00pm Second (Bell) Study Hour
7:00pm – 8:00pm
8:00pm Recall From Study Hour (First Bell)
8:05pm Second Bell Recall From Study Hour
8:15pm Physical Culture - Troops A, B, Band (Boys)
8:10pm Roll Call and Prayers for Girls
9:00pm Lights Out for Girls
8:45pm Roll Call and Prayers for Small Boys
9:00pm Lights Out for Small Boys
9:05pm Roll Call and Prayers for Large Boys
9:30pm Taps and Lights Out

There are several schedules included in the 1916-1917 volume, all structured in much the same manner as the one above with different group meetings scheduled on a day-to-day basis. For example, where band was scheduled on one day an academic society meeting would be held at the same time on the next day. Of course there would have been holiday and summer schedules as well, however they were not included in the catalogues. As this schedule was published the year before the school closed, it is interesting to note the continued use of military terms such as reveille, troops, and taps a decade after Gen. Pratt's departure. Although Pratt may have been physically absent from the school, many of the military components instituted during his tenure remained, indicating that while Pratt may have been gone his presence remained an institutional legacy.

I have included the school schedule here as it emphasizes the rigour placed on classroom learning while demonstrating how students were expected to spend their time doing other types of activities. I did not extend my research into the finer points of this area as the lack of curricular materials made it difficult to ascertain the answer to specific questions about who was teaching which classes and what would have been specifically studied in them. Without further information any attempt to answer those questions would be purely speculative, and as many of the materials I located required conjecture as to what time period or class they might have been used in I felt that by analyzing the known materials of the school this thesis was better served in portraying the overall picture of the CIIS curriculum.

Departments at the Carlisle Indian School

Each of the four catalogues mentioned the schools' departments in some capacity; therefore I listed each department beginning with the 1902 catalogue and then charted their progression over the next thirteen years. I used the Carlisle School's own information to construct a chronological progression of the evolution of each department, doing so in order to conceptualize the multiple aspects of daily life that were needed to support the physical and educational demands of the school.

In 1902 there were 19 departments listed, and these were divided into two categories, Boys and Girls. Almost without exception these departments, and their gender designations, would remain consistent throughout each of the four catalogues. The Boys departments were always listed first, followed by the Girls, although there were some departments where there appeared to be no separation of genders at all. Over time some of

the departments would be expanded and often what had been one department became two. By 1915 Music, Telegraphy, and the Arts had been added, however others such as Harnessmaking had disappeared. The departments are important to the overall picture of the Carlisle School curriculum as they demonstrate gendered education of that era, and the ways in which learning would have been taking place through vocational training. I have listed them here the ways that they first appeared in the 1902 Catalogue.

The Departments of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Carpentry – Boys were instructed in the carpentry department on the ways in which to process lumber as well as how to construct a house and contents from scratch, while learning the proper use of woodworking tools and cabinet making. Brick laying and masonry were also included in this department, and from excerpts in the school catalogues it is stated that the Carlisle students constructed and repaired much of the campus as needed. By 1912 Masonry had its own room in the school and the two departments were listed separately.

Pratt (1964) in his autobiography, mentioned that the boys did all of the work around the school and the inference here is that the carpentry department grew out of a very real need to have the campus refurbished, repaired and later when needed, expanded. The official school ledgers listed the materials that were being ordered for the construction and repair of school buildings. Therefore the expansion of the Carlisle campus calls into question student numbers and why it needed to be enlarged.

Blacksmithing & Wagonmaking - Listed as one department in the 1902 catalogue, blacksmithing and wagonmaking would later expand to two departments

separated into their own rooms, probably as the School expanded its vocational training program. Students in blacksmithing learned the proper use of tools, welding, the shoeing of horses and how to fix machinery, farm tools, and carts. When the school began horses would have been one of the primary modes of transportation for that time period. Since the school was in a rural area there would have been a need for all transportation related items to have been created on site, as well as repaired as needed.

Painting – Not only did students learn how to make and mix paint in this department, they varnished as well, using their skills on projects at the school. First, they were instructed in house painting and furniture refinishing, which were then followed by “vehicle” and “carriage painting” (1902, p.69). The students were also responsible for the upkeep of the 50 buildings on campus as a part of their training in order to gain experience.

The implication here is that so many new structures were being built that a dept. was needed not only for upkeep but to assist the carpentry dept. in the manufacturing process. The school ledgers didn’t list furniture or paint; therefore these items would most likely have been produced on site.

Harnessmaking – Here students were taught how to construct and repair harnesses. In 1902 many of these harness were earmarked for “government schools and agencies” some of which had “silver plated mountings”. This practice would continue through the next ten years with harnesses made at Carlisle going to “smaller schools and reservation schools”. Work continued on heavy harnesses for “express purposes” and light harnesses for “buggy an carriage horses” (1902).

The Harnessmaking Dept. would have worked in conjunction with the Blacksmithing and Wagonmaking Department(s) to produce goods that were sent to other

government schools as well. The financial implications of this enterprise are vast, especially in relation as to how materials were obtained and paid for as that information was not included in the school's catalogues. Goods produced at Carlisle would have had an intrinsic value and been sold and not given to other institutions, however the aftermarket queries of where these products were sold, for how much, and to whom went unreported.

Tinsmithing – Instruction covered machine and tool use as well as the laying and making of patterns. Much of the tinware (flatware) used at the school was manufactured in the tin shop and would also be sent to “western schools and agencies” (1902). Also handled by this dept. was roofing work, along with drains and spouts. In 1902 the repair of water and sewer pipes was done by the tinsmiths, however plumbing would later become its own department (1908). By 1915 all mention of tinsmithing was absent from the catalogue. Who took care of those issues from that time until the end of the school is not known.

Shoemaking – Students in the shoemaking department were responsible for learning how to make shoes, and repaired many of the student's shoes as a part of their vocational training. No mention was made in the catalogues as to if student's shoes were made on campus or bought elsewhere. The assumption here is that student's shoes were hand made on campus, as it would have been cost effective.

Tailoring – Students were first instructed in how to sew by hand, and then by machine before making coats and other clothing and it was reported that many of the student's uniforms came from the tailor shop at the school. The materials used to construct these uniforms were initially not reported, and what type of clothing comprised a CIIS uniform went unmentioned. Pictures show women and girls in dresses, men and boys in pants and shirts, however buttons, thread, hooks etc. would have been needed and either

purchased or made at the school. Clothing during that era would have been made out of cotton or wool, and as those materials are organic the uniforms themselves have probably many have not survived for further study.

Printing – The print shop had it's own building where all school publications were either written, edited, or printed. According to the 1902 catalogue "Circulars, blank reports, letter heads, envelopes, posters, dodgers, hand bills, booklets, pamphlets, official documents, invitations, visiting cards, programs, etc." were just a few of the items being printed. Also in the printing dept. was the mailing department, where students produced the subscriptions patrons had subscribed to such as photographs and school newspapers.

Each catalogue contained almost the same information about the "Printery" word for word over a 13-year period. Setting the type for the production of one edition of the school catalogue would have been time consuming, yet the original typeset wouldn't have been saved from year to year as it was needed for other jobs. Therefore the duplication of this information is curious in that there would have been no apparent need to repeat information from catalogue to catalogue.

The catalogues also noted great quantities of paper as being produced at the school, and the print shop was responsible for rebinding the school's books as its capabilities increased. However the 1912 edition of the catalogue mentioned that the "Indian Office at Washington also sends up, from time to time, jobs for execution", and work was done for "smaller schools and reservations in the West" (p.70). Today Washington DC is a two hour drive by the interstate thruway system, roughly 100 miles depending on the route taken. In 1912 there was no interstate thruway system and the Government Printing Office was

conveniently located only a mile away from the Indian Office in Washington DC. This information calls into question why the Indian Office would need to send print jobs north to Carlisle, especially as the school was so busy with its own printing.

Steam Heating - This department would also take care of the school's plumbing, and for the duration of the Indian school it would be responsible for the upkeep of both heat and plumbing. The 1908 catalogue description is brief but revealing, as it details the parameters for the heating of the buildings with 10,000,000 cubic feet of piping, the care of which also included, "...all sanitary drainage, the care of 85 closets, 75 bath-tubs, 20 stationary wash-stands, 17 sinks, 19 laundry tubs, and 18 kitchen tubs" (p. 28 & 29, 1908). Also repaired in this department were all machines; printing presses, laundry, mowers and sewing, plus farm implements. Later descriptions would not be so detailed, only mentioning the availability of practical experience within this department.

What's not stated is that the boiler house had coal furnaces, as pictured in the 1902 catalogue. There are four of them, pictured with coal being shoveled into each through one of four doors at the bottom. This means that tons of coal would be needed to heat the school during colder months, and someone would have to be on duty 24 hours a day to man the boilers as those who worked them would be responsible for stoking the furnaces. Far more went into the Steam Heating Dept. than was depicted in the school's publications.

Domestic Science (Kitchen) –The Domestic Science dept. was comprised of the school kitchen where three meals a day were prepared for hundreds of people (minimum). Listed was one cook who had six boys (not men) to assist, although photographs show young men. Girls (not women) were "instructed in the preparation of vegetables" setting the tables and washing of the dishes, and again the photographs show younger women.

Girls were also to be taught how to cook in groups of four, and according to the 1902 catalogue, “every girl except those in the primary grades receive regular lessons”. This was the era of cast iron stoves yet images show students using industrial sized machines to prepare food.

By 1908 there was a head cook with an “Indian boy” assistant, and “four other boys work in the kitchen on alternate weeks”. Now the “large girls” were cooking for the “Teachers’ Club”, the Carlisle equivalent of the faculty dining room, in their quarters. By 1912 the catalogue mentions that girls are being taught to cook in preparation of their participation in the Outing System. In 1915 cooking was sub-headed under Home Economics, with the similar descriptions being positioned as courses. Students were also being given the chance to “relay” their time in this department (p. 88), as there was a “need” for students to be able to manage a home.³⁰

Therefore, during Pratt’s time at the school, students were largely responsible for the work being done in the kitchens, which would have taught them industrial food preparation, but not how to manage a home. Clearly there must have been school related issues with the students as breakfast was served at 6:30 am and the morning session of classes began at 8:30am. According to the schedule students were woken at 6am, clearly there are discrepancies here, as much more preparation was needed than was mentioned and someone (students) would have had to prepare breakfast for the school.

Students would have had to be in the kitchen far earlier than indicated, breakfast was being served at 6:30am and they would have had to have woken up, gotten ready, walked from their dormitory to the kitchen, and then started food preparations all before

³⁰ Perhaps using the terms of boys and girls for Indian adults is related to the naming of Black men as boys as a form of subjugation.

that time. Lunch was at noon, school was again held at 1:15pm, and supper at 5:30pm. Students working in the kitchen would have needed to prepare food for the amount of people shown in the photo below.

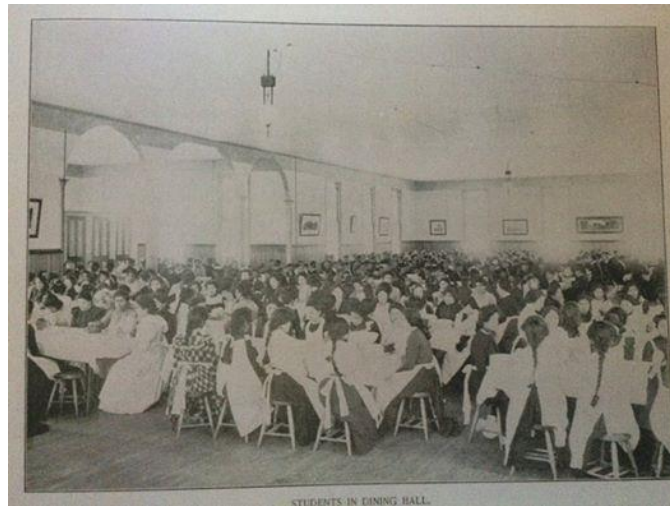


Figure 7. Carlisle Indian School dining hall, circa 1902.

Interestingly enough there was no mention in the Catalogues of who was washing the dishes after each meal; therefore the presumption here is that students cleaned up as a part of kitchen duty. While the school had pipes for running water pictures of the sinks weren't shown, and as pictured in the photo above it would have taken quite some time to wash all the dishes needed by that number of students, not to mention the pots, pans, and industrial machines which would have had to have been cleaned after each meal as well.

The Kitchen Dept. was the first mention of boys and girls working together, yet little more than that is known about the gender dynamics at play here. It seems odd that an institution that was so diligent about the separation of the sexes would intentionally blur the lines gendered roles in the kitchen, so there may have been strict rules and supervision that governed this area.

Bread making – After all the work was done to feed the students in the dining hall there was still the matter of the baking of the daily bread to be taken care of. The bakery was fitted with brick ovens, the exact amount unclear, and the instructor with his six “Indian assistants” made bread and pastry for the school. By 1908 the number of assistants had increased to eight, and the catalogue noted that the baker was a Cherokee Indian. Now CIIS reported a 16-foot rotary bake oven, a Triumph 4 barrel mixer, a Queen City continuous feed-wire cut cake machine, and a post cracker machine.

Prior to the acquisition of these machines much of the baking at the school was done by hand as evidenced by the 1902 bakery images. Yet it is incongruous that more students were needed in the bakery after that the school had acquired industrial machines than before. The answer to this conundrum lies in the 1908 catalogue which lists how many baked goods the school was producing each week stating, “They bake daily 875 loaves of bread, once a week about 750 rolls, and weekly about 500 pies” (p. 36).³¹ I believe the reason for the acquisition of the industrial baking machines was because there were more students at the school than the known student numbers currently support. Also possible is that bread baked at the school was being sold locally, although I can find no documentation to support that hypothesis.

Sewing – This department was responsible for making all the “work required” at the school while “at the same time receiving training” (1902). The girls’ clothing, boys shirts, and “all the bed and table linens are cut and made in this department”, although by the time the 1908 catalogue was published the description for this department was quite

³¹ Even if these loaves were the size of a bread pan, and each student was give one, 875 loaves of bread a day is a large amount of bread. If one loaf was used to serve several people, then exactly how many people were they feeding daily at Carlisle to need that amount of baking done?

detailed. Boy's shirts alone were numbered at 3,000, and the small girls and beginners were responsible for much of the finishing work.

Again numbers don't add up, if Bell's estimates for students in 1908 were correct, and I don't believe they were, 284 students were in the outing program, 259 were enrolled, and only 27 had graduated. Who then were these shirts being made for, and who was doing the sewing for that amount of people, certainly not small children. Clearly there is much work to be done in terms of verifying the student population numbers. I contend that there are many students yet unaccounted for, and the bakery and sewing department numbers demonstrate those discrepancies.

Laundry Work – Here it was stated that the uniforms the students wore were made out of wool, and they can be seen in pictures, are listed in government reports as well as the official ledgers from the School, with Pratt mentioning them in his annual report(s) (1890). There was no mention of how or where the wool was spun though, so from where it was procured is unknown, or if the farm at Carlisle kept sheep. When Carlisle first began in 1879 people were still largely using washtubs to clean their clothes, and stirring heavy woolens in hot water would have been very difficult regardless of the method. Where this took place, inside or out, is unknown. During the hot, humid summer months when temperatures average 85F in Pennsylvania there were surely outdoor washtubs.

The 1902 and 1908 catalogues both mentioned "10,000 pieces" being washed, although the first states weekly and the second that amount only in the winter. The girls washed flannels by hand, presumably in a washtub with hot water, and although soap was not mentioned lye soap was commonly used for laundry along with bluing and soda crystals.

All the girls at the school were required to learn all “grade(s) of work when she (they) is (are) first detailed here” (p. 39, 1908). Each girl was assigned to be trained by an experienced “Indian girl” who then taught the new student washing and ironing. Ironing during this era was done with a flat iron, which would have needed to repeatedly been heated up.³² Ironing would have taken place year round no matter the season, imagine the heat from a flat iron during the warm summer months. The “small boys” were also working in the laundry, folding the clothes and operating the mangle, a device that was meant to press clothes more quickly than they could be ironed by hand³³. In the beginning these were made from wood, later the school would acquire large industrial machines.

By 1912 Carlisle had a steam laundry, industrial by the standards of the day and yet by 1915 the emphasis was on “Home Laundering” which involved the same description with a different heading. This would be the second mention of boys and girls being ‘instructed’ within the same department, and the 1908 catalogue mentions “small boys” without giving an exact age, which is problematic in determining the ages of students who were at the school.

Hospital – Since there was no hospital in the Carlisle Township during the early years of the Indian school, from its inception the School had an infirmary, and it was very much needed as two students died before the first year ended (CCHS).³⁴ Not only did the hospital take care of students, a trained nurse instructed girls to work in the field (1902).

³² A heavy, cast iron, usually pointed at one end and heated on a stove, weighing 5 to 9 pounds. Some irons had wooden handles, others did not. Today because of their long history of use they are collected inexpensively.

³³ The mangle was known for pressing clothes however if the person operating it wasn’t careful they could injure their hands and arms, sometimes severely as the extremity would be crushed by the rollers.

³⁴ Nor would there be a hospital in the Township until 1893.

By 1908 it was reported that the hospital had “a capacity of fifty patients and is fairly well quipped” (p.43). Mention was made of tuberculosis, although at the time the catalogue was published the school had reported no cases of the disease.

The 1908 catalogue also reported “a new feature” which was the introduction of nursing courses, as “a limited class of girls showing an unusual adaptability to the work” (p. 44). How could nursing classes be new after the hospital had been at Carlisle for almost 30 years is questionable since students had been working in the infirmary from the very beginning of the school. The majority of the hospital descriptions vary little throughout the catalogues, although the 1912 and 1915 editions did list school physicians in the faculty registry.

No explicit mention was made as to why the school would need a nursing department, however Carlisle had been run in much the same way as a military training camp would have been and that would have included having a medical department. There are many clues as to the underlying structure of the Carlisle School hidden within department descriptions, and students were very much in danger of dying as evidenced by the school cemetery, therefore having medical care for the students would have been in the best interests of the school.

Farming – Carlisle began with 27 acres (Hodge, 1907) and somehow over the next two decades expanded, presumably for the purpose of farming. The 1902 Catalogue contained a brief description of the farming department, mentioning two farms near the School that supplied the school with produce, chickens, and pigs.³⁵ Students who didn’t go

³⁵ Today the same campus, which now houses the US Army War College, is made up of 500 acres, although USAHEC adjoins that land, whether or not these two institutions together comprise the grounds of the former school is unknown.

to the Outing Program worked the farm(s), although no report was made of what their jobs may have been. Also mentioned in this department's description were two apple orchards, and the assumption here is that students worked there as well.

A more in depth explanation of what was now called Agriculture was given in 1908, with mention of 300 acres comprising the school's small farm as land adjacent to the school, presumably the same farmland as mentioned previously.³⁶ Now it was stated that students were being taught farming in stages; elementary education was for the beginning student who received instruction through the academic dept. in the classroom, with practical experience given in the school's garden. No size for this garden was given.

Next, students 'moved up' to work on the school's farms, and this included practical work with cows in the dairy, hogs in the Piggery (p. 61, 1912) and the raising of poultry. Finally, advanced students would be sent to farms throughout the northeast as part of the Outing Program in order to earn a wage. By 1915 with the focus of the school being posited as vocational, the goals of the program were still the same, to teach students how to farm through practical application. Added to the agriculture course description was mention of landscaping and butchering. At this time U.S. Department of Agriculture bulletins were now being used as part of the Carlisle School curriculum.

Dairying –Dairying was also a part of the farming department, however it was listed separately in the catalogues, as were the pig and poultry departments. 1902 saw a report of 75 head of cattle at the school, with mention of milk and butter, which meant that there would have been cows. The 1908 edition would see the added inclusion of cows in the catalogue description, and they were numbered at fifty.

³⁶ The 1912 Catalogue lists 285 acres of farmland however in Thomas Kilby Smith's survey, *The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1917) is mention of the 311 acres of land that the school comprised.

There was also mention of the CIIS farmhouse, although no use was given for it in the catalogues, or of who lived there.³⁷ The final sentence of the 1908 excerpt would discuss how CIIS now had a gasoline engine to run a pump “supplying water to the farm house, barn, milk house, etc.” (p. 41). One wonders how water was obtained and transported at the school before, yet no mention is made, although pumps would not have been uncommon. There is a rill running inside the campus that was used to flood a field for skating in the winter, although like most creeks the flow of water would have depended on the season and would not have been suitable for a large amount of daily use in dryer seasons.

The 1912 report mentions a dairy building as just being erected, as well as the acquisition of bulls. Almost all mention of dairying disappears by 1915 except for a note concerning cows; poultry raising however continued to be included. This absence would align with Carlisle’s attempt to publically reinvent itself as an institution of vocational training as opposed to just providing industrial training to students. However, the 1915 description of farming as a whole was quite detailed in terms of the academic side, and until the school closed in 1918 Carlisle had a working farm.

Yet if there were several hundred people to feed on a daily basis there surely must have been more than a few dozen cows to provide milk and meat. The 1912 number of 1500 birds in the poultry department is thought provoking, although I can’t imagine all the birds were for eating. Surely there were laying hens for eggs and they wouldn’t have been eaten; yet turkeys, geese, and chickens also made up part of that number according to the

³⁷ In 2012 the US Army had plans to demolish the farmhouse and Dr. Lu White spearheaded an effort in which the farmhouse was preserved. Dr. White has been very vocal on this issue, emphasizing how to tear down the farmhouse would be to erase history. Plans are currently underway to restore the farmhouse.

1912 Catalogue. No mention of roosters, however incubators were featured in almost every Catalogue description so they would have been needed to raise chicks. Nor were hog or pig numbers ever given, however with that many people to feed surely those numbers would have been high as well.

Athletics – Sports were always popular at Carlisle, and although only football, tennis and croquet were mentioned in the 1902 catalogue, baseball was also being played at that time. These sports would be mentioned again in 1912 along with lacrosse, basketball, and track sports. An excerpt from 1908 stated that each shop at the school had teams of both boys and girls, and that the whole school could be seen enjoying these types of outdoor recreations in good weather.

Therefore the following 1908 Catalogue description reveals more about the athletic department than any other entry. Assuming this information is true, it is a clear indication that there were far more people in each department than reported if they all could afford to have a portion of their work force outside playing sports. The fewest number of people required for a sports team would be basketball with five players, and even then five people would emptied certain department like the bakery which had one worker and six student helpers. I have included the following quote to illustrate this point:

“Representative teams are equipped and maintained in the various branches of college sport, which compete with representatives of other educational institutions, including our largest universities and colleges, and the receipts from these contests contrary to the general rule, provide funds, which through economic management, not only make athletics at the school self-supporting, but also have made it possible to provide a well-equipped playing field, a playground, training quarters and other permanent improvements which benefit the school in other ways than in athletics, and

this is done without charging the students and employs and admission to the contest which are held at home.” (p. 63, 1908).

First, all representative teams would have required a minimum of double the players need for each team. A quick look at the graduation class numbers around this time indicates that the academic department class numbers were low in comparison to the number of students who would have been playing sports at this level. Second, Carlisle was supposed to have been on par at this time in its history with other high schools. Recalling that Bell reported that the median age of students was 14 to 18, if students were that young, and I’m suggesting that they weren’t, why were they playing against students of college age who would have been in the 18 to 22 year range? It’s well documented that Thorpe played football at Carlisle well into his twenties, and it is my belief that he wasn’t the only student of this age playing on sports teams at the school. Once again, reports were being made that simply weren’t physically possible- unless there were more students on campus than records indicated.

Next is the issue of the funds being collected from admissions (ticket sales) to the athletic contests. The athletic department at Carlisle Indian School was clearly a lucrative business if it was doing so well that there was enough money being taken in at the gate to support the teams that were travelling -in addition to building a playing field and housing, all while buying equipment for athletes, *and* constructing a playground. The management of that money would have been at the faculty level although I found no records of the expenditures.

The most telling aspect of this quote is that it states that the funds were used to build a playground at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Bell’s (1998) research had the median

age of students in 1908 listed at 17, why then would a playground have been built if there weren't children at the school? I did not come across any other references to a playground or photographs of one, so if one was actually built remains unclear. Yet just the mention of it at all is an indicator that there was a need for it, as one certainly would not have been built as part of an athletic or sports program.

By 1912 the school was taking a different stance on education when they stated, "The faculty maintains close supervision over athletics, to the end that they may be free from professionalism and not detract from the legitimate work of education" (1912, p. 27 & 28). The 1915 description would be exactly the same except for a caveat that touted those student athletes who traveled for Carlisle as having an added advantage in terms of college opportunity. These teams were comprised of both boys and girls (1915, p. 19). What had happened to refocus CIIS from sports to academics is speculative, although I surmise that the Congressional hearings that were held in 1914 had something to do with that. There had been ongoing disciplinary issues at CIIS, and local reports mentioned the drinking of alcohol in relation to the Indian students (Cress, 2012). This shift may have been an attempt to direct federal attentions elsewhere, especially in relation to the seriousness of the academic program.

Physical Culture – This department was originally described in 1902 as being comprised of gymnastics, however today it would be considered weight training. According to the 1902 Catalogue "All the work is arranged in grades for both boys and girls." Surely those who worked at the school doing strenuous physical labour were exempt from these activities. By 1908 the description would be amended to include indoor games such as boxing for boys, and basketball for both genders. The assumption here is that the

activities for both genders took place in separate facilities or at differing times as indicated by the school photographs that showed gendered classes.

Also in 1908, construction was reported as having begun on six pairs of bowling alleys by the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company, “with funds of the Athletic Association”. By 1912 this would be reported as eight lanes, and today the bowling alley is still operational at the War College, used for recreation by the military and their families. This announcement is atypical as most installations were done on site by students and faculty at the school, so to have an outside company come in was most unusual.

The four catalogue descriptions for Physical Culture read almost the same with minimal variances over 13 years, such as about the flooding of an athletic field for students to skate on in the winter. How accurate these descriptions were, is questionable as once again the summaries of each of the four Physical Culture department listings was word-for-word the same. Always stressed however was the availability of activities, including gymnastics, for both boys and girls, as well as the free use of all facilities for students. The practices that had begun during Pratt’s tenure seem to have been carried out until almost the end of the school’s existence.

Outing Program – The Outing Program was another one of Pratt’s ideas that remained viable until the school ended in 1918. Students were sent to work in rural homes in order to learn English and establish themselves in society as skilled labourers. They were also supposed to be attending public school during their placements although whether they did or not has yet to be ascertained. These placements were touted by Pratt as the highest form of Americanization, with boys becoming farmhands and girls working in private homes cooking and doing household chores. Yet again, it is the 1908 Catalogues

description of the Outing Program that contains revealing information, with a report of 893 students being placed during the year, 400 of which were in the country (1908, p.71).

Where were the other 493 students then? Presumably working in a city, although what they were doing remains a potential mystery that rests in the National Archives. The earnings from these placements were reported as belonging to the students, with half placed into a bank account at the Carlisle Indian School, the other half were made available to students in some manner. From the student's half they were expected to pay for their own clothing and transportation at the school, and to and from their Outing Program placements as well. Eventually it was reported in the 1912 catalogue that the Outing Program was expanded to send boys into shops to learn and work in a trade, although I suspect this was going on much earlier than was publically stated.

There continued to be a financial component to these placements, and as of June 30, 1914 students had earned \$22,291.39, which was around the yearly average reported (1912). While there was financial information available there was no listing of where student's placements took place. Far too much information remains unknown about the Outing Program, however I believe that further examination of the records contained in the National Archives would reveal these details (1912, p. 29; 1915, p.20). I have included in Appendix A the list of the documents held at the National Archives which contains information about student's outing placements and records of their earnings (NARA, ENTRY 1335 & 1336). My hope is that future research takes place utilizing these archives, perhaps investigating the funds generated by the Outing Program and how the financial component assisted in educating the Carlisle students.

Additional Departments and Summary

There were other departments that came and went as different superintendents made their mark on the Indian School. The Art and Music departments were listed separately after Pratt's departure, and they often had more to do with the academic side of Carlisle than the vocational one. In January of 1910 the Department of Telegraphy was opened in response to the increased demand for operators, and students learned Morse code and sought employment with railway lines (1915, p. 57). A Business Dept. made an appearance between 1912 and 1915, and the greenhouse and horticulture departments were mentioned as subsets in different sections of various catalogues as well. Some of these departments were meant to generate revenue or promote the school in some way. For example, in 1912 the Music Dept. encompassed the United States Carlisle Indian Band that often travelled and played at Expositions and parades. Carlisle had long been known for having a school band yet there was no mention of it in previous catalogues (Chicago Exposition, 1893).

Many facets of these departments seem to have existed in the abstract, working independently from one another. Jim Thorpe is an excellent example of this; many books indicated that he was recruited to the school for his athletic ability, however I found no mention of him ever having attended the Outing Program or having graduated.³⁸ In addition, it was difficult to find connections between departments and the years in which events took place. Often it seemed as though there was a lag between when something happened at the school and when it was documented in the school's records, such as the delayed mention of the Marching Band in the school's catalogues. This made it difficult to establish a baseline by which to recreate the curriculum.

³⁸ As per the School Catalogues, the Outing Program was reported to be a mandatory one-year placement, and only one year.

Summary

Yet by examining the daily schedule and how each department provided the daily essentials of shelter, clothing, food, and water, a better understanding of what was needed each day before academic instruction could begin was had. Shelter had been an issue when the school first began, and for the first ten years the care and upkeep of the campus was an ongoing concern. In his memoirs, Pratt wrote much about refurbishing the barracks, and the ledger accounts indicated that building and basic repairs at Carlisle were going on well into the 1890s. The school also provided clothing for students, and the ledger accounts have wool being purchased fairly regularly through that time period as well.

Finally, everyone at the school would have to have been fed each day, and ledger accounts showed that rations were being purchased during the early years of the school, yet where the majority of the food was coming from remains unclear. The school's farms were not large enough to produce what was needed daily, especially during the first year of operations. By 1908 the 875 loaves of bread being produced daily in the school's bakery should have been enough to feed students and faculty, although additional meats and produce would have had to have been purchased if student numbers were correct. Yet all the intricate details of where these necessities came from remains unclear, there is much yet to be learned about the inner workings of the Carlisle Indian School.

The most fundamental of basic of needs, water, was mentioned in conjunction with the steam heating plant (1908) and that there was running water (plumbing) on the campus. However when there was running water, or where it came from is a different matter. Today there continues to be a rill running through the campus, fortified with stone during the time

when the Indian school occupied the barracks. Perhaps that was the source of water for students during the time of the Indian school's existence, and as no mention was made of a well it is probable that there was one.

Wherever the water came from for the school, sanitation would have been the final hurdle in maintaining a large population of people. This was the era of the outhouse and only 5% of homes had indoor plumbing in the 1860s, this number would increase to 24% by 1897, but it was a slow and expensive process. Hygiene was very important to those at Carlisle, and while there was electricity, steam heat, and an "excellent sewage system", no mention of early hygiene was made (1908, p. 43). Before the school closed courses in hygiene would be taught, although these were reported as being "chiefly oral" which meant that examples were told to students, probably through demonstrations (1912, p. 38). Yet these were physical needs which could not compensate for the students being at school alone, far from home, with many unable to communicate.

Once the basic physical needs of the students were met the next hurdle would have been language, and then, and only then could the children be taught to read and write. All of the departments that I have outlined in this chapter supported the academic portion of the school, which had long been touted by Pratt as the foundation of Carlisle Indian. Without the academic department there would have been no Outing Program or justification for an Indian School at all. Students weren't just being taught academics, they were being taught life skills for an Americanized way of living, and the two went hand in hand.

Chapter 5 - The Academic Department of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Chapter 5 focuses exclusively on the Academic Department which was responsible for instructing Native students on how to speak, read, and write in the English language so that among other subjects, students could study math, history, and literature as a part of their basic training. The Academic Department also produced the graduates who earned diplomas at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School; therefore this chapter examines the requirements for completing the Carlisle Course of Study.

Academic Department

In 1902, Academics were considered their own department at the Carlisle Indian School, and the synopses of the courses were framed by this introduction:

“The aim is to give Indian youth an elementary English education. The work is loosely grouped about the subjects of Language, History and Literature, Science, Form, and Number, and Music and Drawing” (1902).

Out of necessity, language learning at Carlisle would have come first as many of the students spoke English only as their second language. Since books served as an external window to the world, one that potentially provided internal transformation, those students who were able to read and comprehend the English language were presented with a different view of the school, one not limited by language comprehension. For students who struggled with learning the English language the alternatives would have been the Outing Program or vocational training instead of academics. As students advanced in their coursework they would have been provided with additional academic opportunities as their

ability to speak and read in the English language increased. Therefore the grades listed in this chapter reflect only a fraction of the possible courses available to students at the school.

How the school operated, and the ways in which those processes affected students before they ever entered a classroom, is essential to recognizing how policy and procedure supported the methods and practices of classroom work. This understanding also helps in explaining why only a small percentage of the thousands of students who passed through Carlisle's doors graduated. Only those students who were able to acclimatize to a non-Indigenous way of living would have been able to navigate Carlisle's intricate, English only system.

Graduation Rates v. Academic Success

There were no graduates produced the Carlisle Indian School for the first ten years of its existence. At some point during the early years of the school Pratt instituted a mandatory ten-year course of study for those students who did not speak English, and a five-year mandatory course for those who did (Pratt, 1964). This may very well be why there were no early graduates of the school, yet when this practice was instituted remains unknown. However this mandate was cited in 1889 by William T. Harris, then Commissioner of U.S. Education, in his introduction to that year's Bureau of Education Bulletin No.1 by Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Harris indicated that the only "remedy" to civilizing the Indian was to remove them in their youth from their tribes in order to educate them, "*en masse*". In the same paragraph he pointed out that one, two, and three years of schooling were not as "economical" as "five or ten years of school training" (Harris, 1889).

In addition to the length of the term of study imposed at Carlisle, there is also an adjacent issue here as to how many students graduated in direct proportion to the number of students who attended the School. I found the attrition rate extremely low, with only 758 graduates out of an estimated 10,600 students over the 39-year life of the school.³⁹ This is a graduation rate of 7.2%, and averaged over the history of the school, only one out of every fourteen students ever completed the CIIS program, an astoundingly low figure even by today's standards. As the number of known students increases, this percentage will decrease, thereby lowering the attrition rates even lower to perhaps 3 or 5 percent.

Commissioner Harris also was interested in the attrition rates at the residential schools, and although he noted that many educated Indians returned home and went 'back to the blanket' he also mentioned that "very few Indian children will show a sufficient capacity to complete the preliminary course of instruction before the age of 16 or 17" (1889). Therefore for older students there would not be "sufficient time before mature life to take up secondary and higher instruction" (Harris, 1889). Harris also compared the same issue with "our children of European descent" saying only "four in one hundred take up secondary instruction, and only one in one hundred take up higher instruction" (1889).

Clearly both Harris and Morgan were willing to educate Indians despite the odds and plans moved forward for more residential schools in order to, "convert them (Indians) into American citizens", something that wasn't even possible until two generations later with the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 (1889). Morgan outlined thirteen points for his

³⁹ This is a low estimate of overall students, as estimates of twelve and fifteen thousand are also cited in conjunction with the CIIS student population. I am using the most commonly cited number of 10,600, from the Cumberland County Historical Society publications, even though the actual student numbers may prove to be much higher than anticipated, thus making the attrition rates profoundly lower.

Indian education plan before going on to explain how those points would be implemented in high schools, grammar schools, primary schools, and day schools, in that order. Also included in Bulletin No. 1 were Morgan's plans for teachers, supervision of the schools using the Native student population, and estimated costs per student. He seemed to have all the details worked out, even citing how profitable these schools would be as the Carlisle students had earned \$10,000 in 1888, and \$12,000 in 1889. From all appearances it seems as though General Pratt's motto of "Kill the Indian and Save the Man" was working.

This then was the educational prescription that all residential schools founded after 1889 would follow, using methods that were from the curriculum implemented at Carlisle. It was far more than just academics that were being taught; Carlisle was the foundational stone upon which all other Indian schooling had been placed. The plans proposed by Harris and Morgan would have English language instruction at their core, with the rudimentary aspects of reading, writing, and arithmetic taught in order to support work programs and industrial arts. Therefore, since the academics taught at Carlisle used textbooks written in English, today they exemplify American education from that era and as such are pivotal in terms of the history of formal Indian education, as they signify a turning point in the cultural assimilation of Native people.

The Academic Grades

Only in the 1902 Catalogue were all the student grades and accompanying classwork listed with detailed information, later editions would mention grade work but only in reference to specific content areas. If Pratt's methods were to have been retained, and I believe they were for all the reasons previously mentioned, then the grades below

would have continued for the duration of the school's existence, thereby providing the only glimpse into the ways in which academic classrooms were organized at the school. This outline is grounded in core academic subjects such as history, math, and English, demonstrating which topics were being covered as a part of core instruction. I've included the 1902 Synopsis of Course Study as it appeared in the Catalogue for two reasons. First, it conceptualizes the ten years of academic study students would have had to complete in order to receive a diploma, and second, it illustrates the foundational aspects of the curriculum building that took place at Carlisle.

FIRST GRADE

LANGUAGE – Oral – English speaking; articulation; phonics; reading begun.

“ Written – Penmanship; sentence writing; exercises; spelling.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – Stories of primitive people; industrial life; home; school-room and playground ethics. Memory gems; holidays.

SCIENCE – Observation work on plant and animal life. Care of the body. The earth and stars.

FORM and NUMBER – Form study by paper folding; drawing and modeling. Four elementary operations, using number to 10 and beyond. Problems dealing with value, weight and measure.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Tone exercises, rote songs, use of chart. Type solids, clay modeling, borders; color work in Nature Study; measure, etc.

SECOND GRADE

LANGUAGE – Oral – English speaking; phonics; articulation. Reading, first and second readers, many series.

“ Written – Penmanship exercise, spelling, dictation, sentence work.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – SCIENCE. First grade work extended.

FORM and NUMBER – Paper folding for lines, angles and areas; drawing and study of objects. Four elementary processes with practical problems. Numbers to 100 or beyond; tables; partition.

MUSIC and DRAWING – First grade work extended.

THIRD GRADE

LANGUAGE – Oral- Conversation; reproduction of stories; phonics. Reading, second and easy third readers, and supplementary work; memory gems.

“ Written- Penmanship; exercise; spelling; dictation.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – Inventions and inventors; stories of men and people in connection with geography; national holidays; current events; conduct (leading to Civics.) Stories, selections and adaptations from literature.

SCIENCE – Observation of plant and animal life; care of body. Oral geography.

FORM and NUMBER – Folding, drawing, and making; sloyd and shop work. Notation to 10,000. Four elementary processes, with practical work; simple fractional work; statements.

MUSIC and DRAWING - Tone and breathing exercises. Staff notation introduced. Rote songs; use of chart. Type solids, clay modeling; borders in curved lines; tints and shades; illustrations; natural objects.

FOURTH GRADE

LANGUAGE - Conversation; recitation; memory gems; language lessons, drill on verb and pronoun forms. Third reader, supplementary.

“ Written – Penmanship; composition; spelling; dictation.

HISTORY and LITERATURE - Third grade work extended. Stories of men in connection with geography; use book; current events; local government, “Civics for Young Americans” as a guide. Adaptations from masterpieces.

SCIENCE – Third grade work continued and extended; hygiene; elementary geography.

FORM and NUMBER – Drawing and making; simple geometric exercises. Notation and numeration; long division; elementary work in common and decimal fractions; statements analysis, and proofs.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Third grade work continued and extended.

FIFTH GRADE

LANGUAGE – Topical recitation; third and fourth readers and supplementary work; memory gems; phonics; language lessons; verb work continued.

Penmanship, composition, sentence writing; dictation; spelling.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – Stories of discovery and colonization; local government, “Civics for Young Americans” as a guide. Reading of children’s classics.

SCIENCE – Observational study of plant and animal life; minerals; elementary geography; hygiene.

FORM and NUMBER – Drawing and making. Simple geographic problems. Common and decimal fractions; measurements. Oral work.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Tone and breathing exercises; simple notation; two part songs in keys of C,G, F, etc.

Designs of borders and surface patterns; light and shade; objects in natural science; illustrations; space divisions.

SIXTH GRADE

LANGUAGE – Topical recitation. Reading, fourth readers and supplementary reading; memory gems; phonics; language lessons.

Written recitations and reviews; composition and dictation.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – Colonial growth and Independence. Doles’ “American Citizen” for teachers’ use.
Study of simple English classics.

SCIENCE – Rocks and minerals; natural phenomena. Physiology. Geography.

FORM and NUMBER – Drawing and making; geometric problems in connection with numbers.
Review; measurements; percentages.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Fifth grade work continued and extended.

SEVENTH GRADE

LANGUAGE – Topical recitation. Reading, fourth and fifth readers; grammar; declamation; memory gems.
Composition, dictation, spelling, written recitation, etc.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – Formation of the government; beginning of the National Period; stories of other countries; reading of the Constitution; State and county organizations. Dole's "American Citizen," Parts III and IV.
English classics. Books from library.

SCIENCE – Observation of plants, animals, and minerals. Physiology. Geography.

FORM and NUMBER – Geometric problems in connection with drawing and arithmetic.
Applications of percentage; simple business papers. Review work.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Breath control; analysis of scale; tones and half tones; exercises in new keys, etc. Choral work in four parts.
Historical ornament; designs for special purposes; space divisions applied.

EIGHTH GRADE

LANGUAGE- Reading and study; Classics; use of books; word study; grammar.
Written recitations; compositions; reviews.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – U.S. History completed; current events. Classics; use of Library.

SCIENCE – Organic life; physical and chemical forces. Political geography completed.
Physiology completed.

FORM and NUMBER – Geometric problems with drawing and mensuration.
Applications of percentages, and reviews. Square and cube root.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Breath control; analysis of scale; tones and half tones; choral work in four parts.
Historic ornament; pose drawing; simple working drawings; space divisions applied to landscape, etc.

NINTH GRADE

LANGUAGE - Reading and study. Final grammar review. Composition. Declamation and original oration.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – Current events. Civil Government. English classics. Use of Library.

SCIENCE – Nature. Final review of Physical Geography.

FORM and NUMBER - Geometric problems with mechanical drawing. Mensuration. Applications of square and cube root. Bookkeeping and business forms.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Choral work in four part songs. Review work. Design in water color; historic ornament; charcoal drawing from cast and still life; landscape composition and sketches from nature; pose drawings; mechanical drawing, etc.

TENTH GRADE

LANGUAGE- Rhetoric. Reading and study; use of dictionary; reference work; essays.

HISTORY and LITERATURE – General History; current history; English classics; use of Library.

SCIENCE – Elementary work in Physics and Chemistry. Plant study.

FORM and NUMBER – Geometric problems in connection with drawing. Algebra to quadratics.

MUSIC and DRAWING – Same as Ninth Grade.

Over the 13 years that the four catalogues were published the fundamental structure of the grades remained the same. The basics of each subject were positioned as foundational with subsequent years noting content as being the same as in the previous year. Unknown is how students progressed through each grade or the types of assessments that would have taken place in order to promote students, thereby advancing their academic progress. Also not known is whether a student's first year at the Indian school was spent

being taught the English language in classrooms or acculturating to the English language in vocational and industrial departments.

Student records were often ambiguous at best with only brief notations of when students were physically present at Carlisle or the Outing Program and did not contain any mention of coursework or their transcripts. Consequently there is no real way of knowing how many years it took for a student to progress through each grade, or to master the content of the year they were studying in. Therefore it is entirely plausible that students were at the school for longer than ten years while attempting to complete the Carlisle Course of Study. Indeed, there are records which confirm students were at Carlisle for longer than a ten-year time period (NARA, 2014).

From the Catalogue information it is clear that the content of each grade was built and scaffolded on the one before it, not an uncommon practice, and what today would be considered a Vygotskian method of instruction. For example, students would have first learned addition and then subtraction, before moving on to multiplication and division, in that order. Information would have been added to each grade in much the same way as certain basics were mastered and surpassed, but overall the most significant transformation for students would have been in their individual aptitude to learn the English language. Student's abilities to make the transition from their Native languages to English in the Academic Dept. would have indicated not their intelligence level, but their ability to adapt to a different language system. In addition students would have also had to adapt from an oral language to a written symbolism in order to communicate and respond academically.

Tracking and Assessment

In 1908 there was an addendum to the Academic Department description that mentioned two academic divisions, one for “brighter and more developed pupils” and another for “lower and less-gifted pupils” (p. 45, 1908). This is a clear indication that the tracking of pupils was being used to monitor student’s academic progress. Examinations were mentioned in conjunction with recitation, and monthly as well as end of term exams were noted. Presumably, these were the ways that determined what classes students were placed in, or how they advanced academically. This is key in that tracking and assessment were working together to affect student outcomes. By 1908 there was no mention of students’ acquisition of the English language, however that process alone would have determined students’ academic progress in an English only environment (Spack, 2005; Pratt, 1964).

Recalling the CHS’ penchant for repeating information in the catalogues, much of the 1912 and 1915 Academic Department descriptions were restated from the 1908 synopses. The 1915 edition would have another listing of grades which were similar and went into slightly more detail. In that catalogue however the synopses were for departments and concluded with the Agriculture and Nursing departments, stating how academics were applied to areas known for their practical methods of learning. This is important in understanding how at that time the school was promoting vocational education by supporting topics with texts.

The emphasis of the 1915 Catalogue was dominated by synopses of the Agriculture Department and vocational courses. This catalogue also included four pages of Books of Reference (p. 96) for those departments under the heading: Agriculture, Mechanical Arts,

Home Economics, and 14 Vocational Education Departments. This was the first catalogue to include such a vast amount of specific information in accordance with course content. Not one of these books appears on any other list leading me to speculate that either these were just suggestions or that textbooks did not survive the dismantling of the school.

Yet there were problems with the methods being used in the classrooms of Carlisle, since mention was made in the 1908 Catalogue of an academic division that categorized two groups of students as the “brighter and more evenly developed pupils” and the other—the “lower and less gifted pupils”, it also explained why so few students left CIIS with a diploma. In the lower groups “subjects are fewer and advancement more gradual” and pupils advanced only when they showed an, “indication of sufficient mental work” in their work, which was graded daily, monthly, and by term through what was then considered a formal assessment (p.45). It would appear from this division, and the low graduation rates, that tracking had been taking place at CIIS since the beginning of the school’s inception.

Methods of Learning

Why there were issues with learning may have revolved around the time spent on studies, as students attended school for half a day for three hours and the other half of the day was spent in working and learning in industrial or vocational departments. This is important when considering how students were learning English in order to foster academic achievement. By working in the Industrial Departments, students were meant to learn English by doing, and activities using repetitious English words would have been one of the first ways in which students learned anything, yet there was barely any mention of how this happened. There was however an excerpt in the 1908 Catalogue explaining how

students were teaching in the Normal Training Department. This department was responsible for 80 small boys and girls from the ages of 7 to 14 with “pupil teachers” from the “junior and senior classes”, each coming to the Normal Department for half a day for a two month tenure, and were individually responsible for the teaching of “certain subjects” (1908, p. 50).⁴⁰ These statistics alone dispel Genevieve Bell’s myth that students at Carlisle were aged 13 and above, they also explain the mention of the playground.

In the morning boys and girls did classroom work and in the afternoons they, “sew and weave and do a great deal of raffia and reed work” as recreation. Recess was had in the fall and spring, and during the winter the children learned songs, played games and listened to stories, “all of which is a part of the training of pupil teachers”.⁴¹ The objective of the student teachers was clearly stated as, “to give the girls such training as will enable them to be more intelligent mothers to take positions as assistants in other places where they will have charge of children” (1908, p. 50). This also would have been a method by which to reinforce language acquisition for the junior and senior students who were functioning as pupil teachers.

In reference to tracking, the argument could then be made that taken out of context the statement “more intelligent” was a poor choice of words. However, when placed in context the requirements for a girl to become a pupil teacher were such that the girls were limited in their exposure to the younger students. This limitation was positioned as being in the best interest of the school, and at expense to all the other departments girls were

⁴⁰ Peer mentoring is a common method in education, originating from mentoring which was found in ancient Greece as mentioned Homer’s *Odyssey* when Odysseus left his son, Telemachos, in the care of a companion named Mentor (Butler, 1900/1944). Note the mention of students aged 7 to 14.

⁴¹ Today the same concept can be seen in universities when student teachers finish the final semester of their teaching degree by working as practice teachers in local schools under the supervision of both the local school district and the degree granting institution.

being trained to replicate their Carlisle educations. This concept will be revisited again later during the examination the CIIS books specifically *Stiya*, yet here it should be noted that many departments had students working and studying in much the same way.

In the evening other programs were to be held at CIIS, and there were to have been opportunities for students to attend the Gym, library, and an evening program for study. Weekends were similarly structured with church services and Y.W.C.A. activities, in addition there were debating societies that held weekly meetings. By 1912 the evening program was being promoted as including entertainment, Bible study, religious meetings, and addresses by the superintendent in order to “insure the profitable use of the students’ time outside of that given to shop an class-room work” (1912, p. 34). This would be a constant theme throughout student’s time at CIIS, in that the daily schedule never allowed for an idle moment that wasn’t structured in some way.⁴²

Language & Reading

At the heart of American education has always been reading, and the Indian school at Carlisle was no different with all classroom activities revolving around language instruction in order for students to become literate. Students at CIIS were grouped into three categories regarding their English speaking abilities, the first, those who could not speak or understand English, second those who could speak English but had never attended school and could not read, and finally those who had attended school elsewhere and fit into the Carlisle grades (1908, p.51). Objective language work was the foundation of grades 1

⁴² In February of 2012 an inmate at San Quentin prison in California was able to get a copy of his daily schedule to the outside world through a volunteer network, it was almost identical to the CIIS schedule, and both were grounded in academic work.

through 4, with phonics as the main focus of lessons, “The work in these four grades is chiefly oral” (1908, p. 51).

Therefore, despite the claims made in the 1902 Catalogue that first grade students were learning history, literature, science, and numbers, clearly the focus at CIIS was on language, for without the English language all other book learning could not take place. It would have been very difficult explaining intricate concepts to students who barely understood or spoke English let alone the encoded language contained in mathematics and other topics. While explicit daily instruction in English appears to have been given, why it took four years for students to master the basic concepts of English is unclear.

The Pollard (1891) and Fundenberg (1890) phonics methods were mentioned in the Catalogue, as well as the modifications the school was making to these programs. Even though these were not the methods that were being employed to teach English at the start of the school, I would suggest that since there were no graduates at the school for the first ten years of its existence, that much of the focus on learning during that time had taken place through vocational instruction. Pollard’s methods were meant to start in the nursery and Fundenberg’s with the child, however the modifications that were made to the program were not included in the 1908 Academic Dept. description. So even though by 1908 phonics comprised much of the initial academic instruction at CIIS, there would have been an earlier need to educate older students using methods that were age appropriate, such as vocational training.

Entitled *Pollard's Synthetic Method of Reading and Spelling*, this book was a phonics program comprised of intense and repetitive vowel, consonant, and breathing exercises that stressed phonemes, graphemes, and morphemes. This type of instruction was

meant to assist students in building words from sounds, however for students without a solid grasp of the English language the phonemes would have been meaningless in their most basic linguistic forms. The objective here was to teach sound association in conjunction with the English alphabet, which would in turn lead students to form words and sentences. Pollard's book was not a reader, it was an instructional book meant to be used by an educator who would implement activities by which to construct associations, such as a is for apple- ah, thereby sounding out the phoneme while perhaps holding an apple. Stories and songs were also included in this manual, however only someone with a firm command of the English language would have been able to use either of these books as an instructional tool.

Fundenberg's methods took up where Pollard's left off, and were specifically designed to teach reading using 48 lessons comprised of rhymed words situated in lessons made up of questions and answers. The second half of this book included a teacher's edition by which instructors were supposed to explicitly teach the lessons. This was question-based learning in its simplest form, and to only read the book would have posited the questions as purely rhetorical and probably nonsensical to students who were just learning to read. Therefore this book was also meant to be used by an instructor who had a firm grasp of the English language, as the ability to teach the nuanced differences between "the boy has books" and "the boys have books" would have required the repetitious use of plurals and in intimate knowledge of diction (1890, p. 84).

Spelling was also introduced in conjunction with sound and letter associations, leading to orthography and the most rudimentary components of spelling, writing, and reading for both phonics programs. These were the phonics programs that were employed

in Carlisle classrooms from grades one through four, and as such are emblematic of the type of language instruction taking place for those students who did not speak English. What grades one through four looked like for those students who came to Carlisle with an understanding of the English language is yet unknown. The presumption here is that most students were ESL learners if phonics were featured as a primary form of instruction in the school catalogues.

Writing in the CIIS Classroom

According to the catalogues, the use of the dictionary and diacritical marks were not employed in classrooms until the fifth grade. This presumes that board and notebook work dominated the writing portion of classroom instruction prior to this grade. Grammar instruction was also not listed as being taught until the fifth grade, along with parts of speech and illustrated phrases and clauses. Written work was comprised of dictation, with “all written work is based on some other subject related to it” such as agriculture, the industries, nature study, or a “summing up of history or geography” (1908, p.55). Recitation and drill were vital to instruction in these endeavors as the ultimate goal of language and reading was for seniors to “bring synopses of moderately long articles found in newspapers and periodicals” (p. 36). This was informative education and knowledge was being passed through the filter of the teacher, and combined with years of linguistic repetition, meant to enforce that instruction.

Therefore, if the average course of instruction before 1908 was a five-year period, and only the basics of the English language were being taught during those five years, that would be yet another reason why graduation rates were so low at the school. If the

catalogues are correct, subject content would presumably have only been read to the students by their teachers since the advanced use of textbooks would have not been possible for students before grade five. Students who possessed only the most basic of English skills would not have been able to complete a ten-year advanced course of study, let alone graduate.

By 1912 the catalogue mentioned language instruction as including the use of primers or easy first readers, with each grade thereafter using the corresponding reader (p.35). Now second grade would have involved the use of the second reader and so on, yet there is no mention if students were now speaking English or attending school before they came to Carlisle- which would have explained this curricular acceleration. Another plausible explanation is that after Pratt and Mercer had left Carlisle, Friedman, who was an educator, had instituted an updated curriculum. So instead of the previously retarded academic time line of English instruction, an augmented pace of learning was now being implemented. Oral drills continued to be a part of the language curriculum yet by 1915 the main purpose of reading was recorded as, “to give the pupils the greatest possible opportunity for gathering interesting and valuable information from the printed page” (p.33).

Written work would remain essential to language instruction, and the 1912 catalogue quoted Dr. William T. Harris’ sentiment that the English language would give expression to student’s thoughts as well as a taste for reading. This is an important and marked distinction to make. Students who spoke Indian only *spoke* their languages, as Native languages were most often not written or widely read at that time. To not only learn how to speak English but also to comprehend orthography was a major undertaking that

needed to be tied to everyday use in order to have meanings associated with words and symbols. Students were not just being taught to parrot English words, the understandings of the words had to be tied to practical experiences, and this was not an easy thing to do conceptually within the covers of a book.

Content Areas of the CIIS Academic Department

History

Secondary to English and reading was American history as a content area, and it was taught at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in connection with reading lessons in the form of biography and story (1915, p. 35). “In the higher grades there is a limited amount of regular text book study, where the emphasis is placed upon the social and industrial development of the country” (p. 35). By the time of the 1915 catalogue printing it was clear this wasn’t Pratt’s curriculum being taught anymore, or was it? Perhaps now, for the first time, articulation was begin given to classroom practices while promoting a detailed description of courses. This would be a clear indication that the division of students which had begun under Pratt was still being continued.

Industrial English and Household English

Also by 1915 it was public knowledge that students at CIIS were being taught four types of Englishes. There was English instruction, Vocational English instruction, and then Industrial English, and Household English. Most of what I’ve discussed up to this point has been in conjunction with English and Vocational language instruction. According to Bell’s estimates by 1914 the number of students at the school was waning, and

contemporary scholars have echoed those lagging numbers. I surmise that this was due in part to WWI recruitment, but that it also had to do with the expansion of the residential boarding school system. With more schools being built out west students no longer needed to be sent east in order to be educated. Either way there was a decline in enrollment, and with the educational program at Carlisle teaching several types of Englishes perhaps language had become a barrier, preventing students from attending an advanced academic program.

These language courses differed from the general English instruction being taught in Vocational English, in that these specialized courses employed readers according to topic, year, grade, and perhaps age. Industrial English most resembled the previous courses in business that CIIS had offered, using language required to read ledgers, contracts, and letters of inquiry. The aim of this class was to “train for the intelligent reading of material” as opposed to implant (sic) definite ideas and opinions on the minds of pupils” (1915, p.55).

Household English was different from Vocational English in that it was meant to teach girls how to use current literature and women’s magazines in the home and as a part of motherhood. Household English was for the female students and Industrial English was for the male students. Industrial English went along with Farm Writing, which was where boys learned about mortgages, deeds, titles, and legal forms. Much of this work used textbooks and magazines, yet where the literature was to prepare students for higher learning appears to have been absent. Despite assurances in the school catalogues that all students had the possibility of going on to higher education and attending institutions such as Dickinson College, no mention was made of which English class was preparing students for those kinds of academic possibilities.

Gendered education was, and is, a common practice and it would have been no different at the Indian School. Basic English instruction was given to all students in the lower grades, and was then followed by a split in which students were diverted into one of three English classes. Brighter boys were meant to work in industry, girls were meant to manage households, and they were educated as such. The students who showed promise remained in the vocational English classes and were allowed to progress academically; again this explains the low graduation rates at Carlisle.

Next would be Practice Writing and English Classics II from the Home Economics Department, which “aim largely at cultural training and training for leisure occupation for the girls” (1915, p. 56). Practice Writing involved the social use of English, and in that class girls were taught how to write correspondence, take minutes, and write a report. In the Classics class, work time was given to “a study of children’s books and readings so that girls may apply this information as future teachers or mothers” (1915). From time to time the Carlisle publications included suggested reading lists, unfortunately no mention was made of the children’s books that the girls were using.

Summary

So to summarize the Academic Department, for twenty-nine years the Carlisle school’s priority had been to teach students the English language through a limited classroom experience, instead relying on industrial and household work to provide a working knowledge of the English language for all students. After Pratt’s tenure the climate of the school changed and the curriculum was gradually reconfigured to prioritize academic work. With the average course of study five years, and a ten-year commitment needed for

a diploma, it is clear why only 7% of Carlisle students graduated, as language was clearly a necessity for academic literacy in America.

During the Carlisle era the growth of Indian education had expanded, and with it the possibility for students to be educated in other locations, thereby reducing the need for students to be assimilated in the east. However, due to the ambiguity of the school-generated, self-reported news, the reliability of the information published by and about the school is not able to be ascertained and must be accepted at face value. Therefore I turned to the concrete and the tangible, the actual books from the school itself in order to contribute to and impact the contemporary pan-Indian hypothesization regarding a Native American residential school education.

Chapter 6 - The Thirteen Books of the Carlisle Indian School

As part of the process by which to question what the curriculum of the Carlisle Indian School had been, I located thirteen texts bearing the distinctive double oval stamp of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. These were primarily textbooks from the school, and some of them had green ink stamps, others red, and one stamp in particular was a purple colour, yet all were the same CIIS bookstamp denoting ownership of the text by the school. There was one arithmetic book, three readers, three history texts, one very controversial storybook, a prescriptive curricula book, and four texts of varying subject area content. Of course there were more textbooks at the Carlisle Indian School than just these few, a look at the National Archive records verified that suspicion.

The ledgers that detailed the purchases made at Carlisle indicated hundreds of books were bought, although at times the recorded descriptions were vague, using one or two words as a title. For instance, *Language Books* were listed as being purchased in 1895 at John Wanamaker's in Philadelphia, PA. While *Language Books* are listed on the World Catalogue, with no author mentioned in the ledgers, and over 2,000,000 returned results, there is no way to tell if this was one book or a series of texts. I imagine the books being bought for the Indian School were so common in the 1890s that whoever was doing the recording thought no other details were needed in order to understand the purchase lists.

It is interesting to note that the thirteen textbooks I located spanned sixty years, beginning 1853 and ending in 1913. Of course 1853 is an outlier, as the school didn't even begin until 1879, yet it is worth noting that such an outdated book still exists in reference to the Indian school. As the majority of the books I found were published after the turn of

the 20th century this lengthy timespan could indicate two things. First, that older textbooks at the school were most likely given to the school for use, since Pratt himself mentions donations from the Quakers as assisting in the founding of the School (Pratt, 1964). The NARA ledgers also had entries reporting the cost of rebinding books, and it seems likely that older textbooks would have worn out and needed to have been repaired.⁴³ Second, it indicates that many of the texts used when the school first began needed to be replaced and were discarded. This could mean that the books with later publication dates might have been newer editions of previously used texts, or they could have been different books used to replace existing materials as the curriculum changed or was updated. Either way to have such an outdated text associated with the school is cause for concern in that students may not have been being provided with appropriate or relevant learning materials.

Examining Books as Objects

All of the books that I examined were the original editions, not one had been repaired or altered in any way. Since the time that I'd had to examine the archived texts was limited I ordered the same editions from various booksellers. It was a simple matter to locate multiple copies of each book online, and it probably expedited my research, as there were several editions of almost every text for sale. I was able to compare editions, and it was clear that the Carlisle texts that I had seen had not been rebound or repaired in any way. Therefore the originality of the CIIS books became an important detail for analysis, especially as a few of the books I'd found looked as though they'd been recently printed and published.

⁴³ Even though there was a Printing Shop at CIIS much of the early rebinding of books took place in Philadelphia.

It is important to emphasize that the Carlisle textbooks hadn't been repaired, as historically it has been common practice to repair less expensive books with binder's tape instead of having them completely rebound. Not one of the Carlisle editions I saw had any tape on them, although some were quite dog-eared and a few had marginalia. While this finding didn't correspond with repair records in the CIIS ledgers at NARA, it did cause me to question why other books had been sent out for rebinding when CIIS had a print shop on site that was more than capable of repairing and rebinding books. After all, the Indian Office in Washington D.C. was sending print jobs up to the school, why then would such a small matter as rebinding be sent from Carlisle to Philadelphia- unless there was another reason for the possible dispossession of the books.⁴⁴

Yet none of the books that I found had been rebound either, they were all still in their original bindings. This finding caused me to wonder how often these texts had been used at the school, as in some cases the books didn't appear as if they'd been read at all since their spines hadn't been cracked. Of course the 13 texts that I physically located are a relatively small sample compared to the thousands of books listed in the NARA ledgers. Perhaps there are other surviving books elsewhere that were rebound or repaired, which are indicators of long-term use. After I crosschecked the titles of the 13 books, only one appeared on more than one list, which indicates that there were far more books at CIIS than is currently known. Locating the rest of the Carlisle Indian school books is important, as the discussion on residential boarding schools for Native Americans often has not included the academic side of learning. While much has been written about the effects boarding

⁴⁴ Ledger records from NARA indicated books were being sent to Wanamaker's in Philadelphia, PA for repair. Carlisle to Philadelphia is approximately 123 miles, and Carlisle to Washington DC is 109 miles.

schools had on Native people, relatively little is known about the texts and curricula that were employed to those ends. When academics were mentioned in those accounts it was usually as a peripheral issue, and there has never been an investigation into the specific academic curriculum of any Indian school, until now.

Lens of Examination

Therefore to examine and analyze the texts from the Carlisle Indian School I employed Krupat's (1992) concept of ethnocriticism, which he envisioned as a stance to critique the boundaries that exist in literature between Native and American cultures. While textbooks have not always traditionally been considered literature, I argue that these types of texts possess longevity and endurance, as the Carlisle Indian School books have, and therefore deserve to be added to the cultural knowledge base of Indigenous literature (Martin, 2004). Walker (1997) defined Indigenous literature, in its simplest and most basic form, as a print based medium that contains information specific to a particular and Indigenous group of people who are tied to a precise land base. Therefore, since the books associated with the Carlisle Indian School both contain information about Indians and are tied to a specific place, by extension and inclusion they are Indigenous literature (Walker, 1997).

Ethnocriticism is an under-utilized, and much-needed process by which to study print materials from an Indigenous point of view, as it creates a platform to view the ways in which textbooks and education have been used as tools of colonization. By undergirding my examination of the Carlisle Indian school books with Grande's (2004) construction of

red pedagogy, an Indigenous reinterpretation of education as a whole in its institutional form can be viewed through colonizing aspects which include a methodology predicated on assimilation to institutional standards.

Grande defined red pedagogy as the unequal distribution of the power differential in education, one that has existed since its inception in America. Through an examination of critical education theory, within the conceptual framework of American Indian education, red pedagogy goes beyond critical theory in that it seeks to promote an awareness of the societal and cultural discrepancies in American Indian education, though not solely reflective of assessment or critique. Yet there is value in being educated. For centuries those marginalized from educational processes have fought, and won, the right to be educated. By building on Krupat's idea of ethnocriticism in outlining the colonizing aspects of education for American Indians, an opportunity for conversation becomes possible, one that is cognizant of the discrepancies between worldviews, especially in terms of the books of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

Also as a part of my analysis I employed the work of John Nietz who was, and remains, the seminal scholar on American educational texts from the late 18th century to the early 20th century. At the time of his retirement in 1957, Nietz donated his collection of 9,000 historical textbooks to the University of Pittsburgh, where the collection has grown over the decades and now consists of 20,000 volumes. Nietz, having studied under John Dewey, spent much of his career teaching in the field of education, and he supervised many theses that were based on his textbook collection, thereby proving that he had an intimate and working knowledge of American readers and textbooks.

However, Nietz is best known for his own work on the history of American education with his categorizations of early American textbooks, and for how he analyzed those same texts using the lens of the book as an historical object. Therefore when Nietz employed the book as a theoretical lens of examination and analysis, he first established it as a historical object, noting the historical importance of each books' construction. Nietz then analyzed the content of the information each book contained. I have employed Nietz' same methodology here by using the books from the Carlisle Indian School as a lens by which to examine the school's history and curriculum, first by situating each text as a historical object, and then by analyzing individual books for their cultural content.

Listed below are the thirteen known titles of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. These books are exemplary of American education from the time in which they were produced and their sales and multiple editions reflect their widespread usage. The physical properties of each text reveal the societal and cultural norms as that era, as does the information they contain (Nietz, 1961). From construction to content each book tells a story, one that I've shared here using Nietz' work and Grande's critical red pedagogy as a lens by which to illuminate the positioning of Indians and the Carlisle School in each text. I have listed and categorized the books progressively in order to minimize repetitious discussion regarding their use as abstract constructs, thereby promoting objectified issues. Each text is meant to build on the previous one so as to gradually strengthen argument and analysis.

The Thirteen Known Books of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

1. *Milne's Progressive Arithmetic, Second Book* (1907) Dr. William J. Milne – American Book Company (ABC) N.Y.
2. *McGuffey's Third Eclectic Reader* (1853) William H. McGuffey - Winthrop B. Smith & Co, Cincinnati
3. *Book One of the New Education Readers* (1900) A.J. Demarest – American Book Company N.Y.
4. *The Rational Method in Reading, Primer Part 1 Reading by the Word Method Part 2 and Phonetic Reading* (1896) Edward G. Ward – Silver Burdett & Co., New York
5. *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States* (1901) Estelle Reel - Government Printing Office (GPO), Washington D.C.
6. *Mace's History Reader, Book 1* (1909) William H. Mace – Rand McNally & Company, Chicago
7. *The Beginner's American History*, (1902) D.H. Montgomery - Ginn & Company Boston
8. *History of Oklahoma* (1908) Joseph B. Thoburn & Isaac M. Holcomb, Doub & Company, San Francisco
9. *Natural Advanced Geography* (1901) Jacques W. Redway and Russel Hinman – American Book Company, N.Y.
10. *Lessons on the Human Body* (1883) Orestes M. Brand - Leach, Shewell, & Sanborn, Boston
11. *The Art of Making Harnesses Successfully (Industrial Lessons in Harness Making)* (1913) John Charles Jordan – Institute Press – Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
12. *Stiya* (1891) written by Embe (Marion Burgess) Riverside Press, Cambridge
13. *Cavalry Drill Regulations* (1902) – US Army, War Department – Government Printing Office - Washington D.C.

Milne's Progressive Arithmetic, Second Book

Copyrighted in 1906, 1907, and 1910, Milne's math book was designed to "cover the work in arithmetic usually given to pupils during the fifth and sixth years of their school course" (1910, p. 3). Written by William J. Milne, educator, principal, and author of over a dozen mathematical books over the course of his career, this particular text focuses on beginning algebra and geometry. Noted for his work in algebra, Milne was also known for writing geometry textbooks, although Nietz (1961) stated they did not sell as well Milne's algebraic texts.⁴⁵ In this particular text, the third edition, Milne used a combination of numerical problems along with word problems to construct sections on topics such as a review of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. He scaffolded these reviews into other sections focused on factoring and fractions before concluding the book with problems on money, measurements, and percentages.

Almost 300 pages in length and bound with maroon cloth over cardboard, the black lettering on the front cover proclaims the title of the text and provides a clue to the contents, as above the title is stated, "With Answers". The mathematical problems are common, such as might be found in math books today, with exercises on division, divide 8544 by 24, and subtraction, $\$7.21 - \2.98 equals what number? (1910, p. 53 & 31). Nothing unusual stands out about these equations, however the word problems are interesting in their content with references to early American history: "George Washington was born in the year 1732 and died in 1799. How old was he when he died?" (1910, p. 33). Commerce was another frequent topic with questions such as: "How much must a harness maker pay for 36 mohair

⁴⁵ John A. Nietz (1961) was the seminal historian for textbooks from the colonial days in the American until the 19th century. Not a widely popular field, yet a necessary one, as there have been no cultural interpretations of 19th century textbooks prior to this thesis. Unfortunately his work is not comprehensive and there is much yet to be learned about historical textbooks.

carriage robes at \$22 each?” and “Mr. Brown burned $12 \frac{3}{4}$ tons of coal in his furnace last winter, $11 \frac{13}{20}$ tons the winter before, and $11 \frac{4}{5}$ tons the winter before that. How much coal did he use in three winters?” (1910, p. 46 & 71).

These are somewhat dated references, yet their appeal is in the glimpse they give of what education and life might have been like in America at the turn of the 20th century. Surely fictitious in their creation, some the exercises are exemplary of what occurs when fiction and the practical are combined. Based in reality, there is a word problem on p. 90 which references a student only known as Ada, and her mother, as they are purchasing wardrobe items for her to take to boarding school, detailing the items and their supposed cost. Even though in all likelihood there was no real-life Ada, what remains is the possibility that there *could* have been an Ada if one could not distinguish between the subtle complexities of the English language, literature, and the nuances of American culture and society.

The same could be said of word problems that mentioned U.S. battle and steam ships, the cost of sewing and building materials, as well as the price of beekeeping materials. These were real items with suggested costs, so in essence there was a mix of fact and fiction, the difference between both which needed to be discerned by the reader. In this case it was the students of the Carlisle Indian School who might not have understood the differences between the two if English was not their first language.

Each problem suggested figures which by today’s standards would be obsolete cost approximations. These are all tangible constructs, yet the numbers that were used to describe their costs, while seemingly appropriate for the early 1900s have changed over the following century. So while Elsie’s dress cost $\$1\frac{1}{2}$ per yard in 1910 (50¢), today that

price is impractical with most fabrics averaging several dollars and up per yard. One can only imagine the research that would have to be conducted to verify that the prices mentioned in Milne's text were accurate, not to mention the disparity of prices in different locations during that era, an approximation of these seems much more likely. So over time a mix of what can be construed as fact and fiction have become out-of-date as the cost of living, and the prices of goods and materials, increased.

Other outdated references included mention of Ceylon, which after the British relinquishment of this island in 1948 off the southern tip of Africa, was known as Sri Lanka (p. 145). The same could be said for many of the common goods reference, one section discussed the cost of shotguns, gun cases, revolvers as well as fishing rods and hunting knives (p. 24). Today both problems would be re-written, and include the modern day name (Sri Lanka), and while the fishing rod might be deemed appropriate for children to read about I'm sure no mention of weapons, or their cost, would be allowed in a textbook for children.

By analyzing Milne's text solely on the basis of cultural content, and not mathematical or commercial accuracy, the blurred lines between fact and fiction might be overlooked in terms of *whose* fact or fiction was being demonstrated. The same could be said for all the textbooks of the Carlisle Indian School, whose story was fact, and whose narrative was fiction? However by using the Carlisle Indian School here as a lens to view Milne's mathematical text, the way in which Ada's boarding school costs were presented shifts from what on the surface might look like a privileged opportunity, to a way to examine cultural assumptions embedded in texts at the turn of the century.

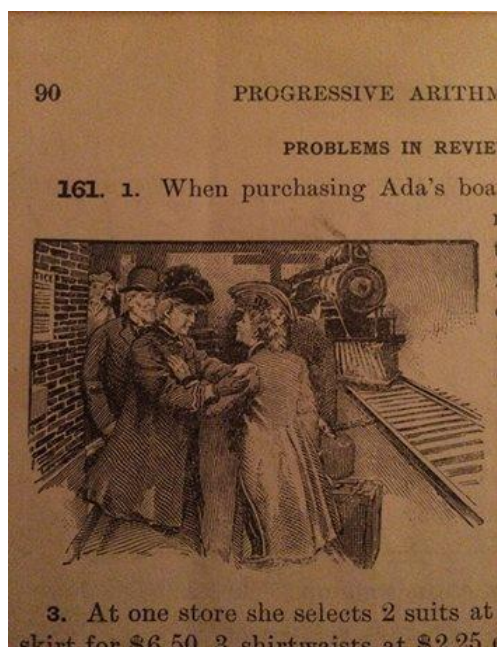


Figure 8. An illustration of Ada, a fictional character from Milne's arithmetic book.

While there is no illustrator listed for Milne's textbook we can assume that the publishing company, in this case the American Book Company, commissioned an artist to illustrate this text, and that person brought their own cultural assumptions to what has now become a contemporary analysis of historical cultural content (Brown, 2004). Students would have been expected to know that the black and white (now sepia toned from age) inset illustration of Ada, her mother, and one can only assume her father as he is not mentioned in the vignette, was a fictional story meant to demonstrate math problems. Yet many advertisements and newspapers during this era contained similar illustrations, which depicted actual items for sale using the images of real people.

It is clear that Ada and her family are being depicted as Caucasian with the black and white shading of the picture helping to define their Anglo features, thereby ensuring that impression. Ada's outfit appears, as does her mother's, to be quite nice as they are wearing full-length coats and hats with ostrich feathers, a common accessory of that era.

Also pictured is a steam locomotive coming down the tracks towards Ada as she is about to board the train, alone, with her trunk. Many of the Indian students also arrived at the Carlisle School by train, although Pratt's (1964) accounts mentioned Indian students travelling with a chaperon and not on their own, as Ada appears to be.

The Carlisle students were living in a boarding school, and it is not difficult to imagine a connection between their real lives and this vignette. The cultural inferences of Figure 8 could very well have the appearance of reality to the Carlisle students who, like the student in the picture, travelled to school on a train, and after their arrival were now dressed very much like Ada was pictured. What then is being modeled in this text and what could the image of Ada have signified and represented to them?



Figure 9. Chiricahua Apache children upon arrival at CIIS in 1886.

Ada was modeling an American way of life, one that Native students were expected to emulate at Carlisle, and beyond. Seeing the image of Ada taking the train ride to school would have mirrored students' own journeys from home, perhaps giving the message that other students went away to boarding schools too, and that this was a perfectly normal and acceptable practice. Figure 9 shows what Native students at Carlisle Indian School looked like upon arrival. Below is Figure 10 that pictures the same children four months later in

November of 1886. The journey the Indian students experienced was not quite the same as the one depicted in Milne's book. Based solely on Figure 10, upon arrival at the school the Indian students were redressed and their hair restyled.



Figure 10. Chiricahua Apache children after their arrival at CIIS, November 1886.

By extrapolating that information from these images we can then hypothesize, based on the government records, that at the same time students were physically being changed they were also learning English. What we can't possibly know, without student narratives, are what methods took place to produce results. Therefore it is imperative that academic research posits and recreates the setting(s) by which internal transformation was taking place at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, in order to begin to understand the genesis for issues that continue to inhibit American Indian education today (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Szasz, 1999; Dehyle & Swisher, 1997).

Cultural Confusion

Considering language differences, which some might term barriers, could students have made the distinctions between the black and white of fact or fiction? Or would there have been many gray areas, places where the information being presented, based on cultural assumptions, would have appeared as fact but was indeed fiction? Many years ago I had the good fortune to be present at an Internet informational session held by a librarian

who was trying to explain to eighth graders how to determine the validity of Internet resources, which could also be used as a method of comparison for the verification of print and other text-based information. She showed students a website proclaiming that the northwest tree octopus was in danger of becoming extinct. Created March 8, 1998, the website is periodically updated using scientific terms, and contains a photograph of the “elusive” tree octopus sitting in a pine tree. The librarian also explained to students that many an adult had been fooled into thinking that the tree octopus was a real “thing” before she detailed why the website was a fake.⁴⁶

If it’s difficult today to teach fluent English speakers how to differentiate between fact and fiction, imagine what it must have been like for educators to impart cultural knowledge to students who were just learning the English language at the Indian School. Students would also not have had the same frame of reference as the educators at CIIS did, thereby causing cultural confusion. Of particular interest are two word problems in Milne’s book that mention Indians and that speaks to cultural confusion. However the mention of Indians in any texts would have presented a unique situation for the residential school students, as they would have read these vignettes and perhaps compared them to their own learning.

⁴⁶ <http://zapatopi.net/treeoctopus/> Common sense would assume a picture of an octopus sitting in a tree minus it’s saltwater habitat would be the first clue to questioning the sites authenticity but sadly it’s not. Most people assume, since the site is regularly updated, that there really is a tree octopus living in the Pacific Northwest.

Interpreting Milne's Text

As for the inclusion of Indians in Milne's text, it was minimal. Mention of Indian clubs was made on p. 117, included in a list on the cost of several different types of articles. After a bit of research it turned out that Indian clubs are wooden clubs that originated in the Middle East and were quite popular as a form of exercise during the Victorian era. Here students would have needed an understanding that the word Indian applied to more than one group of people. It is also at this point that a Carlisle student would have needed to be able to discern between a hypothetical person from India and an American Indian such as themselves.

The second and third references to Indians, this time American Indians, occurred on pages 197 and 238 respectively, and the questions were almost identical in construction. Each problem stated that there were 270,000 Indians in the United States, and the first problem queried if 60,000 of them could speak English then what was the percentage of Indians that could speak English. The second question was constructed in much the same way, with the only difference being 50,000 of the Indians were able to read. I interpreted this question to mean that Native Americans are the group in question, yet someone else might assume Indians from India are the focus. Placing this question into an American Indian framework centralizes the subject and leaves room for interpretation of the content, all the while realizing that this could be a hypothetical question.

Yet supposing that the numbers and the hypotheses are correct, and that only 60,000 Native people out of 270,000 can speak English; what does that mean, and what is the message being promoted by this question? The math textbook already had content promoting the arrival of Columbus and the start of the United States, followed by the

inclusion of many of the first presidents in it's word problems. Add to that the geographical content which used only English names, and a picture begins to emerge that not enough American Indians are speaking English, however this message is being disguised, it is encoded under the guise of fiction and arithmetic.

The first premise, that there are only 270,000 Indians in the U.S. is an interesting one, yet is it correct or is it an estimate? According to the 1910 U.S. Census there were 237,196 Indians living in the United States at that time, although Glenn states that after World War II less people were identifying themselves as such due to rising discrimination (Glenn, 2009). Therefore the first part of that question promoted misinformation and by extension false assumptions, since no matter the answer it would be incorrect based on the inaccuracy it contained. And according to the same Census the answer to the question of how many Indians could speak English was that 22.2% of Indians could, and 83.3% of that 22.2% could read, presumably English. Of course connections would have to be made between the questions and answers, however we cannot know by whom, student or teacher, if at all.

This is just one of the many examples in print which could have led to cross-cultural misunderstandings at the Indian School. This wasn't just a matter of semantics it was a matter of beliefs. Bearing in mind the differences between worldviews, this next section encompasses the three history books from Carlisle Indian Industrial School where I begin to look at how Native Americans were portrayed in readers and history textbooks.

The History of the Student Reader in 19th Century America

During the time period when the Carlisle Indian School was operating students in schools all across America were being provided with primers and readers as their beginning and primary textbooks (Johnson, 1963). From John Nietz's analyses on readers, he categorized them as the underpinning of American education, encompassing morals and religion. Nietz also summarized the reading content of the books he analyzed, noting twenty-two different topical categories, and subdivided those categories into prose and poetry. Religion was a constant theme contained in readers from 1775 to 1926, as were morals and conduct, followed by boys and girls as topics.

The forerunner of the readers used at CIIS was the *New England Primer*, the example by which educational texts of the 17th and 18th centuries were modeled on (Weikle-Mills, 2011). In her *Oxford Handbook* chapter on the *New England Primer* Weikle-Mills gives a detailed history of the Primer, stating that "few of its many editions were exact copies of one another" as the Primer was a "transitional text" that was "constantly evolving" based on the subjectivity of those producing it (2011, pp. 411&412). This premise would also prove true for the first of the three readers from the school.

McGuffey's Third Eclectic Reader

By the time the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was established in 1879, there were many different publishing companies producing not only the *New England Primer* but other readers as well (Nietz, 1961). Of the three readers located for this thesis the *McGuffey Reader* continues to be the most well-known and historically documented text.

Since the McGuffey readers were first published in 1836, they have evolved as the *Primer* did, with several different editions being published by different authors and publishers. The *Revised Edition* (1879;1896;1907;1920) bears little resemblance to the original text written by William McGuffey in 1836, the first author of the *Eclectic Series*, which bears his name, William McGuffey (1800-1873). McGuffey trained as a Presbyterian minister and then taught as a college professor before finally turning his education into a lucrative writing career with his readers. The *Eclectic Series* of readers that he wrote set a precedent for all future editions, and relied heavily on biblical stories, Christian themes, and events from the 18th century (McGuffey, 1853; Vail, 1911).

When Vail catalogued the various editions of the McGuffey readers in 1911, he noted that several revised editions were published for twenty-five years, from 1826 through 1853, and then from “1853 until 1878 the books remained substantially unchanged” before being revised again in 1879 (1911, p. 5). The National Park Service, today in charge of the William McGuffey House in Ohio and caretakers of his estate, estimated that 120 million copies of the McGuffey’s Readers were sold between 1836 and 1960 thereby aligning it’s sales with that of the Bible and Webster’s Dictionary (1993). The McGuffey readers continue to be published today, along with a pictorial primer, speller, and parent teacher guide which are most often used for home schooling, and are noted by the National Park Service for featuring rhyming, comparison, and the continued use of religious analysis in a grammatical context (NPS, 1993).

The *McGuffey Readers* were published by several companies, as was the case with the edition located at the Carlisle Indian School (Vail, 1911; Nietz, 1961). The *Eclectic McGuffey Readers*, volumes one and two, were published in 1836 with readers three and

four published a year later (Vail, 1911). Truman and Smith, Cincinnati, Ohio were the original publishers in 1836, however Smith and Winthrop ended their partnership in 1843 and by 1853 the Winthrop B. Smith Company, Cincinnati, Ohio was listed as the publisher. Yet by 1879 the American Book Company, New York and Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio were publishing the revised edition of the readers (Neitz, 1961).

The *Third Eclectic Reader*, published in 1853, was the edition used at the Carlisle Indian school. While no documentation currently exists as to who used the book or in what capacity, assumptions may be drawn from the text itself. Published by Winthrop Smith the book itself is made from rag paper with the boards covered in blue, and are a heavy duty cardboard, signifying that this was a book constructed to last over a long time period and intended for student or classroom use. Comprised of fifty-five Prose Lessons and twenty-four Poetical Lessons, instructions are given at the beginning of the text as to how to read the text aloud and articulate in “reading, conversation, and public speaking” (McGuffey, 1853, p. 8). A total of seventy-nine lessons, numbered in roman numerals, were included.

Primarily a narrative based text, the stories contained in the *Third Eclectic Reader* focused on children and their experiences, as well as animal tales that contained morals and Christianity as their underlying tenets. McGuffey’s reader was quite explicit in its uses of grammatical instruction, with each lesson outlined in articulation, vocabulary, and definition, whether it was for a lesson of prose or poetry, both popular modes of instruction during the 19th century (Vail, 1911). As part of the *McGuffey Eclectic Educational Series* it stands to reason that other McGuffey readers were also used at the school. While it is purely speculation, it is entirely probable that with such an extensive amount of readers recorded as sold, that copies of all the *McGuffey Reader* texts were purchased for the

Carlisle Indian school. What is improbable is that only the *Third Eclectic Reader* would have been used, as it is a later part of a series and the books were meant to be used in successive order. In addition, the ledger lists indicated that sets of books were often bought for the school, therefore one book from the middle of a series would most likely not have been purchased individually without the rest of the set.

Just as McGuffey initially wrote the readers that continue to bear his name, other educators were also frequent authors of readers, as was the case with the *New Education Readers* and *The Rational Method in Reading*, the next two textbooks located from the Carlisle Indian School. While not as well documented as the *McGuffey Readers*, the books are still widely available for sale today at a reasonable prices, which hints at the possibility of them having been widely published, and therefore still available in multiple formats over a century later. Published later than the *McGuffey Eclectic Readers* they have a different appearance and are hardcover books with semi-glossy paper containing illustrations as part of the lessons.

New Education Readers Book One

Published by the American Book Company (ABC) in 1900, *Book One* was one of a series of four readers written by A.J. Demarest and William M. Van Sickle, both superintendents of their respective school districts in New Jersey and New York states. Like the McGuffey readers, *Books One* and *Two* were published in 1901, with *Three* and *Four* the following year in 1901. Grounded in the phonics method, *Book One* provided lessons for 100 days of schooling, building from individual letter instruction and simple sentence construction to stories and poetry. Demarest and Van Sickle wrote four books

altogether, and again as *Book One* is part of a series it is highly likely that Carlisle Indian School would have ordered and implemented the entire series and not just one volume.

Beginning with an extensive amount of instruction for the teacher on how to use this text in a classroom, *Book One* put an emphasis upon pronunciation and review. The instructor was meant to review the previous day's lesson in order to "Review sounds previously taught before you give the new lesson" (1900, p. 13). Drill and repetition were a part of the daily instruction, as was orthography and penmanship. Lesson One began with the teaching of a consonant, in this case the lower case letter f in print and script, with an image of a cat hissing with the letters f-f-f provided near its mouth. Below that were four words in print and script; apple, an, it, and is, with a question and a sentence comprised of the words. Each successive lesson followed this model, getting progressively more complex.

The illustrations in this text warrant notice as they are turn of the century vignettes, however they are primarily comprised of images that feature children and men. The girls that are pictured are done so in several ways, either alone, with one or more boys, and most often with books and dolls. There were 95 illustrations within 144 pages of text, and only three images featured women. Interestingly enough there was a drawing of a small boy on p. 83 holding a toy barn. As toys were a significant part of American education at the turn of the 20th century this is quite interesting as Reel proposed the teaching of English through play, a thought also formulated by Dewey (Reel, 1901; Fleshman, 1908; Dewey, 1916). Toys would have been one aspect of play in demonstrating to children the use of the English language; therefore, to see a child in a book playing with a toy would reinforce this pedagogy (Reel, 1901).

The Rational Method in Reading

The third book that bore the stamp of the Carlisle Indian School was the Primer from *The Rational Method in Reading* series. Designed to be the “first half-year’s work” there were three books in this series, along with a *Manual of Instruction for Teachers* (Ward, 1896, p. 1). Silver Burdett & Company was the publisher, and Edward G. Ward, Superintendent of Public Instruction in Brooklyn, New York, wrote *Book One*. He was “assisted in the preparation of lessons” by Mrs. Ellen E. Kenyon-Warner, who is also listed as author on all three books in 1896, although she was not listed in the teacher’s manual. Later editions would be attributed to Ward with additional authors listed as well.

However, it is the 1896 edition that was a part of the Carlisle curriculum. This is the first book that has a colour plate illustration on the reverse of the title page, with a succession of illustrations emphasizing the printed text. *Part I* is comprised of simple repetitive sentences with the basics of word construction. *Part II* combines sight reading and phonic texts; however, in this section phonograms are included for students when reading aloud. This text is more equitable in its depiction of men, women, and children, and again there are images of children playing with toys, reflective of Reel and Dewey’s philosophy within the schools which emphasized learning by doing.

While the dates that these readers were used in the Carlisle Indian school cannot be accurately attributed, it is a safe assumption that the McGuffey reader was employed as an earlier text in the history of the school due to its 1853 publication date, and the two succeeding readers were purchased later after their printing dates of 1896 and 1900 respectively, but before the Carlisle school closed in 1918. As I discuss below, there is

additional information as to how reading instruction took place at Carlisle Indian included in Estelle Reel's *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*.

Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States

The fifth text was published in 1901 by the Government Printing Office (GPO), and written by Superintendent of Indian Affairs (1898-1910), Estelle Reel. Her book was a compilation of several different Indian school curricula, among them Haskell, Carlisle, Drexel, and Hampton. A black binding with gilt letters characterizes the original edition of this text, which is comprised of 276 pages. Reel mandated her *Course of Study* for all Indian schools in her opening introduction stating,

This course is designed to give teachers a definite idea of the work that should be done in the (Indian) schools to advance the pupils as speedily as possible to usefulness and citizenship. (Reel, 1901, p. 5).

Another statement Reel reiterated several times throughout her book was, "The aim of the course is to give the Indian child a knowledge of the English language..." (1901, p. 5). These thoughts would be repeatedly restated throughout her *Course of Study* as not only a foundational premise for Indian education, but as a justification for the coursework being mandated. These premises aligned with Pratt's vision for Carlisle, as they very well should have since Reel was using methods employed by Pratt to inform her own writing.

In her *Course of Study for the Indian Schools* Reel relied on several educational theorists, among them Comenius, Rousseau, and Pestilozzi (p. 72). This was a departure from Pratt's writings about his educational pedagogy, which was largely informed by

military practices (1964). Yet it is the work of John Dewey, who Reel mentions several times in relation to cooking and reading, that is of primary interest in analyzing the foundational aspects of the Carlisle curriculum (1901, pp. 90 & 216). Dewey believed that curriculum must center on school, society, and the child, as well as present a multilayered approach to conceptual understanding, much like the Vygotskian concept of scaffolding. Dewey noted the overlapping process between education, society, and the child as instrumental in controlling not only the child's behaviour, but in shaping their outlook of the world as well (Dewey, 1900). Reel applied that belief in her curriculum by outlining all the practical ways in which hands on education was informing English language instruction in the Indian schools she cited.

Dewey had noted four instincts, or impulses, by which to characterize student's behaviours in relation to their experience; social, constructive, expressive, and artistic, all four being necessary for the educator to build an organized approach to learning for the student. In proposing these instincts Dewey felt that a curriculum should be responsive in providing insights for students, so that they might learn how the natural and modern worlds worked, especially in relation to one another. Therefore according to Dewey the overarching purpose of a curriculum was to build an orderly sense of the world in which the child lived. By combining content, or subject areas, and the materials of the world in which the student found themselves, the idea then became that the student would be able to construct meaning with the guidance of the educator.

When Reel outlined six years of instruction for students in her *Course of Study* she emphasized explicit English language instruction as part of student's daily lives, describing how "Manifestly the first need is to teach the child to talk (English)" and outlined lesson

plans which were grounded in creating toy objects that were to be a prelude to reading and writing instruction (p. 211).⁴⁷ Reel also stated that this was a central focus of all instruction at the Carlisle Indian school, and her *Course of Study* emphasized how Pestalozzi's object learning was employed as a model for instruction throughout all Indian schools based on this method (p. 72). As an example, Reel cited Pestalozzi's pedagogy in relation to the carpentry programs that were established in the schools that she wrote about, thereby setting precedence for the inclusion of manual training in all Indian schools. Reel's plan indicated that the students would not only acquire skills, but the "principles that underlie the work" (p. 79) a theme she carried throughout her *Course of Study* by citing specific theorists and educators while at the same time promoting institutional methods for multiple subject content areas (McCormick & Cassidy, 1953).

Ruth Spack (2002) would elaborate on these methods a century later stating, "When the government embarked on an educational program to teach Native students English, and English only, there were few if any trained teachers of English as a second language in public schools in the United States..." (p. 45). This means that not only were the practices being required for Indian school students to learn English *drawn* from the Carlisle curriculum, they were *mandated* for the Carlisle school after being filtered through Reel's lens. This was a cycle based on perpetuity, and as the Carlisle methods were promoted for all Indian schools there would have been changes made to them as they were implemented across multiple residential schools. People are independent variables in any academic equation, and those educators who had only read Reel's book wouldn't necessarily have implemented the Carlisle methods in the same ways at a different location.

⁴⁷ In this instance Reel directly attributed the work being done in reading, spelling, and writing to the Carlisle Indian school (p. 221).

English instruction was purportedly the way to a means, and at Carlisle boys were schooled in the industrial and academic arts as a way to support the practical applications of agriculture and farming. The 1908 Catalogue noted how the boys at the school farmed “two farms of 285 acres” (each) as part of their instruction. Reel asserted that, “it is one of the main objectives of our work to get the Indians to cultivate more land” as the “old Indians, from custom and want of knowledge and experience, cultivate so little” (pp. 9 & 10). These were practices Reel expected students to carry out when they returned home as well stating, “that they may carry out the same plan themselves when they leave school” (p. 11). This type of education coalesces with Steven Newcomb’s (2008) explanation of the Conqueror Model, in which he noted how the conquered are expected to feed their conquerors as part of a hierarchical system (p. 24). As part of Reel’s plan for “Christian citizenship” students being educated at the Indian schools were expected to adopt farming as a way of life, cultivating their land to “earn a good living” out of it at the school, in the Outing Program, and after they had returned home (pp. 10 & 11).

At the same time, girls at Carlisle were being educated in the domestic arts as part of the effort to support agriculture and farming at the Indian school. Reel detailed several years of coursework that would not only support the learning of English, but instruct the girls in the art of housekeeping as, “a systematic of knowledge of things relating to the home is a lesson all girls should learn” as the girls were, according to Reel, “the foundation upon which the welfare of the family and the prosperity of the nation is to rest” (p. 149). The 1908 Carlisle Catalogue noted that the girls were sewing to, “make about 3000 shirts for the boys each year” and outlined how the girls were working in the laundry, washing and ironing “ten thousand pieces” during the winter (p. 39). Also as part of their instruction,

girls were taught, “dairy bacteriology” which consisted of the composition of cream, how to ripen it, and how to make butter (p. 8). There was no mention if the instruction that was provided for girls was being mandated in all Indian schools.

Boys on the other hand, were receiving specialized training in agriculture, and according to Reel, printing, harness making, blacksmithing, painting, carpentry, engineering, shoemaking, tailoring, and engineering. These courses were also mandated by Reel for all of the Indian schools. She did note however that, “not all schools will be able to give a course in engineering, for the facilities are often absent” (p. 101). Yet according to Reel other schools that ran on boilers would be able to give instruction in “the principles governing plumbing and steam fitting” to pupils as young as “12 or 13 years of age” (p. 102). No mention is made of what other topics were included or excluded at other Indian schools.

Even though Reel was the first female Superintendent of the Indian Schools, she would have been expected to uphold the same societal ideals as her predecessors (Jacobs, 2005; Lomawaima, 1996). What is unusual is the use of her curriculum in the Indian Schools, as Carlisle was a military school and possessed a male dominated hierarchy, as did Indian Affairs. It is interesting then to note that Reel, having no military rank and being a woman, would have wielded power over Carlisle Indian school, as Pratt was known for keeping tight control over what he felt was ‘his’ school (Trafzer, Keller, & Sisquoc, 2006; Churchill, 2004; Reyner & Eder, 2004; Witmer, 2002; Adams, 1995; Adams, 1946). However Reel was considered an educational professional, and as such would have occupied a dominant place in the governmental hierarchy, thereby setting precedence for

Indian Service when W.T. Harris, U.S. Commissioner of Education from 1889-1906, approved and mandated her *Course of Study* for all Indian schools (1901).⁴⁸

Therefore, the practices that had originated at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School by General Pratt were being mandated, not suggested, for all Indian schools at the turn of the century. This was the primary way to teach Indian children the English language, and all the cultural assumptions that went with it (Henry, 1972). At the turn of the 20th century women comprised the majority of classroom and library educators, which meant that they too were adopting militarized industrial training for Indian children as acceptable methods of instruction.⁴⁹ Jacobs (2005) would detail this practice as maternal colonialism, illustrating how the white women who taught Indian children thought it was their moral and Christian duty to inculcate them in their own ways of being.

At CIIS this would include instruction in housekeeping, cooking, and by 1915 child rearing. Of course these practices were going on long before they became a part of the official Carlisle curriculum. Reel's writings in 1901 detailed practices of family life through play, although the only official mention of play at Carlisle was in relation to sports. Yet there are images that have survived from the school that information can extrapolated from as to how maternal colonialism was transpiring at Carlisle, long before it was the female counterpoint of the widespread colonization taking place in other residential schools.

In 1884 a group of Pueblo girls came to Carlisle and were forever captured on film in one of the schools' famous before and after photographs. Note that in the first photo the

⁴⁸ Harris had been the one to write the foreword to Commission of Indian Affairs, General T.J. Morgan's 1889 Bureau of Education Bulletin previously mentioned.

⁴⁹ See also Barbara Welter (1966) and "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860".

girls are not holding any dolls, yet in the second photograph they are. The dolls they are holding are white, dressed in Settler clothing, and although we can't be sure who gave the girls these dolls, we can be sure it was part of an effort to promote what Jacobs would term white womanhood.



Figure 11. Before photo of Pueblo Girls. Entered Carlisle. Aug. 1884. Courtesy of the Robert R. Rowe Collection through Dickinson College.



Figure 12. After photo of the same Pueblo girls. This image appears in John N. Choate's *Souvenir of the Carlisle Indian School* (Carlisle, PA: J. N. Choate, 1902). Courtesy of Dickinson College.

The differences between the girls pictured in the two photos are drastic, yet they are not uncommon. Hundreds of children and thousands of students were brought to Carlisle and remade in this way, yet their appearances cannot belie the fact that they are unapologetically Native. And they are children, children who would have wanted to run and sing, playing as they once did. Yet there they are pictured stiff and rigid, most likely as a by-product of the way in which photos were taken at that time, yet symbolic of their newly imposed restraint.

During this same time period we see Susie Martinez at 5 years of age, transformed, most likely in a CIIS promotional photo as they were produced in great quantities and the survival of this image indicates that probability. Note in Figure 13 below how Susie is holding a doll dressed in English clothing, and not one that was representative of Native people or culture in any way. This then is the historical legacy of the Carlisle Indian School, that women like Estelle Reel reshaped the lives of generations of Native girls and women based on their own methods of education and child rearing.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Estelle Reel never had children of her own; instead she remained a career woman even after she married at the age of 48 (Drake, 2012). For more information see <http://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/estelle-reel>



Figure 13. Susie Martinez, a member of the Delaware Nation, who entered the school on August 21, 1882, and departed on January 3, 1884. Photograph Courtesy of Dickinson College.

A century later these practices would be interpreted as historical trauma when scholars and mental health professionals recognized that the removal of children from their homes, coupled with the replacement of their cultures in boarding schools, had irrevocably altered the history of Native America (Spicer et. al. 2011; Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). American and Indian history would be inexorably intertwined from this point forward as assimilative educational practices dominated not only education, but every facet of Indian peoples' lives.

Mace's History Reader, Book I

The sixth book from the Carlisle Indian School is a history book, and the edition I located from the school was dated 1909, however I used the 1928 printing for my analysis as no matter what I did to procure the original 1909 edition I could not. Out of all the books that I referenced and researched for my thesis this was the one textbook which eluded me, and there was no digital copy of this text available either. At the time of this writing the

1909 edition has not yet been digitized, and only six libraries in the World Catalogue system hold copies, none of which they were willing to send out on interlibrary loan. The 1928 edition however was quite common and available for purchase. I would suggest then that the 1909 edition was not as widely used as the 1928 version, and this book may not have done well as a textbook until after the author had published more work and had become better known, thereby prompting the later edition.

The author William H. (Harrison) Mace, is listed on the title page as professor emeritus in history from Syracuse University (SU), and in fact spent almost his entire career there as a college instructor. The 1928 edition of this book was published by Rand McNally & Company Chicago, New York, London, and based on Mace's history of long professional relationships I assume they were the publishers of the original text as well. While at SU, Mace authored several history books, many of which were popular as school texts. Homer W. Colby, who was a frequent illustrator of Mace's texts, illustrated this text as well. Each chapter has accompanying sketches featuring maps, historical figures, and vignettes depicting historical scenes. For example, the chapter on William Penn features Penn's likeness, and scenes depicting key moments of his exploits. The Carlisle text, was Book 1 of 3, and focused on *The Period of Discovery and Colonization*. Book 2 is *The Period of the Revolution*, and Book 3 is *The Period of Development as a Nation*.

Sections in each text were numbered, and Book 1 is from 1 to 79, this continues sequentially throughout the three books in the series. Book 1 also included an Index as well as pronunciation guide for that Index. Explorers are the main theme of Book 1, with Columbus, Hudson, and LaSalle promoted as the heroes who changed America. While the writing of this text is from the American viewpoint, Indians are mentioned throughout,

although their inclusion positioned them as secondary figures who at times impeded the central figures (the explorers) more significant roles. There are 11 illustrations that include Indians in this supporting position. Today this book would be classified as realistic fiction, yet when it was written it was being presented as the truth, and the only historical perspective.⁵¹

The Beginner's American History

This perspective would continue throughout the next historical text, which was published by Ginn & Co. in 1892, 1899, and 1902. D. H. Montgomery, (David Henry) was the author of this and other history textbooks, although not much more than that is known about him other than he graduated from Brown University in 1861. *The Beginner's American History* has a maroon cover with black lettering, and includes a forward by Montgomery, which positions the text as an introduction to another of his books, *The Leading Facts of American History* (1892).

Montgomery also followed the same prescriptive method that Mace did, with 274 sections within twenty-nine chapters. After the obligatory first section on Columbus many of Montgomery's sections mirrored those in Mace's *History Reader* on explorers, although he included American presidents. This book also included illustrations and small maps, although the illustrator is not named. Called savages in both texts, again Indians are depicted in supporting roles, with several pictures illustrating their mention. These were all typical constructs of books during this era in American history, and to vilify them in a contemporary framework serves no purpose.

⁵¹ Negro slaves were pictured in an illustration on p. 65, however their only mention within the text was a reference to them as Oliver Cromwell's servants in Virginia around 1660.

What is important here is that Indians were being included in American history, and to be cognizant of the historical perspective framing that inclusion. As the west was settled and Native people became less relevant to the overall political landscape of the United States, they began to fade from the historical record (Zinn, 2005). This occurred, in part, due to their forced acclimatization and acculturation through the reservation system, yet it is important to note their portrayals in texts, and how that might have shaped political and societal perceptions of them during that era (DeJong, 1993).

A History of Oklahoma

Published in 1908 by Doub & Company San Francisco, Isaac M. Holcomb was the illustrator of this book, and Joseph B. Thoburn the author. Thoburn authored of several history books, most of which dealt with the Plains area of the United States, and several of his books focused specifically on Oklahoma. This particular text was written as a textbook, employing the same format as the previous two history books, with 293 sections in 16 chapters, and a lengthy Appendix of 47 pages on the American Indian and the Indians of Oklahoma. There were several photographs included, and many of the drawn illustrations depicted prominent people of the era, both Indian and white.

The frontispiece is of Sequoyah, with his English name listed as George Guess. Sequoyah was the first Cherokee to write in that language using an alphabet of his own creation. In 1829 he moved to Oklahoma, preceding the Trail of Tears by only a year, remaining there with the Cherokees who were forced to relocate, until his death 14 years later. Of course this is not how Sequoyah was presented in Thoburn's version, although his

image is featured at the beginning of the text, and his brief mention occupies a footnote extolling the virtues of education and his alphabet.

The first chapter of Thoburn's book is an introduction of Oklahoma featuring the white man followed by a secondary mention of the Indian. Statehood is a cultural construction based on imperialistic practices whether federated or not. The creation of states in this case is a colonizing construct meant to separate people according to a government network. Therefore, the history of the land that is known as Oklahoma predated the arrival of the first Settlers, and the Spiro and Caddo Indians were there prior to Spanish colonization, moreover the Caddo are still there.

Chapter II is subtitled Aboriginal Oklahoma, and while Thoburn did note the earlier existence of Indians in this area, he gave somewhat of an anthropological view in explaining what and how Indians ate, their physical descriptions, as well as a pan-Indian view of their languages. Thoburn positioned the history of Aboriginal Native Americans in this area as existing solely in the past, in a time prior to Settlement. This is a distinctly Eurocentric point of view that presupposes American history as beginning only after contact, and the establishment of the United States.

Chapters III through XVI are divided into periods, beginning with Spanish and American exploration. Chapter V is troubling as it's entitled, "Migration and Settlement of Indians From East of the Mississippi" presenting the issues of that era as if the Indians had had a choice in leaving their homelands on the Trail of Tears (1908, p. 35). The next chapter held the Cherokee as responsible for their own removal due to factions and feuding among themselves. Of course this viewpoint is presented from an assimilationist stance, with the

United States government as having the ultimate authority over Indians with forced treaties that were not honoured.

The seventh chapter positioned 1845-1860 as an era of “Peaceful Development”, which of course it was anything but as multiple wars ensued for almost a century between Native people and the United States. If this had been a time of peace there never would have been cause to propose residential boarding schools for Native children as part of peace treaty agreements. As the Apache, Ute, Sioux, Texas-Indian Wars continued, the schools became a place to imprison children (Fear-Segal, 2007).⁵²

By the eighth chapter Thoburn had conceded and mentioned the civil wars in Indian Territory, although his would be a whitewashed version of events that depicted the U.S. government as acting on the Indians’ behalf. Unfortunately these acts would see many Native people across the Indian territories imprisoned in military outposts (forts) and starving as well, as the winter of 1861-62 was one of the deadliest on record for Native people (Caldbeck, 2012). Chapter IX was a continuation of the previous chapter detailing further battles, American military officers, and the end of Natives owning slaves. While these are all actual issues and events, it is their American portrayal that is most disturbing. Gone from these accounts are the gruesome details which caused them to be described as indescribable. Indians were starving after surrendering to the U.S. government, yet Thoburn makes no mention of those events at all.

Instead by the next chapter a common and recurring theme once again emerges in how the destruction of property is paramount while any loss of life is glossed over. It is

⁵² Since many of the accounts detailing the wars are presented from an American and or revisionist point of view it should be pointed out here that many nations, or tribes, have never conceded defeat and continue to wage these wars culturally, linguistically, territorially, economically, and ecologically.

scandalous to think that the land was valued more than its inhabitants, yet Chapter X focuses on the division of lands through the “Territorial Organization” of the Five Civilized Tribes (p. 109). Clearly, adopting aspects of the colonist’s culture was not enough to ensure against their removal from their homelands. Chapter XI (1870-1875) ceded that the Plains tribes were once again on the “warpath” as railroad lines and coal mines moved westward.

The next few chapters discuss the westward expansion of Settlers and the development of the southwestern territories as they advanced. The discovery of oil and natural gas make an appearance which is quickly followed up by the proposal for statehood to be conferred which is where the book ends as it was published in 1908 and Oklahoma became a state in 1907. What’s distressing is that there were students at the Carlisle School from many of the Indian Nations mentioned in Thoburns’ history book, and they would most certainly have been aware of the discrepancies between what they knew and what they were reading. This would have been Vygotskian cognitive dissonance, where new information would not have coalesced with prior knowledge, and there would have been a definite probability that this could have affected academic achievement.

***Natural Advanced Geography* (1901)**

The only geography book that I located in relation to the Carlisle School was Jacques Wardlaw Redway (1849-1942) and Russell Hinman’s (1853-1912), *Natural Advanced Geography*, published by the American Book Company (ABC) in 1901. ABC first began publishing in 1890, operating out of New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago for over a century throughout various mergers. Focusing primarily on curricular publications until Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company acquired the remnants of ABC in

1995, ABC currently is an acquisition company, and began mass-producing testing materials as Houghton's subsidiary.

The reason ABC lasted so long in the publishing market surviving various mergers and trends in publishing with its ability to sustain an educational product over a long period of time. The geography books it produced were so widely used that individual editions of *Natural Advanced Geography* were published for individual states with an insert outlining the specific history of that state. Today, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, and Iowa are the most commonly found editions. Hinman separately wrote several geography texts for the company, although not nearly as many as Redway. Many of their books have now been digitized through the National Archives database, making them accessible for scholarship and research into the history of educational geography in the United States.

The continued popularity of these texts over such a long period of time is surprising, considering the relevance of such era specific information contained in their books. For example, in the Pennsylvania insert, Redway and Hinman reported that the value of farm products according to the 1890 census as in excess of 120,000,000 per annum. How this information was relevant over a century is questionable, yet without these texts scholars would not be able to postulate hypothetical conclusions as to the relevance of the information presented by the authors. However, clearly farming was a huge industry if it was valued at 120 million dollars at the turn of the 20th century. This amount would equal 3 trillion dollars today, and these were just the numbers from Pennsylvania.

Dewey believed that the unity of all sciences was found in geography, and Redway and Hinman's book is an example of this perception. Categorized by global and physical sections, their book gave detailed descriptions of the world's population while explaining

local economies. Also listed were various forms of transportation from around the world, as well as their local beneficiaries. For example, attention was paid to the world's railway systems, giving great consideration to their local applications in terms of railway stations, uses in transport, and how other forms of transportation were essential in their implementation. Students were expected to read, comprehend, and disseminate the information found in this textbook, and others like it.

A larger than averaged sized textbook, the book itself measures 10 by 12 inches, and the text is frequently accompanied by detailed illustrations. Comprised of 162 pages, with a maps section and an index, the conclusion of the book is an added insert on an individual state, in this case Pennsylvania. As for the introduction to the book, there is a Geographical Bulletin on Panama and several other Caribbean islands detailing their physical features, resources and industries, and their history and people. These histories frequently began with the arrival of the Europeans, usually Columbus.

Next is a section entitled "The Earth as a Whole", which discussed geographical features of various global locations, including climate. Also included were sections on Life and Man, which detailed animal populations of different regions, as well as the races of man. According to Redway there were three of these races; white, yellow, and black (p, 33, 1901). Accompanying this text was a picture of three Apaches who were classified under the yellow category as the third type of the yellow race, the first being Asians of Mongolia and were, "Not so highly civilized (p. 33). The second group were comprised of Malays and were brown, and were thought to be, "less civilized than the Mongolians". Finally is the third group, the American Indian, who was described as red and of course, savage.

On the next page there was a paragraph entitled, “Savagery” which stated that the author in the form of the plural we, concluded, “that at one time, many thousands of years ago, all, or nearly all, people were more ignorant than the most savage tribes now living” (p. 34). Redway completely describes Indigenous peoples without naming this category of person as such, although he does use ‘ignorant’ tribes in Australia as a reference.⁵³ Paragraphs on barbarism and civilization were next, followed by government, monarchy, and religion. Then there was the Industries section in which Redway wrote, “a savage has comparatively few wants” before he went on to discuss Agriculture. The next 60 pages are devoted to industry in the United States before Redway moved on to categorize South America, Eurasia, Europe, Asia, and Africa. There are equally disheartening sections regarding the people of all of these places, much of which had to do with slavery.

Finally, there is the insert section on Pennsylvania that followed much of the same format as the rest of the book, with sections on industry, history, race, and religions. Redway’s book was tailored for individual state instruction, and it is unclear who wrote the inserts, yet the format of them remained the same as the other book sections. Industry and the history of Pennsylvania were the focus of the CIIS text, including a history of Pennsylvania that began with William Penn in the 1700s. The part on the races included mention of Ireland, Germany, and England with the religions from each group listed as mostly Protestant and Quaker. What’s missing from this section is any history at all of the Native population that once used to reside in Pennsylvania.⁵⁴

⁵³ The Indigenous of Australia also underwent forced assimilation through the residential boarding school process, see <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/UWSLRev/2002/2.html>.

⁵⁴ See Paul A. Wallace’s book, *The Indians of Pennsylvania*, published by the Penn State University Press in 1961. This text is not completely accurate but serves as one of the few historical records on this topic.

What is clear is that in all of the texts from the Indian school, the history of the United States was considered to have begun with explorers, and the founding of the United States. With 13 texts written by 13 different authors, and almost as many publishers, it is difficult to imagine any other scenario than the overall hope of American society that Indians would disappear and their history become extinct with them. When this did not happen it left room for the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from American history as Native ways are tied to the land, and this presented a real challenge for those who wanted to revise the historical record. It still does. The expectation that Native Americans will be included in all aspects of American society, when their mention is grounded in the past and as less than their civilized counterparts, makes it seem as if Indians today don't exist at all.

***Lessons on the Human Body: An Elementary Treatise* (1883)**

The tenth book of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was written by Orestes M. Brands, and he is described on the title page as the Superintendent of Schools in Paterson N.J., as well as the author of two other texts on health. Altogether I located six textbooks on health or hygiene by Brand, all written at the turn of the century. A butterscotch coloured pocket-sized book with black lettering, this book has 255 pages divided into eight parts. Each part is comprised of numbered lessons with questions for review and examination at the conclusion of each part. Beginning with the skeleton, Brand outlined all the parts of the human body in the first seven parts of his text. The eighth and last part of the book was about the effects of alcohol and narcotics, including tobacco, on the human body.

Not once in the reading of this book was there mention of race or religion in reference to the human body, although information about stimulants and narcotics was

included. The antiquated use of terms was interesting though, calling the respiratory system in Part IV, “The Breathing Apparatus”. Moreover the book reads as an academic book today might, with a quote on p. 206 about “spirituous liquors” from Dr. Rush in *Reed’s Cyclopædia*. What’s even more interesting is that in the lesson on the history of tobacco, Columbus is mentioned- but only in relation to the tobacco plant, and without prejudicial judgment.

The Art of Making Harnesses Successfully (1913)
(Industrial Lessons in Harness Making)

The eleventh CIIS book was written by John Charles Jordan of the Tuskegee Institute, and only eleven copies of this book exist on the World Catalogue, including one at Tuskegee University. Add to that number the one that I saw at the Cumberland County Historical Society and there are 12 known copies that are publically held. In the three years I worked on my thesis I did not see one first edition copy for sale, however in 2013 a reprint was made available for purchase and there is a digital copy available online at HathiTrust. This is probably one of the rarer books that came across my path, and Jordan’s other book, a carriage-trimming guide from 1912, has four known copies on the World Catalogue, and that book is completely out of print.

The harness-making book from the Carlisle Indian School that I examined at the Cumberland County Historical Society was larger than a pocket-sized text, and it was printed in almost the same shape as the old, rectangular photograph albums were. It was a pristine copy, in very good condition. Much of the content of this book was an explanation of the technical aspects of harness making. Classifications of leather, the different types of hardware used, as well as all the tools needed to make a harness were all included. This

was a practical manual, listing the materials needed and the steps by which to construct different types of harnesses, along with measurements for each one.

Quite a bit of math was involved in that process, and there was a section that detailed the 1913 costs of materials, including labour. There were also detailed, multiple step problems to be solved, the same type as might be seen in an arithmetic book such as, “If the above harness sells for \$17.90, what profit is that over cost?” (p. 102). Due to the CIIS copy being so clean I would surmise that this book was not used, as the school would have had 34 prior years of harness construction experience by which to draw upon, and the instructor probably would not have needed a textbook by which to teach students how to make a harness. Jordan’s book was published in 1913, and although there is no indication as to what year it arrived at Carlisle Indian, the school would only be in existence for another 5 years, so perhaps that is why the book remained largely unused.

Stiya: A Carlisle Indian Girl at Home (1894) written by Embe (Marion Burgess)

This next book was written in a different genre than the previous textbooks were, however I believe that the purpose of this fictional novel was also meant to instruct students, albeit through storytelling. Comprised of sixteen chapters and seven photographs over 115 pages, the original book has blue covers that are two-toned paper, in light and dark blues. The cover is printed with what appears to be an arts and crafts font, however the letters that comprise the name *Stiya* in the title are German in origin, written so that the letter “s” appears as a numeral “8”. I attribute this to the German and Pennsylvania Dutch influence that dominated Pennsylvania in the 1800s, and which continues in parts of that region today.

Leslie Marmon Silko (1994) was the first person to publically realize that Embe, the listed author of *Stiya*, was Marion or Mariana Burgess, and Embe was a phonetic writing of her initials. EM = M, BE = B. Also known as the fictitious Man-on-the-Bandstand, another play on her initials, Marion Burgess was the **Man-on-the-Bandstand** who presided over school Carlisle School publications for decades as editor and revisionist. Silko wrote about how copies of *Stiya* were sent to former students by the U.S. government around the turn of the 20th century. Silko's Aunt Susie, a Carlisle School graduate, received one, and so Silko's connection to the text was a personal one, drawn upon the dichotomy that was created when fiction and real life meet. Without Silko's scholarship and analysis this book might have gone unrecognized as the propaganda it was (Hernández-Avila, 2015).

As such it is an unassuming book with a dark blue spine and light blue cloth cover, the title printed in black with an accompany illustration. Across from the title page is a photograph of an unknown Indian girl, although the reader is allowed to believe that she might be *Stiya* with a caption saying as much. In the original serialization in the 1889 editions of the *Indian Helper*, *Stiya* was named Mollie, and there can be no doubt that it was Marion Burgess who wrote the original story.

In the published version under the title are the word's "Founded on the Author's Actual Observations" which indicate that this is not an autobiography of any kind, it is a book written in third person, made to appear as a story written in first person. Oddly enough this book was printed in Cambridge at the Riverside Press. Between the GPO in Washington D.C. and the Carlisle Print Shop on the CIIS campus, it seems an unusual choice to send the book to Massachusetts to be printed.

There is a difference between printing and publishing which should be noted here. Publishers' pay for the privilege of printing and promoting a book, printers are paid to print the book. A subtle distinction but an important one which demonstrates Silko's finding that *Stiya* was being used as a tool of propaganda. Someone paid to have *Stiya* printed, and not through official government channels, instead circumventing them by sending the book to Cambridge. The book is copyrighted by M. Burgess in 1891, further enforcing that Burgess was the books' author.

Next there was a note preceding the Contents and List of Illustrations which stated that *Stiya* was a composite character of several different girls who attended CIIS at various times. Burgess then goes on to claim all incidents contained in the book are true and that they have been reported to the government at Washington. The final sentences of the book's preface indicated that brighter days were dawning so that home conditions in Indian homes will no longer be "tribal tyranny" and "all will be under the protection and enjoy the privileges of our good Government" (1891, p.vi). The use of the term "tribal tyranny" was clearly an effort to undermine the sovereignty that Indians enjoyed through treaty negotiations. By juxtaposing tribal with government it indicates opposition through inferential meaning.

The same could be said in regards to the Contents and List of Illustrations, except that these were more explicit indicators. Chapters were entitled Disappointment and Evil Forebodings, and others used words like fears and persecution. The synopsis of the book was that *Stiya*, a Carlisle Indian School student, had been sent home to the Pueblo Nation and would now be an example to her parents. Technically speaking there are a couple of major issues with the storyline. On page 6, the first day *Stiya* is home, she indicates that

she can't speak much Indian and her parents speak no English. However by the next day in the story, Stiya and her parents are speaking to each other with understanding. This simply is not possible.

The second issue, which Silko discussed, was the inaccuracies written about the Pueblo people, primarily the rejection of traditional ways most notably dancing the ka'tshina by the returning Stiya as well the portrayal of the people as filthy and lewd. As Burgess herself admitted this was a compilation piece in the note before the first chapter, it is clear she presented a pan-Indian view of what some students had experienced when they returned to their homes however inaccurate.

Silko's Aunt Susie, scholar and storyteller, had preserved the family copy of Stiya which had been sent by the government to all the Pueblo graduates of Carlisle, from being thrown into the fire by Silko's grandmother, and thus the story of the book itself survived in Silko's family. Silko herself noted how "the Stiya book was important evidence of the lies and the racism and bad faith of the U.S. Government with the Pueblo people" (1994). While Silko's grandmother, "didn't care about preserving historical evidence of racist, anti-Indian propaganda" others did, which is why that a copy of this book should survive when so many other Carlisle books didn't is testimony to its importance.

The copy of *Stiya* that I saw at CCHS was in very good condition, and I wondered if there were other copies at the school that were reading copies, and if that the copy I was looking at had belonged to an instructor. After all a few of the books in the CCHS archives were in very good condition, perhaps they had all been instructor's copies, it would certainly explain their "like new" condition. Occasionally a first edition copy of *Stiya* will come up for sale, however in 2010 and 2012 the book was reissued as a reproduction, and

with the digital online version from Hathi Trust available, the text can be read in multiple formats.

The Thirteenth Book

***Cavalry Drill Regulations* (1902)**

After many months of searching I was able to locate, and purchase, one of the CIIS books from a rare books dealer in Georgia who thought the text might have been part of a military collection he had acquired, and there the trail ended. At some point after the book left the Carlisle Indian School it made it's way to New York City and was stamped as such at the Army & Navy Journal when they were located on Vesey Street. In 1933 the Journal moved to Washington D.C., so how this book traveled further south after that time period is a mystery. Today once again it is back up north with its telltale CIIS stamp on both the endpaper and what could be considered the introduction page.

Published by the Government Printing Office (GPO) in 1902, this book has gold covered boards with gilt lettering and green endpapers, although other copies of the same edition have brown leather boards. This book is a later edition of the 1891 original, although several different editions were published periodically until the end of WWI. It is pocket sized, presumably for use in and on the military field, and although the cover has wear and is a bit dirty the pages are pristine, not one is folded or soiled in any way. Moderately priced as a cross-collectible, there are usually different editions available for sale as well as a reissued version that can often be printed on demand.

The author of this book was the United States Army, and it was issued by the War Department as Document No. 181 in 1902. Divided into numbered sections, with a total of

1180, the primary text is preceded by Definitions and Signals. After section 1180, are thirty-three pages of 91 Trumpet Calls etc., followed by a two page Memorandum of Most Important Distances and a twenty-five page Index. It is here in the Index that the Order of Subjects appears, which names the fourteen parts of this book. I am listing them here to emphasize their military nature and their inclusion at a school, for children.

General Principles

The Soldier

The Trooper

The Troop

The Squadron

The Regiment

The Brigade

The Division

The Corps

Employment of Cavalry

Marches, camping, etc.

Ceremonies, etc.

Cavalry horses, shoeing, stables, packing, etc.

Trumpet calls, etc.

The inclusion of these military terms as a method of instruction for students at a boarding school, gives a different flavour to the instruction posited by the Carlisle Indian School Catalogues. Nowhere in those catalogues are military maneuvers mentioned, so why the book was at Carlisle in the first place gives rise to speculation as to methods of behavioural control. Not only was the Indian school being used to house prisoners of war, military methods were most likely being used to create order in a student population comprised of children and young adults. One look at the pictures of children outfitted in the same clothing, or uniforms, and lined up gives credence to that idea. Nor can the comparison of prison life be ignored here; the fine line between forced institutionalization and Native boarding school education cannot be overlooked.

From Military School to Boarding School

The differences between the Native experience in residential boarding schools and the Harry Potter perception of these institutions being magical places can be difficult to conceptualize. Today boarding schools are usually discussed in educational circles in terms of their relation to prestige and power. Admission to them is often exclusive, and outside of their walls not much is known about them. Also known as preparatory schools, in anticipation of students attending university, these schools are meant to ensure college placements. It is an industry geared to educating those who have wealth and power, beginning with pre-school placements for America's wealthiest and upper classes.

In 1985, Cookson and Persell published *Preparing for Power: America's Elite Boarding Schools*, which examined sixty-eight boarding schools in four countries, and fifteen states in America. Yet other than their book, which discussed cultural capital and academic climates, relatively little research exists on the mechanics and history of boarding schools. While J.K. Rowlings' *Harry Potter* series has illuminated residential schooling in a fictional way, boarding schools are in a very real sense, private. Most boarding schools are rooted in religion, and also seem to be related to the university system established millennia ago in Europe. Regardless of their origin, boarding schools migrated to North America as an aspect of religious institutions, and were quickly implemented as a way to educate Indigenous children, the idea being that children were easier to convince that Euro-centric ways were better than their own (Henry, 1972; Adams, 1946).

During the era that the Carlisle School was operating in, it was not uncommon for people to send their children away to school, and American education at that time included

numerous military and boarding schools in the northeast. Famous educational institutions, such as West Point, have long been a goal to be aspired to by those who wish a military education. Yet for centuries it was a male dominated institution, only admitting women since 1976. The crossover at the Carlisle Indian School, between penal institution and education, is apparent here with the admittance of girls to a military run boarding school. It was, and is, uncommon. These were children, of both genders, being sent to a military school run by the government using military personnel. It is not surprising then to see *Cavalry Drill Regulations* among the books belonging to the Carlisle Indian School.

Conclusion

These were the thirteen books then that I located which bore the distinctive double oval stamp of the Carlisle Indian School. These texts were found after examining countless archival documents, theses, and by tracing the books of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School backwards in time through the citations of the many books that have been written about the school and residential school education. Along this journey I found the titles of several books, and these led me to look for the Indian School's library. While I was interested in the individual book titles, I knew that there had been a library at the school, which meant that there had to be a deaccession list from when the School closed. There was very little information about the school from before 1900 therefore I wasn't sure when or how the library had come into being, yet I continued to hope that I could find some mention of it, other than the brief descriptions which were in the school catalogues.

Chapter 7 - The Carlisle Indian School Library

This chapter examines the Carlisle Indian School library; its construction, duration, and where it may have gone upon the schools closing. I examine both the accession and deaccession lists, as well as some of the titles on both of those lists, as the knowledge of the Carlisle Indian School library's existence came rather late into my research and when it did I found that it directly impacted the curriculum of the school. The academics of the school could be viewed as comprising two parts of a whole, on one side was the Outing Program, on the other side was the learning that took place at the Carlisle School campus itself. The campus side was comprised of vocational and industrial education, and was supported by academic instruction. The library was to have been part of student's academic training, yet there was such little mention of it in the school records that I wasn't sure it actually existed when I began looking for it.

From the lost library of Alexandria to the Library of Congress, Western civilization has always prized the record keeping process of knowledge. The Carlisle Indian School was no different, and as a military installation they were already used to collecting information, so to construct a library would have been a natural progression in the order of the school. The first image that I located of the library fueled my belief that the school had owned a great many books, although finding them would prove to be more difficult than it should have been. For a military installation which had kept so many records, finding an accession or deaccession list would be like going on a treasure hunt.



Figure 14. The Carlisle Indian School Library, circa 1902.

I had believed from the very beginning of my research component that the curriculum of the Carlisle School had included books, however to find them all I could do was to scour texts and archives, looking for mention of their titles. There were photographs that had pictured reading rooms for both boys and girls so I knew that there was an emphasis on Indian students being able to read in the English language. Eventually I would find some book titles but mention of a library almost eluded me until I found a reference to one in the catalogues. Eventually I located a picture of what must have been the initial school library, although there was no official mention of a formal library, or when it had begun. At first, working from only from the image above, I estimated that there had been at least a thousand volumes at the school, and that if this was a corner of the library room, then perhaps there were three more corners with just as many books. I had no way of knowing exactly how large the physical space for a library at CIIS might have been, other than to guess.

The 1908 catalogue provided the first real confirmation that a library had existed at the Indian school in the way I thought it should have, stating that there were 2,400 volumes

as well as pamphlets, magazines, and government publications (p. 65). Listed were some of the reference materials:

International Encyclopedia ed. 1903-04
Nature Library of 10v. Doubleday
Lydekker's Natural History 5v.
Warner's Best Literature 30v.
Modern Eloquence 15v.

As well as books by individual authors;

Miss Alcott
Susan Coolidge
Mrs. Whitney
Kirk Monroe
Stoddard Henty

with sets of Cooper, Scott, and Dickens included in that list as well.

Then, in the 1912 catalogue a small excerpt stated that there were, "about 3,500 carefully selected volumes and other literature for reference purposes" occupying a portion of the first floor in the Academic Building. This information aligned with the previous mention of the library, albeit there were additional volumes according to the later catalogue. At this point in my research I still felt as though I was missing the largest part of the print culture at Carlisle. Surely the library had to exist somewhere, but the 1915 catalogue did not mention the library at all. It did however provide a list of "Books for Reference" which were titles in relation to vocational training. Helpful, but how to verify that these weren't just book suggestions? At this point there was no way to know if the books on that list had been at the Carlisle School or not.

Included in the montage of photographs from the 1915 catalogue, was a very small, grainy image that featured a different angle of the library showing that shelf after shelf was packed with books. This find was a moderate success to be sure, yet the titles were

unreadable in both pictures of the library that I had found. Later I would learn that this was not the same library as pictured in 1902, and that the library had been relocated in 1906 (Lear, 2012, p. 87). However these were the images that fueled my determination to find out what students were reading as a part of the Carlisle School curriculum. Yet despite having been to several archives and having read every publication I could on the Carlisle Indian School, I was still no closer to finding one book from the library.

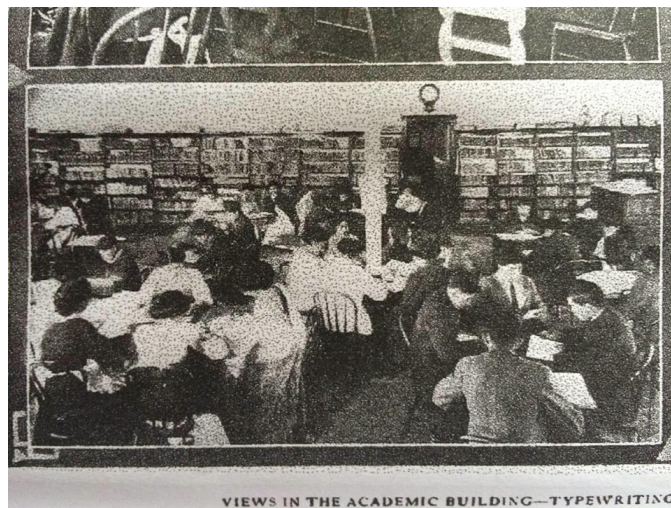


Figure 15. Carlisle Indian School library circa 1915

Then I went to the Cumberland County Historical Society, and it was within their archives that I located a clue about the library's dismantlement. In a letter dated January 12, 1934 from Wallace and Nellie R. Denny to a Mr. Samuel Goodyear of Carlisle, PA, there was mention of how school property had been distributed after the Indian School was closed (PI 1-1-3, CCHS). This letter, along with several others held by the Cumberland County Historical Society, traced the history of materials donated to various institutions. Some items were sent to General Pratt who had retired in Rochester N.Y., and whose papers

today reside in the Beinecke Rare Books room at Yale University, however the books he was sent do not. The local library in Carlisle, the Bosler Memorial Library, had also received items, however today they no longer have them, nor was there a record of where they had gone. The letter also mentioned how in 1922 other materials were sent to the Pennsylvania State Librarian in Harrisburg, yet their holdings did not contain textbooks or mention of the CIIS library, lead after lead ended nowhere.

Then in June of 2014, working from Dr. Carmelita Ryan's dissertation, I was able to locate the official ledgers of the Carlisle Indian School in the National Archives. Stored in archival boxes, the ledgers were large, over-size books tied with ribbon. After decades of storage there were in surprisingly pristine condition. Page after page I read in the same handwriting, noting the precise penmanship with no inkblots what so ever. Yet in those ledgers I was able to locate titles of books purchased by the Carlisle Indian School for classrooms -and the library. These were the ledgers written during Pratt's tenure in the 1880s and 90s.

At the same time I was looking for the textbooks, any books really, from the Carlisle Indian School, Bernadette A. Lear, librarian at Penn State, Harrisburg, was finishing her master's thesis on libraries and the reading culture in federal American Indian schools. Her work was completely unknown to me until the August of 2014 when a friend posted a short article online that Lear had written about Sarah Smith (*Oneida – Wisconsin*), the first librarian at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. I was able to obtain a copy of Lear's thesis, and her work would cement my belief that there had truly been a substantial library at the Carlisle Indian School.

Sarah Smith ~ Oneida

From the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) territories, had come Susan Smith, “a Carlisle graduate who became the first paid American Indian employee in its academic library,” (Lear, 2011). Lear summarized how Dr. Oliver Blakeless had founded Carlisle’s academic library in 1897, hiring Smith who remained working in the library until she married Charles King in 1900 and moved back to Wisconsin.

Lear had also written extensively about the Carlisle Indian School library in her thesis, at times commenting on the curriculum and how the two might coincide. Although her focus on the library was absolute and complete, discussing how the card catalogue was made of oak and other spatial details of the room, she also mentioned the statistics the Carlisle librarians kept and how students used the library in terms of borrowing materials. From her writing it was clear that the library and the reading rooms at Carlisle had played an important “social” role in student’s lives (Lear, 2012, p. 90).



Figure 16. Postcard image of the Carlisle School Library, circa 1915. From Lear’s private collection (Lear, 2001, p.10).

In Lear’s thesis was an image of the library I had never seen before, and which demonstrated the placement of books in the newly designed library named after William

Mercer, the school's second superintendent. Lear's view was that books were central to library, and not so much the student's uses of them, and one can see why as there was a palm tree planted squarely in what looks to be the center of the room. The bookshelves were against the walls, and there was seating for students around the palm tree that was in the center of the room. Lear also included in her work on Carlisle titles of reference books that she had found in the school newspaper, and hypothesized that the school had "purchased fewer books as the 1900s progressed" citing accretion notices from 1913 and 1915, of 500 and 24 titles accordingly (p. 96). Lear also mentioned a deaccession list of 1,705 items, as well as a breakdown of the publication dates for those items before discussing their genres. Next she gave titles to exemplify her categorizations before telling readers what she didn't find, which was equally as important as what she did locate.

Lear found very few agriculture and trade books, citing "limited holdings" in each category (p.95). This is surprising since Carlisle was first and foremost an industrial school that marketed itself as teaching the trades. While the agriculture part of the school was not as publically promoted as the academic side, the school farm was staffed by students and was always mentioned in relation to departments, i.e. dairying and farming. A selection of books supporting these trades should have been available to students, although the practical application of hands on vocational education may have contributed to any lack.

Lear also noted that there weren't many books in the library about social sciences, politics, or the law, hardly surprising in a trades school whose focus was on manual training. Her conclusion regarding the social sciences books was that there was a "skewed nature of available items written about them (Indians)" (2012, p.95). The Carlisle Indian School was educating students in an era where there were many books by and about Native

Americans, which makes their absence all that more profound in a school *for* Indians. The books that the library offered had a determinedly assimilationist stance, and with that pro-American positioning it is odd that politics and the law texts should be so markedly absent from a school which prided itself on the advanced education Indians were supposed to be receiving there.

On page 65 of the 1908 catalogue there was information about the library's 2400 volumes "including works in all classes suitable for school use" followed by a short list of other holdings which contained:

History and travel 816v.

Biography 423v.

Fiction 1624v.

Magazines and pamphlets 1497v.

The catalogue also stated that the, "Library is not equipped with up-to-date novels" which I thought was rather interesting considering how books would have had to have been first ordered and then paid for (or donated), and perhaps this is why new novels weren't included (p. 65).

The CIIS Accession List

Lear had noted that, "the academic library departed from the informal reading rooms by supporting the curriculum in a manner similar to modern school libraries" which is an intriguing idea in that there was both a library and reading rooms (p. 41). Were only those students who were most accomplished in the reading of English using the library books? Or were the library books for everyone? If that was the case, that the library was for all students, why were there reading rooms, and what were they used for? Between Lear's research and my own it was possible to recreate on paper what I had only imagined

the CIIS library to have been like. However to reconstruct the Carlisle Library as a working library would require not only the accession and deaccession lists, but an outline of the collection's trajectory as might be found in school and government reports.

The book titles that appeared in three of the official ledgers from the 1880s and 1890s were varied, some were textbooks and others were novels. Some book titles had authors, many others did not, such as the *Handbook of Nursing*. Yet without further information there is no way of knowing who the author was, or which edition of the *Handbook of Nursing* was at the school. A quick search on the World Catalogue indicated that there were over 9,000 results for that title. Clearly the publication date must have been before 1900, yet to know which book or edition was at Carlisle was going to take a lot of cross referencing, research, and probably an educated guess.⁵⁵

Listed were books were for boys and girls, as well as history books and storybooks. *The Peterkin Papers* by Lucretia Peabody Hale was there, and I could easily locate information about that book since it was popular and has been reprinted many times. By the time I finished compiling all the titles from the CIIS ledgers in the National Archives, I realized I had created an accession list of sorts. This list was not comprehensive of all the CIIS books by any means, but it was a start.

I had found there were 458 titles that were acquired without explanation, so again extrapolation was needed when considering each one. For example, a *Scrap Book* was listed which could have meant it was either a book title or it was a scrapbook for mementos. It wasn't until I was I was at a flea market and saw an old copy book for sale with the title

⁵⁵ Lear had the same problem with her list, *Colored Americans* by William Mowry was listed yet there is no book by that title on the World Catalogue. Instead, after much research, it turns out that *Colored Americans* was a newspaper, and William A. Mowry was a Managing Editor.

“Scrap Book” that I realized what I was probably looking at in the ledgers was an order for copy books.

Illustrated Primers and *Fairy Tales* were also listed, so I knew I’d been on the right track about children being at Carlisle, as well as the use of Primers at the schoolboy both younger and older students. Clearly there were books at Carlisle that other children in America were reading; the only difference was that most Carlisle students had needed to learn English in order to read the books at the Indian school. The odd thing was that at the turn of the 20th century there were many schools in the United States instructing students in languages other than English. Polish and German were used as methods of instruction until WWI broke out and it appeared to be unpatriotic to learn (in) those languages (Spack, 2002). Why then was it so important to “Kill the Indian, and Save the Man” if other ethnic groups were retaining their European heritages?

Louis May Alcott’s books were there in the ledger lists as well, and this verified what the 1908 catalogue had stated about her books being on the library’s shelves. The closest I came to matching one of the 13 actual books that I had found from the Carlisle Indian School, was the ledger list which included *Milne’s High School Algebra*, and 4 ½ dozen of them had been ordered in 1898. How then had the books I had located arrived at Carlisle if they hadn’t appeared in these ledgers? Were the books private donations, or were they paid for from a different school fund? The ambiguity was astounding, where had the governmental oversight been? If the books that I had found weren’t in the official ledgers that meant there was another ledger or account with different purchases somewhere that has yet to be located. Clearly there is much still to be learned about the books that were at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

The Value of the CIIS Library

Today the books from Carlisle would have an intrinsic value if only because they were part of the school or the library, yet to a scholar the books would be priceless. It is an odd anomaly then that none of the CIIS library books have surfaced over the past century, leading me to wonder where exactly the library went. Was it thrown away? I don't think it was since the books were bought with government funds, and with the government's penchant for saving things, as well as all the other ephemeral materials that were sent to Washington D.C., that indicates that the books would have been saved as well. Why would the library books be the only items to be discarded when so many other paper materials had been preserved? Clearly the textbooks weren't disposed of since they continue to surface, albeit in very small numbers. So where did the library books go then? They aren't at the Cumberland County Historical Society, or the Bosler Library, nor are they on the campus of the War College. According to the National Archives the books aren't in their collections, and I checked with the National Library of Congress; the books aren't there either. Perhaps at the time they were not thought to be valuable enough for a major collection and were stored someplace else.

Also in the ledger accounts that I examined, I found the title of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities at the University of Virginia (UVA) has digitized the covers of 24 editions of this book from 1852 to 1930, demonstrating all the different copies that are known to exist. The copy from the Carlisle School would have had to have been purchased before 1900, and there are several different editions from that era pictured on the UVA website. Some of those editions were published in the same year; others were published between 1852 and 1900,

so that was not a method by which to pinpoint a particular edition, and so the website only served to illuminate how many different editions there are. Today we know what a rare book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* can be since many librarians purged their copies of it during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, not wishing to have it on their shelves as racist material (Martin, 2004). Original copies of this book can command prices between \$1,000 and \$32,000 depending on condition and edition. So if the CIIS library collection were to surface today there is a very real possibility that not only would the books be valuable, they could be sold to realize a very handsome profit.

Where the Books Might Be and Who Has Them

Occasionally, rarely, a schoolbook from Carlisle Indian will turn up at auction, although from where is usually unknown. This makes the market for them unpredictable and the books difficult to find or acquire. Yet since the bulk of the Carlisle volumes are missing, there is the hope that more will appear. As CIIS teachers had some of the school materials perhaps books are emerging or will emerge from those collections. It is also possible that books went home with students as well, therefore books from the school could be anywhere. Only someone who was aware of the school and the Carlisle stamp would understand their significance. Wherever the books are it is clear that there is yet to be a comprehensive list of all of the Carlisle Indian School books.

Conclusion

There is a very real possibility that the books I found in the ledger lists were not a part of the library or the boys and girls reading rooms. Instead they could have been purchased for classroom use. Lear's finding, that Dr. Blakeless founded the library in 1897

is entirely plausible, yet I did not see in the ledgers a large book purchase which should have preceded the library's founding. So were the books from the ledger lists reading room books, classroom books, or library books? If the library was founded in 1897 why wasn't there a large book purchase preceding that date, and where did the library books come from then? I think that there was an unofficial library, a room where books were stored for student's use prior to 1897, and that eventually became the official CIIS library.

Finally, where all the books at CIIS came from remains a mystery, as does where they all went. The catalogue listed the library as having 3500 volumes in 1915, and Lear had 1700 titles on the deaccession list written just three years later. This leaves a deficit of 1800 books, not to mention all the other book titles that I had found that hadn't appeared on the deaccession list either. Clearly there is much work to be done in locating the books and the curriculum of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

Chapter 8 - Where Do We Go From Here?

Whoever controls the education of our children controls the future. Wilma Mankiller

Prologue

Long before I knew about residential schools for American Indians I heard the voices of my ancestors calling to me over space, place, and time. The message was always the same~ *come home*.

As a small child I had been adopted by white people who had worked at an institution very much like the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. My experiences during that time in my life mirrored those of the children who had been forced to go to residential schools. Most of us lost our languages, many of us lost our families, and some of us lost our identities. My story is no different than thousands of other Native children's, however I truly believed that if I could travel back in time I would be able to find a way to connect with the family I had never known. The path that I followed to do this was interestingly enough, higher education. The very process that had so often conquered and divided Indigenous people would play a significant role in reuniting me with my history.

At university I found acceptance, and along with that books, and a knowledge which spanned centuries. Therefore my research became emblematic of a shared journey, one that was experienced by thousands. And combined with all that I had learned about the *Rotinonshón:ni* (Iroquois) *táhnnon ne Onkwehón:we* (and human) way of thinking about American Indian education, a new path was created. I came to understand that my adoption had been a mechanism for survival, my education a means to live. Consequently I have combined them both here as a merger between of the two ways of being that has defined my life.

Now in the dark of night what I heard my relatives say was~ *tell our story, don't let us be forgotten*. This is their story then, told through the curriculum and the books of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. It is a narrative which encompasses an overpowering Eurocentric version while illuminating a new context, an Indigenous one which shares a different side of the American educational experience. I am grateful to for having had this journey and this opportunity to write their story.

Niawen:kówa Takia'tíson, tekanonhweráh:ton kenh i:kes táhnon shé:kon konnhe, ayéna:was tsi awékon rotí:yen skennatón:ion, nónwa wa'onkhróri ne:ne kí:ken ó:ká:ra~

The End is Only the Beginning

On a warm, sunny November day in the fall of 2011, my daughter and I drove for the first time to the former site of the Carlisle Indian School, now part of the campus for the U.S. Army War College. The trees were glorious that year, and the leaves were yellow and red, floating on a sea of green grass. From the street we could see between the black, wrought iron fence posts that stood as sentries, enclosing the cemetery. There we saw the symmetrical white headstones representing the 192 students who had died while at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.⁵⁶

Even though the cemetery is just a few feet from a main road which divides the campus, we had to pass through the security checkpoint of what today is an active military installation before being allowed onto the grounds to visit the cemetery and pay our respects. The men who manned the checkpoint were armed; and it was a daunting experience to realize the level of scrutiny that surrounded this cemetery, and by extension

⁵⁶ The cemetery was relocated in the 1890s to make way for a road to be put through and today there continues to be speculation as to exactly who is buried in the cemetery, how many are actually buried there, and when they died.

Native American history. As I parked the car and began to walk over to the iron gate to go in the cemetery, out of the corner of my eye I saw a security vehicle arrive, park, and officers sit and watch as I entered the cemetery. This was an inspirational moment, one that would signify my willingness to cross barriers of all kinds while forging alliances with the institutions whose existence had once meant my people harm. It would be the first of many such occurrences.

"The ground on which we stand is sacred ground.
It is the dust and blood of our ancestors."
-- Plenty Coups, *Crow*

Native History is American History

Recently, the farmhouse at the former Carlisle Indian Industrial School, now the United States Army War College, was saved from demolition as a group of Carlisle descendants and scholars banded together in order to keep this shared piece of American history from being destroyed. What role the farmhouse had played at the Indian school is still under investigation, however even the Army came into agreement that the building itself was a shared piece of intellectual property, albeit for different reasons. The same can be said for Native American education at Carlisle, there is a shared history here as well, one which must be preserved from destruction, as it exemplifies American education from that era. As the model for Indian education the CIIS materials also embodies the genesis for 20th century boarding school education, and as such must be preserved.

My research has barely uncovered the Carlisle Indian School curriculum, and there are thousands of books from the school that have yet to be found and explored. Therefore to have the resources available by which to ask, and answer, questions like mine is akin to

finding a national treasure. However, there are many other residential boarding schools that have a limited amount of documentation associated with them, as they weren't run by the United States federal government. For those schools, such as the Mohawk Institute Residential School in Brantford, Ontario Canada (1828-1969), there are almost no student records, books, or examples of student work to be examined. For the students who were at school there is only the record of their memories, and the buildings that remain, an empty shell devoid of what once contained inner workings.

The Future of Research Regarding the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Therefore in that sense I was fortunate to have not only the original Carlisle school campus, but also the paper materials as well as the assistance of multiple institutions that contained them for my research, including support from the Federal Government of the United States. Not all scholars are so fortunate, yet there is extensive research that remains to be done on the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in many areas.

One of those areas where there is a lack of research is in regards to the educators and teachers from the Indian school. This was a peripheral issue that I was made aware of, and occasionally considered as I examined documents. A list of educators does exist in some of the Carlisle Catalogues, and there are government records that name "Employés In Indian Schools" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888). Employees from 68 residential schools are recorded; their names, their positions, and their salaries are also included.⁵⁷ Yet

⁵⁷ Zitkála-Šá and Angel de Cora have been written about as famous Native Americans who taught at the school however there are many others who have not been illuminated to that level.

that is where the information ends, as there is almost no record of any of these people after the school closed.

Additionally, part of any investigation into those who worked at the school should include an in-depth analysis of the superintendents who succeeded General Pratt. There was very little biographical information available about the men who were in charge of the school after him, and often the extant information was not verifiable. Therefore there is a real need to examine not only the historical underpinnings of the school, but those who implemented and mandated policy there. Carlisle was posited as an academic model for Indian education, and it would assist in all future research to have an understanding of the men and women who ran Carlisle.

Primary Documentation

Another gap that exists in the Carlisle knowledge base, concerns the student records in terms of student trajectories and the absence of their continuation. During the time that the school was in existence, and student records were kept onsite, the record cards were often noted with where students had come from and where they went after leaving Carlisle. The school's newspapers and catalogues also published this type of information, however after the school closed in 1918 there was not the kind of longitudinal research done on student statistics that I would like to see from an institution that was used as a curricular model. While famous Carlisle students, such as Jim Thorpe, were publically followed, the lack of attrition rates should have warranted this type of an examination long before now.

Then there are the pan-Indian residential school writings which take one of two tracks, either glorifying or vilifying residential school education as a whole, without the cognizance of student's stories. This is where longitudinal research should also come in

and be able to document and pinpoint either the benefits or detriments of a residential school education within the boarding school student population. Without the Carlisle students alive to speak for themselves, historians are left to official documents to conduct their research by. Therefore I would like to see an academic investigation conducted which includes the families of former students, and examines the viability of residential schooling within specifically targeted populations.

Yet I understand that to conduct such an examination would be fraught with issues. Who would conduct it, and whose voice would be privileged? Would descendants participate? Do descendants know their relations attended the Carlisle school? What happens if this type of research demonstrates negative effects? These questions are why I believe that this large gap in the knowledge base regarding Native American residential schooling exists. I would assume that, in part due to IRB protocols, not many researchers would be interested in designing metrics that would examine the longitudinal effects of the culturally assimilative aspects of American education and Native populations.

However, in 2008 the Canadian government set precedence for this type of research when they established The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada to investigate the education of Native American students in residential schools. In 2015 the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was publically made available in a digital format, and was officially published in hard cover through McGill-Queen's University Press in December of 2015. While the TRC was a human rights commission, it was also the only narrative based inquiry into the longitudinal effects of residential schooling for Native Americans. As such it carries a very great weight and should not be addressed lightly or dismissed for its lack of an academic background. Today it is the only

official government report, or report of any kind, that has employed first person narratives that are focused exclusively on the topic of education for the Indigenous peoples of North America.

Therefore any investigation which examines residential school records is vital to conducting and establishing empirical data sets, whether they are quantitative or qualitative. It is my belief that any type of mixed methods approach would also be equitable, and provide a demonstration of information grounded in both American and Native knowledge. There should be no binary opposition here, just a mutual goal of sharing and understanding, in order that order, so that under no circumstances are boarding schools ever again recommended as a viable alternative educational solution to culturally diverse training. Both groups have much to learn from one another, and although Native people have every right to be suspicious of the federal government there is much to be gained from an examination of government records.

Until there is a recognition- historically, academically, and socially, of what American Indians have experienced in terms of formal American education, there will be no widespread academic achievement for American Indians. For generations Native people have been expressly told that their appearances, cultures, and languages are not worthy of academia, and therefore must be changed and altered to fit a model, which is at best is excludatory. This has been a prescription for disaster, as evidenced by the Carlisle School's 7% graduation rate, one that is sure to fall as student records are located and student population numbers grow higher.

The Official Government Records of the United States of America

Research wise, Dr. Carmelita S. Ryan's (Handbook Vol. 4, 1988) work barely touched upon all the records that are held in the United State National Archives. She was one of the few scholars who delved into them, and without her laying the groundwork for the information contained in Record Group 75, there would be a marked absence of Carlisle school information. I considered this point over and over again after my visit to the National Archives. As I studied the ledgers of the school I wondered then, and as I still do now, what other Carlisle Indian School records are being held at NARA. As a researcher using this facility you must know exactly what you are requesting when you ask for records, as there is no going into the stacks and wandering around until you find what you are looking for. There is also no telling what materials are actually available for study- or what has been discarded as the government periodically downsizes their holdings as literally millions of records are generated each year (NARA, 2014).

Periodically, the United States Government publishes a guide to the National Archives and in 1974, Record Group 75 was listed as encompassing 16,329 cubic feet of records, dating between 1794 and 1967. In 1981, Edward B. Hill compiled a book in which delineated the Indian records held in the National Archives, and on page 149 he stated that the Carlisle Indian Industrial School records comprised 91 feet. 91 feet is approximately the third of the size of a football field, and even if records were stacked in boxes on top of each other the National Archive does not have an unlimited amount of space. It is easy to see how records might have been lost or discarded.

Institutions are also under no obligation to disclose their materials, and many libraries and archives have hidden stacks or simply materials that have yet to be catalogued.

Many institutions, including those run by the U.S. federal government, have a limited amount of cataloguers and off site storage. For instance, the logistics of museums are similar in that for every object displayed there are dozens more in storage that could be on exhibit. The federal government is a perfect example of this, as are all institutions that hold records, such as the Smithsonian which is known as the Nation's Attic due to its propensity to accumulate millions of objects. Therefore archives and libraries function in much the same ways as museums do, often using other facilities to hold the bulk of their collections. Off site storage is fiscally responsible as well, so that should there ever be damage to a facility, such as a fire, not all of its holdings are in the same location at once.

Nicholson Baker (2001) wrote extensively on the archiving and deaccessioning of library materials, in what he termed the "assault on paper" whereby hundreds, if not thousands of libraries discarded bound volumes of newspapers in favour of their microfiche counterpart as space saving measure. The problem with that was that many libraries discarded their newspapers, and today, actual paper copies of those historical records no longer exist in the United States. One reason for the newspapers' extinction was that after leaving the libraries many volumes were pulped, or sold and then sent overseas. This has become such a common occurrence that Baker devoted the first chapter of his book to explaining where entire collections had gone.

The same can be said for government records and publications, today not many of the original documents can be found, and where the originals have gone is often unknown, leaving few extant copies available. Digital records are often the only recourse to view America's history, and should any technological advancement or lack of funding threaten these databases, perhaps that history would also be lost forever.

Fiduciary Responsibility

Part of this absent history has to do with the lack of records from the era in which Pratt ran the school. Much of what is missing, beside student's records, is the financial accountings from the Pratt era at Carlisle, including student accounts. Keppler's inclusion of the Carlisle budgets in his books on *Indian Laws and Treaties* was limited in that financial expenditures reported by the government were often vague and most were without specific detail as to where money had been allocated. It's all well and good that Keppler reported the 1905 CIIS budget as having \$158,000 disbursed to the school from the federal government, yet where are the CIIS accounting ledgers to confirm that expenditure? Currently there is no way of knowing how much money was actually received, or designated for teacher's salaries and per capita for student education.

In addition to the missing student records, where are the detailed records about student's accounts? Those students who were participating in the Outing Program were earning money that was held by the Carlisle Indian School. If the Cobell settlement of 2010 is any indicator about the government's hand in Indian affairs, then there is much yet to be revealed about the fiduciary responsibilities of the United States federal government in relation to where student money went. Was student money given to students? Used for their expenses? Given to them when they left the school? There are more questions than answers here.

Why CIIS had such a large governmental appropriation each year when they had a working farm and departments that generated revenue is another issue that has yet to be addressed in the ongoing Carlisle school story. One of the most puzzling pieces of information I came upon in the course of conducting research for this thesis was the 1908

Catalogue mention of the 875 loaves of bread baked at the school each day. No other information was given which would explain that figure. Therefore, after examining the official student population numbers, it's clear that the school wasn't warranted in having students making 875 loaves of bread a day- unless of course they were running a bakery at the school, or of course had more students at the school than can documented. So if the school was running a bakery, what kind of income were they generating from that enterprise? Documents showed that goods produced by students in other departments were being used by government agencies in the west, so where did that revenue go from those endeavours? Remember, the money from sporting events was used to fund the teams and projects at the school. The money was there, it's up to future research to find the trail.

Clearly there is a financial mystery to be solved here, however since the records from the Carlisle School are dispersed seemingly to the four winds, it may be quite some time before answers to the questions I have posed are answered. In the meantime, boarding school proponents would do well to take notice of the abysmally low CIIS graduation rates and the unusually high appropriations that funded those results, and consider just why residential boarding schools may not be the answer to school choice that they hope it is.

My Concern with Digital Databases

The dispersal of CIIS records to multiple institutions caused a paper trail worthy of comparison to the Hampton Court Maze in England. Records concerning the Carlisle Indian School appeared in government publications for the Bureau of Education, Indian Affairs, the Department of the Interior, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Bureau of Ethnology. These volumes were catalogued and stored in libraries, archives, and

universities, both public and private. Today their locations are unified through online digital databases such as the World Catalogue and HathiTrust, and those websites do cite their sources, so it is possible to find extant paper copies. Yet try finding an entire 17-volume set of the Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians*, or all the actual copies of the *Bureau of Ethnology Bulletins* dating back to 1889 in one location. The *Handbooks* can be purchased, and occasionally so too can the *Bulletins*, however if your research hinges on these books, and mine did, obtaining originals to examine can become cost and location prohibitive.

One of the reasons for this deaccessionment of public library and archival materials, something that has been an ongoing concern for as long as there have been ephemeral collections, was the saving of space combined with the widespread promotion of microfiche (Baker, 2001). Emblematic of entire collections disappearing is the recent closing of The American Textile History Museum in Lowell, Massachusetts. In December of 2016 the museum closed its doors due to a loss of funding and began the process of finding homes for their collections by giving them away, sadly not an uncommon practice. Any institution that folds must find a way for its collections to continue, or face having them be destroyed.

Whether the materials are given away or sold is another matter entirely, and today the Internet has played a large role this process with the advent of mega book resellers such as BetterWorldBooks. Called the great equalizer by Ellis (2006) the Internet has made books that should be rare, common, and books that once commanded high purchase prices are now inexpensively acquired. Combine that phenomena with companies that come in

and sell books for non-profit entities, and the perfect storm of events can occur with entire book collections deaccessioned and liquidated in relatively short periods of time.

My concern with all of this is the disconnect between the public consumer, the historical importance of each text when it is sold, and American history as it disappears into the myriad and complex world of book collecting. Once a book is deaccessioned from a public collection and sold, oftentimes the only remaining copy is digital (Baker, 2001). This is problematic for two reasons, the first is that digital databases exist in interstitial spaces, and as such are capable of disappearing due to a lack of funding, much as the Textile Museum in Massachusetts did. The second reason is only having a digital copy is dangerous, beyond Baker's nominative assault on paper, in that digital copies do not contain what John Nietz would have considered the historical lineage of the original volume.

An excellent example of this phenomenon is Estelle Reel's (1901) *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, in its digital and reproduced format the text reads differently than it does in its original form. The 1901 edition is a book out of time and place; and the binding, print, and images are important historically in their own right, and not just as part of a digital miasma of indistinguishable information. To rely on one, single source for any piece of information is beyond putting all of one's metaphorical eggs in a basket, it is a recipe for the extinguishment and destruction of American history, especially if digital databases were to disappear. As it stands now, digital records can be altered at any time, this only happens occasionally in books as they are reissued through different editions. There is much to be said for having a hard copy of anything.

The same could be said of the buildings that were once part of the residential school system. Most recently in the winter of 2015, St. Michael's Indian Residential School, in Alert Bay, B.C. was demolished as the community there felt as though this was what was needed for healing to take place for the students who had attended that school. My perception of this event is that the tearing down of the school solidified the continued erasure of Native American history. To destroy the record of the residential school buildings would be as if to erase Dachau and Auschwitz from Jewish history.

This is nothing new however, and the Intermountain Indian School (1950–1984), the Santa Fe Indian School (1890-2008), the Thomas Indian School on the Seneca Nation outside of Cattaraugus, New York (1900-1973), and several other schools in the states of Washington, South Dakota, and Utah, have all been destroyed. Some were razed in the name of progress and rebuilding has taken place on those sites. However, I question where the records and curricula are from those locations are, as they certainly don't exist in the same manner and capacity as do the records from the Carlisle Indian School.

Yet there are records for other Indian schools such as Chilocco, Haskell, Hampton, Drexel, and a quick search of the National Archives indicated even more items that have been preserved from a host of other schools. However, today the preponderance of residential school writings are dark in nature, with many calling the schools a genocidal holocaust for Native Americans (Woolford, et al. 2014; Milloy, 1999; Lipstadt, 1994). I cannot disagree with these findings, as the Truth and Reconciliation Report (2015) has echoed those same sentiments with reports of at least 6,000 Native children who died or while at residential school in Canada. There are still more who are missing, and I fear the

overall total will be greater when Native boarding schools are examined in the United States.

Final Thoughts

This section contains my final thoughts on the state of Indigenous affairs in the United States of America and Canada. Despite progress, discrepancies still remain in American Indian education in terms of the cultural ideologies that are embedded in mainstream curriculum, which at times may appear to have an agenda that differs from an Indigenous viewpoint.⁵⁸ Taiaiake Alfred (1995) suggested that education is important to Indigenous people, yet the methods by which it has been carried out are not of an Indigenous creation. For example, to the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) who live in their traditional homelands, there is not a recognition of a border dividing the United States and Canada. The Haudenosaunee recognize Kanien'keha:ka (the Mohawk Nation) and not the superimposed dual construct laid atop that territory as supported by Western ideas of topography.⁵⁹ Therefore any type of curriculum, i.e. textbooks or history books, that posits this bi-lateral bordered viewpoint, is not inclusive of an Indigenous worldview. As many educational materials do not recognize Indigenous history, this absence creates a division

⁵⁸ Each autumn in the United States there continues to be a split between the American Thanksgiving and Native America. Teachers often promote the Pilgrim v. Indian myth, asking their students to choose one side or the other while promoting a Thanksgiving feast which features students wearing paper costumes representing both sides. This is a dichotomous view of Native Americans that does not promote intercultural understanding, if anything it does the opposite, polarizing the two groups as oppositional.

⁵⁹ There are many such examples in America where the construct of a geographical border has crossed Indigenous lands, currently the Ndeh on the Texas/Mexico border are fighting to demolish the wall that now separates their traditional homelands.

in curriculum that positions Native ways, and often Native people, as invisible to mainstream America.⁶⁰

Mainstream Views

While there have been hundreds of boarding schools in North America, narratives about them have presented mainly Eurocentric versions of the events by which the seemingly ideal residential school, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, was established (Henry, 1972).⁶¹ Up until now, many of the historical accounts of the Carlisle School have focused on Jim Thorpe and Pop Warner's football program as central to the description of the school. This has rendered other segments of the Carlisle School's population as nearly invisible. For instance, admittedly, there is little outside information published on the educators that were employed at the school, and womens' and girls' stories are almost non-existent.

In the future a broader picture must be painted by which to portray the people that were a part of the Carlisle Indian school, or any residential school for that matter. The schools should not be presented from the standpoint that they were institutions devoid of story and humanity. As a whole, previous examinations of the residential schools have focused on the history of the social and political contexts that brought the schools into being in the first place, and not on the students and their stories. Also absent from the

⁶⁰ Karen Balcom writes about the difficulties Native adoptees have when they are trafficked across borders in her book, *The Traffic in Babies: Cross-Border Adoption and Baby-Selling between the United States and Canada, 1930-1972*. Their transracial and transnational adoptions have rendered them all but invisible legally, and tribally.

⁶¹ Many of the Indian school's records and libraries have been completely lost, although this is not the case with the Carlisle Indian School as several different groups maintain the CIIS records (Lear, 2012). Therefore with such minimal information publically available regarding residential boarding schools in Canada, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS) is the logical place to begin an inquiry, as it is rare to have records for any one Indian school and the holdings for the Carlisle Indian School are vast.

literature were the methods by which students were instructed. These absences were what spoke to me the most, as I knew what an important role the ability to read had played in my own life. Literacy should have been an integral part of any institution that purported to educate Indians. Yet when I began reading books on this topic not one author outlined a curriculum, or at the very least presented any book titles.

What most accounts of the Carlisle School don't discuss in depth is that this was an English only education, with Indians forbidden to speak their own languages while at school (TRC, 2015; Spack, 2002). Students would have had no access to a print based society if they couldn't speak, read, and write in the English language, thereby effectively cutting them off from a global society. I've already established how CIIS was the prescriptive method for educating Indians at the turn of the 20th century, and in later schools the consequences for speaking Indigenous languages were far worse than what they appear to have been at Carlisle (TRC 2015; DeJong, 1993; Henry, 1972). To lose one's language along with all that it contains in terms of meaning, understanding, and the ability to fully function in that culture is devastating. Then, there were those like Kesetta Roosevelt and Jack Mather who not only lost their language and culture; they never again saw their families.⁶² Theirs was complete and total isolation in a society that they had been forced to participate in.

Global Understanding

While many people may be aware of the generations of American Indian students who were mandated to attend residential boarding schools, few may be familiar with the

⁶² Kesetta Roosevelt and Jack Mather, Lipan Apache and sister and brother, were taken prisoner and sent to Carlisle Indian School where Kesetta remained for most of her life, and Jack died.

pedagogy practiced therein and how the curriculum would have been an integral and foundational part of students' daily life at the boarding schools. Since many of the methods used at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School were employed as the model for other Native American boarding schools in both the United States and Canada, I believe it is a contributing factor to the issues that caused the Truth & Reconciliation Commission to be formed in Canada in June of 2008 as a response to the legacy of the residential schooling there (Milloy, 2006; Churchill, 2004; Adams, 1995; Coleman, 1993; Adams, 1946).^{63 64}

To date, in an attempt to resolve past conflicts, twenty-seven such Commissions have been established worldwide in order to investigate governmental wrongdoing. Most notably, Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu had the effects of apartheid in South Africa examined, and in Argentina human rights violations were addressed in connection with *Los Desaparecidos* (The Disappeared Ones). To form such a Commission regarding Canadian colonialism was a serious undertaking and is not to be treated lightly. The Indian Residential Schools Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) documented the experiences of the former students, and reported their findings. Initial reports, published by the TRC, outlined the stories that emerged from the residential school survivors, noting that it had become clear to the Canadian government that gross human violations had been committed in the schools (Interim Report, 2012; *they came for the children*, 2011).

The commission was fraught with controversy as none of those who were deemed perpetrators have been charged, and in 2014 the Commission threatened to discount survivor's testimonies by sealing them away for a period of no less than thirty years (CBC,

⁶³ During the late 1990s survivors of the residential schools, led by Geronimo Henry of Six Nations, brought many successful lawsuits against the Canadian government; and as a part of those settlements the Canadian Truth & Reconciliation Commission was formed.

⁶⁴ See the Davin Report, 1879.

2014). This caused a public outcry and in the summer of 2015 this decision was rescinded (CBC, 2015). In December of 2015 the Commission's final report was released, and has now been made available online in 10 downloadable documents, or can be purchased in 6 volumes from McGill-Queen's University Press. When does the recognition of historical Indian education begin in the United States?

The issue still remains, how do American Indians adapt to a Euro-centric education, which at its core has been colonizing, and provide a way to maintain traditional practices, yet be successful in the modern world (Alfred, 1995; 1999)? Since so little is known about the curriculum of the residential boarding schools for America Indians that produced the results published by the TRC, there is much yet to be learned about what happened in those institutions, and how not to repeat those processes. Yet once again the United States government has funded new boarding schools for children who are classified as minorities.

Since 1997 the SEED program has been promoted as a viable alternative to public schooling. Marketed as urban boarding schools developed for children of poverty, three schools have been operating in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Maryland, and South Florida with plans for future expansions (SEED Foundation, 2016; Curto & Fryer, 2011).⁶⁵ According to the SEED website their environment is designed specifically for inner city youth and, "serve students from traditionally underserved communities" (2015). Over 320 students, grades 6 through 12, attend the schools from Sunday evening until Friday afternoon, from September to June, with a summer session available as well. Curto and Fryer have studied the schools, calling them, "America's only urban public boarding schools for the poor" (2011, p.1). Originally published as a working paper in 2011, and

⁶⁵ Schools for Educational Evolution and Development (SEED) although those who run SEED say there is no meaning for the acronym.

again in 2014 with further analysis, Curto and Fryer's work contained a public emphasis on the Obama administration's approval of the schools for public consumption.

However, while boarding schools may be perceived to be elite institutions of learning, their transformation as a tool of indoctrination for American Indians signified a radical shift in methodology when presented as an educational form for cultural assimilation (Newcomb, 2005; Churchill, 2004; Demmert & Towner, 2003; Pewewardy & Hammer 2002; Dehyle & Swisher, 1997). Adams (1995) and Milloy (2006) noted how the American Indian schools effectively stripped students of their identities; cultural, linguistic, as well as politically. Therefore why the federal government is promoting this type of education for students labeled as 'minority' is troubling.⁶⁶

Based on their lack of academic success alone, boarding schools like Carlisle Indian, with a 7% graduation rate consistent over 38 years, should not be viewed as a model for academic success. Therefore, with the potential to once again include Native American children in their confines, residential schools are not an acceptable solution to suggest as a viable alternative to public education. Until the historical underpinnings of the Native American boarding schools are examined in the United States, specifically as to how curriculum informed boarding school practices, then it is an insult to suggest children who live in poverty should be educated in this manner.

⁶⁶ Hampton Institute educated both African Americans and Native Americans from 1878 until 1923, two groups who today would be considered as underrepresented minorities and eligible for admission to the SEED schools. With its strong ties to Carlisle Indian School and Capt. Pratt, Hampton is considered one the many American Indian residential boarding schools of that era despite its diverse population.

If there's a book that you want to read,
but it hasn't been written yet,
then you must write it.

~ Toni Morrison

Yet despite these findings, I loved writing about the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, difficult though it may have been. While nothing can ever replace the incredible damage done to Indigenous people by colonization, there is no choice but to continue forward, believing that education can make a positive difference. Many times I felt as though I had much in common with the residential school students; through my adoption, I too, had lost my family, language, and culture. With these kinds of shared experiences, could the educations we had received be one more?

Much of what had been written about residential schools discussed how culturally destructive they had been, yet very little had been explained about classroom practices. It produced something akin to a cognitive dissonance for me, I was a teacher and a reading specialist- in the English language no less. I loved books and libraries, and for me archival work had been a natural progression of my interests. Yet despite recognizing how these were all tools of colonization I couldn't help but wonder what the children at Carlisle Indian had been reading. Since being able to read had had a profound effect on my life, each time I read a book about the residential schools I found myself getting angry at the author for not telling me *how* the children had been learning in boarding school classrooms. I had to know what the children were studying and reading.

Even though it was an English only education that positioned Indians as less than their white counterparts, to hold books from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was my way to connect past with present, and to travel back in time. Therefore finding and collecting the books and ephemera from Carlisle was cathartic in ways that made me feel as though I was gathering pieces of myself. I cried when I read that a copy of *Five Little Peppers* had been purchased for the school, as a child I had read that same book. Finally, I had a tangible connection which linked past with present in a timeless loop.

However, I was acutely aware that what I was writing was a story of a time long gone, about children, students, people who were also long gone. I had a responsibility to them. I felt that a connection to them had come through space and time, to a place that would always exist, somewhere, just as it always once had. This was a story which had gone untold for so long, and my only job was to write it, yet in exchange I too went home. This story is for them, for those who couldn't be heard in their own time, may they be heard in mine.

The books from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School were once very real, as real as those who attended there. Who worked there. Who learned there. This thesis is only the beginning of the story of an American education. This story is for them, it is theirs, the students of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. May their stories always be told. May their stories always be heard, and may they rest, knowing that they have not been forgotten.

Now in the dark of night when I talk with the ancestors, I am home. *Taní:toh*

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Appendix A – NARA CIIS Holdings

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC Record Group 75,
Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

RECORDS OF THE CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania was established in 1879 and was closed in 1918. It was the first Government operated nonreservation boarding school for Indians. An outstanding feature of the school was the "outing" system, which permitted students to live and work outside the school and to attend public school while still enrolled at Carlisle.

Although there are now in the National Archives more records of the Carlisle School than of any other Indian school, these records are very incomplete. There is very little correspondence, and there are serious gaps in other records. Most of the records relate to individual students and these are very incomplete also. Since the school made some attempt to keep track of students after they left the school, the records may include information concerning a former student up to the time the school was closed. The school's records now in the National Archives were transferred to the central office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs when the school was closed; and some additions were made to these records while they were in the custody of the Bureau.

The National Archives does not do genealogical research for you. All we can do is tell you about the records that may help you in your search, and offer you copies. If you think your ancestor attended Carlisle Indian School, we can see if we have a student folder for that person. You can also search this on ARC. Go to our home site, www.archives.gov and click on search ARC, put in ARC id 300327 for Carlisle student

folders, then where it says there are 6160 files units described in ARC, you can click on a search box and put in the name.

If you think your ancestor went to Carlisle and we do not have a student folder, you are welcome to come research the records yourself, such as for example, the Registers of Pupils, Records of Outings, and various publications that contain news items on students.

ENTRY 1322. INDEX TO LETTERS RECEIVED. ca. 1905. 1 vol.^[1]_[SEP] An alphabetical index to names of addressees and subjects of letters. The letters themselves have not been located.

ENTRY 1323. LETTERS SENT. August 28- October 22, 1900; January 26-May 6, 1901. 2 vols. Press copies of letters sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, field officials of the Bureau, pupils and their parents, merchants, transportation agents, and others. The letters relate to enrollment and transportation of pupils, personnel matters, purchases of supplies and equipment, appropriations, and many other subjects. Arranged chronologically. In each volume there is an alphabetical index to names of addressees. Although there must have been many volumes of letters sent, these two volumes are the only ones known to be extant.

ENTRY 1324. REGISTERS OF PUPILS. 1890-1906. 2 vols.^[1]_[SEP] One volume is for the years 1890-1900; the other volume, for the years 1899-1906. Each volume is divided into several sections; and each section provides different information about individual pupils. The sections are designated as follows: "Descriptive Record of Students as Admitted," "Sent to Country Homes," "Discharged from School," "Death Record," and "Historical

Record" (not used in the second volume). Entries in each section are arranged chronologically, except that those for boys maybe separated from those for girls. There is an alphabetical name index in each volume. For a less detailed consecutive record of pupils enrolled for the years 1905-18, see entry 1325. For more information concerning individual pupils, see the folders and cards described in entries 1327-1330.

ENTRY 1325. CONSECUTIVE RECORD OF PUPILS ENROLLED. 1905-18. 1 vol.

Entries for individual pupils give enrollment number, name, tribe, and date of entry in school. Entries for boys are separate d from those for girls. Arranged by enrollment number, which was assigned in rough chronological order by date of enrollment. For earlier and more detailed registers of pupils, see entry 1324. For more detailed information concerning individual pupils, see the folders and cards described in entries 1327-1330.

ENTRY 1326. INDEXES TO STUDENT RECORDS. 1879-1918.^[SEP]Slips for individual students, giving folder' number for records concerning the student among those described in entry 1327, name, tribe, State of residence, sometimes class year, and some indication (usually incomplete) of the records available. There are also slips for students for whom there are only card records (see entry 1328). There are three sets of index slips: (1) slips, which are arranged by folder number; (2) slips, which are arranged alphabetically by surname of student; and (3) slips, which are arranged alphabetically by name of tribe and thereunder alphabetically by name of student.

ENTRY 1327. STUDENT RECORDS. 1879-1918.^[SEP]Letters received, copies of letters sent, applications for enrollment, cards designated as "Descriptive and Historical Record of Student," promotion certificates (including ratings in subjects), records of "outings,"

medical and dental records, form reports concerning post school careers, records from other schools, information forms concerning eligibility for Federal aid, clippings, photographs, and other records concerning individual students. The records relate to enrollment, transportation, progress at school, "outings," health, financial affairs, withdrawals from school, careers after leaving school, special problems, and other subjects. Quantity and type of records for individual students vary; there are, in general, more records for the later years than the earlier ones. A few post-1918 records, added after the records were transferred to the Bureau, relate mainly to requests for information. There are separate folders for individual students, which are arranged numerically in the same order as the numerical index described in entry 1326. Although there is some chronological and alphabetical pattern in the order of the folder numbers, it is necessary to use the alphabetical index (see entry 1326) to locate readily the records for a particular student. For separate card records, including some for students for whom there is no folder, see entries 1328-1330.

ENTRY 1327A. REPORTS ON EXAMINATIONS AND PROMOTIONS OF PUPILS, CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA, 1917-18.^[1]_{SEP} Arranged in chronological order. Most of the series consists of "Reports on Examinations" with a separate sheet for each class. The classes are categorized as being primary, vocational, or pre-vocational courses. For each student is listed: name, sex, age, day's attendance, grades in English, grades in other subjects, a general average, and an action. On the reverse of the sheet is a summary that was not consistently filled out. The "Report on Promotions of Pupils", of which there is only one for the 1916-17 academic year, lists annual enrollment, enrollments for June, number of pupils examined, number of pupils passed, number conditioned, number

failed, percentage passed per pupils examined, and percentage passed per annual enrollment. All of these statistics are broken down by gender. On the back of the form is a summary of pupils promoted.

ENTRY 1328. STUDENT RECORD CARDS. 1879-1918.^[1]_{SEP} Cards designated as "Descriptive and Historical Record" of Student, enrollment cards, and cards concerning student's potential and actual employment after leaving Carlisle. In most instances these cards are for students for whom there is no folder among the records described in entry 1327. The cards are divided into two groups; in each group they are arranged alphabetically by surname of student. Similar cards are in the main series of student records (entry 1327). See also the student information cards and enrollment cards described in entries 1329 and 1330.

ENTRY 1329. STUDENT INFORMATION CARDS. 1879-1918.^[1]_{SEP} Cards for individual students may give name, tribe, agency, age, degree of Indian blood, name of father, date of arrival at Carlisle, date of and reason for departure, time spent on "outing," trade, name of person to whom married, character rating, religion, date of death, and other information. The cards are divided into the following groups: girls, boys, graduates, dead graduates, dead girls, dead boys (cards for students with surnames beginning with letters L-Z are missing), and students enrolled in 1918. Thereunder they are arranged for the most part alphabetically by surname of student. A card for any one student will be found in only one group. Unlike the kinds of record cards described in entry 1328, many of which are filed with the student folders described in entry 1327, all extant cards are filed in this series. See also the enrollment cards (entry 1330).

ENTRY 1330. ENROLLMENT CARDS. ca. 1897-1913.^{[L][SEP]}Cards for individual students give name, tribe, date of entry, age, and information concerning room assignments, promotions, "outings," leaves, and other changes in status. Information given on the back of the cards includes ratings on conduct, application, class standing, and health. The cards are arranged into two general groups--for boys and for girls, respectively--with some smaller groups for those in special status. Thereunder they are arranged for the most part alphabetically by surname of student. For other records concerning individual students, see entries 1324-1329.

ENTRY 1331. ATTENDANCE BOOKS. 1884-91. 2 vols.^{[L][SEP]}These books are labeled "morning reports." For each day there is information concerning the number of pupils present, the number of pupils absent, and the reasons for absences. There are notations concerning individual pupils. In the second volume there is also some information concerning school employees.

ENTRY 1332. ENROLLMENT STATUS BOOK. 1898-1902. 1 vol.^{[L][SEP]}For each month there are symbol notations for each student. There are also written comments. Boys and girls are listed in separate sections; entries in each section are arranged alphabetically by initial letter of surname of student.

ENTRY 1333. DATA CONCERNING FORMER STUDENTS. ca. 1898. 1 vol.^{[L][SEP]}Given for individual former students are name, tribe, address, and some comment on his or her life after leaving Carlisle. Arranged by class year. For more detailed information concerning students after they left Carlisle, see the records described in entries 1327-1329.

ENTRY 1334. REGISTER OF APPLICATIONS FOR STUDENT WORKERS. 1885-90.

1 vol.^[1]_[SEP] Entries for individual applications give name of applicant, address, date of application or date of its receipt, date when work was required, and kind of work. Often included are the name and address of person given as reference, name of pupil selected, and other information. Applications for boys are entered on separate pages from applications for girls. Entries are arranged in rough chronological order by date of receipt of application.

ENTRY 1335. REGISTERS OF "OUTINGS." 1881-87, 1912-18. 4 vols.^[1]_[SEP] Individual entries give name of pupil, date of placement or of leaving school, name of patron and his address, date of return to school (when applicable), and sometimes other information.

Entries for boys and those for girls are listed separately: entries for both are in the same volume for the years 1881-87, but they are in separate volumes for the later years. (There are two volumes for girls for the years 1912-18; there is a volume for boys for the years 1915-17). The entries within each volume or part of a volume are arranged in rough chronological order by date of pupil's placement or of his leaving school. New lists, however, were started periodically, and names of pupils who had not yet returned to school were reentered in the register. In the individual volumes there are alphabetical indexes to names of pupils and of patrons.

ENTRY 1336. LEDGERS FOR STUDENT SAVINGS ACCOUNTS. 1890-1918. 10 vols.^[1]_[SEP] Ledgers containing accounts of individual students as well as accounts for clubs and special funds. There is information concerning deposits and withdrawals, usually with an indication of the source or reason for each. Accounts for boys are in separate volumes from those for girls. There is a separate volume for special accounts. The

accounts in each volume are in rough chronological order by date of first entry; the entries for individual accounts are arranged chronologically. There are name indexes in the individual volumes. Some of the volumes are missing.

ENTRY 1337. JOURNAL FOR PAYMENTS TO BOYS. 1908-12. 1 vol.^{[L][SEP]}Given for individual payments are date, reason (usually wages or fare), name of boy to whom paid, and amount. Entries are arranged chronologically. There is an alphabetical name index in the volume.

ENTRY 1338. JOURNAL FOR YWCA ACCOUNT. 1910-14. 1 vol.^{[L][SEP]}A record of credits and debits to funds of club. Entries are arranged chronologically.

ENTRY 1339. MINUTES OF THE INVINCIBLE DEBATING SOCIETY. 1894-1918. 3 vols.^{[L][SEP]}Minutes of meetings of the Society, which was composed of boys in the school. Arranged chronologically. There are rolls of members in the front of each volume. In the first volume there are also a copy of the Society's constitution and a copy of its bylaws.

ENTRY 1340. ADDRESS BOOK FOR HOME LETTERS. ca. 1894. 1 vol.^{[L][SEP]}Contains names of students (sometimes on printed rosters) and names, addresses, and sometimes relationships of persons to whom students wrote.

ENTRY 1341. REGISTER OF VISITORS. 1909-17. 1 vol.^{[L][SEP]}A register that was signed by the visitors themselves. Each entry includes name and address of visitor and date of visit.

ENTRY 1342. RECORD OF SEWING ROOM SUPPLIES AND PRODUCTS. 1901-1908.^{[L][SEP]}Included are inventories of supplies on hand and records of receipts, use of supplies, and distributions of finished products. Arranged in rough chronological order.

ENTRY 1343. RECORD OF ISSUE OF GOODS. 1905-1906. 1 vol.^[1]_{SEP} A record for fiscal year 1906. Given are dates and amounts for issues of different kinds of goods. Entries are arranged by kind of goods and thereunder chronologically. There is an alphabetical index to kinds of goods.

ENTRY 1344. TIME BOOKS FOR EMPLOYEES. 1907-10, 1917-18. 2 vols.^[1]_{SEP} For each day there is a symbol notation indicating the presence or absence of each employee. For most periods there is also information concerning employee's pay rate and the amount he was actually paid. A few loose records concerning personnel matters have been inserted in one of the volumes. No time books have been found for the period November 1910-December 1916.

ENTRY 1344A. RECORDS RELATING TO CARLISLE SCHOOL – PERSONNEL. Arranged in alphabetical order by surname, thereunder in reverse chronological order. Series consists of personnel files, some of which appear to be official personnel folders. Several recurring types of documents are found in each file. Efficiency reports, which were standardized forms filled out by supervisors, rated employees based on varied criteria and included a narrative comment section. Oaths of office and a personnel record that chronicled the individual's service and changes in position are included. There is also correspondence on changes of position and duty station, disputes, recommendations, and letters of resignation. Records are present for only five employees, three of whom held the position of superintendent of the school.

ENTRY 1345. STATEMENTS OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS. 1879-99. 3 vols. These volumes are labeled "Cash Books." Entries for receipts and for disbursements are on facing pages. Individual entries for receipts give date, source, usually the draft

number, appropriation headings, amount under each appropriation, and total amount received. Individual entries for disbursements give date, name of person or firm to whom paid, voucher number (or other identification), appropriation headings, amount under each appropriation, and total amount disbursed. Entries for receipts and for disbursements are arranged chronologically. For similar records for the years 1907-17, see entry 1346. No similar records have been found for the period April 1899-June 1907.

ENTRY 1346. RECORD OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS UNDER VARIOUS FUNDS AND APPROPRIATIONS. 1907-17. 3 vols.^[1]_{SEP} Entries for individual receipts or disbursements give date, from whom received or to whom disbursed, purpose, quarter of year, voucher number, and amount received or disbursed under different appropriation headings. Arranged chronologically. A loose alphabetical index to names of persons and firms has been inserted in the second volume. For similar records for the years 1879-99, see entry 1345. No similar records have been found for the period April 1899-June 1907.

ENTRY 1347. ANALYZED LIABILITIES AND VOUCHERED EXPENDITURES. 1916-17.^[1]_{SEP} Given are figures concerning liabilities under different headings (such as employees and buildings). There are also monthly figures for voucherred expenditures. Arranged by appropriation item; thereunder there are "controlling sheets" on which the entries are arranged chronologically and "activity sheets" on which the entries are arranged by type of activity (such as administration, health, and education).

ENTRY 1348. APPROPRIATION LEDGER. 1917-18.^[1]_{SEP} Given are figures concerning debits and credits to appropriated funds. Entries are arranged by appropriation item and thereunder chronologically.

ENTRY 1349. CASH AND CHECK REGISTERS. 1917-18.^[1]_{SEP} Given is information concerning receipts and deposits of cash and also concerning deposits in and payments from U.S. Treasury checking account. There are two registers: a check register and a cash register. Entries in each register are arranged chronologically.

ENTRY 1349A. "THE RED MAN AND HELPER," PUBLISHED AND PRINTED BY THE INDIAN SCHOOL, CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA, 1898-1903. 2

vols.^[1]_{SEP} Arranged chronologically. First known as "The Red Man", it became "The Red Man and Helper" in July 1900. It was published monthly "in the interest of Indian education and civilization" and printed by the students. Starting in July 1900 the format changed to weekly, published on Fridays. Included are articles about the school, literary works and poetry (mainly from outside sources but sometimes by the students), speeches by the Commissioner, local news, opinion pieces, articles on Indian issues culled from the national press, advice columns, puzzles and word games. The paper featured a significant number of photographs and illustrations.

ENTRY 1349B. CORRESPONDENCE FILE, ca. 1916-66.^[1]_{SEP} Arranged chronologically. Consists of a single file bound in a format similar to the Central Classified Files with "Opened Nov. 1, 1879 – June 30, 1918" written on the front cover. The correspondence consists mainly of inquiries from members of the public regarding the school which closed in June 1918. The responses from the Bureau referred the inquiries to NARA which received custody of the Carlisle records sometime in the 1940s. Included are copies of informational sheets regarding the school that may have been used as standard responses to inquiries from the public. Among these are lists of Carlisle graduate from 1889 to 1915.

ENTRY 1349C. MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS AND RECORDS Relating to Indian Schools, ca. 1908-18.^[11]_{SEP}Arranged into several major sub-series, thereunder chronologically. The major sub-series are: The Red Man (Apr. 1910-Oct. 1916), a monthly published by the Carlisle Indian press advertised as “a magazine not only about Indians, but mainly by Indians”; The Carlisle Arrow (May 1913-July 1916), a weekly newspaper; and The Carlisle Arrow and Red Man (Oct. 1917-May 1918), also a weekly. They featured articles on all facets of current Indian life, sometimes focusing on a single theme for an entire issue such as “Indian babies” and were heavily illustrated. Also included are school catalogues, calendars, commencement programs, and a 1939 copy of Indians at Work highlighting an article by “Pop” Warner about the Carlisle football program. At the end are several miscellaneous items from the late 19th century including a newspaper article on the Carlisle football team. A NARA-prepared finding aid is included.

Appendix B - The Native American Primer: An Explanation & Use of Terms

Indian – This is the term most commonly used to refer to American Indians, or Native American, in historical literature. Today in Canada it is a term that is no longer used and considered to be derogatory, much as the word redskins is in the United States. However, growing up on the border of the United States and Canada in the 1970s, in an area very much populated by Indians, I thought then, as did many others, that this term was what Native people were called. The term Indian is still commonly used in the United States, but somewhat in the same context that Randall Kennedy wrote about in his landmark treatise on the word nigger. English exonyms are interesting as there often bestowed and conferred

Yet people in the past latched on to this term and so where the word Indian appears in literature, past and present, I have used this term as well. However the etymology of the word Indian lends credibility to Christopher Columbus' initial error of thinking himself as arriving in India, when in fact he had not. There is a wonderful joke in Indian Country which suggests that it was a good thing Columbus wasn't trying to get to Turkey or we would have all been called....

Redskin – A term used by the United States government when putting a bounty on the scalps of Indians. Akin to the use of the word nigger in contemporary, 21st century American society.

Savage – Rarely have I seen this term in literature yet it remains in the vernacular in conjunction with pagan, as in savage pagan, in an attempt by religious critics to degrade and dehumanize American Indians.

Native American – The OED, Oxford English Dictionary cites this term as being used in several publications as far back as 1737, however I have never seen it employed in any of the historical documents that I have read. In the United States this term gained in popularity during the 1960s and the advent of AIM, the American Indian Movement.

However today Native American can denote the second generation of offspring from immigrants from India. As this generation is born in the United States they often refer to themselves as Native Americans. That use is not applicable in this thesis.

American Indian – The 1960s and early 1970s saw the use of this term gain in popularity in the United States, with the American Indian Movement (AIM) of that period, this term came into widespread use. Today American Indian can also refer to the first generation of Indians from India born in the United States. Hence the ever-evolving sub context here is that despite the Indigenous of the Americas having their own nomenclature, the English-speaking world continues to struggle in an attempt to a) define the Indigenous of the Americas, and b) name them according to their own English standards. For example, I come from the Haudenosaunee, yet among our people we are also known as the Onkwehón:we, the human beings.

Additionally the use of American, whether it be to denote American Indian or Native American still supposes ownership as well as the geographical location of people who constructed the Americas from hundreds of Indigenous groups. The semantics of such are applied to African Americans and many other groups who have come to the United States as part of the renaming process for those who are immigrants.

Indigenous - From the Latin *indigena*, meaning native, and formed from *indu* in, and *gen-* beget and is not related to the etymology of the nominative Indian. Therefore,

while this is an attempt to designate people as belonging to their ancestral lands and culture it is still an English eponym. I use this term as implemented in the literature, however I feel the global implications cause overuse in some instances and take away from my central argument regarding ne Onkwehón:we and other neighboring nations. Many English names with Latin roots simply do not translate and the original concepts are lost in translation.

First Nations – In Canada many Indigenous or Aboriginal people are simply defined as First Nations or the First People.

Aboriginal – Quite popular in British English, Aboriginal is often used to denote the Indigenous people of Australia and New Zealand in reference to the Indigenous of those locales.

Primitive – A historical term applied to Indigenous people by their colonizers, most often seen in contemporary times in anthropological works. Rarely did I come across this term in my research.

Red – Historically a racial designation as based on skin colour. Today this word has a self-naming feature in much the same way African Americans might use the word nigger within a self-defined community. Outside of the community it denotes savagery, evoking images of blood warfare and is comparable to caricaturized mascots and the Washington Redskins football team.

Redskin – Before redskin was known for being part of a mascot franchise, Native Americans were termed redskin in relation to the bounties put on their bodies by the United States Government.

Savage – A common term in the 1800s, now known for its usage in a historical context. Also a term of justification for Manifest Destiny, the Papal Bulls, and the removal of Native people from their lands, for their own good or for their best interest.

Skræling – Late in my research I came across this Old Norse word in one of the Carlisle textbooks. This was a term I hadn't heard before, so as any good scholar would I looked it up. Imagine my surprise when I read the definition and found that it was the oldest Norse word and denoted savage.

Settler – The English are often denoted as Settlers and this word has come to mean those who immigrated or settled in North America and has gained in academic usage during last few years.

Which term is the proper or politically correct one to use is a constant debate that is often replayed in classrooms, social media, local communities, as well as on national levels. There is no one term that satisfies everyone, hence the need for a Primer for this thesis. Much of the usage here is historical and personally, I much prefer the term Indian over all others. In part because it was what I grew up hearing, and still use when at home or in Native communities. Additionally, I appreciate my ability to use this term when I write because I believe it is a reclamation of a word that has been used against Native people as a societal weapon for generations. For me this word has become a tool of healing against those who sought to destroy my Native identity. However, I realize that this term may offend my northern relatives and respectfully I apologize for my use of it in this thesis.

Appendix C – CIIS Publication List

List of Carlisle Indian Industrial School Publications from CCHS.

- *Eadle Keatah Toh* - April 1880 - March 1882. Published monthly. Name changed to *Red Man* and *Red Man & Helper*.
- *School News*, June 1880 - May 1883. Published monthly.
- *The Morning Star*, April 1882 - December 1887. Published monthly.
- *The Red Man*, January 1888 - June 1900. Published Monthly.
- *The Carlisle Indian Boys' and Girls' Friend*, 1885 (July 31 & August 7). Published weekly every Friday.
- *The Indian Helper*, 1885 - 1900. Published weekly every Friday.
- *The Red Man and Helper*, 1901-1904. Published weekly every Friday.
- *The Arrow*, August 25, 1904 - June 19, 1908. Published weekly.
- *The Carlisle Arrow*, September 1908 - 1918. Published weekly. Name changed to *The Carlisle Arrow and Red Man*, in 1918.
- *The Indian Craftsman*, February 1909 - January 1910. Monthly magazine. Name changed to *The Red Man* in 1910.
- *The Red Man*, February 1910 - June 1917. Monthly magazine.

Curriculum Vitae
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EDUCATION

- 2017 Ph.D., Penn State University, College of Education, Curriculum & Instruction, emphasis on Language, Culture & Society with a specialization in Children's Literature. Dissertation Title – The Curriculum of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School: An American Education.
- 2011 Teaching and Leading for Diversity Certificate, SUNY Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y.
- 2006 Master of Science in Education, MEd. Literacy. Thesis on African American Children's Literature. Niagara University, Niagara University, N.Y.
- 2004 Bachelor of Science, B.S. State University College at Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. Elementary Education & English.

Teaching Philosophy

Intercultural and intergenerational learning is global, therefore pedagogy must follow suit and be cognizant of both paradigms. Shared knowledge between communities is vital in continuing traditional academia while incorporating the knowledge that diverse learners possess. The intersection between past and present is how the future is created; therefore the recognition of possibility within interstitial spaces is vital to all learning.

PUBLICATIONS

- Meness, J. (2016). Chapter in *Stolen Generations*. Massachusetts: Blue Hand Books.
Trace Lara Hentz (Ed.)
- Meness, J. (2015). *Nikakónhsa kánen*. Digital publication.
- Meness, J. (2014). Book Review, *To Win an Indian Heart*.
- Meness, J. (2013). Chapter in *Fairy Tales With a Black Consciousness: Essays on Adaptations of Familiar Stories*. North Carolina: McFarland. Yenika-Agbaw, V., Lowery, R., & Henderson, R. (Eds.)

Awards and Honors

- 2011/15 Bunton-Waller Scholarship, The Pennsylvania State University
- 2008/10 Presidential Fellowship - University at Buffalo
- 2006 AAUW Grant – University at Buffalo.
- 2004 Phi Delta Kappa Scholarship – Niagara University
- 2002 Class of 1944 Scholarship - Buffalo State College