

"A Squaw or a Woman:"
Gender and Indian Agency in the Carlisle Indian Industrial School
Newspapers, 1879-1900

By

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INTRODUCTION: "NOT ANY WHITE MAN'S WRITING"¹

GENDER, AGENCY, AND CARLISLE'S PERIODICALS

In 1874, a group of allied Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe Indians, rather than accept the newly established government boundaries, insisted upon their freedom to hunt. General Philip Sheridan, a Union general in the Civil War and active participant in the frontier wars of the 1860s and 1870s, suggested to President Ulysses S. Grant that the government select the “worst of the masses” and send them to a remote Eastern military fort “until they had learned it was hopeless for them to continue further hostilities.” Officials selected Richard Henry Pratt, an army man with roots in the Civil War and eight years of experience in Indian Territory, to escort seventy-two chained and shackled prisoners from Fort Sill, Oklahoma to Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida.²

Once in Florida, the war department granted Pratt freedom of judgment in the methods of the prisoners’ care.³ A firm believer that “Indians were entitled to a full, fair chance for development in every way,” Pratt did his best to provide material and educational resources for his prisoners.⁴ After Pratt had their shackles removed and their hair cut, he outfitted the prisoners in military attire and taught them “how to be neat in the care of their clothing.” Due to apprehension on the part of the prisoners toward the guards, Pratt risked his commission by organizing the prisoners into a company and loaning them old guns so they might guard

¹ Samuel Townsend, “Editorial,” *School News*, 1, no.1 (June 1880).

² Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1879-1918* (Harrisburg, PA: Huggins Printing Company, 2002), 2-5.

³ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁴ Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School: Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted* (Carlisle, PA: Hamilton Library Association, 1908), 6.

themselves.⁵ Pratt provided daily English language instruction and encouraged opportunities for prison industries and outside employment.⁶

After the prisoners' release in 1878, Pratt worked diligently to find a place in the east where they might continue their education. Pratt feared that a return to reservations would squander the Indians' progress. Facing prejudice and anxiety from most northern white agricultural and mechanical schools, Pratt convinced Hampton Institute in Virginia, a school founded to educate recently freed slaves, to accept the former prisoners. Pratt quickly came to believe, however, that Indians needed to create their own fellowship with whites, separate from that of the "negro" population.⁷ This conviction prompted Pratt to request permission to open an off-reservation boarding school for the assimilation of Indian students.

On November 1, 1879, Pratt opened his school for Indian students in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In an article entitled "The Indian Industrial School: Its Origins, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted," Pratt described his firm belief that the Declaration of Independence gave both whites and Indians "in words, at least, a real place in our national family." For Pratt, this meant the United States government should allow Indians the same rights and privileges accorded to whites through educational, industrial, and moral training, making Indians "equal competitors for the benefits of American life."⁸ A direct product of this mindset, Carlisle Indian Industrial School offered its students a type of citizenship training which taught the fundamental principles of democratic government, the rights of citizens under the constitution, and the structure of American society and politics.⁹

⁵ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964), 118-120.

⁶ Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 4-8.

⁷ Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 29.

⁸ Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 5.

⁹ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 21-24.

Beyond assimilating Indian students into American culture, Pratt also aimed to eradicate existing prejudices on both sides of the racial divide. Pratt viewed Indian education on reservations as inadequate; in "The Indian Industrial School," Pratt argued that Indians could never become "real, useful American citizens by any system of education and treatment which enforces tribal cohesion and deny citizenship associations." He compared the state of Indian affairs to that of other ethnic minorities living within the United States. For instance, Pratt believed the United States' black population could not differentiate each other by native tribe due to their "constant participation in American opportunities" which eradicated tribal differences.¹⁰ Rather than maintaining a tribal identity, Pratt encouraged students to follow a path of individualization. Carlisle taught students not only practical skills and trades, but also, to paraphrase historian David Wallace Adams, the values and beliefs of possessive individualism, with an emphasis on private property, self-reliance, and accumulation of wealth as a moral obligation.¹¹

In Pratt's mind, the Indian Bureau kept the Indian "ignorant and inexperienced" to "maintain its domination and supervision," encouraging Indians to remain isolated on reservations. Pratt believed the level of civilization and citizenship one could attain hinged directly on environment and training. It was not that the Indian had innate or inherent qualities that "condemn[ed] him to separation... or to generations of slow development." Rather, Pratt saw the Indian as "a man like other men" who could acquire all the abilities and attributes of white civilization if placed in a suitable environment and given adequate training. The "whole purpose of the Carlisle school from the beginning," Pratt argued, "was to make its pupils equal as

¹⁰ Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 6, 19-21.

¹¹ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 21-24.

individual parts of our civilization.”¹² Reformers deemed Pratt's methods at Carlisle a success almost immediately, and by 1890 legislators and reformers used Carlisle as a model for fourteen new nonreservation schools.¹³

All boarding schools shared certain characteristics, including a military-style regimen, a policy of English-only education, and an emphasis on vocational training. Yet Pratt's strong guidance caused Carlisle to differ in several key ways from other government-run Indian schools. Pratt rejected the idea that assimilation could be accomplished in boarding or day schools out West. His belief that civilizing Indians required their total immersion in American culture convinced him that *only* in the East, away from the tribal influences of reservations, could Indians be assimilated. Furthermore, in contrast to many reformers' desire for Indian students to return home and civilize their own families, Pratt encouraged his students to *stay* in the East. This was one reason Pratt instituted Carlisle's "Outing system," in which Pratt placed students for long periods (usually during the summer months, but sometimes for a full year or more) within the households of white families. While students earned wages working for their white hosts, Pratt emphasized the social learning and familial bonds which Outing engendered among student participants. Pratt believed this system would teach his students the nuances of civilized life, break down prejudice on the part of both whites and Indians, and prove to his students that they could successfully live among and compete with white Americans.¹⁴ Carlisle was also one of few schools which provided academic courses beyond an eighth grade level¹⁵ and specialized vocational training (such as stenography, typing, and bookkeeping for girls).¹⁶

¹² Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 41-42.

¹³ Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 57-58, 267.

¹⁴ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 156-161

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 150.

Pratt took pride in the fact that so many of Carlisle's former students found work or pursued a higher education away from the reservations.

To promote the school's methods and goals to Indian and white populations alike, Carlisle's administration published a variety of periodicals during Pratt's tenure, beginning with *The School News*, published monthly from June 1880 through May 1883. School news and editorials, as well as student writing, provided the bulk of the material for this monthly publication. The *News* reprinted school essays, student speeches, descriptions of student activities and events, and students' letters home. The publication's promotion of sobriety, use of the English language, and good habits highlighted the paper's assimilationist goals; these directives also would have applied to the literate readership on reservations, as school administrators encouraged students to send copies of the *News* to their families out West.¹⁷ Indian students oversaw all aspects of the *News*, including content creation. Samuel Townsend, the first of at least three student editors, reminded readers that the *News'* articles were “not any white man's writing but all the Indian boys writing... They gave us the paper they write and then we take it to the printing office and print it. We want to show the people how they can do.”¹⁸

The Indian Helper, published weekly from 1885 to 1900, replaced the *School News*. Thematically similar to the *News*, Pratt intended the *Helper* to provide content for “pupils both past and present and for circulation among their parents and people in their remote homes.”¹⁹ While the *Helper* continued to include material authored by students, the paper itself described how it differed from its predecessor the *News* when it declared that the *Helper* was “PRINTED by Indian boys, but EDITED by The-man-on-the-band-stand, who is NOT an Indian.”²⁰ Though

¹⁷ Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 40.

¹⁸ Samuel Townsend, “Editorial,” *School News*, 1, no.1 (June 1880).

¹⁹ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 297.

²⁰ *Indian Helper* 3, no. 6 (September 16, 1887).

never explicitly identified, even in the face of repeated (and published) letters to the editor requesting his identity, some scholars believe The-Man-on-the-Bandstand to be Pratt. Recent scholarship, however, indicates it was more likely Marianna Burgess, a white Quaker missionary and Carlisle administrator who managed production and circulation of Carlisle periodicals for almost twenty years.²¹

Carlisle distributed an additional set of periodicals which differed in format and content from the *School News* and *Indian Helper*. Beginning in April 1880 with the title *Eadle Keatah Toh*, published monthly until March 1882, Pratt changed the name to the English translation, *The Morning Star*, and then again to *The Red Man* in 1888. Although male Carlisle students performed all the mechanical work for these publications,²² most contemporary observers (as well as some modern Carlisle scholars) assumed Pratt edited the publication.²³ *Eadle Keatah Toh*, *Morning Star*, and the *Red Man* featured news about students, visitors, teachers, and the school, and heavily proselytized Pratt's philosophy with articles comparing reservation and non-reservation schools.²⁴ The papers included reprints from other publications, school reports,

²¹ For those who argue that Marianna Burgess was the Man on the Band Stand, see: Jacqueline Fear-Segal, "The Man on the Bandstand at Carlisle Indian Industrial School: What He Reveals about the Children's Experiences," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 99-122 and "Man-on-the-Bandstand: Surveillance, Concealment, and Resistance" in *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); and Amelia V. Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian": The Boarding-School Experience and American Indian Literature* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005). For those arguing that Pratt was the Man on the Band Stand, see Jessica Ruggieri Matthews, "Killing a Culture to Save a Race: Writing and Resisting the Discourse of the Carlisle Indian School," (Ph. D diss., George Washington University, 2005), 11; and Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 41. While Witmer notes that The Man on the Bandstand "was probably, at least most of the time, Richard Pratt" (41), Fear-Segal explicitly states that "he [Pratt] was not the man on the bandstand" ("The Man on the Band Stand... What He Reveals...", 104). Katanski concedes that other scholars "contend that the Man-on-the-Band-stand was almost certainly Richard Pratt himself," yet argues that "the voice of this figure is the voice of the *Indian Helper's* editor... Marianna Burgess" (53-54).

²² Article reprinted from *Now and Then*, in *The Red Man* 9, no. 4 (March 1889).

²³ Amelia V. Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian,"* 17, 47, 96, 115, 123; and Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 41. While Katanski states that it was "Pratt's administration" which attempted to regulate representations of Indians within school newspapers (47), she frequently describes him as the main editorial agent behind content and message in the *Red Man*. Witmer argues that Pratt edited both the *School News* and the *Indian Helper*, and insists that "Pratt kept a close eye on all the publications printed during his tenure" (41).

²⁴ Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, p. 40-41.

correspondence, and materials from Carlisle's leaders.²⁵ Pratt described the publication as "especially designed for informing the general public as well as the administrative, legislative, and agency authorities."²⁶ The mission of these papers was clear; single-sentence proclamations on the front page asserted common themes, especially Pratt's philosophy that, away from reservations and tribal settings, Indians were no less capable than whites and could easily assimilate into American society.²⁷

Pratt published newspapers for a variety of reasons. Writing and printing the publications provided a training ground for Indian youth: student printers learned methods of composition and layout, and familiarized themselves with operating the print machine and managing the steam engine and boiler.²⁸ In the face of whites who scholar Beth Haller describes as "believ[ing] the worst in an array of stereotypes and myths," Carlisle's newspapers played an integral part in the success of the school by embracing and promoting Pratt's philosophy. Members of Congress, Indian agencies, state officials, and individual Americans all purchased subscriptions, or were sent the paper *gratis*.²⁹ Circulation ranged from 2,000 in the school's early years to over 10,000 subscriptions.³⁰

Gender was an important component of Pratt's and other reformers' attempts to assimilate the Indian population. Victorian American culture dictated not just men's and women's comportment and appearance, but also the idea of gender-specific tasks. Nineteenth century Americans saw men and women as living within separate spheres, each responsible for duties to which their gender was innately suited. Scientific theories such as social evolution reinforced this

²⁵ Beth A. Haller, "Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda? Publications of the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1818" *American Journalism* 19 (2002): 73.

²⁶ Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 297.

²⁷ *Red Man* 13, no. 8 (March 1896).

²⁸ Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 40-42.

²⁹ Haller, "Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda?" 31, 71

³⁰ Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, 42.

idea, providing a framework for ideas about changing gender roles and household forms.³¹ In "civilized" society, men worked to support and protect their families outside the home, while women utilized their domestic skills to provide comfort to husbands and moral training to children. This ran contrary, however, to what white observers saw within Indian communities. Matrilineal kinship systems, polygamy, differing gender roles, and nonnuclear extended families all indicated the savagery of Indian lifestyles.³² White American observers saw Indian women's performance of "male tasks" as a barrier to the Indian population's entrance into civilized society.³³ Thus, boarding schools attempted to maintain Victorian ideals well into the twentieth century,³⁴ and emphasized the teaching of white, middle class ideals which mandated proper behavior and gender-specific work for boys and girls.

Pratt intended Carlisle's newspapers to portray both the school itself as well as the assimilationist movement in a positive light. As a result, scholars have long viewed these papers as vehicles for the assimilationist message championed by Pratt and other reformers. Scholar Homi Bhabha's concept of mimicry complicates this idea; when used as a lens for interrogating these periodicals, it becomes clear that assimilation was not the zero-sum game that Pratt and others suggested. In fact, Carlisle's newspapers can be read as a potential site for locating Indian

³¹ Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 8.

³² Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 35-36.

³³ Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 11.

³⁴ John Bloom, "'Show What an Indian Can Do:' Sports," in *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*, ed. Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000), 111.

agency. This is especially clear when examining how Carlisle constructed American and Indian gender roles within its publications.³⁵

Bhabha's concept of mimicry provides an excellent explanation for the presence of content which does not seem to promote the message of assimilation. In his article "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," Bhabha describes "colonial mimicry" as "the desire for a reformed, recognizable other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite."³⁶ The Indian boarding school system was part of a larger system of cultural imperialism practiced by the United States against the American Indian population for more than a century. Bhabha's definition is a useful framework, then, to analyze not just the ways in which white American reformers viewed Indians, but also how Indians viewed white Americans.

As Bhabha uses it, mimicry is a visualization of power³⁷ in which oppressors construct identities on behalf of the oppressed. In this way, oppressors attempt to thwart resistance and force the subjugated individual to conspire in his or her own subjugation.³⁸ Mimicry is also a visualization of difference which distances the subjugated population from the imperial power. To a white American audience, mimicry is repetition rather than re-presentation; as Bhabha notes, "to be Anglicized, is *emphatically* not to be Anglo."³⁹ We can thus use this concept to

³⁵ Throughout this paper, I have chosen to utilize the term "American" to describe the cultural norms which Carlisle's administration urged their students to adopt. The use of this term is grounded in contemporary sources; see Chapter 2, note 35. Similarly, though I have taken pains to note individuals' tribal affiliations when this information is available, I use the term "Indian" to describe the native population, justified not just by reformers' perceptions of a relatively uniform native culture, but also by the movement toward Pan-Indianism occurring at the end of the nineteenth century. By using terms in this way, I in no way mean to imply a binary between Indianness and Americanness; this is true only insofar as Bhabha's concept of mimicry applies to reformers attitudes toward assimilation. Occasionally, I use the term "white" to describe the Anglo-American population in the United States. It is my intention to use "American" when discussing Anglo-American cultural norms, and employ "white" in discussions of perceptions of more immutable biological differences.

³⁶ Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *October: The First Decade*, ed. Annette Michelson, et al (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 318.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 318.

³⁸ Gavin McGarry, "Bhabha's Mimicry and Man: Destabilizing the Colonial Paradigm," *The Imperial Archive*, last modified June 17, 2007, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEnglish/imperial/carib/Bhabha-mimicry.html/>.

³⁹ Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 318, 320 and McGarry, "Bhabha's Mimicry and Man."

understand white Americans' treatment of the Indian population at the turn of the century. While reformers encouraged the acculturation of Indians, evidence of an Indian's inability to ever fully assimilate created an unbridgeable distance between white Americans and Indians. This distance provided evidence that even acculturated Indians would always occupy a space below the white population, thus reinforcing the need for a continued Anglo-American hegemony over the Indian people.

Bhabha also characterizes mimicry as "camouflage, not a harmonization or repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that differs/defends presence by displaying it in part[.]"⁴⁰ Once the oppressors franchise the instruments of oppression to the oppressed, subjugated individuals have the ability to subvert the instruments' intended meaning. Resistance can be enacted using the very tools which were intended to repress or assimilate.⁴¹ Mimicry flips the gaze; "the observer becomes the observed."⁴² By teaching Indians how to be Americans, reformers provided Indians with the opportunity to reject (in part, or in their entirety) the trappings of Americanness. While Pratt's administration used instances of "failed assimilation" for their own purposes, their inclusion in Carlisle's newspapers allows modern readers to locate Indian agency within propagandistic sources which promoted assimilation.

The mechanics of mimicry can be seen in various ways in Carlisle's newspapers. On the one hand, mimicry helps to explain the ways in which the papers described "assimilated" Indians. Pratt's administration printed these stories to prove the success of the school's methods. Yet these examples often reminded readers, both implicitly and explicitly, of the otherwise acculturated Indians' race and heritage. For contemporary readers, these assimilated Indians were almost, but not quite, white, thus creating distance between the white reader and the Indian

⁴⁰ Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 322.

⁴¹ McGarry, "Bhabha's Mimicry and Man."

⁴² Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 321.

subject. Carlisle's periodicals also included descriptions of Indians who did not fit prescribed American gender roles. Pratt included examples of non-assimilated Indians to show the need for continued intervention, as well as eradication of the reservation and ration program. By juxtaposing these accounts with articles portraying successfully acculturated Indians, Pratt could prove that Indians were not irredeemable savages, as many believed. In this way, portrayals of unassimilated Indians could be just as beneficial to Pratt in proving the worth of his school and its methods. Yet these accounts, which created a space somewhere between "assimilated" and "savage," contradicted the concept, promoted by Pratt and other reformers, of a zero-sum game in which one must "kill the Indian [to] save the man."⁴³ It also created a space in which Indians might resist Pratt's aims, using the very tools provided to them by the school.

Scholars have given considerable attention to the role boarding schools played in Native American assimilation. Carlisle's role as a prototype for subsequent off-reservation Indian boarding schools, as well as Pratt's strong and continued presence in the debate over Indian education encouraged historians, as well as scholars of literature and journalism, to focus their analysis on Carlisle, its students, and its administrators. It is important to situate this study within three key (and often overlapping) themes within the literature: the location of student and parent agency, the use of Carlisle's periodicals as historical sources, and the role of gender in the boarding school experiment and experience.

When discussing the location of agency with students and their parents in the boarding school system, authors tend to posit (either implicitly or explicitly) a dichotomy between student resistance or rebellion on the one hand, and the students' cooperation with their own assimilation on the other. In his wonderful overview of the American Indian boarding school system, historian David Wallace Adams juxtaposes two chapters with one another: "Resistance" and

⁴³ Matthews, "Killing a Culture to Save a Race," 1.

"Accommodation."⁴⁴ His analysis is not lacking in nuance; Adams aptly describes the various ways in which students expressed a "passive resistance" (such as unresponsiveness, mild acts of defiance, and pranks). The interpretation of "accommodation" he puts forth allows for a variety of possibilities beyond students fully adopting assimilationist ideologies. Yet Adams limits his discussion of the "role of choice" in the acculturation process, which he says allows for a "selective process of sorting some things out for adoption and others for rejection,"⁴⁵ to just under three pages of the thirty page chapter.⁴⁶ Furthermore, he undermines his arguments for a more complex definition of agency by categorizing behaviors (and thus students) as either "resisting" or "accommodating," rather than allowing for a more fluid continuum of experience.

Historian Michael C. Coleman differentiates between oppositional behaviors which allowed for a continued presence at school (what he calls "resistance-accommodation"⁴⁷) and total rejection of the schooling process. Coleman cedes, however, that there is much overlap. For instance, those who initially rejected a school may come to appreciate certain aspects of their schooling, or accept a different school. Coleman defines resistance broadly when he states that "all cases of syncretic blending of traditions should be seen as cultural resistance to school demands for total rejection of the tribal past."⁴⁸ This definition of resistance includes activities other scholars have not, such as passive acceptance of punishment and the development of an antagonistic "counterculture."⁴⁹

Some authors, in their discussion of agency, provide support for using Bhabha's concept of mimicry as a theoretical lens for viewing Carlisle and its students. Only one does so explicitly;

⁴⁴ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 209-269.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 266.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 266-269.

⁴⁷ Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 162.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 146-177.

Janet Dean notes that "assimilation was to produce marginalized subjects who were, to borrow from Bhabha's description of colonial mimicry, '*almost the same, but not white*.'"⁵⁰ Dean does describe a critical "discomfort" with applying postcolonial theories like Bhabha's mimicry to American Indian literature and culture, specifically noting a hesitancy to use a *post* colonial theory to describe the colonial status of American Indians.⁵¹ This discomfort may explain the lack of arguments explicitly harnessing this concept.

Regardless of any "discomfort," some authors construct arguments strikingly similar to Bhabha's concept of mimicry, providing implicit support for its use as a framework. Many authors support the idea that students were able to franchise the instruments of their own oppression. Jennifer Bess argues that students "synthesiz[ed Pratt's] tools with their own visions and traditions."⁵² Rayna Green and John Troutman similarly emphasize that though schools aimed to eradicate students' Indianness, students "took up the forms of gatherings and entertainment deemed acceptable by the school administrators, putting them to their own social, political, economic, and even religious uses."⁵³

In a field with a limited number of sources⁵⁴ from which scholars might glean evidence of the Indian students' lived experience in boarding schools, some have turned to boarding school newspapers in search of student voices. Carlisle was not the only Indian boarding school to publish periodicals. Jacqueline Emery uses Hampton Institute's monthly *Talks and Thoughts* to

⁵⁰ Janet Dean, "Reading Lessons: Sentimental Literacy and Assimilation in *Stiya: A Carlisle Indian Girl at Home and Wynema: A Child of the Forest*," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 57, no. 3 (2011): 208.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁵² Jennifer Bess, "Casting a Spell: Acts of Cultural Continuity in Carlisle Indian Industrial School's *The Red Man and Helper*," *Wicazo Sa Review* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 14.

⁵³ Rayna Green and John Troutman, "By the Waters of the Minnehaha: Music and Dance, Pageants and Princesses," in *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*, ed. Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 2000), 61.

⁵⁴ See Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), xii-xvi for a discussion of the sources which can help researchers understand the history of boarding schools. While a wide array of sources are available (including "official" government documentation, school newspapers, oral histories, biographies, letters, and photographs), the number and quality of these sources vary among different schools, time periods, and repositories.

show how students used the paper to push back against the school's assimilationist aims.⁵⁵

Though viewed through a number of different frameworks, the literature emphasizes the assimilationist aspects of boarding school periodicals. This held true at Carlisle, where Pratt wielded an obvious influence on the content of the newspapers. Assimilation was the undeniable guiding force behind all newspapers during Pratt's tenure; many were intended for strictly Anglo-American audiences, and all were heavily motivated by the need to show the school's success. It is for these reasons that Brenda Child cautions us to utilize Carlisle's newspapers "with a measure of skepticism."⁵⁶

Authors bring differing levels of skepticism to their work with the newspapers, however, and as a result, provide conflicting ideas about how the papers should be read and used. Beth Haller attempts to find "authentic Indian voices"⁵⁷ within the pages of Carlisle's publications, and finds the presence of the administration and their ideology overwhelming. While Haller does locate students' resistance in Carlisle's periodicals through students' use of "qualifying words" such as "I guess" and "I suppose,"⁵⁸ she finds no "true cultural voices of Indian youth, just assimilationist mutations of young people forced to learn to be 'white.'"⁵⁹ Haller's strict adherence to an opposition between "authentic" or "cultural" and "assimilated" voices, and between "resistance" and capitulation, makes her argument problematic.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, Jennifer Bess locates resistance within the Indian-authored articles in the *Red Man and Helper*.⁶⁰ Bess fully embraces Bhabha's concept of mimicry (if not the actual term) when she refutes a binary of oppression versus resistance. She argues that

⁵⁵ Jacqueline Emery, "Writing Against Erasure: Native American Students at Hampton Institute and the Periodical Press," *American Periodicals* 22, no. 2 (2012): 178-198.

⁵⁶ Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, xii.

⁵⁷ Haller, "Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda?" 70.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁰ After 1900, the *Red Man* was renamed the *Red Man and Helper*. While Bess uses this final title for the sake of simplicity, she does include articles from *Eadle Keatah Toh*, the *Morning Star*, and the *Red Man*.

the writings of Indian students simultaneously "announce the victory of Pratt's assimilationist program at Carlisle, illuminate its oppressive nature, *and* insist on their own victory, agency, intellect, and meaning-making powers."⁶¹

Most authors, however, find space somewhere between Haller and Bess. Amelia Katanski, while insisting that "one must respect the complexity of students' responses and recognize their authorial agency,"⁶² does not attempt to locate agency within the *Indian Helper*. Instead, her focus is on the power afforded to the administration (specifically Marianna Burgess, a long-time teacher and administrator at Carlisle) through the papers. Katanski describes how administrators created their own representations and narratives of students as a means to establish or reinforce hegemony over students, how Burgess used her position as editor to craft the *Indian Helper* into a disciplinary tool, and how administrators silenced those Indians who resisted assimilation.⁶³ She does note, however, the ability to use the *Indian Helper* as a potential source of information on students and their lives before, during, and after school, when no other sources can be located.⁶⁴

Similarly, Jacqueline Fear-Segal uses the periodicals to help reconstruct the life of Kesetta, an Apache prisoner of war and long-time student at Carlisle, when she can find no other sources.⁶⁵ On the *Indian Helper*, Fear-Segal argues much the same point as Katanski, with slightly more attention given to the location of student agency in the paper. Though the paper is "strictly censored," Fear-Segal argues the *Indian Helper* provides a window to not only the daily

⁶¹ Bess, "Casting a Spell," 14.

⁶² Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian,"* 13.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 45-94.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁵ Jacqueline Fear-Segal, "Kesetta: Memory and Recovery," in *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 255-282.

life of students and their interactions with white administrators, but also "the ploys and strategies the children used on a day-to-day basis to withstand the force of Carlisle's mission."⁶⁶

While trends in the literature show an increasingly nuanced view of boarding school periodicals and their potential uses for historical research, scholars are only just beginning to interrogate the boarding school system through the lens of gender. Two recent works, Jane E. Simonsen's *Making Home Work* and Cathleen D. Cahill's *Federal Fathers & Mothers*, look at gender's role in reformers' attempts to assimilate Indians in the American West. Cahill writes a social history of the Indian Service, harnessing arguments about both colonialism and gender within the United States. She describes the implications for the thousands of white women hired by the Indian Office to serve as "federal mothers" who might provide maternal guidance to the government's Indian wards. Cahill emphasizes the important role that ideas about gender and home played in reformers' attempts to assimilate the United States' Indian population.⁶⁷

Simonsen's work harnesses gender as an interpretive lens even more explicitly. Discussing the role of women's work in the American West, Simonsen argues that close contact between Indian and white residents created a "kaleidoscope" of conditions which challenged the government's assimilationist goals. Describing the opportunities assimilation provided for white, middle class women, Simonsen discusses how these women exported domesticity to the West using literature, science, and the "ideal" model home. She also "attempts to recover ... indigenous voices," examining how Indian women (including Arikara field matron Anna Dawson Wilde and Winnebago artist Angel DeCora) accepted some forms of work while rejecting others. Simonsen contends that these women recognized that the power with which cultural work afforded them could be used to redefine domestic work in ways that affirmed their

⁶⁶ Fear-Segal, "Man-on-the-Bandstand: Surveillance, Concealment, and Resistance," 208.

⁶⁷ Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers*, 2, 6.

Indigenous identity.⁶⁸ While the information within Carlisle's newspapers corroborates many of the arguments Simonsen and Cahill make about the importance of gender in reformers' assimilation efforts, both authors ground their work within the American West, providing only brief references to the role gender played within nonreservation boarding schools.

Other authors mention gender's importance in the assimilationist agenda within boarding schools. Brenda Child notes that while reformers fought for equal education for Indian girl students, this fight was situated within strong negative imagery of American Indian women. Child describes how educators hoped that Indian girls, their own lives transformed by education, would go on to transform others in their race.⁶⁹ David Wallace Adams gives a broad description of the ideology behind the "gender training" students received while at school. Reformers found the low status of women in tribal society and the lack of a rigid moral code to govern sexual conduct sinful and degrading. Boarding schools hoped to reconstruct students' attitudes toward gender roles and sexual mores along American lines. Indian girls were to be transformed into what Adams called "bronze embodiments of Victorian womanhood," while Indian boys were to be taught to recognize the proper role of women in society. Gender assimilation infiltrated all aspects of school life, from the classroom to the socials, marches, and dances which ritualized male-female relations.⁷⁰

Much of scholars' discussion of gender focuses on the gender differentiation of vocational instruction at boarding schools; other sources mention the possibility (and reality) of sexual misconduct and abuse.⁷¹ Michael Coleman, in his analysis of over one hundred

⁶⁸ Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 2, 6, 15.

⁶⁹ Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 77-78.

⁷⁰ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 173-181.

⁷¹ For a discussion of sexual misconduct and abuse in boarding schools, see: Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 177-181; Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Don't You Suppose It's Best for Him to Come Home?: Health and Homesickness," in *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 2000), 42-43; and Margaret D. Jacobs, "Indian Boarding Schools in

autobiographical accounts of former boarding school students, described the gendered curriculum which "required physical labor appropriate to 'proper' gender roles."⁷² However, Coleman also noted a lack of a patterned response to the boarding school experience based on gender, arguing that "even if the content of the work was different, *both* sexes were required to perform manual labor."⁷³

K. Tsianina Lomawaima is one of few scholars to have looked at the boarding school experience specifically through a gendered lens. In contrast to Coleman, Lomawaima argues that sex segregation in the schools "generated different school experiences for boys and girls." Her article "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools" focuses on federal policies of domestic training for girls and the regimenting, training, and clothing of female students' bodies. Analyzing the strategies that Chilocco Indian Agricultural School girls used to avoid government issued clothing, Lomawaima argues that boarding schools were "arenas for a reciprocating exercise of power between school staff and students – in other words, as an interaction Indian students helped to create."⁷⁴

Katrina Paxton argues that another Indian boarding school, the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, used academic, vocational, and social curricula in the first quarter of the twentieth century to enact a "gendered cultural assimilation of the female student body."⁷⁵ Paxton describes how the YWCA was integral to Sherman's enforcement of the "Victorian ideal" among their students, with emphasis on the "cult of true womanhood" and separate spheres.

Comparative Perspective: The Removal of Indigenous Children in the United States and Australia, 1880-1940," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 220-221.

⁷² Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School*, 40.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁷⁴ K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority Over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (May 1993): 227.

⁷⁵ Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907-1925," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 176.

"Assertive characteristics," she explains, were deemed "'unfeminine' and 'undesirable.'"⁷⁶ While Paxton notes that some girls hoped to acquire skills at Sherman that they could use upon their return home to help their family's circumstances, the "feminine domestic skills" that girl students learned "frequently proved useless for economic and cultural survival."⁷⁷

Paxton's description of gender as a concept that educators taught to students through all aspects of their schooling provides an excellent foundation for the holistic view of gender utilized in my study. The conception of gender I employ describes the culturally constructed roles deemed appropriate for women and men. These roles shaped all aspects of life, including physical appearance and dress, houses and homes, work and livelihood, and motherhood – all of which are evidenced in the pages of Carlisle's periodicals.

This study contributes to the relatively small body of literature that focuses primarily on gender in the American Indian boarding school experience. By following in the footsteps of those scholars who have increasingly found value in boarding school periodicals, as well as those who have explicitly or implicitly lent their support to the use of Bhabha's concept of mimicry, I hope to complicate ideas about assimilation, resistance, and Indian agency at the turn of the century. Chapter One provides an introduction to the Pratt administration's construction of ideas about Indian and American gender roles as seen in Carlisle's periodicals. Historians Amelia Katanski and Jacqueline Fear-Segal convincingly argue that Carlisle used its newspapers as instruments of disciplinary power, providing modern-day readers with "telling details about how the 'civilizing' campaign was conducted."⁷⁸ As such, Carlisle's newspapers can provide a window

⁷⁶ Ibid., 174-178.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 184.

⁷⁸ Fear-Segal, "Man-on-the-Bandstand: Surveillance, Concealment, and Resistance," 206; Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian,"* 47.

into how Pratt's administration used gender training as a key component of their assimilationist aims. This is especially true with the *Indian Helper*, as this paper was intended primarily for a student audience, both on Carlisle's campus and elsewhere. However, Carlisle also attempted to educate a white audience – not only about the goings-on at Carlisle, but also about why schools like Carlisle were necessary. For white readers, Carlisle's newspapers created an image of Indian men and women as degraded and savage, demonstrating the need for reformers' intervention. Thus, Pratt and other administrators used the pages of Carlisle's newspapers to educate white Americans about Carlisle's success in removing children from the horrors of reservation life, as well as Indian students about the necessity of adopting American gender roles.

Chapters Two and Three use Bhabha's concept of mimicry to explain the gendered content of Carlisle's periodicals and provide a gateway for reading Indian agency in these sources. Chapter Two complicates the concept of an "assimilated" Indian. Pratt used Carlisle's newspapers to prove the efficacy of the school's methods and display the acculturation of its students. Yet authors used various rhetorical devices to portray full assimilation as unattainable, thus creating a distance between assimilated Indians and whites. Students used this distance to show that their acceptance of some American gender roles did not necessarily entail their rejection of Indian culture, allowing modern readers to relocate Indian agency within the periodicals. Chapter Three adds nuance to the idea of Indian resistance to assimilationist aims. Carlisle's periodicals included accounts of students and other Indians who defended Indian customs, or explicitly rejected American gender norms. School administrators included these accounts for their own reasons, yet these accounts provide evidence of Indian resistance and individual choice. This resistance, however, was often incomplete and sometimes impermanent.

CHAPTER 1: "WOMANLY, HOUSEWIFELY ACCOMPLISHMENTS"¹ *THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER WITHIN CARLISLE'S PERIODICALS*

To many white American observers, the condition of Indian women in tribal society appeared antithetical to the presumed "natural" condition of women in nineteenth century America. Indian women performed "male" labor, led relatively unsheltered lives, and exhibited a very different attitude toward sex than that of white American women. Indian women seemingly led a life of "unending, strenuous, and tedious labor which only became more burdensome as they grew older."² Reformers imagined the status of Indian women as scarcely above that of animals, citing polygyny, wife selling, forced marriage, and a division of labor which relegated Indian women to occupying the role of drudge.³ Commissioned by Congress in 1822 to survey the Indian condition, Reverend Jedidiah Morse declared that it was "essential to the success of the project of the Government, that the female character among our native tribes, be raised from its present degraded state, to its proper rank and influence."⁴

As a result, one objective of the boarding school program was to reform students' attitudes toward gender roles and sexual mores.⁵ Curricula emphasized physical labor "appropriate" to American gender roles. Boys were taught trades such as blacksmithing or woodworking, and were instructed in American methods of farming. Girls learned "civilized"

¹ "The Government Indian School at Albuquerque, New Mexico," *The Red Man* 9, no. 4 (March 1889).

² Katherine M. Weist, "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of Northern Plains Indian Women," in *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, ed. Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc, 1893), 30-31, 38.

³ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 173-174.

⁴ Weist, "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves," 37.

⁵ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 173.

cooking, dressmaking, and other "domestic arts,"⁶ including sewing, laundry, and dishwashing. Indian boys were taught to recognize the proper role of their female counterparts, who would be transformed into the "bronze embodiments of Victorian womanhood" historian David Wallace Adams describes.⁷ The inclusion of girls in Indian education was especially important, as many reformers worried that Indian men would revert to "savage" ways upon returning home without the support of their women.⁸ In keeping with the Victorian construction of "separate spheres," or distinct sites in which men and women should operate, educators trained Indian boys in vocations which would lead to wage work in the public sphere, while the training of Indian girls – sometimes also meant to lead to wage work - remained within the private sphere, inside the homes of white employers, or within their own homes.⁹ Reformers emphasized an ideological as well as vocational training in American gender norms. Indian girls, for instance, were lectured on the physical display of "ladylike" characteristics, such as keeping a soft voice and avoiding aggressive or assertive language.¹⁰ Domestic science classes, McGuffey Readers, and Sunday morning sermons were all vehicles for transmitting the message of Victorian gender relations to Indian students.¹¹

Pratt realized that appearance was key when attempting to argue that Carlisle provided the best answer to the "Indian question." Observers could quickly identify an "assimilated" Indian by his or her American appearance. This was true on many fronts; just as Carlisle's

⁶ Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 40.

⁷ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 175.

⁸ Anne Maxwell, "Shifting Focus: Photographic Representations of Native Americans and African-Americans," in *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1999), 119.

⁹ Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907-1925," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 177-179.

¹⁰ Paxton, "Learning Gender," 177-178.

¹¹ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 175.

teachers advised students that they would be judged based on their appearance by white observers, the administration often relied upon former students' appearance as markers of their success or failure. Carlisle's periodicals clearly defined acceptable (American) and unacceptable (Indian) means of self-presentation through clothing, hairstyle, and personal hygiene.

Descriptions of Indians' appearance were almost always gendered, most often focusing on Indian boys' hair-length, and Indian girl's "Indian dress."

Marianna Burgess, Superintendent of Printing at Carlisle, occasionally included stories about appearance within the *Indian Helper* as teaching tools for Carlisle's students. One article, reprinted from *Children's Work for Children*, a Presbyterian mission publication, told the story of an Indian boy named "Sunday." Sunday's mother began to adopt the ways of the white missionary women living among them, and decided to cut Sunday's hair; as a result, Sunday received mockery and scorn from the "blanket Indians"¹² in his camp. In the end, a missionary woman soothed Sunday by lauding him for being so "brave to stand the teasing and laughing of the men, and wear his hateful short locks[.]"¹³ This article, which moralized the necessity of Indian boys' cutting their hair, ostensibly portrayed a situation with which Carlisle's students might commiserate, since this was often the first step of an Indian boy's "transformation" at Carlisle. The language used in the piece worked to the same end, normalizing the cutting of young Indian boys' hair and lending an air of inevitability to a uniformly American-appearing Indian population by describing "blanket Indians" as those who had "not yet taken up white men's dress [emphasis added]."¹⁴

¹² The term "blanket Indian" was a derogatory term used to describe Indians who retained tribal lifeways and customs. Indians educated by white Americans who rejected American customs (especially language and clothing) were described as going "back to the blanket."

¹³ "'Sunday' and the Prayer-Woman," reprinted from *Children's Work for Children*, in *Indian Helper* 8, no. 37 (June 2, 1893).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Carlisle's periodicals used appearance as a way to discredit Indian culture, providing obvious markers of the depravity of tribal life. The *Indian Helper* warned student readers that "those very few returned Carlisle pupils who pull out their eye brows and dress in the blankets and full Indian costume should remember that their conduct does not so much reflect discredit upon the Carlisle school as it advertises their own lack of good sense. This fact is recognized by Indians and white people alike."¹⁵ Not only did this article denigrate Indian culture, it also effectively removed the possibility of agency or choice by equating an "Indian" appearance with an inherent lack of sense.

While Pratt's administration strove to portray Indian appearance as evidence of the degeneracy of Indian culture, the picture they painted could not be too dire. Since Pratt aimed to "transfer the savage" into "a civilized language and habit,"¹⁶ Indians, especially Indian children, could not be portrayed as irredeemable. As a result, articles included in Carlisle's periodicals insisted that, were it not for Indian culture, Indian children would be indistinguishable from white children. Sometimes this was done explicitly, as was the case with an account of an Eskimo woman's lecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, penned by a ten-year-old girl. Sharing things which she learned at the lecture, the girl told readers that "when Greenlanders are born they are the same color as we are; instead of washing the baby the mother greases it."¹⁷ Other times, the emphasis on a redeemable Indian was more implicit. In author and archaeologist Warren K. Moorehead's "picture of life of an Indian woman on the reservation" reprinted in the *Indian Helper* in September 1891, Moorehead created a representative Indian woman whose coarse, haggard appearance directly resulted from the culture in which she lived.

¹⁵ J. H. Seger, "An Interesting Letter about Some of Our Returned Boys and Girls," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 22 (January 13, 1888).

¹⁶ Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, Pennsylvania 1879-1918* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), xix.

¹⁷ "A Woman Only Forty Inches High," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 32 (April 11, 1890).

This woman's "sternness" was not inherent; rather, she accrued it over time as a result of her environment.¹⁸

Just as these articles exemplify how appearance can be an indicator of culture, many reformers contemporaneous with Pratt's superintendency believed in the power of the trappings of American society to assimilate Indians. For instance, the Women's National Indian Association, a reform group dedicated to Indian assimilation, created a committee in 1885 to provide funding for Indians to build homes, believing that these new dwellings would have a "transformative influence."¹⁹ Similarly, Carlisle's periodicals published material which promoted the idea that appearance could *effect* cultural assimilation. Within the pages of the *Red Man*, Indian agent, teacher, and Indian school Superintendent J. S. Spear denigrated the long hair of Indian boys and the Indian girls' "squaw dress" as "evil" and "ugly." Spear affirmed that "the cut of a girl's dress will have much to do in deciding whether she shall grow up to be a squaw or a woman." Evoking questions that a white American reader might have asked school administrators, Spear wondered why Indian accoutrements must be eradicated, if the only difference between American and Indian dress was a difference in "opinion of aesthetics." Spear answered his own questions decisively – not only was it right, but it was the "duty" of white American reformers to "root out these customs to the smallest... by force of necessary."²⁰ Spear's reasoning seemed to lie in his realization that appearance was an arena in which Indians might quite visibly resist reformers' assimilationist aims:

Can we doubt that if no force had been used to prevent it that boys would still be coming to school dressed in yellow paint, long hair and breech clouts? That girls would still be wearing squaw dresses, red leggins [sic], and a dozen ear

¹⁸ Warren K. Moorehead, "The Hard Life of an Uneducated Indian Woman," reprinted from *The Ladies Home Journal*, in *Indian Helper* 6, no. 52 (September 4, 1891).

¹⁹ Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 71-72.

²⁰ J. S. Spear, "Why Not Let the Indian Boy Keep his Long Hair, and the Girl her Dress," *The Red Man* 14, no. 8 (January 1898).

ornaments? Nor can we doubt that every one of these customs holds the child at a distance from civilizing influences. They make him feel every moment of his life that he is an Indian... that so long as he adheres to their customs he needs not the civilization, the education, the language of the whites. Nor can we doubt that the Indian fully realizes the same, and for this reason he so strenuously opposes the teacher's work.²¹

In Spear's estimation, not only did a student's Indian appearance hold him or her back from assimilating, it also (perhaps dangerously)²² allowed for resistance, providing the student the means with which to choose "Indianness" over assimilation.

While appearance was an obvious indicator of assimilation (or a lack thereof), the administration at Carlisle expected students to live and find work within American society after their time at school. Thus, teaching students the roles men and women were expected to play in American society was a key component of a Carlisle student's education. This necessitated a gendered division of industrial training, an emphasis on preparing Indian women to be mothers of assimilated children, and the inculcation of Indian boys to the proper place and treatment of women.

All students engaged in some form of manual labor training; girls learned how to sew, wash the laundry, iron, cook, and clean – "womanly, housewifely accomplishments"²³ – while boys were schooled in carpentry, harness-making, blacksmithing, printing, and other trades. "I want to tell you something that I have learned here," wrote student Mary North to a friend. "I learn to wash clothes and to iron too... I can sew on the machines and keep my room clean... The

²¹ Ibid.

²² While the last of the larger conflicts in the "Indian Wars" had already occurred at the time this article was printed, the Wounded Knee Massacre still remained fresh in Americans' collective memory, occurring only eight years prior to this article's publishing. Furthermore, smaller conflicts, such as the Battle of Bear Valley, continued well into the twentieth century.

²³ "The Government Indian School at Albuquerque, New Mexico," *The Red Man* 9, no. 4 (March 1889).

girls all take turns to work in the dining room. We learn to keep the dishes and plates clean and to keep the tables in order too."²⁴

Closely tied to a gendered division of work was the concept of houses and homes. Definitions of home were often tied to gendered work roles, as was the case with the *Helper's* declaration that "the reservation, torpid and dull and half alive, is NOT home... any other spot on earth where he or she can gain a foothold and earn a living, and provide for a family, if he be a man, or make a husband happy, if she be a woman, is HOME."²⁵ Officials expected Indian girls and boys to take the skills they learned at school and apply them within their own homes – men as capable builders of permanent houses with productive farms, and women as keepers of those houses. Like appearance, an Indian's dwelling – the structure itself, as well as the keeping and decorating of it according to American norms and fashion – could indicate to observers an Indian's assimilation. Educators applied very specific definitions for "work" and "homes," as indicated by student and editor of the *School News* Charles Kihega. Describing the lifeways of the Iowa Indians, he explained that "they used to live in camp and hunt. They did not work, but hunted. They had no homes; they camp from place to place."²⁶

As Cathleen Cahill discusses, the construction of a concept of home was fundamental in reformers' assimilation effort. In an age when homes represented the "keystone" of political, economic, and social order, "home conjured up visions of a happy and respectable married couple and their children living in a permanent, freestanding, multiple room house that was built and owned by men and decorated and kept neat by women."²⁷ Conversely, reformers viewed Indian dwellings as crowded, undifferentiated spaces which bred immorality and disease.

²⁴ Mary North, *School News* 1, no. 10 (March 1881).

²⁵ *The Red Man* 15, no. 11 (February 1900).

²⁶ Charles Kihega, "My Tribe," *School News* 2, no. 9 (February 1882).

²⁷ Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 34-35.

Reformers also found the portability of Indian homes as problematic, reinforcing a denial of private property and the conception of Indians as aimless, unproductive wanderers.²⁸ Thus, Indian boys learned that "homes" were permanent structures, while "work" meant trade work or farming. Indian girls learned that living in tents led to filth and disease.²⁹ The passing of the General Allotment Act (or "Dawes Act") in 1887 further reinforced for reformers the importance of teaching Indian students how to create homes, ordering the survey and division of reservation lands to be deeded to individual Indian owners. In turn, these new property owners would officially become citizens of the United States. While the act, as Cahill notes, "reflected white middle-class cultural expectations of a male-headed (and –owned) farming household," Senator Dawes himself argued that the "act was only an open door to make a home." Indians still needed white reformers to teach them *how* to create and sustain their homes.³⁰

Teaching Indian girls how create a home for their families and children was especially important, as Pratt and other reformers believed that environment – especially the home – had a large impact on the success of a student's assimilation. One "energetic teacher of an Indian school in Utah" wrote that she had "some very intelligent children and I have girls here that are model housekeepers while at the school, but the moment they leave the school and enter the wigwam they attire themselves in their squaw-dress and live the life of the squaws."³¹ The author implied that if girls left the school and returned to frame houses rather than wigwams, they would not feel a desire to return to the "life of the squaws."

Jane Simonsen defines domesticity as an imperial construct used by a white American middle class to uphold its power in an increasingly diverse nation, noting that "bad housekeeping

²⁸ Ibid. 38.

²⁹ "No Wonder the Camp Indians are Dying Rapidly," *Indian Helper* 7, no. 37 (May 27, 1892).

³⁰ Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers*, 41-42.

³¹ "The Oft-Repeated Question," *Indian Helper* 13, no. 39 (July 15, 1898).

became a marker of racial inferiority."³² Carlisle's periodicals confirmed this definition, often depicting Indian women as inept at American "womanly" roles. Authors in Carlisle's newspapers consistently portrayed Indian women as poor cooks and housekeepers. Marianna Burgess described a dish made by "one of the dirtiest looking objects [she] ever saw." The woman prepared the food on a "filthy blanket" near which she spit and rested her feet; the resulting dish, which Burgess described as "not look[ing] fit for a dog to eat," was "clean" compared to other meals Burgess had seen prepared.³³ Another white female observer in the *Indian Helper* described the cooking fire in an Indian camp as a dirty scene in which men spat into the ashes and women failed to wash their hands before handling food.³⁴ Other articles likewise portrayed dirty Indian women preparing unappetizing food; one even depicted an Indian woman cutting up dog meat for her family's dinner with an unwashed butcher knife.³⁵ This racialized incompetence emphasized the importance of teaching Carlisle girls how to engage in gendered American work and keep an American-style home.

The rationale behind educating Indian girls did not rest solely on their "inability" to cook a meal or clean a house. Even if not reflected in the lived experience of many middle class white women, American society tied domestic work to morality, viewing domesticity as a natural part of womanhood.³⁶ Thus, reformers saw Indian women's domestic inabilities as symptomatic of the need for a holistic re-education of both mind and body, so that educators might transform Indian girls "into a noble womanhood."³⁷ Educating Indian women, however, came with a specific set of difficulties, which Merial A. Dorchester, "Special Agent" for the Indian School

³² Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 3. Though out of the scope of this paper, Simonsen makes a contiguous argument when she describes how white women used Indians as a "racial other" to help shore up their own identity as middle class unwaged household workers. See Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 43-44.

³³ Marianna Burgess, "Among the Dakotas," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 1 (August 12, 1887).

³⁴ "Pawnee Medicine and Indian Lodge," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 13 (November 4, 1887).

³⁵ "The Hard Life of an Uneducated Indian Woman," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 52 (September 4, 1891).

³⁶ Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 8.

³⁷ "Every Day Doings at Carlisle," *The Red Man* 15, no. 10 (January 1900).

Service in the last decade of the nineteenth century, aptly described. Her list included: “prejudice against woman's development, except physically for abject service,” a lack of “chastity as known to civilized women,” and, “most formidable” of the obstacles, “the practice of early marriage.”³⁸ Regardless of the difficulties, as Indian girls grew into wives and mothers, *their* assimilation became imperative to the success of the assimilation movement in its entirety. Carl Schurz, in his role as Secretary of the Interior, made this clear in 1881 when he stated that the assimilation of Indians could “only be accomplished by the elevation of their women.”³⁹

If Indian women would be the conduit between American culture and their own families, reformers must mold them into good mothers who would raise their children with American values as well. Katanski describes how Indian girls needed to be “taught how to reproduce the schools' ideology in conjunction with their own physical reproduction. In their role as mothers, they should act as extensions of the school...replacing tribal tradition and familial affection with disciplinary control over their community's evolution.”⁴⁰ While Pratt's administration acknowledged that some of their girl students would enter wage work after Carlisle,⁴¹ they emphasized women's role as wives and mothers within their own homes. Carlisle's newspapers did not often state this argument explicitly; rather, the periodicals emphasized the role of Indian women on the reservations, especially mothers, as custodians of Indian culture. “The older people, especially the women, cling with the greatest tenacity to their ancient customs,”⁴² wrote one observer from Indian Territory. This attachment to Indian ways often led directly to the physical, psychological and spiritual harm of their children. For reformers, an account of a

³⁸ Merial A. Dorchester, “What Mrs. Dorchester Recommends for Indian Girls and Women,” *The Red Man* 10, no. 5 (June 1890).

³⁹ *School News* 1, no. 10 (March 1881).

⁴⁰ Katanski, Amelia Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian:" The Boarding-School Experience and American Indian Literature* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 78.

⁴¹ Within Carlisle's newspapers, administrators seemed to be especially proud of female students who found work as nurses in the East.

⁴² Jessie L. Fenton, “A True Picture of Interruption in a Home School,” *The Red Man* 12, no. 4 (1894).

mother leaving her baby to cry in a corner because they believed "the bad spirit has come into it"⁴³ showed how detrimental an adherence to "superstition" could be. Other accounts portrayed mothers as harnessing "ridicule [as] a powerful weapon" in order to "keep up the old superstitions, and laugh down modern ideas and customs."⁴⁴ This, then, was reformer's main problem: Indian women obstructed and often spoke out against assimilation. "The grandmother is the tyrant of the Indian community," wrote Elaine Goodale Eastman; "she becomes a barrier, a real hindrance and obstacle in the way of civilization... She is invariably suspicious of the white man and takes no pains to hide her dislike of him."⁴⁵

The need to teach Indian girls how to be American mothers was especially dire, because reformers regarded Indian children as having an innate desire to learn American ways. Under a collage of four photos of Indian girl students on Outing at "their country homes," the *Indian Helper* wondered:

Is it not a resurrection of the womanhood that has long been allowed to lie dormant in the Indian for want of opportunity, when through such refined homes and families as pictured above the Indian girls are brought into surroundings that elevate and make them self-respecting? ... Would that every Indian girl who is kept back by the false sentiment of pretend-to-be friends, and by ignorant parents, into degraded conditions that are shameful for a so-called civilized land to contemplate, could have such opportunities! They ALL could if proper measures were taken.⁴⁶

This description of an innate Anglo-American womanhood "lying dormant" within Indian girls emphasized the need not only to rescue these girls from a lifetime of degradation, but to do so early. Perhaps even more convincing to students and white reformers alike were similar sentiments issued from an Indian student himself. "It seems to me, or as far as I know, most of

⁴³ "A Woman only Forty Inches High," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 32 (April 11, 1890).

⁴⁴ Merial A. Dorchester, "What Mrs. Dorchester Recommends for Indian Girls and Women," *The Red Man* 10, no. 5 (June 1890).

⁴⁵ "An Obstacle in the Way of Civilization," *Indian Helper* 12, no. 28 (April 23, 1897).

⁴⁶ "Some Carlisle Indian Girls in their Country Homes," *Indian Helper* 12, no. 27 (April 16, 1897).

the children in some villages are willing to come to school, but the parents are the big buck Indians who are not willing, especially, the mothers," wrote John Dixon, a former Carlisle student employed as an interpreter for the Superintendent of Indian Schools in the Pueblo villages.⁴⁷ Just as the story of the Greenlander babies spoke to the innate shared qualities between Indians and whites, Dixon confirmed that Indian children had an instinctive desire to earn an American education, and that it was Indian mothers who prevented their children from doing such.

As a result, Carlisle's periodicals presented white women as surrogate mothers who could teach Indian girls how to be good, industrious women.⁴⁸ An article in the June 13, 1890 issue of the *Indian Helper* discussing the outing system described how:

A thousand girls now living in tepees... could find in the east if they would come to Pennsylvania, homes where they would be welcome, where they would have comfortable beds to sleep in, where they would have good food to eat and plenty of it, where there would be a regular time to eat it, where they would have a loving farm-mother to look after them and take an interest in them and advise them in the right way, where there would be no temptations to do the terrible things they are tempted to do at home, and where they would be happy in the thought that they were earning all of these comforts and blessings by their own industry.⁴⁹

The *Helper* used a promotional piece for the Outing system to disparage Indian mothers, who ostensibly could *not* provide physical comfort and love to their daughters. Quite the reverse: Indian women put their daughters at risk by exposing them to "temptations to do... terrible things." Another article in the *Helper* took a similar tack, noting that Indian girls who went on

⁴⁷ "From Albuquerque School," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 28 (February 24, 1888).

⁴⁸ This was not a Carlisle, or even boarding school specific, phenomenon. For information on how this occurred in the American West, see Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers*, 54.

⁴⁹ *Indian Helper* 5, no. 41 (June 13, 1890).

Outing entered "good homes where the mothers of growing families become their mothers, and patiently teach them along with their own children the necessary details of right living."⁵⁰

Reformers believed that if Indian women were to be taught how to raise children within American norms, then Indian men must be taught the proper treatment of Indian women. Carlisle's periodicals relied on the image of an Indian woman's drudgery as a direct result of her husband or father's laziness. Warren Moorehead described the life of Indian women as one in which "the doings of each day are but a repetition of the day before." Moorehead confirmed white readers' preconceptions of Indian life, defining Indian woman's sole purpose as serving her "lord" and children, who "sit idly by" while the woman takes arduous trips carrying heavy loads to procure rations for her family.⁵¹ David Wallace Adams describes the belief of many reformers that "because the Indian girl learned her lowly status early in life... the immediate challenge before the school was to awaken her to her possibilities."⁵² The *Helper* used Moorehead's depiction of this fictitious (yet presumably representative) Indian woman to argue this very point, portraying Indian girls as needing to be saved at an early age – *before* they turned into Indian women who were sadly and ignorantly tied to Indian culture.

Adams notes, however, that reformers sometimes worried Indian girls might not find their new roles as American women any more fulfilling than the roles they occupied on the reservation.⁵³ This difficulty in differentiating between the housework of American women and the drudgery of Indian women can sometimes be found in Carlisle's newspapers. For instance, Jessie W. Cook, a white teacher in the Indian School Service, argued that while "manual training is the first necessity in the life of the Indian school girl," "school room work and simple

⁵⁰ "The Oft-Repeated Question, *Indian Helper* 13, no. 39 (July 15, 1898).

⁵¹ Warren K. Moorehead, "The Hard Life of an Uneducated Indian Woman."

⁵² Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 174.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 151.

accomplishments are also of great importance, as they serve to lift her life above a second drudgery less pleasing to her than that of camp life, where she drudged after the customs of her people."⁵⁴ Cook's direct comparison between the gendered work of American and Indian culture was rare, however; other commentary emphasized the gender equality that could be found through the Victorian ideal of separate spheres, in which men and women were responsible for their own gendered duties and obligations. Reformers held this ideal in direct contrast with their vision of Indian life, in which Indian women seemed to be responsible for *all* work (both inside and outside the home), while slothful Indian men treated their women as chattel to be sold and used as sources of slave labor. "On the reservations the ordinary Indian woman is looked upon by the man as a servant and drudge, but in the school the boys and girls are made to sit together on equality and to study from the same book,"⁵⁵ argued Thomas J. Morgan and Clinton B. Fisk in the pages of the *Red Man*.

Carlisle's administration conveyed this idea of gender equality through separate spheres both in the classrooms and in the pages of the *Helper*, as evidenced by a poem about a recent discussion between the boys' and girls' literary societies of the "rights of women." Credited to the "teachers quarters," the first-person narrative allowed the poem to convey not just the gist of the students' arguments, but also the teachers' reaction. The poet described an "Indian maid" as a "beast of burden" who lived a "dreary life" filled with "weary labor." The Indian woman's "noble brother," while filled with "manly vigor," lazily ignored his sister's efforts. Midway through the poem, the teacher reveals that this "brother" and "sister" are now Carlisle students debating "What are 'woman's rights and station,/ What the work for her designed.'" The brother stated that he now believed his sister to be "equal... in mind." While he found it acceptable for her to "learn

⁵⁴ Jessie W. Cook, "Education of Indian Girls," *The Red Man* 13, no. 12 (September/October 1896).

⁵⁵ "Educate the Indians: Generals Thomas J. Morgan and Clinton B. Fisk at Plymouth Church," *The Red Man* 9, no. 10 (October 1889).

to cook, and sew" for him, she should leave the farming and other physical labor to him as "God has made my back the stronger." The teacher brushed aside the sister's argument that she too was strong, instead expressing both amazement and pride that the boy had taken "a long, long stride... toward the manhood of his dream./ Far behind him in the distance,/ All his savage past would seem."⁵⁶

This poem reinforced the preference for American gender norms on several fronts, both ideological and literal. On a basic level, this poem showed how Carlisle teachers used gender issues as part of their curriculum, and how administrators could use the *Helper* as a platform to educate a wider group of students at one time. Students reading the poem were inculcated not just with the concept of the drudgery of Indian women in contrast to the laziness of Indian men, but also with acceptable gender roles (women as housekeepers, men as physical laborers).

Beyond being relegated to a life of servitude to their husbands, reformers believed that one of the greatest risks to Indian women was Indian men's practice of purchasing wives and taking child brides. One story sent to the *Indian Helper* from "an agency in the far west" illustrated the insidiousness of this practice. The account explained how an Indian "Agent gave consent to an Indian of the tribe to take a young girl from the school to marry her." On the wedding day, when the minister presiding over the ceremony asked the woman if she consented, she declined "very decidedly. And the wedding came to an end then and there. The Agent did not know it, but the GIRL knew that she had been bought.... And she was too far along in civilization and education to submit to any such deal." While the author implicitly lauds the girl's "civilized" stand, he or she continued by describing the girl as needing a white man's intervention to protect her from her own men. "The girl's father had received several ponies for her," the

⁵⁶ "The Rights of Woman Discussed by the Indian Boys' and Girls' Literary Societies," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 21 (January 24, 1890).

author wrote, and she "is now in school and happy in the protection of the authorities of the agency." Like others, the story used language which implied that Indian girls were complicit in the practice, stating that the Superintendent of the local school "has been talking to [girls] about *allowing* themselves to be sold [emphasis added]."⁵⁷

A story of a white woman attempting to get students for the "very first Pawnee school in the Indian Territory," printed in the *Helper*, both reinforced and complicated the picture of Indian men's poor treatment of women. Relying on ideas about Indian appearance, the woman described how she could not distinguish between boys and girls upon first meeting a group of Pawnee Indians. When the chief brought a group of boys for the school, the woman asked after the girls. The chief insisted that the only girls in his group were married or too young for school. When the woman accused him of lying, he threatened to strike her. In response, the woman issued a threat of her own, declaring that she would write to the President and "tell him just what kind of chief you are." "A great man," she proclaimed, "would never threaten to strike a woman."⁵⁸

The image of an Indian chief threatening to physically assault a female educator would have been enough to evoke commonly held ideas in readers' minds about Indian men's treatment of women. Yet the woman continued by stating that "the chief did not intend to strike me... He wanted the girls educated as well as I did, but the girl's mammas did not want to send them to school, because they were useful at home." By relying on ideas about Indian women's attachment to Indian culture, the author convinced the reader that it was not just Indian men that posed a threat, but Indian women as well. This article simultaneously represented an Indian man in three different ways: as a physical and intellectual threat to women; as explicitly unmanly ("a great

⁵⁷ "A Plucky Indian Girl: One Reason the Uneducated Indian Objects to the Education for the Girls of the Tribe," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 18 (February 14, 1896).

⁵⁸ "The Very First Pawnee School in the Indian Territory," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 17 (December 26, 1890).

man would never threaten to strike a woman"); and implicitly unmanly (as women, both white and Indian, established dominance over this chief).

In all of the areas in which gender took a role – appearance, homes and work, motherhood, and gender relations – Carlisle's periodicals provided clear definitions (for students and other readers) of the behaviors which the school deemed appropriate. Articles accomplished this through both fictional (in which representative Indians⁵⁹ either succeeded or failed to meet the Carlisle administration's standards) and nonfictional accounts. Reports in both the *Red Man* and the *Helper* on students who returned home after their time at Carlisle laud those who maintained their American ways. In one report, readers of the *Helper* learned that Minnie had taken up laundry work and was “taking the right course to help civilize her people;” Jessa Bent married a “neatly dressed” wife and gained employment as a clerk in the commissary; and Henry North “has cut 40 logs for a house in the last four months.”⁶⁰

Conversely, the *Indian Helper* often censured those who had returned to Indian norms. “A rumor comes from New Mexico and it comes straight, that Cornelia has put on the Indian dress and married an uneducated Indian,”⁶¹ read one account. On the one hand, this served as a public chastisement. Administrators intended that students and their families would be the primary audience of the *Helper*, and by publishing accounts such as these, returned students' peers would now know that they had “failed.” These accounts also provided a lesson for students on the difficulties that awaited them at home, as well as the Carlisle administration's expectations of their behavior upon their return.

⁵⁹ Katanski described how the Carlisle administration used “paper Indians,” or fictional Indian characters invented by the school's educators, to regulate representations of Indian identity. See Katanski, *Learning to Write “Indian,”* 45-94.

⁶⁰ J. H. Seger, “An Interesting Letter about Some of Our Returned Boys and Girls,” *Indian Helper* 3, no. 22 (January 13, 1888).

⁶¹ *Indian Helper* 5, no. 15 (November 29, 1889).

The *Helper* occasionally issued instructives to students which often made clear to readers the gendered values which Carlisle's administration hoped to instill in its students. Upon receiving news of one female student's success in the kitchen while away on Outing, The Man-on-the-bandstand expressed his pride in the student, noting that he "has not much respect for a woman who cannot bake good bread."⁶² That an Indian girl's demeanor should be "pleasant" is emphasized repeatedly, most notably when the Man-on-the-bandstand declared that he

detests a cross, ugly woman. If this young girl does not watch herself while young, what sort of a woman will she be? A cross, crabbed, ugly, disagreeable, miserable wretch whom nobody can love or respect. But if she learns to govern herself now she may yet drive the ugliness out and bring into her life sweet sunshine and happiness...⁶³

Using adjectives often reserved for describing "blanket" Indian women, the Man-on-the-bandstand clearly described how female students *should* behave, and what may happen to them if they did not.

Gendered instruction in the papers was not limited to girls; boys, too, received instruction on dress and comportment. One account in the March 1881 issue of the *School News* encouraged boys only to marry girls who also had attended school:

If a boy goes out in his country and has had some schooling, and he gets a wife that has not been at school she would not keep the house clean because she don't [sic] know anything about household duties but if boys and girls married together that have been at school, they would keep every thing in the house clean and know better how to get along. The man would work on the farm or in shop and the wife would work in the house."⁶⁴

⁶² "The Richest Indian Boys and Girls in the World," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 33 (April 24, 1891).

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *School News* 1, no. 10 (March 1881).

This article instructed boys not only how to behave themselves, but also how they should expect their future wives to behave. The paper also encouraged boys to reject rations, instead earning a living through farming, as it is "more manly... for men to earn their food by honest work."⁶⁵

Pratt and his administration used Carlisle's periodicals as a space outside the classroom in which they could continue to educate their students – both on and off Carlisle's campus – about the schools' expectations in regard to gender norms. Carlisle's administrators also used the newspapers to remind white observers and students about gendered concepts of Indianness. The next chapter will show how Pratt sometimes relied on these concepts to highlight the "success" of Carlisle's assimilated students. However, the complicated nature of administrators' portrayal of successfully assimilated students allowed room for resistance in the pages of the school's newspapers.

⁶⁵ "The Man-on-the-band-stand Talks with Miss Burgess after Her Return from Dakota," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 2 (August 19, 1887).

CHAPTER 2: "A GOOD START IN THE WHITE MAN'S WAYS"¹

ASSIMILATION IN CARLISLE'S PERIODICALS

In the April 4, 1890 issue of the *Indian Helper*, an interviewer asked Alice Fletcher, a government agent carrying out the Dawes General Allotment Act among the Nez Perce,² if a former Carlisle student and her husband “keep clean and respectable.”

Fletcher confirmed that they did, noting especially that “the husband always has a clean white shirt, beautifully starched and ironed, for Sunday. They always attend church, and hold up their heads as though they were ashamed of nothing.” Fletcher wondered, however, how the woman managed “to look clean and tidy every day.” Prompted by the interviewer to explain, Fletcher described how “this brave girl,” unable to get a washtub, used a box in which she “stopped all the cracks with bread dough.”³

Fletcher described this story in a way that would simultaneously amuse and impress the reader. Readers understood that while this woman went to great lengths to maintain her assimilation even in the face of material hardship, amusement could be found in the absurdity of her attempt to fill American roles. By mentioning that the woman and her husband “hold their heads up as though... ashamed of nothing,” Fletcher emphasized this imperfect assimilation by implicitly prompting readers to consider reasons why this man and woman would or should be ashamed. This interview, with its conflicting and complex meanings, is an excellent example of the interplay between the expectations of the school and readers in regard to gender roles

¹ "Buffalo Good," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 33 (April 18, 1890).

² Many of Fletcher's accounts of her time in Indian Territory can be found in Carlisle's newspapers. For more on Alice Fletcher, see Nicole Tonkovich, "Lost in the General Wreckage of the Far West: The Photographs and Writings of Jane Gay," in *Trading Gazes: Euro-American Women Photographers and Native North Americans, 1880-1940* (Rutgers University Press, 2003), 33-72.

³ "An Interview with Miss Fletcher about One of Our Girls, in Idaho," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 31 (April 4, 1890).

students should fill, the way assimilated students are described in Carlisle's papers, and the role of circumstance and individual experience.

Carlisle's administrators used the school newspapers as vehicles to educate both white readers and their student body about gender roles – both the gender roles Indian men and women "in camp," as well as those the administration expected their students to accept and display. Yet for some of Carlisle's white readership, their only exposure to Carlisle and its students was through the school's newspapers. Thus, in order to prove the efficacy of Carlisle to both ideological and financial supporters, Pratt harnessed the school's periodicals as vehicles for the assimilationist message by showing the success of the school and its methods through evidence of its students' acculturation. Articles showing the ease with which Indians assimilated into American culture took many forms: examples of students rejecting their own culture, people, or heritage; "success" stories depicting graduated students as assimilated; the juxtaposition of "wild" or "savage" Indians with assimilated Indians; or reprinted letters from community members praising the behavior and industry of Carlisle's students. The acculturation these pieces evidenced, however, was almost never complete – neither "in reality," nor as portrayed in the pages of Carlisle's publications. Writers showed the partial assimilation of Indian subjects in three main ways: by portraying them as almost (but not quite) white, by expressing surprise in the face of an Indian's assimilation, and by including reminders of the Indian's race.

Why, then, would Carlisle publish accounts of "assimilated" Indians or students which displayed an incomplete transformation, or constantly reminded readers of the Indians' "savage" race? Homi Bhabha's concept of "mimicry" helps to explain this apparent oxymoron. Bhabha describes how mimicry acts as a visualization of difference, creating distance between the

imperial power and the subjugated population.⁴ Carlisle could harness and use this difference to their benefit. A partially assimilated Indian, for instance, differentiated for a contemporary reader the distinction between whites and Indians, while simultaneously providing evidence for a continued need for Anglo-American hegemony. In this sense, for readers, an Indian's assimilation would *never* be complete, as he or she would *always* be Indian. By emphasizing this inherent difference, however, Carlisle's administration also allowed room for resistance, even in their accounts of "assimilated" Indians.

Within Carlisle's periodicals, writers often portrayed acculturated Indian subjects as almost, but not quite, white. One observer remarked, upon seeing a group of Carlisle girl students, that "each Indian girl has the *appearance* of a lady - from the trim dress of dark blue, with wrap to match, to the English walking hat [emphasis added]."⁵ The observer potentially evoked an understanding that, while these girls and women *appeared* to be "ladies," there was perhaps something within them that prevented a complete transformation. Alice Fletcher, reporting on the status of an ex-Carlisle student in Idaho, noted that the student lived in "a rudely constructed log house" which "you would not say [is] nicely furnished," though "they have done the best they could." The student's attempts to decorate her house with "many little things... that show the effects of Carlisle"⁶ were simply not enough; the lack of nice furnishings – like the "rudeness" of the log house – displayed an almost-but-not-quite assimilation.

Authors also utilized an element of surprise to evoke the concept of a less than fully realized assimilation. The rhetorical use of surprise only succeeded because it represented a betrayal of Anglo-American expectations and desires when confronted with an Indian subject.

⁴ Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *October: The First Decade*, ed. Annette Michelson, et al (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 318, 320, and Gavin McGarry, "Bhabha's Mimicry and Man: Destabilizing the Colonial Paradigm," *The Imperial Archive*, last modified June 17, 2007, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEnglish/imperial/carib/Bhabha-mimicry.html/>.

⁵ X, "Two Hundred Girls to the Country," *The Red Man* 13, no. 9 (April 1896).

⁶ "An Interview with Miss Fletcher about One of Our Girls, in Idaho," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 31 (April 4, 1890).

Readers believed Indians, especially those living in Indian Territory, would look and act in ways indicative of their race. When one school in Indian Territory opened, a woman noted that when all the students' "blankets were removed for coats, pants and hats, and the girls were fitted out in dresses and aprons, you would be surprised how well and how happy they looked."⁷ This would have (perhaps pleasantly) surprised readers who expected "blanket" Indians to be dirty and disagreeable to white man's ways. Similarly, a worker from Hampton, upon returning from a visit to Indian Territory, wrote a letter to Carlisle about crossing paths with an ex-student.

"While in a trader's store in Darlington one day I met one of your girls," the traveler wrote,

Every woman I had seen up to that time had been in Indian dress, generally dirty at that, so that when I entered the great dingy store, this neat young girl in a well fitting blue gown and pretty hat quite took me by surprise. She was talking with a nicely dressed young man in such a quiet lady-like way that my interest was at once aroused, and I guessed she must be the Carlisle girl, Jennie Black of whom I had heard from the Agency people. Though I would have spoken without hesitation to almost any girl, I felt considerable embarrassment as I at last went up and introduced myself to this *lady*.⁸

The surprise suggested by the juxtaposition between Black and her surroundings, as well as the observer's (and thus the readers') expectation that "every" Indian woman wore Indian dress, undermined Black's visible transformation.

While some authors relied on surprise, others found that humor could play a similar role in constructing an assimilation which was never complete. As scholar Gerald Early notes, "humor is an important creative act that binds a group together, gives it an identity, and defines its view of itself and the world outside itself."⁹ White authors, writing comically about Indians' attempts to assimilate, used humor to differentiate assimilated Indians from whites. If white audiences laughed along with the author, they were "in" on the joke, and potentially could be

⁷ "The Very First Pawnee School in the Indian Territory," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 17 (December 26, 1890).

⁸ "A Brave Carlisle Girl at Her Home," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 12 (November 8, 1889).

⁹ Gerald Early, "A Brief History of African American Humor," *Bulletin of the American Academy* (Summer 2010), 29.

laughing because, as Early discusses, the joke "reinforced their sense of superiority."¹⁰ Humor worked much the same way as surprise, relying on readers' preconceived notions of Indians and Indianness. In the April 18, 1890 issue of the *Indian Helper*, an author known only as "Real Old Timer" described the items of American clothing owned by an Indian named Buffalo Good. On Sundays, Buffalo Good attended Mission service wearing both a white shirt and pair of leather shoes, as well as Indian accoutrements (leggings, breech cloth, and scalp lock "conspicuous, with its red flannel bandage"). "The figure of the man was extremely impressive," Real Old Timer wrote. "Blended together were the savage garb and the whiteman's dress." Old Timer went on to describe how, when strangers would visit Buffalo Good in his "buffalo skin lodge," Buffalo Good would

draw forth his Sunday shoes. He could not afford to wear them weekdays. Then he would go to the other side, and find his shoe brush and box of blacking, wrapped with care in a piece of deer skin. To exhibit these to a stranger or to a friend, was his most emphatic declaration that he had made a good start in the white man's ways.¹¹

To some readers, this account might depict a man living a blended lifestyle, either by choice or out of economic necessity. Yet the humorous tone with which the author wrote the piece discounted this element of individual choice. Old Timer, as well as the *Indian Helper's* editor, expected readers to find humor in multiple aspects of the tale. For one, Old Timer highlighted the supposedly amusing juxtaposition between Buffalo Good's housing situation and his clothing. The author also expected readers to find absurdity in Buffalo Good's partial assimilation. Though he lauded Buffalo Good's attempt, Old Timer told the story in a way that conveyed to readers that Buffalo Good wasn't quite doing it correctly. This was clear when Buffalo Good mixes American clothes with Indian, or pulls his shoe polish from its deerskin

¹⁰ Ibid., 30.

¹¹ "Buffalo Good," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 33 (April 18, 1890).

wrapper to place it on display for visitors. Old Timer's description of Buffalo Good's "good start" showed his expectations (and perhaps those of the reader) that a progression should be made from one end of the spectrum (Indianness) to the other (Americanness). Yet the author's constant reminder of Buffalo Good's race, as well as the humor he (and subsequently readers) found in Buffalo Good's blended lifestyle, may have inhibited readers from imagining Buffalo Good as "fully" assimilated.

More than one author relied on this image of an Indian who attempted assimilation, but somehow comically failed. In a letter to Pratt, Miss F. S. Calfee, Field Matron and "acting teacher" among the Hualapai Indians in Hackberry, Arizona, wrote about how Carlisle students "are setting the *fashion* in dressing and style of wearing the hair." After a friend of the school sent the Hualapai students a souvenir booklet of the Carlisle school and its students, Calfee described a transformation among her pupils:

The next morning the boys came to school with their hair beautifully combed. The girls had tried to comb their hair behind their ears. All had extra clean faces and most of the boys had on cravats. It is true some of the cravats were only long pieces of calico or thick cloth; but they had caught the manner in which "Carlisle" boys wear their ties.

Calfee closed the letter by speaking on behalf of her students, hoping those at Carlisle "would feel interested in us, because we are eager to grow up to be men and women, not simply Indians."¹² Calfee, like Old Timer, expressed her surprise and amusement when confronted with Indians who tried but somehow failed to properly assimilate. Even more notable is that the example of assimilated Indians which Calfee's students followed came from a souvenir booklet, which again marked Carlisle's Indian students as definitely not white, regardless of how well they displayed their assimilation.

¹² F. S. Calfee, "The Hualapai Indian Boys and Girls: Eager to Grow Up Men and Women, Not Simply Indians," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 25 (March 27, 1896).

Reminding readers of an Indian's race was another way in which authors conveyed a sense of imperfect assimilation. Some authors accomplished this by relying on romantic views of Indians' gendered norms. "The day of the Indian marriage – that of simply spreading the blanket of the dark-eyed maiden and telling her to sit down on it – is passed," wrote one observer upon hearing that a Kiowa couple "took out a marriage license" in Guthrie, Oklahoma.¹³ Here the author employed romantic, racialized language to remind readers of this couples' Indianness, regardless of their adoption of American expectations of marriage. Another author uses this same device when noting that "the time renowned skins and furs are replaced by broadcloth and calico... Formerly a hoe in the hand of an Indian brave was a terrible disgrace; now a hoe in the hand of an Indian woman is quite unfashionable."¹⁴ The author simultaneously encouraged readers to believe in the possibility of the American acculturation of Indians, while reminding them of a romantic Indian past. Though the author noted changing gender roles within Indian communities as a result of education for assimilation, describing Indian gender roles as "unfashionable" further undermined a concept of complete assimilation by implying a lack of permanence and thus a need for continued intervention.

An article originally published in 1893 in the *Chicago Tribune* also used romantic language to remind readers of their expectations of Indian gender norms and distance readers from the Indian subjects. Documenting a display of handicrafts made by Carlisle students at Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the article emphasized appropriate interests for female visitors by noting that women would "of course turn from the cases where harnesses and shoes... are displayed to those where all manner of feminine trifles are placed together with the photographs of the Indian girls whose work they are." For an white American audience, the items

¹³ Article from the *Guthrie News*, reprinted in *Indian Helper* 8, no. 21 (February 5, 1892).

¹⁴ "Changes for the Better," reprinted from *Progress*, in *Red Man* 14, no. 8 (January 1898).

on display showed the skill and industry students learned while at Carlisle, as well as students' adoption of an American femininity, represented by dresses crafted "in accordance with prevailing modes," embroidered centerpieces, and frilled sofa cushions. The author demonstrated their exceptionality, however, by hinting at the "pangs people of romantic tendencies may experience at the thought of the daughters of terror-inspiring Apache chiefs painting daisies on placques [sic] and learning the 'draw stitch.'"¹⁵ Audiences found themselves intrigued not just by the skillfulness of the work, but also by the perceived idiosyncratic nature of Indian women embroidering sachets.

Rather than paint a romantic view of Indian gender roles, some authors implied that assimilated Indians accomplished their transformation *in spite* of their racial (often "savage") heritage. Alice Fletcher, describing the student discussed at the start of this chapter, noted that the woman married "an excellent husband... an Indian, to be sure, and a gentleman." Though "educated" and "hard-working," Fletcher felt the need to express to readers that this man was nevertheless an Indian.¹⁶ Similarly, the *Indian Helper* simultaneously insisted that there was "no difference" between Arapahoe preacher Sherman Coolidge and an Episcopal clergyman "of any other race," yet reminded readers that Coolidge "is a full Indian, the distinctive features of the race being as strongly marked upon his visage as upon any Indian face we ever saw."¹⁷

Even (perhaps especially) when lauding the advances students made in their acculturation, authors relied on stereotypes to remind readers of Indians' race. Referring to Indian women with the pejorative "squaw" was one way in which authors created a distance between readers and their Indian subject. One article, reprinted from the Carson City, Nevada *Indian Advance*, discussed the domestic training of Indian girls in school. This training made Indian

¹⁵ Article from *Chicago Tribune*, reprinted in *Red Man* 11, no. 12 (May 1893).

¹⁶ "An Interview with Miss Fletcher about One of Our Girls, in Idaho," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 31 (April 4, 1890).

¹⁷ "Not Ashamed of His People," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 22 (January 31, 1890).

girls a sought-after commodity for white families looking for domestic help, as "the once despised and repulsive 'squaw' has entered a new field - a field of usefulness to herself and her race." The author reminded readers that the acceptance of Indian girls within white homes was a relatively new phenomenon. Previously, whites would "closely watch" an Indian woman, locking their doors from a fear of theft. Now, however, "she is invited into the house and put in charge of the domestic affairs of the household, including the preparation of the meals and the care of the children."¹⁸ This article occupied much of the same discursive space as other articles: recalling for the reader the "despised and repulsive" Indian of the past, and demonstrating the adoption of appropriate American gender roles. Yet this piece also subtly reinforced the idea that to be assimilated is, to borrow Bhabha's phrase, *emphatically not* to be a white American. Though the author seemed to use the word "squaw" flippantly to characterize Indian women, it is notable that he or she used the term to describe contemporary Indian women as well as the "repulsive" Indian women of the past. Finally, the article placed Indian women in a social space beneath white women; rather than compatriots or friends, the author characterized Indian women as employees of white women.

For Carlisle's purposes, making a point using a student's own words was always desirable. One account lauded Jennie Black for her neat house with its carpeted floor, chairs, bed, and wash stands all in "the pink of neatness." Black, however, noted that "It is very hard... to keep the floor clean, when so many camp Indians are coming in all the time, and they spit all over my floor."¹⁹ This article corroborates many of the messages that Carlisle's administration wished to portray, among them that their methods led to the assimilation of Indian students, and that Indian reservations provided an inadequate (and sometimes dangerous) environment for

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ "Horror of Horrors!" *Indian Helper* 6, no. 28 (March 20, 1891).

assimilated students. Black's own words reminded readers of her race by calling to mind the "camp Indian." Black also portrayed her own imperfect assimilation by showing readers that her belonging to the Indian community prevented her from achieving full acculturation.

Permitting students to speak for themselves, however, allowed for the possibility that students might convey meanings other than those intended by administrators. For many Indians, acceptance of (some) American customs did not equate a rejection of Indian culture. As Jane Simonsen notes, individuals selectively adopted American ideals, and these choices were often in flux, as both new and old lifestyles were "difficult to maintain in the face of change and conflict."²⁰ Like Buffalo Good, Indians often assumed a blended lifestyle, in which an Indian's personal choice could be seen in the elements of American or Indian culture he or she chose to embrace or reject. As a result, accounts of Indian appearance could be deceptive. After leaving Carlisle, a Laguna Pueblo student named William Paisano wrote to Pratt that he married Mary Perry, a Laguna Pueblo woman who had "been in Carlisle six or seven years." After two years, Mary began to "dress up like the rest of the family," presumably wearing Laguna dress. William attempted to dissuade her, "but then the whole family were in her help so they overcome of me [sic]." Mary continued to wear Laguna dress, while William told Pratt he wore "boots, pants, hat, and suspenders."²¹ Pratt might have chosen to highlight Paisano's letter to show the negative effects of returning to the reservation, or to laud Paisano's attempt to maintain an American lifestyle even in the face of familial pressure. Regardless of the administration's motivations in reprinting this letter, readers can find within the text an example of the complexities of circumstance with which Carlisle students were confronted upon leaving school. Paisano's

²⁰ Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 95.

²¹ "Carlisle Pupils at Home on the Reservation," *Red Man* 10, no. 6 (July/August 1890).

account provides a microcosm of a larger reality in which these complexities led students to make a wide array of choices about their own gender roles and appearance.

While some students, like Paisano, may have preferred American roles over Indian ones, this preference did not preclude a continued acceptance of Indian culture. “Captain, I wish you could see and taste my bread,” wrote a girl student away on her Outing to Pratt. The girl continued:

They say my bread is elegant. I could not bake the way I now bake before I came here, but I knew well enough how to bake Indian bread, taught by my Indian mother. I can now see for myself the difference, and oh, such a great difference. Yet I couldn't say that I despise my Indian bread. If I should ever get a chance to taste it I know I should like it. But if ever I live to own a home of my own I will follow and keep the new method I have learned.²²

In Pratt's eyes, this child's fondness for the new method of baking bread acted as a marker of the student's assimilation, and was thus suitable for public consumption. Yet "difference" does not necessarily suggest a value judgment; the girl made clear that her adoption of a new cooking technique did not preclude her enjoyment of Indian cooking, or perhaps even maintenance of both traditions in her future home.

Indian agency can be located even in accounts where white authors speak on behalf of the Indians they describe. Indian Agent S. G. Fisher, in a report from Fort Hall Indian Agency in Idaho, described an interaction with a former agency interpreter, “one of the most intelligent squaws we have.” The woman believed that by cutting and burning school children's hair, white reformers placed the Indian students at higher risk for disease and death. As a result, she insisted that neither the students' hair nor their old clothing be burned.²³ Regardless of her acknowledged intelligence or position as a former government employee, this woman's “superstitious” beliefs made her deserving of the moniker "squaw." Yet by recognizing the woman's intelligence, the

²² "Indian Bread VS White Bread," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 19 (February 14, 1896).

²³ S. G. Fisher, “Superstition Rules, Home Schools Not Popular,” *Red Man* 12, no. 1 (November 1893).

intent to illustrate this woman's otherness backfired. In fact, it highlights the agency of the Indian woman by depicting her as accepting some aspects of American culture (such as education), while also taking a stand for the beliefs and rights of her people.

An outwardly American appearance also had the potential to mask continued acceptance of Indian culture and gender norms. One observer, writing from "among the Indians of a great reservation in the West," warned that "even here where all wear citizen's clothing, attend church, have their houses and lands, horses and carriages, money to spend, and are said to be partly civilized, there exists the most abject filth and immorality."²⁴ In a similar account, an author described how the Osage Indians "live in good frame houses which are richly furnished," yet "still have their old way of marrying off their daughters by selling them for horses. Often the poor girl has to live with a man whom she does not love. Sometimes a young girl, say twelve years old, is compelled to marry her oldest sister's husband; he might be an old man, old enough to be her grandfather."²⁵ For these authors, the physical markers of assimilation belied a continued and hidden acceptance of Indian gender roles and sexual mores, which they persisted in describing as degraded and sinful. In another letter, an Indian Agent in Arizona remarked that "while there is plenty of room for further improvement, the morals of the reservation Mojaves are much in advance of their non-reservation kindred. Promiscuous intercourse is no longer openly practiced and the habit of changing wives has been almost broken up."²⁶ The agent's use of the modifiers "openly" and "almost" created for readers the sense that these Indian activities still persisted. While these examples may have unsettled white readers who had confidence in

²⁴ "In the Heart of the West," *Indian Helper* 7, no. 6 (October 16, 1891).

²⁵ "The Osages," *Red Man* 15, no. 10 (January 1900).

²⁶ "The Colorado River Indians: A Misleading Statement in the 'Helper,' Set Straight," *Indian Helper* 12, no. 51 (October 1, 1897).

appearance as an indicator of acculturation, all three show that the adoption of some American norms by “assimilated” Indians did not necessitate (for them) the rejection of Indian culture.

Some students and their families accepted the American gender roles to which they were expected to adhere, in spite of the difficulties which they incurred as a result. As portrayed in Carlisle's newspapers, many of the Indian chiefs found these difficulties to be of special concern. Hollow Horn Bear, for instance, observed that the men in his tribe had trouble successfully raising crops. Another chief "called attention to the fact that he had farmed at Cheyenne River for three years and had no crop, and for that reason he wanted the rations increased and continued."²⁷ Lone Wolf described similar struggles. "We found that we will receive rations only two years," he said, using his son (and Carlisle student) Delos as interpreter, "and not half of our people are farmers and are not able yet to take care of themselves. The time is too short."²⁸ Lone Wolf accepted, to an extent, the trajectory of his people transitioning to American agricultural work, but disputed the time line within which they were supposed to accomplish this.

Many students had trouble finding employment or economic success with the gendered industrial skills they learned while at Carlisle. Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses insisted that it was not only important that the government educate the children of his tribe, but also help them find employment when they finished their schooling.²⁹ An 1894 Carlisle graduate expressed similar sentiments in a letter to Pratt, when he suggested that the Government should provide paid places on the reservations for Indian student graduates to “save them from going back to the blanket by giving them work to earn money and buy clothing.” Pratt and his administration rejected this suggestion, including it within the pages of the *Helper* to show the difficulties

²⁷ "The Indians in Washington," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 23 (February 13, 1891).

²⁸ "Visiting Chiefs," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 17 (January 31, 1896).

²⁹ "The Indians in Washington," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 23 (February 13, 1891).

inherent in returning to the reservation.³⁰ Yet this letter – as well as the words of Hollow Horn Bear, Lone Wolf, and other chiefs – show that while some Indians adopted the gendered work they were taught in school, they did so in tandem with requirements of their own.

Demands Indians made in regard to American gender roles provided evidence of the economic difficulties which they confronted. Some students suggested, however, that it was to their economic benefit to adopt American roles. Samuel Townsend, student editor of the *School News*, complained that Indians had no choice but to purchase all of their manufactured items from white people. "White people like to make wagons and plows and everything because they think they can get lots of money," wrote Townsend, who suggested that if Indians learned these skills, they too could profit:

Long time ago the Indians used to go to hunt buffalo. When they found some buffalo they killed them and take the skins off and take it to some town and sell it and get money for it but now almost all the buffalo are gone. What will the Indians do? Why they have to work hard; plow the ground and do something, for if they don't they will starve to death and their children too.³¹

Townsend urged Indian students to adopt American roles out of economic necessity, which adhered to Pratt's preferred message. Yet Townsend highlighted many individuals' *lack* of choice, as whites had already taken away more familiar options.

Other students conveyed the message that Indians must adopt American roles to prevent further abuses at the hands of whites. Charles Kihega, Townsend's successor at the *News*, discussed the importance of Indians' learning to build permanent structures. In Kihega's mind, these buildings provided proof of residency, thus disallowing white settlers from evicting Indians

³⁰ "Too Ready to Fly Back," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 37 (June 19, 1896).

³¹ "Editorial," *School News* 1, no. 3 (August 1880).

even further west.³² Louis Big Horse, an Osage student, conveyed this same idea in a letter to his father, reprinted in the *School News*:

We were told in our chapel that the white people are making Railroads toward west. If we don't go to work and raise lots of stocks and go to work and make a fences [sic] round our places and plow the ground and planted all kind of fruits than the white people cannot drives us away from our places. If we don't do that way than the white people could drive us farther west. Now I hope you try to do what I say in this letter.³³

Students and other Indians often saw value in adopting American roles not because they believed these roles to be superior to Indian customs, but because they believed they would provide their families and communities with some level of protection from the continued intervention of whites.

One of the most convincing ways in which Indian students complicated the divide between "assimilated" and "Indian" was through the use of their own success as a foundation for refuting preconceived notions of Indianness. Sometimes, this resistance must be read in the subtext of students' writing. One former Carlisle student, Ida Wasee Lonewolf, sent Carlisle a letter to update Pratt and her teachers on her life living at the Rainy Mountain School in Anadarko, Oklahoma. "I have not worn Indian clothes because I am not compelled to," wrote Lonewolf. "My people are too glad and proud to see me following the white man's road, as they call it."³⁴ Lonewolf thus contests the notion that returned students' families would force them to re-adopt Indian dress and custom. Sarah James, a Laguna Pueblo student, expressed much the same opinion. The *Helper* noted that "her father and mother are very kind and did not compel her to 'dress Indian.' They gave her permission to do as she pleased about dress and she has adhered

³² "Editorial," *School News* 3, no. 6 (November 1882).

³³ "Homeletter," *School News* 3, no. 9 (February 1883).

³⁴ "Mrs. Lonewolf," *Indian Helper* 12, no. 3 (October 23, 1896).

to the American style, as they call citizen's dress out there."³⁵ In context with the papers' descriptions of the dangers of reservation life, Lonewolf and Severs' letters can be read as resisting the idea that Indians (especially Indian women) on the reservation bullied their daughters into returning to Indian dress. These two women also remind readers of Indians' ability to choose between and among American and Indian roles and customs, perhaps even raising questions in a reader's mind about the veracity of the claims of Carlisle administrators. Neither Lonewolf's nor James' parents forced them to return to Indian culture; could it be that, among the students who returned to an Indian lifestyle, there were some who *chose* that path, rather than being forced into it by their mothers?

Other students explicitly confronted white Americans' stereotypes of Indians. Julia Dorris, away on Outing at Ridley Park, Pennsylvania, wrote to Carlisle to boast about how well she could bake bread, noting that she supposed "the folks thought that a little wild Indian girl could not bake bread."³⁶ Dorris' skill with the English language and her proficiency at baking, as well as her own recollection of her Indianness, allowed Pratt to use her as an example of successful assimilation. Dorris, however, not only expressed her awareness of white expectations, but took delight in intentionally failing to meet those expectations.

As many of these examples show, it is often difficult to separate the newspapers' depiction of Indians' incomplete assimilation from Indians' ability to speak out against assimilation in part or whole. An interview in the *Red Man* with "Miss Severs," an Indian student at the New England Conservatory of Music, utilized many of the distancing tools seen earlier in this chapter. The author "confess[ed] to a slight feeling of surprise" that "this bright-faced, self-possessed, well-dressed young woman... with such an easy pleasant air, [was] really one of the 'wards of the

³⁵ *Indian Helper* 11, no. 22 (March 6, 1896). "Citizen's dress" was a term used by reformers to describe Anglo-American dress. This was juxtaposed with Indian dress, or returning to the "blanket."

³⁶ *Indian Helper* 4, no. 45 (July 17, 1891).

nation." Though expressed in a slightly irreverent manner, the author's expectations of what did and did not constitute Indian womanhood reinforced similar expectations in the reader. The author also emphasized Severs' appearance. While Severs adopted the attire of American women (a tailor-made dress and "handsome gold chatelain watch"), the author noted a "characteristic squareness of the jaw" which "shows [Severs] to be of Indian blood."³⁷ While all other outward indicators established her assimilation into white American culture (the author even commented that "her skin [was] no browner than that of many brunettes"), Miss Severs was not and could never *be* a white American.

Like Julia Dorris, however, Severs used the interview as an opportunity to turn the expectations of both the interviewer and subsequent white readers of the *Red Man* on end. Just as white authors used preconceived notions of Indianness to evoke amusement, Severs laughed when the interviewer told her of his intentions to speak with her about "her nation." "Come confess that you expected to find me a Reservation Indian in a blanket!" Severs exclaimed. "People here have such queer notions about us. A girl asked me if I knew Sitting Bull!"³⁸ Miss Severs took the interviewer's surprise and turned it to her advantage; she even expressed her own surprise at those who, like the interviewer, held (to Miss Severs' mind) "queer" and laughable expectations.

This example, in which Severs, the author, and Carlisle's administration remind readers of the distance between whites and even the most well-aculturated of Indians, shows the complexity and compatibility of these two issues in Carlisle's newspapers. Yet for the purposes of reformers, these examples of partial resistance included the school's most important evidence of its success: Indians adopting American roles. In contrast, Carlisle's periodicals also printed

³⁷ "She's an Indian," *The Red Man* 11, no. 10 (January/February 1893).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

accounts of students visibly rejecting American gender roles and norms in favor of Indian customs. While seemingly at odds with Pratt's goal of presenting the school as the answer to the "Indian question," these accounts played a role similar to that of accounts of assimilated students, and equally blurred the line between acculturated Indians and resistance.

CHAPTER 3: "HAVE PITY ON MY WOMEN"¹

LOCATING RESISTANCE WITHIN CARLISLE'S PERIODICALS

In 1890, the same year the Bureau of Indian Affairs appointed Elaine Goodale Superintendent of Indian Education in the Two Dakotas, Goodale contrasted the "ideal Indian" of the past with the "actual Indian of to-day." Her description of the "ideal Indian" heavily romanticized Indian masculinity (describing him as "a son of the forest" who "lives royally on choice game and wild fruits") and emphasized the Indian man's exemplary physique ("athletic [and] graceful" with an "almost superhuman strength"). She juxtaposed this picture with that of the "actual" Indian, a weak, sickly, pathetic, feminine individual with a "narrow chest and stooping shoulders, puny arms, and delicate hands." Goodale blamed the gap between expectation and reality on the white man who "ruin[ed] the pristine vigor of the aboriginal man."²

Four years later, Elmer Simon, a Chippewa student at Carlisle, gave a speech at a Harrisburg church. This speech, reprinted in the *Red Man*, echoes the content of Goodale's article. Simon began with a similar stereotypical lament for the vanishing savage, depicting the Indian man as a stoic paragon of physical fitness. The conclusion of Simon's speech mirrored Goodale's article as well, blaming "the evils that accompany a higher civilization" for turning the Indian man into "something [Simon] blush[ed] to call [his] progenitor." The similarities between the two pieces show ways in which white Americans' stereotypes of Indianness were harnessed as teaching tools at Carlisle and other boarding schools. Yet it is the differences in the two

¹ "A Strange Plea," *Indian Helper* 12, no. 1 (October 9, 1896).

² Elaine Goodale, "The Ideal Indian and the Real Indian," *The Red Man* 10, no. 6 (July/August 1890).

articles, and the language Simon used to argue his point, that allowed Simon to resist assimilationist aims while still working within their parameters. Simon "blushed,"

...not because I am ashamed to be called an 'Injun,' but because the independence and manhood that once prevailed within [the Indian man] has ceased to exist... he is no longer a man, but a mere object of curiosity and contempt.³

Unlike Goodale, Simon did not describe the Indian man as an object of pity. Simon forcefully implied that Indians had their manhood *taken* from them as a result of the intervention of white Americans. Goodale's article ends up accomplishing what Simon argued against by making Indian men "object[s] of curiosity and contempt." By using an established trope of Indian manhood, Simon cast a veiled critique of Anglo-American treatment of Indian men.

Carlisle's newspapers often contained accounts of Indians, sometimes students, who either explicitly preferred Indian or rejected American gender roles and norms. Though reformers would have viewed these students as failures and evidence of Carlisle's lack of influence over its students, Pratt did have reason to include them, as has been shown in previous chapters. Bhabha's concept of mimicry explains their inclusion as well; just as accounts reminded readers of the Indianness of otherwise assimilated students, stories which detailed the failure of some Indians to assimilate enacted a distance between whites and Indians, and showed the necessity of continued intervention.

Discussions of instances in which Indians chose not to conform to American custom, however, provided readers with evidence of Indian resistance to the assimilationist message. Resistance can be read in a wide array of content: articles describing parent and Indian leader visits to Carlisle, accounts of reservation life, and reports on former students who returned to the reservation. Often evidence of resistance can be found in accounts of white observers, but

³ Elmer Simon, "Speech by Elmer Simon, Chippewa, in the Fifth Street M. E. Church, Harrisburg, December 14, 1894," *The Red Man* 12, no. 8 (December 1894/January 1895).

occasionally Indians themselves used the newspapers as arenas for confronting assimilationist aims. This resistance was almost always partial, which stemmed both from the context in which this resistance was expressed (an English-language, assimilationist newspaper) and from an Indian individual's ability to choose among components of each culture without rejecting either in its entirety.

Reports of visiting parents and Indian leaders offer one opportunity to locate Indian agency within the pages of Carlisle's newspapers. Descriptions often highlighted the almost-but-not-quite nature of an Indian's assimilation and included rhetorical references to Indian subjects' race. However, rhetorical devices could not entirely mask evidence of personal choice. This can be seen through the newspapers' descriptions of individuals who maintained their native hair style, while also adopting elements of American-style clothing. Chief Big Foot, for instance, wore citizen's clothing and long hair on his visit to Carlisle. The author's description of Big Foot as standing "straight as an arrow"⁴ rhetorically reminds readers of Big Foot's Indianness, but cannot disguise Big Foot's blended appearance.

Another author discussing a visiting coalition of chiefs also reminded readers of the chiefs' race by describing them as "the real article – veritable untutored men of the plains."⁵ A number of representatives comprised the party, including Young Whirlwind, Little Chief, Cloud Chief, White Horse, and Little Wolf, of the Cheyenne tribe; and Left Hand and Row of Ledges of the Arapahoe tribe. The chiefs' clothing, shoes, and hats all conformed to American expectations of male appearance. Their hair, however, "was long and worn in braids at the side, bound in red flannel or other showy material. In the centre of the crown there was a thin lock tightly braided which hung between the two other braids." This "scalp-lock," the author

⁴ "Last Saturday Night," *Indian Helper* 14, no. 17 (February 17, 1899).

⁵ "A Visit from Notable Chiefs," *Indian Helper* 10, no. 26 (March 29, 1895).

continued, was a "peculiar fashion" to which the "older men of the tribe [clung to] most tenaciously, even after many of the other Indian ways are given up and more civilized habits and customs are adopted. We were gratified to see that one or two of the visiting chiefs had discarded this relic of barbarism."⁶ The author's recollection of the savagery of the chiefs' scalp-lock reinforced the idea that these chiefs were not, and never would be, white men, regardless of their appearance. Given the author's emphasis on the barbarity of the scalp-lock, one wonders if he or she realized that the maintenance of a scalp-lock displayed an active agency on the part of these chiefs, who rejected the notions on which Carlisle was based. Carlisle's insistence that students forgo all aspects of native cultures was non-negotiable; these men, however, on their way to Washington, D.C. to visit the President of the United States, visibly located themselves in a space somewhere between white reformers' definition of "assimilated" and "Indian."

Other articles portrayed the complexity of the chiefs' choices in regard to the adoption of Anglo-American culture. The *Indian Helper* printed a humorous story about Osage Chief Big Heart's visit to Carlisle for the 1898 commencement ceremony. Among the other distinguished guests, he "was the only Indian this year, dressed in blanket and other toggery, which of course made him very conspicuous." Big Heart "looked so veritably the old Indian from away back that no one dreamed he could speak English," especially since he conducted all business through a translator. An Indian employee, seeing the "blanketed Indian," approached Chief Big Heart and "asked in a good natured way:"

'Hello! Old fellow! Where did you come from?' The Chief looked up complacently and replied without accent and without hesitation: 'I have just come from Washington.' Mr. J. W. looked immediately for a fan."⁷

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ "A Ninety-Six Graduate Sold," *Indian Helper* 13, no. 22 (March 18, 1898).

The *Helper* ostensibly provided this article for the amusement of its readers, using humor in much the same way that another author described Buffalo Good and his shirt and shoes. (The difference here, however, is that Mr. J.W., rather than the chief, becomes the punch-line.) Chief Big Heart, though clearly proficient at the English language, articulated his choice to speak his native language. In spite of the author's references to his "toggerly," Big Heart provided readers an example in which Indian appearance was *not* an indication of lack of assimilation, but rather a choice to adhere to Indian custom in spite of a working knowledge of American culture.

Comanche chief Quanah Parker found himself in the pages of Carlisle's newspapers more than once, and like Big Heart, occupied a space between assimilation and resistance. Parker was "well-known to the editor of the RED MAN,"⁸ having three children at Carlisle. More importantly, however, Parker attained an almost celebrity status around the turn of the twentieth century, making his a recognizable name among white audiences. For Pratt's purposes, Parker recognizably illustrated the school's messages and ideas. When Parker visited the school in 1896 with two other chiefs, Essatite and Red Elk, all three were dressed in "citizen's clothing," but retained "the traditional scalp lock."⁹ Another article, reprinted from the *Wichita Falls Herald* in the *Red Man*, referenced Parker's long hair alongside his "new tailor-made suit, high heeled boots... well laundried standing collar and necktie and soft Stetson hat."¹⁰ These examples contain many familiar elements used to distance assimilated Indians from white readers – for instance, prompting readers to question why this Indian man's clothing *wouldn't* be well-laundered. Yet the example still allows for evidence of choice and agency.

⁸ "A Well Known Character of the South West," reprinted from *Wichita Falls Herald*, in *Red Man* 11, no. 10 (January/February 1893).

⁹ "Visiting Chiefs," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 17 (January 31, 1896).

¹⁰ "A Well Known Character of the South West," reprinted from *Wichita Falls Herald*, in *Red Man* 11, no. 10 (January/February 1893).

The same two authors offered descriptions of Parker's wife as well. Parker married eight different women, and it is unclear if these accounts reference the same woman, or two different individuals. Regardless, the illustrations of Parker's wife's appearance offer insight. The first account described "Mrs. Parker" as wearing a close-fitting bodice, skirt, high heeled shoes, and gold watch – quite the picture of a Victorian woman, though the "diamonds on her fingers" and "gay colored material" of her skirt were perhaps gaudier than Carlisle's administration would have approved for students.¹¹ The *Wichita Falls Herald* account noted that "Mrs. Quanah" wore both "a bright colored blanket" and "a pair of NO. 6 ladies shoes and dark colored hose."¹² If describing two different women, these accounts show Parker's wives' ability to navigate both their marriage as well as their borrowed celebrity status with a variety of options in regard to appearance. If these articles described the same woman, readers saw this flexibility at play within one individual – a woman who might wear a "blanket" while close to home, yet wear her finest American attire for public functions. Also notable is that in the first account, written by a Carlisle administrator and published in the *Helper*, the author makes no mention of Parker's multiple wives, referring to his companion only as "Mrs. Parker."¹³ In the article reprinted from the *Herald*, only the author's description of Parker's wife as "one of his squaws"¹⁴ indicated that the wife being described was one of many. For school administrators, a blended appearance could be forgiven or rationalized (as we will see later in this chapter); the practice of polygyny, however, was something Pratt could never condone.

As has been discussed, Carlisle's newspapers often included accounts of Indian life and culture on the reservation. Chapter One showed how Carlisle's administration used these

¹¹ "Visiting Chiefs," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 17 (January 31, 1896).

¹² "A Well Known Character of the South West," reprinted from *Wichita Falls Herald*, in *Red Man* 11, no. 10 (January/February 1893).

¹³ "Visiting Chiefs," *Indian Helper* 11, no. 17 (January 31, 1896).

¹⁴ "A Well Known Character of the South West," reprinted from *Wichita Falls Herald*, in *Red Man* 11, no. 10 (January/February 1893).

anecdotes to create an Indian identity which was the antithesis of Victorian man- and womanhood, while Chapter Two argued that many of these accounts distanced white readers from the Indians represented in print. In some instances, however, accounts of life on the reservation provide an opportunity to locate Indian agency in Carlisle's periodicals. Descriptions of reservation life are often told through the lens of a reformer or school administrator who went to visit ex-students, often in tandem with efforts to procure more students. Some examples focused on mothers and grandmothers preventing administrators from taking their children away to school. Indian women verbally and physically resisted Marianna Burgess at least once during Burgess's 1887 attempt to bring Dakota children to Carlisle. "In one house an old woman got very angry with us for wanting her girl," wrote Burgess.¹⁵ Accounts such as this conformed to Carlisle's aims, describing Indian women as keepers of culture – a desire which was not inherent in Indian youth, who were often "anxious" to attend school.¹⁶ Merial Dorchester reminded readers that "many girls would prefer remaining in school but the unwritten laws of the race... are against such conduct." Other girls, Dorchester noted, "prefer an early marriage because an unmarried woman has no power, while the old woman has a very strong influence."¹⁷ Readers thus saw evidence of Indian girls rejecting the benefits offered by an American education in favor of those offered by native lifestyles and customs. This is especially surprising, given the lengths to which Carlisle's administration went to portray the lives of Indian women as harsh and degrading. By highlighting Indian women's potential to hold power and influence by resisting white reformers and maintaining their own gender norms, Dorchester and Burgess undermined their own attempts to emphasize the opprobriousness of Indian culture.

¹⁵ "Among the Dakotas," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 1 (August 12, 1887).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Merial A. Dorchester, "What Mrs. Dorchester Recommends for Indian Girls and Women," *Red Man* 10, no. 5 (June 1890).

Burgess provided *Helper* readers with a second account of her trip to the Dakota camps when she described her attendance at "an Indian woman's tea-party." Burgess did her best to cast the Indian women of which she spoke in a "savage" light, comparing their "tea-party" attire to that of white women in a less than favorable light. Yet Burgess' most convincing piece of evidence of Indian women's wanting femininity was her description of their lack of grace:

We asked them to dance. "How much will you pay us?" was the quick response. We told them we were poor, but we would give fifty cents, which seemed to satisfy the party; and soon the drum began to the tune of thud, thud, thud, and the four women... screeched out the queerest noises you ever heard. They called it singing, but it was anything in the world but vocal music. Soon, nearly all of the women, about twenty, joined in the song, and one or two jumped up and down in little short jerks, about as our girls do when jumping rope. This they called dancing. An Indian woman can jump up and down to the tune of a drum more than a hundred times and not get tired.¹⁸

These women became an attraction, a living exhibit, for Burgess and her companions, and thus provided amusement for readers. This exchange is especially ironic, since the purpose of Burgess' trip was to procure children to be raised outside of the Indian culture which Burgess' party so desired to see. In spite of Burgess' insulting description, however, the Indian women profited from this encounter, and provided only that for which the white observers asked and paid. In this instance, the "Indian" appearance and comportment of these women proved lucrative.

Burgess was not alone in her desire to experience Indian culture firsthand. By the end of the nineteenth century, Americans increasingly saw Indians as a "vanishing race." As a result, an "imperialist nostalgia," reinforced by Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West shows and Edward Curtis's photography, encouraged tourists to travel to the American West to experience Native culture

¹⁸ "A Dance by Indian Women," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 5 (September 9, 1887).

before its total eradication.¹⁹ In one account in the *Indian Helper*, an unidentified woman described her experience attending an Indian dance with her brother and two women from the Indian Agency. The woman asserted that though she had been invited by an "Indian doctor," some of the Indian men present "looked angrily at us and would not move... but as we were invited, we felt that we had a right there, so we shoved by the angry looking men."²⁰ Given the tone of the piece, readers clearly understood that this observer felt these men treated their (white, female) guests inappropriately by not politely "stand[ing] aside and let[ting them] pass easily."²¹ This encounter also showed, however, these Indian men's resistance to the intrusion of a white audience. Furthermore, given that these women presumably received an invitation to the dance, the story depicted a range of Indian acceptance of white American people and norms.

While accounts of dances purportedly showed the shortcomings of both Indian men and women, school administrators attempted to show Indian women's incompetence at womanly pursuits in other ways. An article in the *Indian Helper* told readers that few Indian women living in "camps" knew how to make "light bread," even though the "Government has issued a great many stoves to the Indians," continuing:

...a traveler over the plains will see stoves and parts of stoves strewn here, there and everywhere, the Indians not having learned to use them in cooking, and as for baking the women prefer the old way of sitting on the ground and mixing flour with water and baking it on hot stones, or frying in hot grease. It is hard to give up the old ways, out there. It is not hard here.²²

The *Helper* used this example as a lesson for students about the difficulties in maintaining American ways when surrounded by "savage" Indians who had not learned the ways of the white

¹⁹ Susan Bernardin, Melody Graulich, Lisa MacFarlane, and Nicole Tonkovich, "Empire of the Lens: Women, Indians, and Cameras," in *Trading Gazes: Euro-American Women Photographers and Native North Americans, 1880-1940*, ed. Susan Bernardin et al (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 14-15.

²⁰ "A Pawnee Medicine Dance," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 14 (November 11, 1887).

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² "Are the Indian Women Bakers?" *Indian Helper* 11, no. 20 (February 12, 1896).

man. The author's word choice, however, is significant; that Indian women are described as "preferring" the Indian method of baking implied that these women learned – and subsequently rejected – American baking methods in favor of Indian methods, even with appropriate tools at their disposal.

Individuals' preference for Indian ways in spite of a knowledge of American culture materialized in other articles. When Miss Anthony, a teacher at Carlisle, took student Fanny Shortneck home due to illness, she told the *Helper* that

it nearly broke my heart... to see Fanny obliged to go into a small tent to sit or lie on the ground as the rest of her people do... The filth, the squalor, the sore-eyed children and dogs tumbled together with meat and food of different descriptions, in the ordinary Indian tent are simply terrible. How *can* they live thus, and be content?²³

In the eyes of the *Helper*, fault for this living condition lay both with Fanny's mother (who failed to keep the tent clean) and father (who had not built his family a proper house). Anthony's rhetorical question may have failed to convey the message she hoped, however, because it implied that Fanny's family *was* content to live thusly.

While Anthony's experience with Fanny's family occurred immediately upon Fanny's return, editors commonly included reports on students' adjustments to home life after time away at school. Accounts typically included information on the type of dwelling in which students lived, how many acres they farmed or heads of cattle they raised, what type of clothing they wore, and their marital status. That students would "return to the blanket" was a real fear not only of Carlisle administrators, but of other reformers. Historian David Wallace Adams quotes a number of reformers confirming this sentiment, including Superintendent of Indian Schools John Oberly, who "confessed" in 1885: "I am not putting it too strongly when I say that a majority of

²³ "Horror of Horrors!" *Indian Helper* 6, no. 28 (March 20, 1891).

[Indian boys who return to camps] go back to the blanket."²⁴ One article reprinted from the *Kansas City Star* discussed recent graduates from an Indian school in Eufala, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). Returned students, the article argued,

will be ridiculed by those whom they respect. The Indian girl will have nothing to do with the young man who wears collars and starched shirts. The lazy young buck who has stayed at home will ridicule his sweetheart in her bishop sleeves and umbrella skirt. The father and mother will sneer at the child's new ways, and, little by little, the clothes and the customs of the white man will depart..."²⁵

Redolent with language showing white Americans' notions of Indian gender roles, Pratt had many reasons to reprint this article, not least of which to emphasize Carlisle's superiority over reservation schools, as well as the need for students to remain away from the reservation once their schooling was complete. Yet this article provided evidence that local Indians valued and thus desired to retain their Indian culture. Graduates of the school accepted the education, but rejected the assimilation; the possibility that Indians might resist assimilation in this way perhaps pushed Carlisle administrators even more to warn students against the dangers of returning to the reservation.

Carlisle teacher Alice Seabrook's report on returned students living within the Omaha Agency in Nebraska shows the range of experience for former students. Seabrook provided reports on a number of students, including: Theodore McCauley, who farmed, dressed "neatly," and attended church regularly; Fannie Merrick, married with two children, who was "trying to put in practice what she learned but looks very Indian like;" Ettie Webster, who married into a family which "is not a progressive one, which holds her back to some extent;" and Julia and Belle Logan, whose father pulled them out of the Government School, and one of whom

²⁴ David Wallace Adams, 291.

²⁵ "Pessimistic View of the Results of a Western School by a Western Paper," reprinted from the *Kansas City Star*, in *Red Man* 12, no. 6 (June/July/August 1894).

"sometimes dresses in Indian clothes and goes to dances."²⁶ Though discussing students of different ages with a variety of different circumstances, Seabrook clearly described how, outside of the confines of Carlisle, students made their own choices about which (if any) elements of American culture to keep.

Carlisle's administration feared students would "return to the blanket" if they settled on reservations after their schooling, exposing themselves to pressure from family and friends to reject their new Anglo norms for Indian culture. Some students chose to do just that; former Carlisle student Vista Gray Klug wrote from Montana that "Regina Creegirl, I am sorry to say, has married an uneducated Indian and has gone back to camp. We tried to help her all we could but she would rather go back to camp."²⁷ Creegirl's choice was clear, as was that of Klug to maintain her assimilated lifestyle, showing the variety of student experience after Carlisle.

As descriptions of former students show, a return to Indian culture after Carlisle was often incomplete and sometimes impermanent. One issue of the *Helper* noted that while "Edgar McCassey has gone back to the blanket," "Foster Strike Axe wears Indian clothes sometimes."²⁸ "John Davis is doing very well at his work, and earning lots of money," read another account, "but he sometimes puts on the Indian dress."²⁹ These accounts depicted a fluidity of experience, in which an individual might alternate between Indian dress and American. Former student Joshua Given, who left Carlisle to attend Lincoln University, reported that Charles Ohetoint and Paul Tsaitkopta "dressed in Indian but both have splendid farms."³⁰ Just as with Fannie Merrick, Ohetoint and Tsaitkopta showed that appearances could be deceiving; though they lived within

²⁶ "More News from Our Omaha and Winnebago Boys and Girls at Home," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 467 (July 18, 1890).

²⁷ *Indian Helper* 11, no. 9 (November 29, 1895).

²⁸ *Indian Helper* 5, no. 41 (June 13, 1890).

²⁹ "News from Some of Our New Mexico Boys and Girls," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 29 (March 27, 1891).

³⁰ Joshua Given, "Interesting Observations at the Indians' New Home," *Indian Helper* 3, no. 52 (August 10, 1888).

the gendered roles taught to them at Carlisle, they also chose to wear Indian garb. Furthermore, examples such as these undermined Pratt's all-or-nothing argument.

Students' decisions to re-adopt Indian customs were subject to a variety of factors outside of personal preference, including practical and economic factors. Just as visiting Indian leaders discussed difficulty adopting American work roles, lived economic and social realities sometimes prevented former students from fully adopting American gender norms, even when they so desired. In a letter to Carlisle, an unidentified former student wrote that her current circumstances

will make a pretty home if we just had a house to commence with. A house here costs so much to get the lumber. I will try and go without getting new dresses for a while and give the money toward getting the lumber. I will give them most of my wages for a house. We have no man at our home but my brother-in-law, and he does all the work, for we cannot afford to hire a man work for us, but I promised my brother-in-law I would pay a man out of my wages or hire him to help him put up the fence... Both [of my nieces] have worn dresses ever since they were babies and will and *shall* wear dresses and not Indian clothes as long as I have money."³¹

If judging solely on appearance, Carlisle's administration may not have deemed this former student "fully assimilated;" this did not mean, however, that this student intended a resistance to American roles in any way. Quite the contrary; she strove to uphold her acculturation, and that of her family members. Ironically, the maintenance of her American lifestyle rested on her own wage earning, thus complicating the Victorian American ideal which she attempted to uphold.

This woman was not the only student who found the maintenance of an American appearance difficult once they returned to reservations. One wonders if Carlisle's administration didn't realize they were fighting a losing battle in regards to their expectation that returned students maintain American-style dress. In an 1894 article entitled "Going Back to the Blanket," the *Indian Helper* admitted the "rationality" of Indian dress:

³¹ "A Plucky Little Indian Girl," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 43 (June 27, 1890).

A great many good people have the idea that when a returned student goes back to the blanket, he abandons at the same time all the good he has been taught in school... What we are, and not what we wear, is the principal thing, though the fact that there is education in dress must be admitted by all. To clothe our bodies in a rational and natural manner should be the end desired, and if the dress is comfortable, healthful and adapted to the climate, leaving out the question of fashion, there should be no serious objection to its use.³²

Five years later, in an interview with the *Indian Helper*, Maria Annallo Marmon and Mary Bailey Seonia corroborated this sentiment. The two, having come to Carlisle with a group of new Pueblo students, discussed the status of returned Pueblo students, specifically in regard to gendered physical markers of transformation. Both Marmon (grandmother of writer Leslie Marmon Silko) and Seonia had attended Carlisle in their youth; Seonia stayed on as a teacher.³³ Marmon denied that "all the returned students had gone back to the old ways," saying instead that "most of the boys do as well as they can. Of course they cannot dress as well as they did when they first came home." This explanation's modifiers, such as "most" and "as well as they can," left room for so much more than "returning to the blanket" or "assimilating."³⁴ Marmon continued by arguing that the Pueblo boys did not allow their hair to grow "really long," and wore trousers and shirt, but not a coat:

Eastern people might say they have gone back, because they do not have the latest barber cut of the hair and do not wear coats, but I do not call it going back to old ways when they exert the influence for good that most of the returned pupils do by their work, and by so many ways that are never seen or talked about.³⁵

Marmon's partial denial that boys let their hair grow long implied that the former students' hair would not be deemed acceptable by Carlisle administration. While "Eastern people" might not recognize these returned students as assimilated, neither would these students necessarily be

³² "Going Back to the Blanket," *Indian Helper* 9, no. 29 (April 13, 1894).

³³ *Indian Helper* 14, no. 52 (October 20, 1899).

³⁴ "Mrs. Marie Annallo Marmon and Miss Mary Bailey Seonia Talk with the Man on the Band Stand," *Indian Helper* 12, no. 48 (September 10, 1897).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

identifiable as "Indian." Once again, readers saw that appearance could not always be a reliable indicator of assimilation, especially in light of the wide range of personal decisions and circumstances.

Seonia, however, was "sorry to have to report that nearly all the girls have adopted the Indian dress." Seonia indicated a number of reasons for this decision, not the least of which being that "some say [Indian dress] is more comfortable." Even if an Indian girl chose to wear American dresses, the dresses could not be had without significant cost and effort. Not only were they easier to obtain than American apparel, high quality Indian dresses could be bought ready-made for the same price as "the plain dresses worn by [the former students'] white sisters." Seonia believed that educated Indian girls *should* wear "the civilized dress," and could "overcome all the difficulties, which are many" to make their own dresses. Yet Seonia insisted that if a girl chose to wear Indian dress, it did not always provide "evidence that she does not use her education in other useful ways."³⁶ This example, in which an Indian woman and former Carlisle student brought new students to Carlisle and argued on behalf of "civilized dress," yet also argued that adoption of American dress was to a certain extent unnecessary, shows the complexity (and not at all dualistic nature) of the choice between Indian and American norms.

Like the example above, Carlisle's periodicals often offered students and other Indians the opportunity to refute or complicate a white audience's expectations of Indianness and assimilation. While Indians took advantage of their place somewhere between Indianness and whiteness to argue their own opinions, it should be remembered that this distance was also carefully cultivated by Pratt's administration to suit the needs of the school and its message. Indian voices of explicit resistance can be seen in Carlisle's newspapers in two main ways: by

³⁶ Ibid.

offering support of Indian gender norms, and through arguments which actively resist American gender roles.

Some Indian authors in Carlisle's newspapers supported the value and maintenance of Indian gender norms. An article written by Simon Pokagon, a Potawatomi Indian advocate and author, defended Indian mothers as well as Indian men's treatment of women. Pokagon described Indian mothers and daughters as having close relationships in which parent and child discussed "affairs of the heart." Pokagon rejected the white American interpretation of Indian courtship, stating:

The manner in which such marriages were consummated led many strangers to the transaction to believe that the parents of the boy and girl compelled them to marry against their wish, when in fact the mothers had planned the scheme with full knowledge, consent and desire of the children.³⁷

The editor of the *Red Man* felt the need to editorialize this passage, noting that Pokagon's description of Indian womanhood and courtship "is not in keeping with what this generation of Anglo-Saxons has been taught to believe, but *if true*, we have something to learn from the Indian [emphasis added]."³⁸ While the language of the commentary implied the possibility of discrediting Pokagon's statements, it also allowed for the prospect of their truth. Pokagon firmly rejected tropes used by white Americans to denigrate Indian culture.

Others defended gendered work roles prescribed by Indian culture, specifically rejecting the concepts of Indian men as lazy and Indian women as drudges. The *Helper* quoted one Indian named Crazyhead as saying, "Indians work hard all days; white men lazy on Sunday."³⁹ Crazyhead thus implicitly refused the conception of Indian men as lazy. Discarding the idea that Indian women's lives revolved solely around providing for their husbands and children, one

³⁷ Simon Pokagon, "Indian Women," reprinted from the *Chataouquan*, in *Red Man* 13, no. 9 (April 1895).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Indian Helper* 3, no. 51 (August 3, 1888).

student who wrote an account of life among the Seneca people emphasized the idea that "just as many women as men could play" a ballgame favored by the Seneca.⁴⁰ And in one of the paper's most curious inclusions, the *Helper* reprinted a quote attributed to Sitting Bull, a well-known Hunkpapa chief renowned for his resistance to government and military intervention:

Have pity on my women. We owe every thing to our women in the past but they have no future. Our young men can no longer hunt or be warriors, but, like white men, they must take up woman's work (tilling the land). For them there is a future but as for women, robbed of their vocation, they lose their power and position in the tribe, and for them there is no future.⁴¹

The paper attempted to undermine Sitting Bull's blatant defense of his culture by entitling the article "A Strange Plea." Yet Sitting Bull's celebrity status (he toured with Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show from 1885-1886),⁴² as well as the paper's lack of additional commentary, allowed his argument for traditional Indian gender roles to stand on its own.

Carlisle's newspapers often published students' commencement speeches, which dramatized how "the obstacle of language, at least, may easily be removed through proper means and wholesome environment."⁴³ Themes chosen for the oratories often demonstrated the assimilation of students and were republished in Carlisle's various newspapers. Yet, as Jane Simonsen discusses, "resistance... might lie as much in the ways [Indians] interpreted their work... as in the work that they did."⁴⁴ Oneida student Jemima Wheelock used her commencement oratory to argue against the Victorian construction of gendered work roles. Wheelock began her speech by lauding "brave," strong, self-sufficient women, expressing "great joy" at meeting a woman who, due to her husband's handicap, performed all the work on her family farm. While white American observers often described the work of Indian women as

⁴⁰ "THE SENECA: Past and Present," *Indian Helper* 6, no. 49 (1891).

⁴¹ "A Strange Plea," *Indian Helper* 12, no. 1 (October 9, 1896).

⁴² Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 69.

⁴³ "Commencement of Ninety-Nine," *The Indian Helper* 14, no. 20 (March 10, 1899).

⁴⁴ Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 181.

"drudgery," Wheelock found within the physical work of women a source of pride, not indignity; she quoted her grandmother as saying of her "hard" hands: "When I think of how much they do for me I am not a bit ashamed of them."⁴⁵ Wheelock rejected the implicit argument of others that she *should* feel shame for the physical signs of her labor.

Extending her argument even further, Wheelock described the place of women as a "prison" and insisted that no field should be closed to women simply "because they are women." Wheelock argued for pay equal to that of men and the right to vote on the grounds that "they already pay taxes and it was taxation without representation that the colonists declared to be unjust[.]" She credited women with the success of the nation, noting that "our brave mothers, *more than the fathers* ... have brought up their sons and others to be the great people of which America is so proud [emphasis added]."⁴⁶ Wheelock successfully and eloquently used her Carlisle education to argue against the place in society which the school envisioned for her. Wheelock not only implicitly argued against the white American conception of Indian women as drudges, she argued against the opportunities available for all women in American society. While her use of the English language and knowledge of American history exemplified Carlisle's success, Wheelock crafted her commencement oratory to suit her own purposes. After her time at Carlisle, Wheelock returned to Wisconsin and became a teacher on the Oneida reservation.⁴⁷

Though not always written by the children themselves, the *Indian Helper* occasionally offered anecdotes of small children, usually new students, passing judgment on gendered American appearance. Merial Dorchester described an interaction between a young Indian boy and his teacher. The boy had his hair cut, as was customary when students "entered school from

⁴⁵ Jemima Wheelock, "A Woman's Work in the World," *The Red Man* 10, no. 4 (1890).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ "Wheelock's at the Carlisle Indian School," accessed December 5, 2012, <http://home.epix.net/~landis/wheelock.html>.

camp." It was not until days later that the boy objected to his shorn hair. When asked why, the student indicated that his hair was "Just like the Devil," referring his teacher to an illustrated "Bible in which the patriarchs were represented, as they always are, with long hair," while "His Satanic Majesty was always represented with short hair."⁴⁸ Not only did this student turn this particular American gender norm on its head, he used his teacher's religion to do so.

Some more explicitly expressed their resistance to the necessity of adopting American gender roles. In 1889, the Friends of the Indian, a group of white church leaders, social reformers, and government officials, met for their annual conference in Lake Mohonk, New York. Pueblo Indian Henry Kendall, invited to speak, discussed the actions he took after attending a missionary boarding school. "There was my mother who needed help," the *Helper* quoted Kendall as saying. "I was not ashamed to help my mother, be it in the kitchen or be it in any other place."⁴⁹ Kendall was willing to do work wherever he was needed, regardless of the highly gendered instruction he would have received at school. Similarly, in a letter to Pratt, a young man on his Outing complained that the man for which he worked refused to pay him the wages he felt he deserved. "[H]e wants me to work on two farms and he only give me \$10 a month," he wrote. "[G]racious life, a woman get [sic] more than \$10 a month for housekeeping. I would rather be a housekeeper than work on two farms for Ten Dollars a month."⁵⁰ While clearly inculcated with American gender roles which placed women in the domestic sphere, for this student, these roles were less important than the fairness of the wages he earned.

The *Red Man* also reprinted portions of Zitkala-Ša's work. Zitkala-Ša, known also by the Anglo-American name Gertrude Bonnin, was an Indian author, musician, and activist. Obtaining

⁴⁸ "A Little Nez Perce Boy," *Indian Helper* 5, no. 25 (February 21, 1890).

⁴⁹ "Do Indian Pupils after a Few Years at School in the East Lose All Natural Affection for Their Parents?" *Indian Helper* 5, no. 21 (January 24, 1890).

⁵⁰ "An Indian Boy Argues His Own Case – Amusing in His Earnestness," *The Red Man* 12, no. 6 (June/July/August 1894).

her early education at a Quaker mission school in Indiana, Zitkala-Ša returned to higher education when she received a scholarship to Earlham College. After playing violin at the New England Conservatory of Music, Zitkala-Ša moved to Carlisle to accept a position as music teacher. Zitkala-Ša objected to the full assimilation and Christianization demanded of the Indian students at Carlisle,⁵¹ however, and on December 31st, 1899 Zitkala-Ša either was dismissed or resigned from her position after a year of teaching.⁵²

American Indian scholar Amelia Katanski describes the "distinct tension" between Pratt's desire to use Zitkala-Ša as a representative Indian, and Zitkala-Ša's desire to truthfully depict her own experiences and be a spokesperson for her own people.⁵³ Given that Zitkala-Ša became a respected author published both in the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Monthly*, the editor of the *Red Man* would have found it difficult to take an explicit stance against Zitkala-Ša's work. Furthermore, as a product of an assimilationist education, her personal success represented the success of the movement. This alone would have justified the reprinting of "The Cutting of my Long Hair" and "Iron Routine" in *The Red Man*. The editor praised Zitkala-Ša for her "striking gift of characterization" and the "literary quality" of her work. The editor continued, however, by describing the pieces as "satire" and stating

We regret that she did not once call to mind the happier side of those long school days, or even hint at the friends who did so much to break down for her the barriers of language and custom, and to lead her from poverty and insignificance into the comparatively full and rich existence that she enjoys today... Her pictures

⁵¹ "Bonnin, Gertrude (Zitkala-Sa/Red Bird)," *Encyclopedia of Women Social Reformers* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001), accessed May 7, 2012, http://0-www.credoreference.com.library.simmons.edu/entry/abcwst/bonnin_gertrude_zitkala_ša_red_bird.

⁵² R. H. Pratt, "Twentieth Annual Report of the Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa," *The Red Man* 15, no. 9 (1899): 5-6.

⁵³ Amelia Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian:" The Boarding-School Experience and American Indian Literature* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 96. Katanski and I reach much the same conclusion, though Katanski approaches the inclusion of Zitkala-Sa's work in Carlisle's newspapers from the perspective of American Indian literary tradition. For a more in-depth look at Zitkala-Sa's work and Pratt's reaction, see Amelia Katanski, "Francis La Flesche and Zitkala-Sa Write the Middle Ground and the Educators Respond," in *Learning to Write "Indian,"* 95-130.

are not, perhaps, untrue in themselves, but, taken by themselves, they are sadly misleading.⁵⁴

This thinly veiled attempt to simultaneously dismiss and take credit for the success of Zitkala-Ša's work, however, does not take away from the blatant resistance against the assimilationist agenda the pieces represent. Zitkala-Ša described her boarding school experience in less than joyful terms, evoking fear, melancholy, and confusion within the reader. Zitkala-Ša's resistance was not just a discursive one; when her friend Judewin tells Zitkala-Ša that they "have to submit because they [the "paleface" women at the school] are strong," Zitkala-Ša "rebelled," telling Judewin, "No, I will not submit! I will struggle first!"⁵⁵

Zitkala-Ša's resistance as a school girl was unsuccessful; as an adult, however, Zitkala-Ša harnessed the American education she received to write, in English and for an American audience, about her struggle. Zitkala-Ša turned American gender norms on their head for readers when she viewed them through the lens of Indian custom. She recalled her embarrassment at being exposed when her blanket was taken from her, noting that the Indian girl students who wore standard boarding school attire "seemed not to care that they were even more immodestly dressed than I, in their tightly fitting clothes." Though white American views of Indian women and culture emphasized the unrestricted sexuality of Indian women, Zitkala-Ša prioritized Indian dress over American dress by defining Indian dress in terms of its modesty. Similarly, Zitkala-Ša used the word "superstitious,"⁵⁶ a term white American observers often used to describe the beliefs and practices of Indians, to describe the behavior of the white women at the boarding school.

⁵⁴ "School Days of an Indian Girl," *The Red Man* 15, no. 11 (February 1900).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

While Zitkala-Ša continued her career as an advocate, lecturer, and activist for Indian reform,⁵⁷ changes were underfoot in white reformers' ideas about Indian assimilation. In 1901, Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones declared the prevailing Indian policy a failure. Forty-five million dollars spent over the course of twenty years on Indian education had made Indians neither less dependent on the federal government nor more willing to turn their children over to boarding schools. By 1905, Francis Ellington Leupp, Jones' successor, began implementing a reorientation of Indian policy⁵⁸ which would have lasting effects on both Carlisle and gender's role in the assimilation process.

⁵⁷ Rayna Green and John Troutman, "'By the Waters of the Minnehaha:' Music and Dance, Pageants and Princesses," in *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*, ed. Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000), 78.

⁵⁸ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 307-308, 315-321.

CONCLUSION

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Pratt's answer to the Indian question, was at risk. The new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis Leupp, doubted the possibility of total assimilation, and specifically condemned the Carlisle method, preferring a more gradual approach. One of the main components of Leupp's new policy was the incorporation of Indian culture in the curriculum, something which Pratt adamantly opposed.¹ Carlisle faced condemnation from other fronts as well: Theodore Roosevelt's progressive administration, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, increasingly lent their support to reservation boarding and day schools, rather than off-reservation schools. Pratt's refusal to accept anything less than total assimilation away from reservations led to his political demise. After Pratt delivered a speech in 1904 attacking the BIA as "a barnacle that should be knocked off," he was relieved as superintendent of Carlisle.²

Furthermore, new superintendent of Indian Schools Estelle Reel believed Indians were "too dull" to excel intellectually; instead, she created her *Uniform Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States*, which focused much more heavily on trades for boys and domestic curriculum for girls.³ While Carlisle had instituted a fifty-fifty split between academic and vocational instruction, Reel demanded a sole focus on practical education. Rather than teach chemistry, instructors should teach students "the anatomy of the horse's foot;" likewise, she

¹ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 307-308, 315-321.

² Linda Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 50-51.

³ K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Making a Willing Worker: Academic and Vocational Instruction," in *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*, ed. Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000), 32.

argued that rather than learn to play the piano, girls should be mastering the "household arts."⁴ Thus, as American Indian scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima argues, the goal of Reel's curriculum "was to produce subservient, docile, and physically regimented Indians who would follow federal directions."⁵ Reel's *Course of Study* went hand-in-hand with an increasing emphasis on Indian students' place as wage workers within white homes.

It was not just ideas about assimilation that were changing. The relationship between assimilation and enforcing Victorian gender roles became increasingly fragile as white American women themselves began to question their own roles in society.⁶ Historian Jane Simonsen argues that as white middle class women took advantage of the opportunities afforded them by the assimilation mission, they gradually came to believe that "domestic imperialism" was not the benign, charitable endeavor they had believed. For many American women, the traditional role of women as keepers of the home became incompatible with the increasingly industrial nature of American society. In fact, by the early twentieth century, many white women reformers challenged previous notions of Indian womanhood, and began to see Indian women as inherently *more* domestic than their white counterparts.

Changing views of American gender roles went hand-in-hand with the new emphasis on Indian culture in boarding school curricula. At the dawn of the twentieth century, American women faced an increasingly secularized and systematized home and marketplace. Simonsen argues that, as a result, Native American arts and crafts provided a domestic morality, authenticity, and purity which white Americans now found missing in their own versions of domesticity. Thus, "Native American artisanal labor... came to signify the kind of pure values

⁴ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 154.

⁵ Lomawaima, "Making a Willing Worker," 32.

⁶ Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 7.

that white women's work at home had long symbolized."⁷ During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, gender clearly shaped not only how whites viewed Indians, but how students were taught to "be white." Furthermore, changing ideas about what reformers meant by "assimilation" influenced the government's goals. As historian Frederick Hoxie notes, reformers "continued work for the incorporation of Native Americans into the majority society, but they no longer sought to transform the Indians or to guarantee their equality."⁸ As America moved out of the Victorian era and into the twentieth century, how did new ideas about assimilation and gender roles impact the ways in which reformers and educators used gender in their instruction of Indian students? With more research, the frameworks presented within this study could help to answer this question.

This study corroborates others which have shown the value of the source material in boarding school newspapers, and uses a framework of thought which is finding increasing acceptance in scholarly work. Even more importantly, this study approaches Carlisle's newspapers during Pratt's tenure with an emphasis on viewing how the school's administration utilized gender as part of its citizenship training. Reformers clearly relied on gender ideals as an important tool in their assimilationist aims; as a result, mentioning gendered vocational training and the cutting of Indian boys' hair is insufficient to describe the role gender played in Indian boarding schools. Research in this vein should be continued, extended both to other schools and beyond the time period constraining this study.

Homi Bhabha's concept of mimicry complicates the notion of assimilation and resistance. Mimicry involves the creation of distance between subject and oppressor, reinforcing the need

⁷ Ibid., 183.

⁸ Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), xviii.

for continued hegemonic control of the subject by the oppressor. This distance prevents a complete assimilation of the subject, and allows the subject to enact a resistance using the very tools provided to them by the oppressor. Yet use of the oppressor's tools marks the resistance just as incomplete as assimilation.

The mechanics of Bhabha's mimicry are clearly at work in Carlisle's periodicals. Within the school's newspapers, Pratt offered white readers guidance on how one should think and feel about Indian gender roles. The administration also utilized the papers as teaching tools for their students, providing templates for how a successfully assimilated student should look and act. Yet the authors in Carlisle's newspapers often tempered their descriptions of assimilated students and Indians with rhetorical devices which reminded white readers that assimilated Indians were emphatically not white.⁹ Otherwise assimilated Indians used the distance created between Indians and whites to complicate what it meant to be assimilated. Pratt included descriptions of unassimilated Indians in the school's newspapers as well. These accounts benefitted Pratt's message in a number of ways: they showed that Carlisle was a desperately needed institution; they highlighted Carlisle's success when juxtaposed with accounts of assimilated students; and they were used to publicly shame former students who "returned to the blanket." Yet by including instances of students who had rejected their Carlisle education in favor of Indian gender roles and customs, Carlisle's administration provided space within its newspapers for Indians to assert their agency and resist assimilationist aims. This resistance, however, was as incomplete as other students' assimilation; most students found themselves occupying a dynamic space somewhere between "Indian" and "assimilated."

⁹ Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *October: The First Decade*, ed. Annette Michelson, et al (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), 318, 320, and Gavin McGarry, "Bhabha's Mimicry and Man: Destabilizing the Colonial Paradigm," *The Imperial Archive*, last modified June 17, 2007, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEnglish/imperial/carib/Bhabha-mimicry.html/>.

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These images all reflect the Carlisle Indian School students, facilities, and staff. Images available here are drawn from files housed at the U. S. National Archives, from collections of Carlisle Indian School materials housed at various archival repositories, and from a variety of published sources. Visitors to this website are also invited to share copies of photographs from their own personal and family collections; please contact us if you have images you would like to contribute. The playbills never mentioned that the Carlisle Indian School possessed an on-campus graveyard where over two hundred students had been buried. oldshowbiz. Follow.Â In an effort to "kill the Indian and save the man" Native American children were removed from their families and placed them in residential schools that prohibited native clothing, language, and culture. Sioux Charles Eastman/Ohiyesa later reflected on his father's words to him when he departed to attend school.