

The Carlisle Rut  
Routines and Pace-of-Life at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

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A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

Approved October 2021 by the  
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2021

## ABSTRACT

For over a century, it has been commonly observed that the pace-of-life in modern society appears to be significantly faster than in non-modern societies, but exactly what forces drive these differences continue to be both hotly debated and difficult to study. While prior studies on pace-of-life have focused on population-level correlations between these factors and pace-of-life, they provide few details about how changes to pace-of-life associated with modernity actually occur in context. This study addresses the issue from a historical perspective, attempting to identify what factors are relevant to a change of pace-of-life in a non-modern to modern lifestyle transition over a single lifetime. This study performs a historical analysis, examining changes in pace-of-life experienced by students of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, an Indian residential school operating in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as compared to the non-modern lifestyle of the Plains Indian Cultures from the same time period. This study finds that the pace-of-life experienced by students at Carlisle were consistently faster, more intense and more regimented than in non-modern lifestyles. Such changes in pace-of-life were driven in large part by efforts of the school to transform the students behavior into a model the administration considered more suited to life in a modern society, chiefly, time-disciplined, individualistic, future oriented and competitive laborers. This case highlights that the role of individual behavioral manipulation by large-scale institutions is an underappreciated force in changes to pace-of-life in modern society.

*I dedicate this thesis to the children of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, to their  
ancestors and to their decedents*

*Kleio, the proclaimer, muse of history  
Give me eyes to see the truth  
The ears to hear its sound  
A tongue to speak its name  
And the hands to write it down*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank my research advisor, Dr. Dylan Connor, for his insightful advice, open mind and dedicated patience throughout my long and winding research process. His feedback and continued interest helped direct my thoughts from when this research question was no more than an idle thought in my mind, through to the very end of my journey, and I cannot express my gratitude enough

I would also like to thank the rest of my defense committee, Dr. B.L. Turner II, and Dr. Tyler DesRoches. Dr. Turner challenged me to think with clarity and rigor from the first day I stepped foot on ASU, and introduced me to a wide variety of ideas which proved invaluable in this work. Each meeting with Dr. DesRoches gave me a perspective I had not yet considered, the value of which was evident as soon as he revealed it to me. Without their guidance, this thesis would be sorely lacking, and I thank them both for their patience and dedication.

I would like to thank the professors who cultivated my thinking during my time at Arizona State University, inside the classroom and out: Dr. Michael Barton, Dr. Kevin McHugh, Dr. Manfred Laubichler, Dr. Bryan Daniels, Dr. Shauna Burnsilver, Dr. Nia Amazeen and Dr. Eric Amazeen. I will never see the world the same way again, never think the same way again, and never act the same again, and I could not be more grateful. I would like also like to thank my friends and colleagues from SGSUP and DPAC- though we have been separated for these past two years, your creativity, enthusiasm and drive still inspire me every day.

Finally I would like to thank my mom, dad and brother for seeing me through these difficult two years. You were my light in dark times, when all other lights went out.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
CHAPTER	
INTRODUCTION .....	1
LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY.....	5
Terms and Definitions.....	5
Literature Review .....	7
Analytic Methods.....	15
PACE-OF-LIFE ON THE HIGH PLAINS.....	19
Life as a Plains Indian .....	20
Child Socialization .....	27
Environmental Pacers .....	32
Temporal Values.....	34
Pace-of-life in Historical Context.....	38
THE CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL .....	44
War on the Frontier, Assimilation and Indian Education .....	44
Founding of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.....	47
Carlisle as an Institution .....	51
The Curriculum of Carlisle .....	53
After Pratt: Progressive Reforms and Decline.....	56
KILLING THE INDIAN .....	60
Debating Assimilation .....	60
Set and Setting .....	62

CHAPTER	Page
Pratt's Four Points .....	67
LIFE AND TIMES AT CARLISLE.....	72
Discipline .....	73
Language of the Country .....	85
A Productive Trade .....	92
The Courage of Civilization .....	102
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....	112
Social Organization .....	114
Economic Activity.....	120
Environmental Pacers .....	124
Temporal Values.....	129
Conclusion .....	132
CONCLUSION .....	134
General Summary.....	134
Study Limitations .....	135
Broader Impact.....	137
Future Research.....	139
REFERENCES .....	141

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
Table 1: Schedule for Tuesday, Session of 1913-1914.....	80
Table 2: Regulations to Govern Persons in Charge of out Students.....	101

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Figure 1: Maps of the Carlisle Campus in 1879 and 1918.....	50
Figure 2: Benjamin Thomas, Mary Perry and John Menaul, Before.....	67
Figure 3: Benjamin Thomas, Mary Perry and John Menaul, After.....	67
Figure 4: Female students in gymnasium lifting barbells.....	82
Figure 5: Male students exercising in gymnasium .....	82
Figure 4: Male students in gymnasium posed with Indian clubs .....	82
Figure 4: Female students in gymnasium with poles .....	82



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the early 1990s, scholars began to take an increasing interest in the nature of time: how time is conceptualized and constructed in different socioenvironmental contexts, its close relationship to spatial phenomena, and how the ways in which the perception and structure of time affects the behavior of agents, (May and Thrift, 2001a, Hassan, 2010). One area of this temporal turn has examined the drastic changes in individual pace-of-life of with the advent of modern, industrial society, and its relationship to issues of sustainability. Geographer Henrike Rau notes in a recent review that “changes in the temporal fabric of society, including the acceleration of production and consumption, have intensified the use of natural resources to an unsustainable level,” (2019, 378). Rau emphasizes that unwanted environmental change can be strongly linked “the discrepancy between natural cycles and social pacers in many modern capitalist societies, made possible through the availability of cheap fossil fuels, more efficient industrial production methods, in particular with regard to food, as well as the reorganization of labor,” (Rau, 2019, p. 374). Rau cites unsustainable social metabolisms and consumer practices, environmentally damaging transportation policy, and growing levels of subjective time-pressure as all being linked to the way modern society organizes itself with respect to time, (Jalas, 2002; Shove, 2009; Fischer-Kowalski and Schaffartzik, 2008; Schäfer et al, 2012; Rau, 2019). Rau asserts that such phenomena are the result of a hegemonic monoculture of “industrial time-culture,” (Rau, 2019, p. 376), incongruous with biophysical cycles and calls for further research on the matter. Social scientists have long documented that industrial society brings with it significant changes to social and technological organization related to time, most notably through the invention and deployment of time-keeping technologies such as calendars,

clocks and time-tables, (Mumford, 1934; Thompson, 1964; Zerubevel, 1985; Harvey, 1989; Adam, 1991; May and Thrift, 2001; Tenhouten, 2005; Glennie and Thrift, 2011, Rosa, 2013). Therefore, it is sensible to hypothesize that such sociocultural changes bear the brunt of the responsibility for changes in individual pace and routines correlated with challenges in sustainability.

Yet, it is unclear whether changes in the pace of individual routines are related to sociocultural factors, as Rau suggests, or if the accelerating pace-of-life is merely an epiphenomenal consequence of the increasing scale of society. Another strain of social scientific research, focusing on the relationship between urbanization and an accelerated pace-of-life, suggests that it is demographic, not cultural changes, that are the critical factor in the accelerating pace of modern life, (Simmel, 1903/1950; Wirth, 1939; Milgram, 1970; Bornstien and Bornstien, 1979). More recently, complexity science studies from the Santa Fe Institute have found significant scalar relationships between the growth of city population, economic activity, technological innovation, resource use and changes in social networks, (Bettencourt et al, 2007; Schläpfer et al, 2014; West, 2017). Like Rau, West and Bettencourt and colleagues argue that this exponential scaling of information and wealth creation is the ultimate source of global environmental change, (2017), and that an accelerating pace-of-life is a natural consequence of dynamic information networks acting at scale. This observation is corroborate by research into the phenomena of “Time-Space Distanciation,” which argues that many, if not most of the changes to routines and pace-of-life are the downstream effects of unified social organization at scales unique to modern society, (Giddens, 1990; Sullivan et al, 2016; Palitsky et al, 2016; Keefer et al, 2019). Thus, the relationship between pace-of-life, the actions and interactions of individual agents, and the environments in which they operate remains unclear.

What is absent from current discussions regarding changes to routines and individual pace-of life is strong empirical evidence observing the transition from a non-modern to a modern lifestyle within a single lifetime, and thus, the ability to compare the experienced routines and paces of individuals before and after such a transition took place. The reason for this, of course, is that few people experienced such a stark lifestyle transition within their lifetime, and fewer still left sufficient historical evidence of their lifestyles before and after to make a case for such experiences. As such, the few studies that do examine differences in time culture between modern and non-modern peoples either focus on static differences between two contemporary cultures, (TenHouten, 2005), examine distant historical transitions occurring over multiple generations, (Thompson, 1968; Glennie and Thrift, 2011), or correct erroneous over-generalizations between about the difference between the two n time cultures, (Ingold, 2000a). Currently, there are no comparable studies examining a non-modern to modern transition within a single lifetime. What factors might we find to be most relevant to the changes in routine and pace-of-life in such an experience? Answering this question is the primary focus of this study.

There is at least one clear case in the historical record documenting such a single-lifetime transition: the experiences of the students of Indian residential schools. Indian residential schools were institutions in operation in the United States and Canada during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, a part of the American Indian genocide designed to indoctrinate native children to the routines and customs compatible with life in modern, industrial societies. This thesis examines one such case, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to compare the routines and time culture it entrained in its students to the routines and time cultures of the nomadic Plains Indians, whose children comprised a significant portion of Carlisle's student body at this school. Such a

comparison provides a unique, if quite grim, example of how a recent historical transition to modern routines and lifestyle was implemented in practice, and the potential consequences of such a transition for the pace-of-life of the students subjected to such a transition. By comparing these cases, it may be possible to identify relevant factors which influence the routines and pace-of-life of the students, related to scale, social organization and modern time culture.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Before we begin our investigation of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, however, it is first necessary to lay the groundwork for our study, which will be the focus of this chapter. This will involve several steps: first, we will define our terms. Second, we will identify what is empirically known about pace-of-life in modern society: what factors appear to be most relevant in the acceleration of pace-of-life, what dynamic relationships these factors seem to indicate, and what gaps or contradictions are there in our current understanding of the phenomenon. Finally we will develop a methodology suitable to address these gaps directly in the case study.

Accordingly, the first section of this chapter will define “routine” “pace-of-life” and “modernity.” The second section of this chapter will highlight the key empirical studies of modern pace-of-life conducted thus far, making note of their findings on what phenomena are strongly correlated with pace-of-life, and we will also will discuss some of the methodological limitations inherent in their mode of study. The third section of this chapter will make note of some theoretical and empirical studies which complicate the picture we developed in the previous section, and highlight the gaps that the higher-order perspective of the previous two sections leaves for us to explore. The final section will develop the methodology for our own case study based on the understanding we developed in the previous four sections

#### **Terms and Definitions**

The following terms will be used frequently throughout the study, and are often quite ambiguous in their meaning. As such, for clarity’s sake it will be useful to provide clear

definitions. Any subsequent use of these three terms in this study will have the following meanings:

**Routine.**

The habitual activities of day-to-day life in a given context. The realization of routines in any given day, while not precisely predictable in their outcome, should have a generic character that the individual could readily identify as ordinary and expected based on their prior experience.

**Pace-of-Life.**

The behavior of an agent with respect to time, based on the following factors: 1) the speed and intensity the performance routine activities, and 2) the frequency of unique experiences experienced across a given time-scale.

**Modernity.**

A cultural trend emerging from Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which subsequently spread to the rest of the world through the imperial hegemony of European States and their colonies, (Giddens, 1990; Sullivan et al, 2015; Palitsky et al, 2016 Keefer et al, 2019). This broad cultural trend is characterized by three historical phenomena: the emergence of nation-states as hegemonic political entities, (Foucault, 1978; Anderson, 1983; Giddens, 1990; Bayly 2004; Rosa, 2013; Graeber, 2015); increasing industrialization and formalization of economies, (Marx, 1867; Durkhiem, 1893; Simmel, 1900; Weber, 1905; Simmel, 1903/1950; Giddens, 1990; Inglehart, 2001; Graeber, 2015; Sullivan et al, 2015; Palitsky et al, 2016). and the perceived decoupling of individual behavior both from natural forces and traditional culture, in favor of a culture informed by science, reason and progress, (Călinescu, 1987; Giddens, 1990; Murray, 2004; Chakrabarty, 2011; Josephson-Storm, 2017, Keefer et al, 2019). A modern society

is a society characterized by these three qualities, irrespective of its culture of origin. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School serves as the representative case for modernity in the context of this study. The term “non-modern” will refer to societies and peoples not characterized by such sociocultural trends, including, but not limited to, the Plains Indian tribes which will be examined in this study.

## **Literature Review**

### **Factors in the Pace-of-Life: Empirical Studies.**

In this section, we will examine how the study of pace-of-life has been approached in empirical research, examining current literature attempting to define and measure pace-of-life as a specific material phenomenon. The majority of empirical studies of the pace-of-life have examined it as a population-level phenomenon best analyzed through statistical regression. While the studies vary in their specifics, the general approach was to take random samples of a pace-of-life indicators from the general population of a city and correlating them to physical, economic, cultural or structural factors. In general, these studies find a strong trend correlating pace-of-life with three key factors: economic productivity, cultural individualism and social interconnectivity.

While changes in pace-of-life associated with modernity have been noted sporadically since at least the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, (Goethe, 1825/1887), a formal study of social pace-of-life only began in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as sociologists and social psychologists began to investigate the phenomenon as a broader social trend, (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1903/1950; Milgram, 1970). These early studies deemed city size to be the most important causative factor for the increased pace-of-life, as the dynamism of the newly emerging industrial metropolises seemed evidently distinct from the more relaxed pace

of smaller towns and villages, (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1903/1950). So obvious was this fact that it was not until the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that scientists formally began to investigate the causal relationship between the modern pace-of-life and the urban environment in earnest.

The first instance of such an empirical study on urban pace-of-life was performed by Bornstien and Bornstien in 1976, who sought to test the observation made by previous scholars that there seemed to be a distinctly faster pace-of-life in larger cities than in smaller towns, (Wirth, 1938; Milgram, 1970). Bornstien and Bornstien collected walking speed data from 15 cities in the US, Israel, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Greece. A regression analysis of the data comparing average walking speed to city size yielded a strongly positive relationship relationship of  $r= 0.91$ ,  $p<0.001$ , demonstrating that city size is a highly predictive factor of walking speed, (Bornstien and Bornstien, 1976). As the initial study was limited by small sample size, Bornstien, (1979), followed up on the initial study by collecting data from six more cities in Ireland, Scotland and the US. The same statistical analysis analysis was then re-tested to confirm the goodness-of-fit, resulting in  $r=0.88$ , (Bornstien, 1979). Thus, initial research seemed to support the naive hypothesis put forward by Simmel, Wirth and Milgram that city size was the direct cause of an increased pace-of-life.

Further studies using similar methodology, however, demonstrated that the correlation between city size and pace-of-life was, in fact, weaker than initially observed. Walmsley and Lewis, (1989), attempted to replicate Bornstien and Bornstien's findings, testing the walking speed of pedestrians in English and Australian towns and cities, and demonstrated a far weaker relationships between city size and walking speed. Wirtz and Reis, (1992), expanded on Bornstien and Bornstien's studies including the original



samples collected in 1976, in addition to their own samples collected from cities in Germany, Switzerland and France, expanding the total population sampled from N=309 across 15 cities, (Bornstien and Bornstien, 1976), to N= 8940 across 36 cities. Wirtz and Reis found that, in contrast to Bornstien and Bornstien's findings, the age and sex demographics of a given city were highly predictive of walking speed, with walking speed predicted from age/sex demographics correlated with observed walking speed with  $r=0.502$ ,  $p=0.07$ , walking speed and density had no significant correlation. Wirtz and Reis conclude that the observed correlation between city size and walking speed most likely reflects the fact that larger cities tend to be populated by younger men on average, and that major discrepancies, (such as those observed in the Berlin sample), are also reflective of demographic contingencies. In this respect, Wirtz and Reis corroborate Walmsley and Lewis' earlier evidence that the physical size of the city is unlikely to have a direct effect on pace-of-life, but rather it is other factors covariant with city size that are responsible.

Later studies which expanded beyond walking speed validate this observation, demonstrating that sociological factors, rather than the physical and demographic size of the city, were the most relevant to understanding increased pace-of-life. Levine and Bartlett, (1984), for example expanded the search to include a variety of proxy metrics of temporal precision, noting that time precision and conceptions of punctuality tend to vary significantly among cultures, and that this may be a significant factor in pace-of-life differences. In addition to walking speed, Levine and Bartlett conducted additional experiments examining clock accuracy and postal service speed in the largest city of six countries in Europe, Asia and North America. Levine and Bartlett did not find any correlation between city size and walking speed or postal service, but did identify significant variation in clock accuracy correlating to cultural attitudes towards time.

Levine and Bartlett confirmed earlier studies that demonstrate while some metrics like walking speed are closely linked to population density, the strong correlation between the two is misleading. Paired with other metrics like clock accuracy and service speed, a more complex picture arises where sociocultural factors appear to have a more significant correlation with pace-of-life proxies than mere population density, (Levine and Bartlett, 1984). In a follow up study, Levine and Norenzayan identify that economic productivity, measured in an index of GDP, Purchasing Power Parity and average daily caloric intake, was the most predictive correlate of pace-of-life, followed by climatic temperature and cultural individualism, (1999). While other studies did suggest that the local context of a city could impact the pace-of-life, (Milgram, 1970, Wirtz and Reis, 1992), such effects were incorrectly assumed to be of less importance than to the physical density of a population. By contrast, the findings of Levine and Norenzayan suggest that these differences in social organization play a much greater role in the generation of pace-of-life than previously suspected, a point which had been argued by scholars in other areas of study for some time, (Zerubevel, 1985; Giddens, 1990; Adams, 1991).

On the other hand, scale cannot be totally dismissed as a potential contributing factor to pace-of-life, due to its strong correlational relationship with these same sociological factors. In recent years, the emerging field of complexity science has turned its attention to urban dynamics, and discovered strong, predictable trends between city scale and socioeconomic trends. Bettencourt and colleagues, (2007), for example, conducted experiments on geographic and sociological data, testing the viability of biological scaling models used to predict physiological paces-of-life, such as metabolic rate, to predict similar scalar trends in urban socioecological systems, (cf. West, 1997; West 1999; West, 2017). To this end, Bettencourt and colleagues regressed socioeconomic data collected from cities in the U.S, the E.U. and China against several

predictive scaling models to test their accuracy,<sup>1</sup> and found that there are indeed consistent scalar relationships between a city's demographic size, the physical characteristics of a city, and its socioeconomic activity, with  $r^2$  values for the correlation of the models and the real-world data ranging from 0.64 to 0.99, averaging 0.88 across the factors tested, (2007, p. 7303). While scalar models did strongly correlate to real-world data, Bettencourt and colleague found that cities had a more complex set of dynamics than found in biological systems. Unlike biological metabolisms, which have been found to possess consistent sub-linear metabolic scaling across different species, (West, 1997; West 1999; West, 2017), cities appear to have three distinct scaling dynamics at work simultaneously: factors of biophysical infrastructure, factors of "individual maintenance" and socioeconomic factors, (Bettencourt et al, 2007, p. 7305). Biophysical infrastructure infrastructure such as gasoline stations, road surface, sewer systems and electrical cable length scales sublinearly, ( $\beta < 1.0$ ), demonstrating efficiencies of scale as smaller quantities of infrastructure serviced greater numbers of people; factors of individual maintenance such as total housing, employment and household utility consumption scales linearly, ( $\beta = 1$ ), while socioeconomic factors, GDP, new patents and total electrical consumption scale superlinearly, ( $\beta > 1$ ), growing exponentially relative to increasing populations, (2007). A subsequent study demonstrated that the sublinear scaling of physical infrastructure, (average  $\beta = 0.85$ ), was the inverse of the scaling of socioeconomic growth, (average  $\beta = 1.15$ ), indicating that the socioeconomic pace-of-life is a reflection of the efficiency gains of the biophysical infrastructure of the city, (West, 2017). While Bettencourt and colleagues overstate their case by directly link this scaling trend to the accelerated pace-of-life experienced in

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<sup>1</sup>  $Y(t) = Y_0 N(t)^\beta$ , where  $Y(t)$  = the factor modeled in city  $t$ ,  $N(t)$  is the population of city  $t$ ,  $\beta$  is the scaling exponent and  $Y_0$  is a normalization constant (Bettencourt et al, 2007, 7302).

cities, even a conservative reading of this study would conclude that scale may indeed influence pace-of-life after all, albeit indirectly through its influence on socioeconomic factors more directly correlated to increased pace-of-life.

Nevertheless, Bettencourt and colleagues' findings seems to reinforce the earlier findings of Levine and Bartlett, (1984), and Levine and Norenzayan, (1999), that the qualities of cities that produce an accelerating dynamic are primarily informational and sociological in nature. A later synthesis of studies performed at the Santa Fe Institute concluded that the relationship between city size and socioeconomic dynamism was a consequence of the opportunities for social networking the physical density a city affords, as well as the sophistication of communications technology in cities relative to their rural counterparts, (West, 2017). Studies by other research teams found that this inter-connectivity was strongly associated with economic productivity and development, technology use and cultural items associated with modernity and an individualist ethos, such as active place attachment, high risk tolerance and present-future time orientations, (Sullivan et al, 2016; Palitsky et al, 2016; Ross and Portugali, 2018 Keefer et al, 2019). Taken together, these studies strongly suggest that increased pace-of-life is primarily the result of the social dynamics and organization of modern cities, not the physicality and demographics of the city *per se*.

### **The Social Dimensions of Pace: Agency and Interconnectivity.**

While these population-level empirical studies do provide a consistent picture of what factors are associated with an increased pace-of-life, their explanatory power on their own is limited. First, as these studies primarily rely on population-level aggregates for their source of data, the social dynamics which are responsible for these patterns remain obscure. Such large-scale and abstract studies point us to pace-of-life being

related to social dynamics in some way, but do not inform us as to what relationships these dynamics arise from, or how they are related to the specific socioecological complex known as modernity. Second, as all of these studies employ some form of statistical regression for their analysis, their findings are limited to identifying correlations, and so they give little sense of the causal relationships between pace-of-life and the factors identified beyond mere speculation. Because prior studies are constructed to analyze statistical data or to provide explanations on an individual cognitive-behavioral scale, they give the impression that the phenomenon of pace-of-life is best understood as an emergent phenomenon at the scale of either populations, (Bornstien and Bornstien, 1976; Bornstien, 1979; Levine and Norenzayan, 1997; Bettencourt et al, 2007), or as a collection of individual agents behaving independently without reference to one another, (Wirth, 1938; Milgram, 1970; Wirtz and Reis, 1992; Ross and Portugali, 2018).

These frameworks for understanding pace-of-life, however, are in contrast to the vast majority of literature on the sociology and anthropology of time culture, which understand the way that people act and organize in time as structured and deliberately cultivated based on a wide variety of biological, cultural and organization needs, (Zerubevel, 1985; Adam, 1991; Levine, 1997; Ingold, 2000b). Moreover, there is strong evidence to suggest the relationship between economic activity and changes in social organization, particularly related to social interconnectivity, and pace-of-life are interrelated and a direct consequence of social structures specific to modernity, (Giddens, 1990; Rosa, 2013, Sullivan et al, 2015; Sullivan et al, 2016; Palitsky et al, 2016; Keefer et al, 2019). As such, a strict analysis of pace-of-life from a broad-scale empirical approach is likely to miss significant phenomenon producing such accelerated paces-of-

life that are only observable at a finer scale, and are unlikely to be correctly identified merely by speculating about the causes of correlations observed in aggregate data.

A more effective way to understand the emergence of specific paces-of-life in inter-personal dynamics would be the historical case study, which affords a researcher the ability to examine the evolution of certain social relationships over time, and to observe the interactions of a multitude of complex, interacting social systems qualitatively. One such example of this with respect to pace-of-life can be found in the article “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism” by the historian E.P. Thompson, (1968). In this article, Thompson details the change in work regimes experienced in early-modern England, namely, the shift from self-organized, task oriented craft and agricultural traditions to hierarchical, clock oriented schedules imposed by land and factory owners. Thompson characterizes this change complexly, as a gradual and contested shift in power over work-discipline, facilitated by new social relationships like the increasing prevalence of wage labor, changes in technology like the increasing prevalence of portable clocks and a sustained propaganda campaign promoting the virtue of hard-work and the vice of idleness and leisure. While the historical details of the article have been subsequently critiqued and revised, (Stein, 1995; Glennie and Thrift, 1996; Ingold, 2000a; May and Thrift, 2001; Chatterjee, 2005; Birth, 2007; Glennie and Thrift, 2011; Wersan, 2017), the article nevertheless remains influential to this day. This influence is because the basic premise, that a changes in time culture are greatly influenced by fine-grain social dynamics occurring at scale, remains sound. Likewise, Thompson illustrates that these changes are best observed through the historical method, where the complexities of human interaction and cultural change can be observed in appropriate detail.

That being said, there are some limitations to a historical case-study such as Thompson's. For one, because case studies are focused on a singular historical event, we cannot presume that their findings are universally applicable outside of their original context. This limitation can be overcome, however with more case studies in different historical contexts to validate or challenge the change Thompson observed. Thus, this thesis will observe and analyze another historical case of a population transitioning from a non-modern to a modern context. The goal of this case study will be to identify if there are similar changes in time-culture as to those observed in Thompson, (1968), and, if there is, what are the downstream consequences for the pace-of-life for said population.

Accordingly, this study will examine historical case of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. The case of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School provides a window into the non-modern to modern transition, as the majority of the students' cultures of origin were distinctly non-modern in their social organization and culture prior to enrollment. At the same time, the goals of the school are sufficiently distinct from those of early-modern English factories that there may be significant differences in how this transition played out. As such, if there are similarities between the two cases with respect to time culture, these similarities will be attributable to similarities in the social organization of modern institutions in general, rather than similarities attributable to the specific organizational demands of factories in particular.

### **Analytic Methods**

Our analysis will focus on the routines of a sample of students of the Carlisle Indian Industrial school, examining how routines and paces-of-life manifest in Carlisle compared to their culture of origin. As this thesis is centered on historical case study, the historical method will be the principle means of investigation for this analysis. This

investigation will build a set of historical evidence with which to compare our two cases through four analytic lenses: social organization, economic activity, environmental paces and temporal values. Each of these lenses will compare the two cases by addressing the following questions. 1) How are routines organized in these two cases?; 2) How do these routines relate to the economic activity of these two cases?; 3) Onto what environmental information do the subjects?; and 4) what temporal values are emphasized in the socialization process: how are children advised to relate themselves to time, both in terms of time orientation and in the appropriate pace of action? As this study is focused on changes in pace-of-life in an educational context, and so significant attention will be given to differences in child socialization, and the routines that are developed to prepare children for adulthood.

Our investigation of the non-modern culture will focus on the lifestyles of indigenous tribes inhabiting the Great Plains region in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, specifically on the nomadic, equestrian Plains tribes, such as the Sioux nations, the Blackfoot, the Cheyenne, the Arapaho and the Comanche. This study limits its analysis of the Plains Indian Cultures for two reasons: first, Plains Indian Cultures represent a significant proportion of the student population at Carlisle, with 34.6% of the entire student body over the school's 39 year lifespan being from a Plains tribe, (Bell, 1998). Second, Plains Indian Cultures had retained the majority of their traditional cultures and social organization well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the lifestyles of these cultures are relatively well preserved in primary documentary evidence, both from Anglo ethnographies and from autobiographical sources produced by former students. While it would be inaccurate to suggest that the lifestyles of the Plains tribes are representative of all non-modern cultures, the lifestyle of the Plains Indians are evidently non-modern in their structure and operation, and thus provide an excellent basis of comparison for the



distinctly modern culture of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Primary evidence regarding the Plains Indian Cultures will be drawn from tribal ethnographies produced during the period, such as Richard Dodge's *Our Wild Indians*, (1882), Alice Fletcher's *Life Among the Indians*, (2013), Alfred Kroeber's *the Arapaho*, (1902), oral histories such as *Tell Me Grandmother*, (Sutter, 2004), and the writings of former students of Carlisle such as Luther Standing Bear's *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, (1933), as well as secondary evidence and analyses produced by contemporary scholars. This section will examine on the nature of child socialization in Plains Indian Cultures, focusing on how children became integrated into the routines of adult society and the rationale for such socialization.

For our modern case in the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, primary sources are derived from the writings of school faculty and staff, particularly the speeches and retrospective accounts of Captain Richard Pratt, publications, letters and administrative documents drawn from Dickenson University's Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, and the aforementioned autobiographies of former students. These sections will focus on the design and rationale of the school as a disciplinary institution, examining on the scheduling, assignment of classes, student duties and extracurricular activities, the discipline and command structure of the school administration and the reactions of the students to this mode of administration. As with the previous case analysis, secondary literature from more recent scholarship will be employed to support and contextualize the primary historical analysis.

Our case study will be conducted in three parts: first, a review of the evidence regarding the pace-of-life of some of the native cultures of the Great Plains to provide a benchmark for what some of the students at Carlisle would have experienced without the

schools intervention. Second, we will examine the changes in lifestyle experienced by the students while at Carlisle, a controlled environment intended to intensively simulate a “civilized” modern life to prepare the students for citizenship in the United States. Third, this study will review the differences in lifestyle experienced by Carlisle’s students before and after enrollment, comparing the two cases through the lenses of our analytic questions. Through this comparison, we will draw conclusions of how and why the students pace-of-life may have changed, and how it relates to the correlative factors identified by prior empirical studies.

## CHAPTER 3

### PACE-OF-LIFE ON THE HIGH PLAINS

While Carlisle admitted many students from many different Native American nations, the nomadic peoples of the high plains are of particular interest to this study. The Plains Indian Cultures retained their traditional modes of economic and social organization well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and thus serve as the strongest base of comparison when considering changes to pace-of-life in a non-modern to modern transition. This chapter examines evidence derived from these peoples to establish trends common to all tribes participating in the fully nomadic, equine, hunter-gatherer lifestyle characteristic of indigenous life on the plains. As this chapter is primarily concerned with general socioecological trends, it will focus on commonalities of the lifestyle of a variety of peoples with differing cultures, traditions and languages. Despite significant variation, these different cultures nevertheless shared the same basic subsistence strategy, social organization, physical and built environments. As such this chapter will describe the commonalities of the Plains Indian Cultures with respect to how their societies enacted particular routines and temporal values.

The primary goal of this chapter is to establish the customary pace-of-life of Plains Indian Cultures with respect to the intensity, frequency and variability of routine activities performed in daily life, as well as the manner in which children were socialized for these routines. To this end, this chapter is divided into five sections: First, "Social Structure and Adult Routines" will establish the basic social organization of Plains Indians, the work roles of men and women, and the daily and annual routines developed to fulfill these roles. Second "Child Socialization" will elaborate how children were raised in Plains Indian society to fulfill these adult roles. Third, "Environmental Pacers" discusses the manner in which Plains Indian cultures made reference to their

environment for temporal purposes. Fourth, “Temporal Values” will discuss the primary values which Plains Indians cultivated in their children with respect to time and the reasoning for these particular values. Finally, the discussion will review the pace-of-life evidence with respect to intensity, frequency and variability in the short and long term.

## **Life as a Plains Indian**

### **Social Structure**

With respect to social organization, the nomadic peoples of the high plains organized themselves sparsely over wide areas in multifamily bands, more broadly organized into ethnically and culturally related tribes which gathered into one unit only infrequently, (Taylor, 1994). These bands possessed further sub-organization into military societies which regulated the behavior of individuals on hunts and in combat, and councils of high status men, chiefs, who represented the bands in tribal councils, led war-parties and large hunts and acted as ambassadors to visitors and foreign embassies, (Kroeber, 1902; Standing Bear, 1933; Taylor, 1994; Foster 1991).<sup>2</sup> All adult men of a band were eligible to become a chief, and tribes possessed a range of criteria for qualification as a chief: the fulfilment of specific tasks in war, veterancy in a military society, ownership of a large number of horses or the achievement of personal renown within the tribe, (Kroeber, 1902; Standing Bear, 1933; Foster 1991; Taylor, 1994). While women were not eligible for chieftdom, they nevertheless possessed significant social power. Women owned and controlled the majority of the physical household- the tipi and its furnishings and the items they manufactured. This power, along with loose

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<sup>2</sup> At the scale of the tribe, the chiefs generally formed a tribal council, with the most prominent among them serving as council facilitators and spokesmen, while band councils were open to all adult males of the band, (Wissler, 1911, Taylor, 1994). Some tribes, such as the Blackfoot, Arapaho, Lakota and Gros Ventre also had womens’ ceremonial societies, (Fletcher, 2013; Wissler, 1911)

marriage bonds, gave women significant social power and authority, despite generally being considered a dependent of their fathers, brothers or husbands throughout their lives, (Dodge, 1882; Kroeber, 1902; Hilger, 1952, Taylor 1994; Fletcher, 2013).

The lives of Plains Indians were largely structured around the twin dependencies on the bison as the principle source of food, textiles and manufacturing material and on the horse as the primary mode of transportation and social capital, (Dodge, 1882; Kroeber, 1902; Wissler; 1920 Standing Bear, 1928; Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952; Taylor, 1994; Hämäläinen, 2003; Sutter, 2004; Fletcher, 2013). Tasks were divided along gender lines, with men principally acting outside of camp: scouting, hunting, raiding and trading, while women performed tasks within the camp: processing, manufacturing, homemaking and maintenance. Some tribes further subdivided labor among men based on their primary skill-set: warriors, scouts, hunters and medicine men,<sup>3</sup> but these divisions were not formal and with the exception of practicing medicines, men were generally expected to be proficient in all three activities, (Wissler, 1911; Standing Bear, 1933). Women did not have any further subdivision of labor, and were expected to be able to perform all the tasks that were customarily assigned to them, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1933; Taylor, 1994; Sutter, 2004). All capable adults in a band were expected to perform these roles, regardless of social status, and food, clothing and shelter were provided for everyone, regardless of individual wealth or productivity, (Standing Bear, 1933).

Because horses were used as mounts in hunting and war, as pack animals and as commodities for trade, they were the single most valuable resource on the plains, (Taylor, 1994; Hämäläinen, 2003). Successful nomadic life required each household in

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3 A generic term for men with some specialized knowledge and occult practice

the band to possess at least five horses: one for hunting, one for combat, two for riding and one for cargo, (Hämäläinen, 2003). The number of horses owned roughly approximated the relative wealth of individual members in a band and bands within a tribe, (Taylor, 1994). Horse-wealthy individuals dominated tribal politics, who would often leverage their influence for personal advantage in trade, war and husbandry, (Hämäläinen, 2003). Within the band horses were gifted as bride prices or as ritual sacrifices of generosity or thanksgiving, and consequently wealthy men maintained large herds in order to acquire multiple wives and perform acts of largess to bolster their reputation, (Kroeber, 1902; Standing Bear, 1928; Hämäläinen, 2003). Limited access to horses and their productive capacity in trade or hunting could result in unequal relations that the wealthy could exploit. In the southern plains, poor men, with access to few or no horses, would be obliged to tend the large commercial-herds of wealthy men in exchange for use of these horses in hunting. In the North, where bison robes were a more significant commodity than horses,<sup>4</sup> poor men would be permitted to use the horses of wealthy men to hunt, in exchange for all or a significant portion of the bison robes produced from their quarry, (Hämäläinen, 2003). Poor men would offer marry their daughters to their wealthy peers in order to tie their households together more strongly, usually as secondary wives. As the household goods were the property of the earlier wives, these later wives would have significantly less bargaining power to prevent abuse, lacking a stable material base to relieve them in the event of a divorce, (Hämäläinen, 2003). The Blackfeet term “slave-wife” is a concise descriptor of these women’s lot, how they were thought of by their husbands and the intensity of the work expected from

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4 The preference of bison robes over horses was the result of climatological constraints on horse-breeding horse-populations and dominance of the commercial fur-trade in the northern frontier (Hämäläinen, 2003)

them, (Hämäläinen, 2003, p. 851). These unequal relationships, while by no means uncommon, appear to be more the exception than the rule in the available evidence.

### **Daily Routines**

With respect to the performance of day-to-day tasks, there is little evidence of any common daily routines. Adult men and women both were expected to be familiar with their roles in the tribe and to perform them on their own initiative as the need arose, (Standing Bear, 1933; Sutter, 2004). While adult men lived in the camp, the majority of their work was beyond the camp boundaries and so the majority of their day was spent scouting for opportunities to hunt game, conduct horse raids, defend against rival tribes, or barter with traders working together either cooperatively or in age-graded military societies, (Dodge, 1882; Fletcher, 2013; Standing Bear 1933; Taylor 1994; Hämäläinen, 2003; Sutter, 2004). As there was a strong and continuous pressure to expand one's personal herd, horse raids and defense against raids occupied much of men's time not devoted to subsistence hunting, (Hämäläinen, 2003). The duration of men's absence from camp was largely dependent on what tasks the men were doing: raids or hunts could take several days to complete, (Taylor, 1994), while scouts regularly didn't return to camp until well after dark, (Standing Bear, 1933). In some tribes, like the Cheyenne, unmarried young men would spend the majority of their time outside of camp until they were married, as there were few interesting or useful things for them to do among the women, children and elders, (Strauss, 1996). While not actively hunting, raiding or trading, men would pass the time in a variety of ways: making or repairing tools, telling stories, rehearsing speeches or gambling through games and sports, (Dodge, 1882).

Women, meanwhile, largely stayed within walking distance of the camp, and were regularly occupied by some form of labor during daylight hours, (Dodge, 1882,

DeMallie, 1996, Sutter, 2004). The tasks of women were quite variable: fetching water and firewood, foraging for fruits and vegetables, cooking, cleaning, processing game, and manufacturing, maintaining and repairing clothing and tipis, and so it was quite rare for women to lack something to do, (Standing Bear, 1933; Taylor, 1994; Sutter, 2004). Even so, most women generally ceased working after dark, and strongly resisted any compulsion to continue beyond this point, (Dodge, 1882). The one major exception to this was when there were large numbers of bison to be processed, (skinning, gutting, butchering, curing meat, drying and tanning skins). While some tasks, specifically related to the household would be done individually, larger tasks such as game processing or manufacturing tipis would be performed cooperatively. For men and women both, there is no evidence that the speed or intensity of work was dictated by anything other than the temporal demands of the task itself,<sup>5</sup> or the personal inclination of the laborer, (Dodge, 1882; Fletcher, 2013; Standing Bear, 1933). In wealthy, polygamous households, however, the later wives would be obliged to perform significantly more work than earlier wives with lesser access to the fruits of their labor.

Outside of work, there is likewise little evidence for formal temporal structure. Meals were prepared at the convenience of the women cooking, (Dodge, 1882; Taylor, 1994), and mealtime customs appear to have varied from band to band. Among the Lakota, there are some reports that it was customary to eat one meal together immediately after cooking, while others report having spread multiple meals throughout the day, (Dodge, 1882; Fletcher, 2013; Standing Bear, 1933). In general, it was socially acceptable to eat whenever one felt hungry, and shared mealtimes seem to not have been given any special significance, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1933). Sleep routines appear

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<sup>5</sup> Dodge claims that men made efforts not to overburden the work-load of the women, although there were occasions in which the work extended a full night, (Dodge, 1882, 21)



to have followed day-night cycles and were not strongly regulated, (Dodge, 1882), although individual bands likely had more specific customs regarding mealtimes, sleep and waking that were not preserved in the historical record.

Luther Standing Bear of the Lakota Sioux noted several small routines regarding waking, bathing and sleep which provide a window into what these customs could look like. According to Standing Bear, Lakota men and women would customarily rise before or around dawn to take some time to breath the chill morning air, greet the sun, rinse one's mouth and drink. Light sleeping and early rising for men was usually expected and "Only the sluggard or the ill was not up to meet the sun," (Standing Bear, 1933, p. 53). Men would bathe first thing in the morning, summer or winter, either from a water-skin stored by their tipi or in a nearby stream. Lakota men would then assist their wives and daughters in braiding their hair and painting their faces before breakfast, and, after eating, be off to their work. Lakota women, meanwhile would take long, leisurely baths together in the afternoon, after their work had been completed and while the men were still out. Bedtime was most frequently around sunset; as many ceremonies were performed during the day, "early retiring was the rule," only occasionally broken by late-night festivities, (Standing Bear, 1933, p. 52). This description indicates that there were likely small routines that were left unrecorded by the majority of sources and as such, we cannot say for certain that Plains Indians had no regular daily routines. That being said, the absence of any concrete descriptions provides circumstantial evidence that there was no general pattern of daily routine akin to forty hour work weeks or "three square meals" common in modern societies, nor any that occurred consistently across bands or tribes. Daily routines appear to have been formed organically based on the needs and customs of individual bands.

### **Annual Routines.**

In contrast to the daily routines, the annual rhythms of Plains Indians were generally more structured, based on the specific opportunities each season afforded. During spring and summer, bands of a tribe would converge into a single camp, from which they would hunt, trade, conduct raids and territorial battles, and hold tribal councils and ceremonies, (Standing Bear, 1928; Taylor, 1994; Hämäläinen, 2003; Edwards, 2012). Banding together in a single campsite only occurred during the warm months of the year as surrounding forage would be too quickly exhausted to sustain in any other season, (Taylor, 1994). In the early summer and in autumn when bison herds were concentrated on migration routes, bands would organize large scale bison hunts to stock up on meat, skins and other animal products for the winter, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1933; Hämäläinen 2003; Anderson, 2004). These large, highly organized hunts were the one of the few times of the year in which conduct was tightly regulated. As a high degree of coordination was required for these large hunts, military societies would serve as coordinators and police to ensure that over-eager hunters would not alert the bison before the hunt was prepared to strike, (Wissler, 1911; Standing Bear, 1933; Taylor, 1994). At these times, not following the organization of the hunt could result in severe beatings, destruction of property, and even exile, and represented the strictest time-discipline a Plains Indian man would encounter throughout his life. That being said, these hunts rarely lasted more than several days at a time, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1933; Taylor, 1994). For women too, the most intense labor of the year was immediately following a bison hunt, in which processing could take up to several weeks of intense activity, (Dodge, 1882). This could mean periods of very long and intense labor if there were many bison to process, and usually represented the peak in work-intensity for both men and women, (Dodge, 1882).

Winter, by contrast, was generally regarded as a season of rest and recreation having replenished their stock of supplies over the summer. During the winter, sports, gambling, feasting, dancing and storytelling were the usual pastimes, (Dodge, 1882). Sports were played by both children and adults, with children playing for fun, and adults playing for stakes, (Wissler, 1911; Standing Bear, 1928). Likewise, it was common practice to reserve the bulk of storytelling for winter months, when long, cold nights afforded little opportunity for other activities, (Standing Bear, 1933; Risch, 2000; Sutter, 2004). During the day in winter, men would manufacture tools and weapons for small parts of the day, while participating in leisure activities for the remainder, (Dodge, 1882, Standing Bear, 1933). Women's work was lessened, but still more intensive than men: women were still required to perform household maintenance, fetching water and firewood, cleaning and repairing items and additionally were responsible for gathering forage for horses, (Dodge, 1882; Hämäläinen 2003). Bands would generally remain dispersed well into spring, to allow their horses to recover their strength for the coming year before leaving for summer ground, (Hämäläinen, 2003). Tribes in the southern reaches of the plains, like the Comanche, used winter as an opportunity to trade in livestock, firearms, food and manufactured goods with colonial settlers in Texas and New Mexico, as the season did not hinder activity nearly as much as in the North, (Hämäläinen, 2003). The difference of wintertime behavior is nevertheless consistent with the broader trend of annual routines being dictated largely by the opportunities afforded by seasonal cycles.

### **Child Socialization**

Much like the lives of adults, the lives of children lacked significant formal structures, and were largely a self-directed affairs. Children were trained and socialized

through continuous engagement with adult life, either observing, mimicking or participating in the roles that they would assume in adulthood. For the first several years of their life, children accompanied their mother quite closely, first swaddled in a cradle, and then on their own two feet once they were weaned and capable of walking, (Dodge, 1882, Standing Bear, 1933; Sutter, 2004).<sup>6</sup> During this time, young children old enough to stand and navigate independently would be directed to perform simple chores to assist their mothers, such as collecting water and firewood, (Standing Bear, 1933). Once weaned, plains children were generally allowed to act autonomously within the camp, (Dodge, 1882; Fletcher, 2013; Standing Bear, 1928; Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952; Medicine, 1985, Sutter, 2004). As horsemanship was a critical part of the life of high Plains Indians, all children, boys and girls, were taught to ride as soon as they were able to sit on a horse, usually around four years old (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1928). They were given basic instructions, but once they were competent, they would generally be allowed to ride on their own, and frequently demonstrated a skillful competence at riding by five or six years old, (Standing Bear, 1928; Taylor 1994).

Once children were old enough to fend for themselves, they were very rarely directly subject to the orders of parents and spent the majority of their time playing in and around camp, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952; Fletcher, 2013). Play largely consisted in the imitation of adult life, reenacted with toys and games. Children followed adults going about their daily tasks, observing and replicating the behavior of the adults in real time, (Nackman and Haines, 1977). Toys consisted of miniature versions of adult tools: weapons, tipis, dolls, household instruments and ritual garments like warbonnets, sometimes gifted from their parents, other times made on their own,

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<sup>6</sup> There was no set time for weaning. Weaning occurred either when the child loses interest in milk or the mother had another baby, (Dodge, 1882)

practicing manufacturing skills they would employ in adulthood. Children also organized games, feasts, and mock-hunting or war parties for themselves, (Nackman and Haines, 1977; Fletcher, 2013). For more complex skills, such as shooting, game processing, sewing, cooking and horse-riding, children received instruction from their parents and relatives, but usually just enough get them started and practicing on their own, (Standing Bear, 1928; Standing Bear 1933; Nackman and Haines, 1977; Fletcher, 2013).

Adults had a limited but important role in child socialization, as constant monitors against incorrect or immoral behavior. While children were usually allowed to act on their own volition, this was made possible by the constant presence of supervising adults in and around camp. Elders, grandmothers in particular, took on a significant portion of the care for children, as adult men were frequently away from camp, and adult women were usually otherwise occupied, (Standing Bear, 1933). Children were almost always in the presence of some adult relative, who would regularly take opportunities to instruct or correct children as the children mimicked adult behavior, (Hilger, 1952; Nackman and Haines, 1977). Instruction and correction of behavior was frequent, and all adults were expected to help socialize all children within the band, should the occasion arise, (Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952). Praise and positive feedback were the most common form of this interaction, while the correction of inappropriate behavior was rarely performed by the playful mockery of a relative, embarrassing the misbehaving child enough to correct the behavior. Scolding, the withholding of food or attention or corporal punishment were not frequently employed and were generally considered abusive and bad parenting, (Dodge, 1881; Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952).

Children, in any case, held a great deal of interest in the affairs of adults, and were permitted be present, observe and, when older, participate in feasts, political councils and ceremonial rites, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1928; Fletcher, 2013). At

these adult affairs, children would be exposed to the oral canon of the band and tribe, absorbing the more abstract cultural knowledge recounted in tribal songs and stories, (Standing Bear, 1933; Nackman and Haines, 1977; Demallie, 1997; Risch, 2000; Rice-Rollins, 2004; Sutter, 2004). Children would also learn to participate in the various ritual behavior that marked these occasions, and, by adulthood, would be able to enact all the rituals not bound by a specific initiation, (Nackman and Haines, 1977). As Luther Standing Bear explained, (1933, p. 135):

*Gradually the young absorbed the ideals of the tribe, learning to conduct themselves and to judge, according to tribal standards. Studying and watching others was training, and they grew keen in appraisal, placing worth not in wealth and power, but in human values. There being much interdependence in band, there was little reason for scheming against the other, less need for strife order to gain favors and no necessity to depose one leader in order to install another.*

Overall, the socialization of children in Plains Indian Cultures was not a separate affair from the daily routines of adult life. With the regular presence of children in adult life, and the subsequent supervision and correction of behavior by adults, formal systems of education were generally absent from a Plains Indian's childhood, (Standing Bear, 1933).

That being said, adults did direct children to the development of appropriately gendered behavior around middle childhood, and it was common for boys and girls to be separated at this time, (Dodge, 1882; Wilson, 1913; Standing Bear, 1928; Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952; Taylor, 1994). Starting at around age 7-8, fathers usually directed their boys to mind the household's horses, expanding to a watch of the entire band's herd from around 10-15 years old, (Dodge, 1882). While horse-herding, boys would pass the time roping and racing horses, or practicing marksmanship- the martial skills critical for men were largely self-taught and developed as an outgrowth of the skills developed during such play, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1928; Standing Bear, 1933). Such skills often developed quickly in this context: Luther Standing Bear, for example, reportedly

managed to down a bison from horseback with bow and arrows, confidently handle a revolver, and serve as a scout for the U.S. Army all before the age of 11, (Standing Bear, 1928). Similarly, military officer and amateur ethnographer Col. Richard Dodge reported that an average plains boy rivaled master Anglo horsemen by the age of 15, (Dodge 1881). There is little indication that either of these cases were exceptional: such skills represented the fruits of the kind of activity that boys would habitually engage in throughout their childhood. Thus, high levels of competence at an early age would have been a predictable, if not universal outcome. By adolescence, the mock hunting and war parties develop into the boys' first real excursions, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1933). These parties would have some degree of supervision by adult men, but were generally self-organized and autonomous, spending more and more time outside of the confines of the camp, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1928; Standing Bear, 1933; Strauss, 1996).

Girls, on the other hand began their apprenticeship very early, performing the wide variety of tasks that were expected of them under the supervision of mothers, aunts and grandmothers throughout their childhood. Girls were separated from the boys more formally around 8-10 years of age, where they gradually took on the full extent of labor allotted to women, (Dodge, 1882; Hilger, 1952; Taylor, 1994; Sutter, 2004). As girls grew into adolescence, they would increasingly lose their personal autonomy, as they were chaperoned by male relatives to prevent the sexual advances of their other men. Girls would remain under such supervision until they were married, (Kroeber, 1902; Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952; Taylor, 1994; Sutter, 2004).

By adolescence, both boys and girls both were formally initiated into full adulthood. While this most frequently occurred around the onset of puberty, often eligibility for initiation would be based on specific accomplishments or on the judgment of elder members of the band, rather than a specific age. For boys, these

accomplishments usually were success in a hunt and/or combat, while for girls, the onset of the first menses was a common signal for eligibility, (Standing Bear, 1928; Nackman and Haines, 1977; Sutter, 2004). Upon initiation, boys would be tasked with the completion of a vision quest, seeking to invoke the attention and patronage of the spirits of elements, animals or deities through the induction of trances and dreams, ultimately resulting in the collection of a set of sacred items, collectively known as a medicine bundle, (Taylor, 1994). Girls, meanwhile, would be taught sacred dances specific to women, of which there is precious little information, (Taylor, 1994; Sutter, 2004). In either case, children would be recognized as fully socialized adults once initiated, and thus became eligible for marriage, induction into military and sacred societies and participation in regular adult life, (Dodge, 1882; Fletcher, 2013; Dorsey, 1905 Standing Bear, 1928; Standing Bear, 1933; Sutter, 2004).

### **Environmental Pacers**

The primary temporal orientation of Plains Indian Cultures was principally ecological in nature, with considerations of any formal timekeeping system or organization thereto highly limited. Days and nights distinguished, but any finer grain measurement of time discussed in rough approximation of the motion of the sun or stars, (Dodge, 1882; Hilger, 1952). Whether Plains Indians distinguish months of the year varied between tribal cultures, and possibly even individuals. One Northern Cheyenne informant of Dodge's, for example, claimed that "some years have more moons than others. One year may have only ten moons, but the next year may have fifteen," while many southern Plainsmen marked the beginning of the year at the commencement of the winter northerly, (Dodge, 1882, 399). The Arapaho noted the changing of the seasons by ecological signals such as the appearance of new grass, the



development of haze over the mountains, or the falling of leaves, and only named some of the seasonal moons, (Hilger, 1952), while the Lakota recognized days, lunar months, seasons and solar years as regular divisions of time, (Standing Bear, 1933). Longer histories were kept, such as the Lakota winter counts but generally only the most prominent or defining event of the year was described in narrative, signified by titles that would be meaningless unless one was already aware of the specific story in question, (Dodge, 1882; Hilger, 1952; Taylor, 1994; Risch, 2000; Rice-Rollins, 2004). Generally the changing of the seasons evident on the landscape was more than sufficient to keep track of the passage of time for all but the most obscure purposes, and close attention to sidereal time of any kind was considered an oddity distinct to white men, (Anderson, 2004). The closest approximation to a specific date using the chronological reckoning common among the Lakota can be found in the introduction to Luther Standing Bear's autobiography, where he records his time of birth as follows, (1928, P. 3):

*It was in a cold winter, in the month when the bark of the trees cracked, in the year of "breaking up of camp" that I was born... In those days we had no calendars, no manner of keeping count of the days; only the month and the year were observed. Something of importance would, naturally, happen every year, and we kept trace of the years in that manner. After I went to school and learned how to 'count back,' I learned that year of 'breaking camp' was AD 1868; the month when the bark of the trees cracked was December. Consequently I was born in December, 1868*

Here we observe both the use of an ecological time orientation in "the month when the bark of the trees cracked," as well as the historical imprecision of the annual reckoning. Presumably, there is a more specific story that would distinguish the breaking of camp in the year of 1868 from all the other times of breaking camp, but such an event could really only chronologically orient those who knew why this particular breaking of camp was significant. Accordingly, the method of time reckoning among Plains Indians was highly

local in nature, oriented towards the specific history of a particular band or tribe, and a broader orientation to ecological events.

### **Temporal Values**

While Plains Indian Cultures did not advocate for the cultivation of a specific pace-of-life, they consistently emphasized attentiveness, patience and observation skills as important principles of good character. Fundamental to temporal ethics in Plains Indian was the prioritization of ecological and situational awareness, emphasizing a practiced silence, patience, and attentiveness to one's immediate surroundings. Yielding the initiative of action to the environment- animals, weather patterns, and potential omens. Patience served a means of safely engaging to the world, paying respect to other beings and activities in one's environment, and being alert to potential threats or opportunities, and a show of respect to others.

Plains Indian Cultures cultivated these values from the beginning of childhood, and continued to practice them throughout their lives. Mothers from all tribes customarily suppressed the cries of their babies, encouraging them to learn to observe their surroundings without disturbing it or drawing attention to themselves, (Standing Bear, 1933; Taylor, 1994). Dodge commented that a common characteristic among all the Plains Indians he encountered were highly developed perceptive abilities, (Dodge, 1882). Standing Bear likewise noted that he found white children to be generally less attentive to their immediate surroundings than their native counterparts, (Standing Bear, 1933). As the majority of a child's education in Plains Indian Cultures was predicated on observation, plains children were encouraged to develop their senses and memory, and were actively encouraged to do so by exercises of silent attentiveness, (Standing Bear, 1933). As children grew to adulthood, they would need to be able to quickly grasp and

anticipate a number of different things, including the presence and movement of game and forage, the activity of other friendly and enemy tribes, (Fletcher, 2013, Standing Bear, 1928), their relationship with their horses, (Standing Bear, 1933), the viability of potential campsites, (Dodge, 1882), the changing of the seasons and weather, and the direct and indirect influence of the words and conversations used by other members of their tribe, (Abram, 1997; Rice Rollins, 2004; Sutter, 2004). As such, children were taught from an early age to sit quietly and observe their surroundings impassively, (Standing Bear, 1933). This attentiveness matured into a strong sense of curiosity about one's environs which lasted throughout the Plains Indian's life. Dodge, writing on these characteristics, states, (1881, p. 59).

*One of the strongest traits of an Indian character is curiosity, a positive craving to know all that is going on around him He must know the meaning of every mark on the ground; he must know all the camp tattle. A stranger arrives in the village and goes into a lodge. In a few moments half the inhabitants of the village are in or about that lodge standing on tiptoe, straining eyes and ears and crowing each other and the stranger with as little compunction as if the whole thing were a ward primary meeting*

This curiosity and attendance extended into the physical environment, with a continuous attention to omens, (Dodge, 1882, p. 105):

*There is scarcely anything that does not indicate the presence and pleasure of one or the other of the gods. The flight of a bird through the air, the course of a snake in the grass, the yelping of a fox or the manner in which his pony carries his tail or cocks his ears, each and all have to the Indian a spiritual significance or meaning... he requires no augur, but can himself interpret all signs, at least to his own satisfaction. A party starting out on a dangerous foray will watch carefully every sign, and should something occur unusually ominous, it will return to camp to repeat the attempt under more favorable auspices*

While Dodge dismisses this attention to minor details as superstition, his gloss of these behaviors as seeking signs from deities misreads their intention. Standing Bear, describes the purpose of such careful attention thus, (1933, p. 14):

*Very early in life the [Lakota] child began to realize that wisdom was all about and everywhere, and that there were many things to know. There was no such thing as emptiness in the world... Everywhere there was life, visible and invisible, and every object possessed something that would be good for us to have also- even to the very stones. This gave great interest to life... The world teemed with life and wisdom; there was no complete solitude for the Lakota*

Such a sentiment, that the entire world teemed with life, surprises and potential wisdom, was commonly shared among Plains Indians, (Tedlock and Tedlock, 1975; Taylor, 1994; Abram, 1997; Sutter, 2004), and was a vital sentiment for survival on the high plains. Inattention to detail could result in any number of harms, from spooking or losing game, to tripping one's mount in an unseen pit, losing one's way, getting caught out in a storm, settling in a dangerous campsite, to being ambushed by a rival tribe, (Dodge, 1882; Standing Bear, 1928; Fletcher, 2013). As such, attention to environmental details without disturbance served as a protective buffer against misfortune, and required a slower, passive and attentive disposition.

This same ethic extended to the social sphere, where patience was cultivated as a point of courtesy with a similar ethic of patience. In spite of the great curiosity described by Dodge, it was customary among many Plains tribes to initiate conversations slowly and deliberately, affording guests the time to situate themselves and prepare their words with care, (Standing Bear, 1933; Hilger, 1952; Fletcher, 2013). Fawning or inquisitiveness by the host was considered obnoxious. Luther Standing Bear explains that, (1933, p. 149):

*Excessive manners were put down as insincere and the constant talker was considered rude and thoughtless. Conversation was never begun at once, nor in a hurried manner. No one was quick with a question, no matter how important, and no one was pressed for an answer. A pause giving time for thought was the truly courteous way of beginning and conducting a conversation. Silence was meaningful with the Lakota, and his granting a space of silence before talking and granting a space of silence before talking was done in the practice of true politeness*

Active listening, in addition to being a point of courtesy was considered a vital and difficult political skill, equal to that of rhetoric in importance, (Rice-Rollins, 2004). Among the Comanche, tribal meetings were conducted to facilitate such active listening, as is evident in a passage from Wallace and Hoebel's study, *the Comanches: Lords of the Southern Plains*, (1952, p. 214):

*Usually, the subject of the council meeting was known in advance, and had to some extent been privately discussed. The entire meeting was conducted with strict formality and a degree of courtesy that could hardly be exceeded. With all the members assembled, a few minutes of silence ensued, during which time the council pipe was passed from one member to another around the circle of counselors as an invocation for the Deity to preside. When this part of the ceremony was completed, one of the older men arose and introduced the subject at issue. His remarks were followed by a brief silence for consideration before a second speaker began. Each counselor spoke or politely declined as his turn came. Questions were considered carefully and deliberately, especially if important, and frequently considerable time elapsed before a decision was made. During the meeting, members might consult each other as well as address the group as a whole. Sometimes there were vast differences of opinion among the men, yet each was heard gravely and respectfully; and no matter how earnest the debate might become, no man ever interrupted the speaker, nor did anything like wrangling occur*

In this example, we can observe silence and deliberate pauses being deployed intentionally to facilitate discussion: the affordance of an opportunity to privately deliberate before the meeting, the initial ceremony establishing a space for speaking, pauses to weigh questions and to prevent falling back on immediate responses, and delaying decision-making to provide ample time to address complex issues fully. This patience in politics can be seen as a natural extension of the attentiveness that Plains Indians brought to their every-day lives, whether observing the natural world, or allowing guests and fellow counselors to speak their piece in their own time, without disturbance or interruption.

Such practiced non-disturbance tended to result in a stereotype of “the Stoic Indian” among whites who interacted with them. Plains Indians certainly did not lack a full range of emotional expression, nor were men disinclined from boasting and self-aggrandizement, (Dodge, 1882; Foster, 1991; Chamberlain, 2011). Rather, for men and women both, attentiveness, patience and stoic modesty were considered respectable, mature and the appropriate mode of engagement with the world, particularly in public and formal settings, and so were practiced carefully and deliberately throughout one’s life, (Dodge, 1882; Fletcher, 2013; Standing Bear, 1933; Foster, 1991; Sutter, 2004). Yielding the initiative to another, human or non-human, thus served as a foundational ethical principle among all Plains Indian cultures, intended to ensure sufficient understanding of the behavior and perspective of others prior to actions which might disturb those behaviors. Plains Indian stereotypes of whites, by contrast, were that they were as loud, hasty, and over-eager, either unwilling or unable to wait patiently and take in their surroundings fully, indicating that the perceived differences in temporal values was felt mutually, (Fletcher, 2013; Standing Bear, 1933).

### **Pace-of-Life in Historical Context**

Although there is limited direct evidence about the day-to-day pace-of-life of Plains Indians, we can make some reasonable conclusions about the pace-of-life from the evidence we do have about their lifestyle. The lifestyle of the Plains Indian Cultures on the high plains in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by low degrees of intensity sporadically interspersed with spikes of high intensity, high degrees of variability from day-to-day with a greater degree of annual predictability based on seasonal opportunities. The 19<sup>th</sup> century taken as a whole, however, was characterized by accelerating change, disturbing and ultimately rendering the

traditional plains lifestyle non-viable, (Flores, 1991; Cronon, 1992; Hämäläinen, 2003; Holm, 2005). The ultimate cause of this transition was the result of increasing interconnectivity with colonial socioecological systems- first, indirect contact via the adoption of the horse, and second, direct contact with colonial settlers whose lifestyle was ultimately antagonistic towards that of the Plains Indians.

First, with respect to intensity, the pace-of-life among Plains Indians was largely variable, but under most circumstances would likely have been quite relaxed. For men, their primary occupations were highly dependent on the availability of opportunities for hunting, raiding or trading outside of their control. The former two occupations would require bursts of high-intensity activity during the chase or the raid itself, while the activities that would take the majority of the time such as scouting, traveling and stalking, and manufacturing or repairing tools would almost certainly be done at a lower pace. For women, there was most likely a more even distribution of activity throughout the day, resulting in an over-all greater intensity of work than among the men. Even so, the fact that work pace was self-selected, paired with few economic incentives for higher production and a total absence of cultural values favoring productivity or intensity of work would likely mean that the intensity of the labor was as minimal as possible. Only in a few circumstances, such as the limbering and unlimbering of camp and processing large quantities of game meat before spoilage set in would women participate in truly high-intensity activities.

The frequency of intense paces of activity was relatively rare, but variable given seasonal and environmental circumstances. The warm months of spring, summer

and autumn had a higher frequency of activities of all kinds than in the winter, peaking during the autumn months as both men and women participated in intense bouts of labor to secure and process game to last through the winter. Men likely had a lower frequency of discrete tasks than women, as their primary economic and social roles were highly dependent on chance opportunities. That same variability, however meant that men had to spend a greater amount of time outside of the domestic sphere of the camp actively seeking out opportunities and threats with which to engage. The ethic of patient attentiveness cultivated in plains children reflects the demands of this frequency

This low-intensity lifestyle is reflected in the manner of child socialization, which generally preferred the autonomy of children and imposed few requirements on them. Gender differences in pace discussed above was reflected in childhood as well, with boys participating in low-intensity activities with short bursts of high intensity, while girls participated in a steadier, moderately intense work-pace throughout the day. In both instances, most evidence points to childhood being lower intensity than in adulthood, with a gradual shift towards greater intensity as children began to take on real responsibility as they grew older

For men and women both, however, wealth played a role in the intensity of their work, with poorer men and women both being compelled to work on behalf of wealthy men for their livelihood, either to repay debt for access to horses, or as a wife bound by social custom to serve her husband without the significant property ownership to counter-balance the potential abuses that customary marriage rights afforded the husband. As such levels of wealth disparity were relatively rare, such circumstances do not describe the average life of a Plains Indian.



In the short term, the variability of daily life among high Plains Indians was likely to be somewhat higher than compared to a modern lifestyle. While there is an absence of evidence for any set daily routine among high Plains Indians, this absence is suggestive that there would be a high degree of variability of activities on a day-to-day basis. Likewise, the prominent cultural value placed on situational awareness, the regular movement of campsites and the complex and unpredictable environment on the high plains which dictated both the opportunities and risks Plains Indians would face all point to the conclusion that one day's experience as a Plains Indian would not necessarily be predictive of the next. As with the other two factors, gender would likely influence one's experience as well. Men, spending the majority of their time outside of camp, would likely have been exposed to a less predictable environment than women and children, who spent most of their time in camp located in a secure environment.

In the long term, however, one's experience annually would likely have been more predictable. Seasonal variation, while variable in duration and intensity, nevertheless was sufficiently predictable to provide a broader structure to the lifestyle of Plains Indians, consistent across the different tribes: the ecological productivity of summer afforded greater activity for humans and horses both, and the abundance of energy was utilized to maintain higher orders of social interconnectivity by gathering together in large tribal camps, increased trade and greater degrees of inter-tribal conflict. In autumn and spring, the efforts of the plains tribes was largely focused on resource gathering, to store energy in the form of food and shelter for winter and to replenish the vitality of both themselves and their livestock for the summer. Winter, meanwhile, afforded a chance to conserve

energy and recover from the activity of the summer months, reinforcing the social bonds within the individual bands through socialization and storytelling largely unencumbered by the need to gather and defend resources.

That being said, the plains on the 19<sup>th</sup> century were anything but a predictable place. The widespread adoption of the horse in the prior century, for example, proved to be a significant social, political and ecological disturbance for the entire region, (Hämäläinen, 2003). The horse's exceptional productive, commercial and military value to nomadic hunters on the one hand, and its uneven geographic availability on the other, radically altered the social and political landscape on the plains. Tribes with greater access to horses and the commerce that they facilitated, such as the Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho and Lakota, overran pedestrian tribes who traditionally inhabited the high plains, and the fluidity of mounted combat resulted in endemic warfare, increasingly concentrating the social power of tribes into the command of military societies, (Dodge, 1882; Dorsey, 1905; Hämäläinen, 2003). Moreover, the overwhelming socioeconomic value of horses, both for hunting and as a commodity in of themselves, resulted in increasing concentrations of economic power in the hands of the few men capable of maintaining sizable herds, undermining the traditional social equality maintained within bands, (Foster, 1991; Hämäläinen, 2003). Ecologically, successive blows of overkill facilitated by mounted hunters and competition for forage with large, commercial horse-herds and encroaching settlers from the United States and Mexico collapsed the bison populations in the southern plains, intensifying the already fierce competition for territory among the tribes of the region, (Flores, 1991; Hämäläinen, 2003). Later in the century, a

similar demographic collapse was replicated in the north by the devastating effects of market-hunting for bison furs and meat, a dynamic encouraged and supported by a US federal government hostile to self-supporting native bands, (Cronon, 1992; Hämäläinen, 2003; Holm, 2005).

Moreover, as colonial peoples encroached westward, the subsistence cultures of Plains Indians increasingly drifted towards commodification and social stratification as chiefs concentrated their economic and social power to take advantage of new trade opportunities in military technologies and luxury goods, (Taylor, 1994; Hämäläinen, 2003). Increased contact with colonial peoples introduced new diseases: influenza, cholera, dysentery and alcoholism, the social customs of protestant morality and industrial wage-labor and a new source of territorial conflict with a powerful industrial state and the armed settler populations under its aegis, on top of the continuing conflict with other native tribes, (Doolittle et al, 1867; Anderson, 2004; Holm, 2005). By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the lives of Plains Indians had been significantly disrupted their populations in a free-fall, and the material basis of their traditional lifestyles functionally extinct.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

The chaos introduced to the plains by colonial settlement, dire as it was to native populations, afforded in turn, new political challenges and opportunities for exploitation to the organizations representing the settlers themselves. While the demographic collapse and social crisis on the plains was anticipated, and in many respects, manufactured by the United States Federal Government, the question of how to deal with the affected populations was anything but settled by the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While some advocated for extermination, many citizens desired to create a more humanitarian resolution to the “Indian Problem” that had bedeviled policymakers and frontiersmen since before the country’s founding, albeit one that did not compromise their own position of cultural and moral superiority to the “savages.” The Carlisle Indian Industrial School, founded by Cavalry Colonel Richard Henry Pratt, was one such attempt, seeking to create a system by which to assimilate native children to an Anglo-American lifestyle. This chapter will provide an overview of Carlisle’s history, describing its background, founding, organization and ultimate demise. This will set the context for the following two chapters, in which we will examine the institutional goals and routine operation of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in greater detail.

#### **War on the Frontier, Assimilation and Indian Education**

Prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the United States federal government took a generally antagonistic stance to the presence of sovereign native peoples inhabiting its claimed territory, a complex and diverse set of relationships collated under the single term “the Indian Problem.” The problem in question was native resistance to the state’s expansion and what was perceived to be the “natural” progress of human civilization from a state of

primitive savagery to industrial civilization, and the demographic and social crisis among native tribes resulting from this expansion, (Doolittle et al, 1867; Holm, 2005; cf. Morgan 1877; Turner, 1893; Turner, 1921). In the 19th century, westward colonial expansion was a core aspect of economic policy, domestic and international political strategy and national identity in the United States, and, almost universally, and was taken to be both a moral imperative and very nearly a supernatural historical force, (Turner, 1893; Weibe, 1968; Cronon, 1992; Holm, 2005). American policy-makers and private interests alike considered Indian assimilation, Christian conversion, the adoption of private property and a sedentary, market-oriented lifestyle the only viable non-violent, resolution to the crisis, (Holm 2005). Christianity, private property and economic and territorial growth, in the eyes of the Federal Government and the vast majority of American citizens, were core aspects of a functional society, leaving little room compromise for the fledgling United States and native societies which failed to integrate smoothly into such a system. While federal policymakers strongly emphasized the benefits of “civilizing” native populations, through missionary efforts and the occasional requisitioning of agricultural stock and tools to native tribes, (Holm, 2005), they also sought other, more direct means of resolving the Indian Problem, (Lippard and Gallagher, 2014). Most infamous of the alternative policies was the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which dislocated approximately 100,000 people from their homes over an eleven year period and relocated them to Indian Territory in contemporary Oklahoma, (Heidler and Heidler, 2007). The underlying belief was that, unless Native Americans assimilated themselves to civilization with the minimal support they received, they would eventually die off- either through a failure to compete with white settlers or through active extermination by white militias and the US army. In either case, the

Indian Problem would naturally resolve itself, because a distinctly “Indian” population would cease to exist, (Holm, 2005).

After the Civil War, the attention of federal policy-makers shifted to western policy, resuming expansion into the interior of the continent, (Holm, 2005). Early in 1865, Senator James R. Doolittle led a special committee to review the state of the Indian tribes and their relations with the United States. What was revealed when the report was published in 1867 was that the Indian population was rapidly declining due to alcoholism, infectious disease and violent altercations with settlers. This report seemed to confirm prior presumptions of the inevitability of the demise of the Indian, although in a way that many in Congress and the American population at large deemed unconscionable, (Doolittle et al, 1867; Holm, 2005). In response, from 1879-1893, there was a major up-swell in advocacy for Indian policy reform in the eastern US, centered around the annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians in Lake Mohonk, New York. In general, however the reform did not significantly alter the underlying sentiment that Indians ought to be assimilated into “civilized” American culture. Rather, the principle concern was how to most effectively break up the “superstitions” and “tribalism” of Indian culture, which was considered to be the primary impediment to stabilizing the Indian population, (Doolittle et al, 1867; Holm, 2005). Eventually the Conference coalesced around Indian citizenship and the allotment of reservation land to individual households as the most effective way to achieve these ends, more or less reproducing the same failed policy of assimilation at a finer scale, (Holm, 2005). An influential minority of the conference, however, considered simple allotment to be insufficient for acculturation, and that successful native assimilation require deliberate re-education.

## **The Founding of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School**

The most vocal proponent of Indian re-education in the Lake Mohonk Conference was Col Richard H Pratt, zealous universalist and self-appointed champion of Indian welfare. Raised in poverty in rural Indiana, Pratt had joined the Union army during the Civil War at 21 year of age, and received a cavalry officership during his enlistment. Continuing to serve after the war, Pratt led an all-black cavalry regiment on the frontier, (Whitmer, 1993). Impressed by his soldiers and native auxiliaries, Pratt developed a uniquely universalist racial outlook for his time, and as such, was greatly troubled by the destitution and exploitation of Native Americans relocated reservations. In response, Pratt began to seek for a less barbaric solution to the Indian problem that he could implement himself, (Pratt, 1908).

Pratt's first exposure to the possibility native assimilation occurred in 1875, in the midst of the Red River War between the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapahoe and Military Division of the Missouri, under the command of General Sheridan, (Pierce, 2020). Having been granted a request to export 74 captured war-chiefs east, Sheridan sent the prisoners to Ft. Marion, Florida, under the ward of Pratt, (Witmer, 1993). In order to maintain discipline and prevent casualties of despair, Pratt groomed and dressed the prisoners in military style, established strict protocols for daily drill, exercise and hygiene. Pratt, a firm believer of "regular toil for daily bread," (Eastman, 1935, p.57), encouraged the prisoners to seek outside employment as day-laborers at sawmills and citrus orchards and allowed keep their wages. Pratt also sought to encourage positive White-Indian relations with the local community, ordering the prisoners to teach archery and produce drawing and curios for sale to local tourists. Pratt also invited writers, artists and government officials to observe the conduct of his converted prisoners, demonstrating the possibility that the Indian could be "saved" through re-education.

Eventually, Pratt was sufficiently confident in the good conduct of some of the prisoners that he dismissed the soldiers on guard and replaced them with prisoners under arms, (Witmer, 1993)

Once hostilities on the frontier died down in 1878, the Ft. Marion prisoners were released under the parole of the Indian Bureau. After several failed attempts, Pratt successfully negotiated the enrollment of a seventeen former prisoners to the Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute in Virginia. Around this same time, Pratt was also began to frequent the social networks of the Christian humanitarian groups that would later form the core of the Lake Mohonk Conference attendees, (Witmer, 1993). Inspired by his successes in Ft. Marion and the Hampton Institute, Pratt drew up plans for a more systemic form of Indian education, focused on the disciplinary advantages of off-reservation boarding schools, (Witmer, 1993).

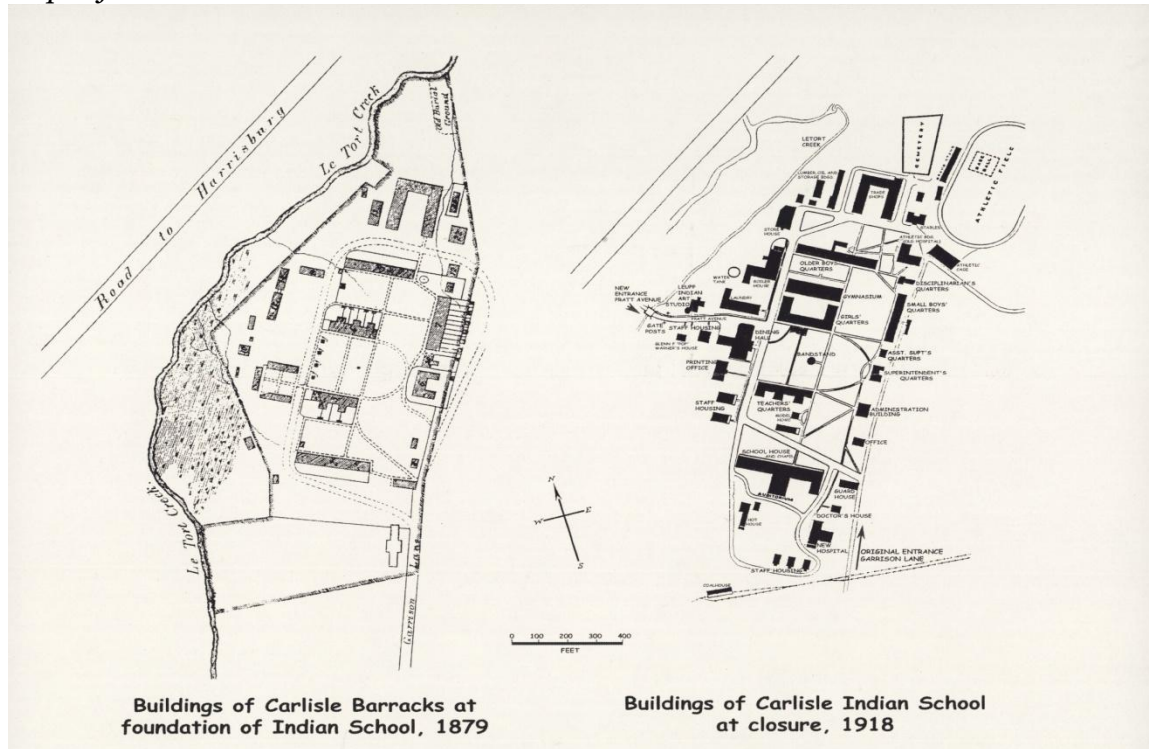
In 1879, Pratt persuaded General Sherman to grant him a dilapidated army barracks on 122, Forbes Ave, Carlisle, Pennsylvania to be the site of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, the first off-reservation Indian boarding school in American history, (Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). On September 6, 1879, the War Department ordered the Pratt to first collect students from the Sioux tribes, (Witmer, 1993). Pratt protested that he did not have experience with the Sioux, and preferred to recruit from the Cheyenne, Arapahoes, Kiowa and Comanche, with whom he was more familiar, but this was overruled by virtue of the fact that the War Department intended to use the students as political hostages to ensure the good behavior of the recently subjugated Sioux, (Witmer, 1993; Pratt, 2004). The Sioux tribes, unsurprisingly, were initially ill-disposed to the whole endeavor, but Pratt eventually argued them that it would be of use for their children to become literate, as, according to Pratt, the Native's inability to read meant



that they failed to appreciate the true value of their land or negotiate fair treaties, (Pratt, 1908). Eventually, Pratt was able to persuade two chiefs, Red Cloud and American Horse of the Pine Ridge Agency to send their children, three boys and a girl, to Carlisle, and sixteen more children along with them, (Pratt, 1908; Witmer, 1993). In addition to the Sioux children, two former prisoners of Ft. Marion recruited from the Comanche and Kiowa Agency and Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency respectively, as well as Carlisle's assistant superintendent from the Pawnee reservation. The first students arrived at Carlisle by train at midnight, October 6, 1879, (Witmer, 1993).

While the barracks served as the foundation of the Carlisle campus, the initial condition of the site were dilapidated and severely under-supplied, (Pratt, 1908; Standing Bear, 1928; Brunhouse, 1939; Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). Over the course of his tenure, Pratt made significant renovations and additions to the school, adding thirty new buildings, a perimeter fence, a centralized heating system, electric lighting, and an on-site fire engine operated by the students during his tenure as superintendent, (Bell, 1998). The scope of the alterations made to the site is clearly visible in maps made immediately prior to the founding of Carlisle, and after its closing, illustrated in the figure one. In addition to the main campus, two farms were operated by the school: first, a 156 acre farm approximately three miles from the school was leased for agricultural education, and in 1901, a second farm of 176 acres within a mile of the school was purchased, (Pratt, 1901, p. 564).

**Figure 1**  
*Maps of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School*



Note: Adapted From “Maps of the Carlisle Indian School” by J. Fear-Segal, 2000. (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/teach/maps-carlisle-indian-school>). CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Carlisle was principally funded by a division of congressional appropriations known as the “Civilization Fund,” sourced from the sale of Osage land in Kansas, with an allowance of \$200.00 per student per year<sup>7</sup> to operate an off-reservation boarding school, with the expressed purpose of assimilating tribes within the territory of the United States, (Annual Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs, 1882, xxxviii; Pratt, 1908; Brunhouse, 1939; Witmer, 1993). As the Civilization Fund had not officially budgeted appropriations for off-reservation boarding schools until 1882, however, the initial years of Carlisle were funded and supplied largely by private donations local Quakers, (Pratt,

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<sup>7</sup> Approximately \$5278.34 in 2021, (Alioth-Finance, 2021).

1908; Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). In addition the charity organization organized by Pratt “the Friends of Carlisle,” raised over \$150,000 for the school. While federal regulations that mandated that private donations be placed in the Civilization Fund to be distributed equitably to all Indian Schools, Pratt ignored this rule and established and governed a Board of Trustees to manage the donated money privately at his own discretion, (Bell, 1998). Once established, a significant portion of the upkeep for the school was supplied by student labor, who performed the majority of the cooking, cleaning, laundering and repair work, cultivated agricultural produce from the school’s farm, poultry yard and orchards and produced manufactured goods for sale in the school’s tradeshops, (Mercer, 1906; Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). Carlisle would continue to have difficulty maintaining a supply of nutritious food for the students for the remainder of its operation and suffered embezzlement at the hands of later administrators, (Robinson et al, 1914), but rarely had difficulty maintaining the basic operations of the school until its closure after the initial difficulties.

### **Carlisle as an Institution**

Carlisle’s faculty consisted of a range of 8-15 teachers, an outing agent, matrons for young boys and girls, several disciplinarians, and instructors in farming, carpentry, harness making, wagon making, carpentry, printing, sewing, cobbling, tinkering, tailoring, cooking and, in the 1900s and 1910s, engineering<sup>8</sup> and telegraphy. In addition, Carlisle operated an in-house hospital, a student band, and a well-renowned football team, usually coached by one of the disciplinarians, (Annual Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs, 1887, Mercer 1904; Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). During Pratt’s

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8 The operation, maintenance and repair of boilers and steam-engines

administration, faculty and staff recruitment was highly selective so as to provide a good example for the students. Faculty were required to abstain from tobacco and alcohol use, and were scrutinized for their moral rectitude, according to Pratt's standards. Faculty and staff were principally recruited from local Quaker communities with which Pratt was acquainted and former students, and generally had a much lower turnover rate than other Indian boarding schools. In later administrations, faculty was hired based on the standard hiring procedures established by BIA regulation, (Bell, 1998).

Carlisle's student body varied significantly throughout the years, reflecting the changing priorities of Indian education. 7,711 students attended over the duration of the school's operation, 4,944 male students and 2767 female students, with classes ranging from 87-346 students per year,<sup>9</sup> (Bell, 1998, Appendix One). Students came from 118 distinct tribes from throughout the United States and Alaskan territory, as well as 59 Puerto Ricans and one Filipino, (Bell, 1998, Appendix One). Students were initially recruited from Plains tribes with treaty obligations for students to receive a "civilized education," (Pratt, 1908; Bell, 1998; cf. Doolittle et al, 1867; Treaty of Ft. Laramie, 1868). Early students were frequently the children of chiefs or other influential figures, in part because these students usefully served as political hostages to ensure the good behavior of recently subjugated tribes, (Bell, 1998; 2004). Students were also recruited from populations of political prisoners and prisoners of war, especially from Apache tribes, (Betzinez, 1953; Bell, 1998,). From 1879 through 1890, recruitment was frequently coercive or deceptive in nature. Parents could be denied treaty-bound rations until they agreed to hand over their children, the exact nature of the school, its location, and the duration of the program were falsified by recruits, (Bell, 1998). Orphans or other

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9 With an outlier of 21 students attending in the final year of 1918, (Bell, 1998, Appendix One)

children without caretakers were targeted and occasionally kidnapped, and children with few or no caretakers represented a disproportionate amount of the population, (Bell, 1998; Mitchell, 2017). As reservation agents had strong incentives for the quantity of students they routinely supplied students well outside the acceptable bounds of age, racial composition,<sup>10</sup> or physical health, (Bell, 1998). The average age of students at first enrollment 16.42 for boys and 15.06 for girls, skewing older after 1907 as the operations of Carlisle realigned with BIA policy, and tribal backgrounds diversifying considerably, (Bell, 1998, Appendix One).

### **The Curriculum of Carlisle**

The educational strategy developed by Pratt focused on finely crafting the appropriate “civilized” environment for his students. “Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization,” Pratt explained, “and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit,” (Pratt, 1892). To this end, Pratt and his faculty devised a ten-year curriculum of total immersion in a disciplinary environment to educate and assimilate their wards, (Pratt, 1896). The curriculum under Pratt was relatively simple: half a day for academics, half a day for work, (Witmer, 1993). For most students the academic curricula focused on, basic literacy, numeracy, and English proficiency though occasional lectures and the most advanced classes offered some tutelage in natural science, advanced mathematics, history, geography and civics, (Witmer, 1993). Industrial education consisted of apprenticing in farm and a number of different artisanal trades: carpentry, tinsmithing, blacksmithing, shoemaking, barrel-making, carriage, tack and harness making, printing, engineering and telegraphy for the boys, and cooking,

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<sup>10</sup> Students that were “too black” or “too white” to pass as Indians in propaganda were often sent home, (Bell, 1998)

domestic cleaning, laundering and clothes-making for the girls, (Witmer, 1993). The majority of this labor was employed to maintain the school, although some was used to produce goods on behalf of the US Government or for private sale, (Witmer, 1993).

Students here were, as a rule, not permitted any time free at any point during the school year. Time not spent in the classroom, work or study was spent in mandatory, closely supervised extra-curricular activities, (Standing Bear, 1933; Bell 1998). Students were required to join extra-curricular clubs: sports teams, bands, literary societies, debate societies, where the use of English and civilized manners could continue to be monitored by supervisors and disciplinarians, (Witmer, 1993). School edited newspapers were circulated, both within the school for students to read, and externally for donors, supporters and alumni, (Witmer, 1993). While Carlisle would later become most famous for its football team, Pratt himself was initially disinclined to encourage the sport, fearing the potential for injury and that the brutality of the sport might undermine the school's image, reminding spectators that the students were originally "Wild Indians," (Witmer, 1993, Adam, 1995). Additionally, while Carlisle was not officially religious in of itself, being a federally supported institution, church attendance was nevertheless mandatory, and Christian values were taught explicitly throughout the school, (Standing Bear, 1933; Witmer, 1993).

The crown jewel of Carlisle's indoctrination methods was the "Outing System," designed by Pratt himself, where students were interred to work among the white population of the eastern United States, (Brunhouse, 1938). The hosts and the students' conduct alike was closely monitored by Pratt, and while the students were payed, the vast majority of the money, save for a rather paltry spending allowance, remained under the School's control, officially as a mandatory savings account to be returned to the

student at the end of their tenure. While the majority of outing labor was allocated to family farms, a significant minority worked in trade shops, department stores and, in the later years, in industrial factories as well, (Witmer, 1993). The outing system proved to be a particularly popular technique, adopted at Indian schools across the country, and acclaimed in academic journals well into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, (Brunhouse, 1938; Adams, 1995).

Despite the rigorous course of study and tight system of discipline, the school can hardly be said to have been successful in quantitative terms. While the school was structured as a ten year curriculum, in practice, attendance ranged anywhere from one to six years, (Bell, 19998, Appendix A). Only 758 students actually graduated from Carlisle, around 10% of the total population, (Meness, 2017). 118 students were expelled from Carlisle, most of who were over 19 years old and generally ruled to be too old to be governable in the kind of disciplinary education that Carlisle performed. Desertion attempts were not uncommon, although rarely successful. 1812 students deserted, and desertions were overwhelmingly male, with only 52 female deserters, (Bell, 1998, Appendix B). Students deserted for a variety of reasons, as binding terms of enrollment for the duration of the course of study limited students leaving on legitimate grounds, (Bell, 1998). Deserters most frequently stole horses or stowed away on train-cars, and were frequently caught and returned because of their distinct appearance and considerable distance from any support network.<sup>11</sup> Desertion rates steadily increased as time went on, particularly after the departure of Pratt, (Bell, 1998). Finally, 220 students

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11 The difficulty of escape and lack of access to community was an intended consequence of the school's location, (Pratt, 1908). One of the reason for Pratt's resistance to the BIA's policy regarding minimal age of recruits was because he believed that the ease of desertion in on-reservation schools fostered a run-away habit in students. Pratt hoped to circumvent by taking in children before they were sufficiently independent to develop such habits, (Bell, 1998)

were officially recorded to have died at Carlisle: 121 male students and 99 female, (Bell, 1998, Appendix A), although some estimates record over 500 casualties, when accounting for a two-year lag in health outcomes, (McBride, 2013). A common cause of death was by infection shortly after arrival, with the shock of transportation, dense populations, shoddy quarters, and unnutritious food weakened already vulnerable immune systems of native populations, (Bell, 1998). It should be noted, however that this number likely underestimates the actual death toll of Carlisle, as sick and dying students were routinely returned home so the administration could minimize the number of reported deaths to maintain a positive public image, (Bell, 1998; McBride, 2013).

### **After Pratt: Progressive Reforms and Decline**

By the late 1890s, the popular American consciousness began to shift away from Indian assimilation, towards a more positive inclination to Native Americans. As hostilities faded and the eastern United States became better acquainted with Native American individuals and cultures, the preservation and celebration of aspects of native culture- their health and athleticism, artistic creativity and environmental expertise, grew greatly in popularity, (Witmer, 1993; Holm, 2005). As the mood toward total assimilation soured, Carlisle began to face an increasingly negative press for his hardline stance on assimilation. In addition, Pratt faced a great deal of difficulty with new political environment of Progressivism, which emphasized bureaucracy and rational efficiency as a means of resolving large-scale social issues over and individual effort and religious zeal, (Weibe, 1967; Witmer, 1993; Holm, 2005). In particular, Pratt had been staunchly critical of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, (BIA), throughout his career, and remained so even as federal bureaucracies gained power and public support. Pratt's anti-



BIA zeal, which had won him favor in the 1870s, cost him his role as Superintendent of Carlisle in June 1904 as he was relieved of the position several weeks after a public chastisement of the BIA, an unexpectedly rapid turn of events, even for many of Pratt's antagonists, (Witmer 1993; Bell 1998).

Pratt was succeeded by Cpt. William A Mercer, another military officer with long experience in Indian Affairs, (Witmer 1993; Bell 1998). Mercer's tenure consisted largely in realigning Carlisle to fit federal standards of Indian Education, resulting the resignation or termination of veteran faculty and staff loyal to Pratt's vision, (Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). Mercer implemented the official course of study for Indian schools, which emphasized basic education in a greater diversity of practical subjects, while deemphasizing the moral and cultural assimilation as priorities of Indian education, (Reel, 1901; Leupp, 1910; Bell 1998). Mercer's administration also resulted in a significant change in recruitment policy, shifting away from recruiting younger children and to recruiting older children who had already completed a basic course from on-reservation day schools. Consequently, Carlisle's operations shifted away from a highly intensive indoctrination-through-immersion to a secondary school for students already prepared with elementary education and cultural indoctrination by on-reservation day schools, (Adams, 1995; Bell, 1998). Mercer's administration was short-lived, however, and he resigned in December of 1907, either due to health concerns or, possibly, due to a charge of embezzlement, and was replaced by Moses Friedman in 1908, (Bell, 1998).

The administration of Moses Friedman from 1908-1914 marked the rapid decline of Carlisle as a functional administrative body, (Bell, 1998). Friedman's status as a bureaucrat signaled a significant shift in Indian policy away from military conflict with native tribes to their domestic management, a continuation of the general trend to

civilian bureaucratization of Indian Affairs, (Hoxie, 1982; Barsh, 1991; Holm, 2005). Friedman was the first to formalize Carlisle's daily, weekly and annual schedule, emphasizing the role of "system and organization," (Friedman, 1908). Also during Friedman's tenure, academics and industrial training increasingly focused on mechanics and technical skills over craft. In the classroom, bookkeeping, accountancy and secretarial skills were emphasized, and students were increasingly sent to work in factories rather than family farms or artisan workshops for their outing period, (Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). Friedman also worked closely with the Bureau of Ethnology to preserve the same cultures his school was originally intended to extinguish, (Bell 1998).

Despite the shift toward bureaucratic efficiency and modern systematization, however, Carlisle generally suffered during Friedman's tenure. While Friedman was an educational administrator who came in with an eye to modernize Carlisle, the school largely decayed under his supervision. Disciplinary standards fell immensely, the students often lacked access to sufficient food and supplies, there were numerous accusations of physical and emotional abuse, and a number of administrators and staff members were investigated for embezzlement and corruption, (Adams, 1995; Bell, 1998). In 1914, a Congressional hearing was called to investigate an accusation of Friedman's financial mismanagement, where testimony by the students, faculty and staff revealed Friedman's significant failures as superintendent, as well as evidence for financial crimes committed by himself and several other members of the staff, (Robinson et al, 1914; Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). Consequently, Friedman and several other major figures of the school were fired by the end of the year, (Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998).

Carlisle continued to run for several more years, but never recovered from the scandal of the congressional hearing. The next superintendent, Oscar Lipps, attempted

to revitalize the moralistic discipline of Carlisle's early days with the unofficial support of Pratt, but ultimately fought a losing battle against the expense and increasing irrelevance of off-reservation boarding schools, (Adams, 1995; Bell, 1998). The majority of the students at Carlisle by this time were adults, often second-generation attendees, looking to develop vocational skills, and problem students sent from other schools for disciplining and non-reservation natives from the Northeast and Midwest, (Bell, 1998). By the summer of 1918, Carlisle was re-appropriated by the War Department for use as a hospital for returning WWI soldiers, and the school was abruptly closed for good in the August of 1918.

## CHAPTER 5

### KILLING THE INDIAN

While the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was officially described and characterized as an educational facility, the intended function of the institution was not to provide its students with knowledge and skills for the world in which they lived. Rather, Carlisle's primary mission was to overwrite its students' culture, disrupting the generational transfer of native knowledge, values and habits to replace it with those of a modern, Anglo-American society. Carlisle as an institution was designed to create an environment of total disciplinary control to habituate the students to a life coordinated by external entities, motivated by extrinsic reward, and totally divorced from the social and cultural bonds in which the children were raised. The supporters of the school believed that only through the process of accelerated cultural advancement provided by the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, could the students hope to save themselves and their families by abandoning their retrograde cultures of origin completely. In short, the primary goal of Carlisle was assimilation, fully and consciously intended to eradicate the cultures of its students and replace them with that of the Anglo-American, (Fear-Segal, 2007d, 2007b).

#### **Debating Assimilation**

While Indian assimilation had always been a stated goal of the U.S. federal government, the availability of unclaimed frontier land and more immediate political concerns generally meant that Indian removal, transportation and concentration in reservations was the more expedient means of dealing with this unwanted population, (Holm, 2005). As such, the project of assimilation had been underdeveloped, underfunded and unattended to for the majority of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, (Doolittle et al, 1867;

Holm, 2005). After the Civil War, however, as the colonization of the interior became a top political project, the uncontrolled presence of native Americans became a primary concern for both policymakers and the general public, (Holm, 2005). While outright extermination was a popular sentiment among frontier settlers, (Meider, 1993), influential circles on the East Coast balked at the ethical and practical considerations of such a policy, (Harris, 1890, Holm, 2005). Physical genocide would far too expensive in men and resources, and prior military efforts had already failed to achieve the desired outcome of an interior free of native communities, (Holm, 2005). Inspired by Pratt's early experiments at Fort Marion and the Hampton Institute, a growing section of the public began to believe that a mass assimilation of the Indian was not only possible, but also the most expedient and humane way of dealing with the Indian Problem, and support for the project quickly grew in the 1870's, (Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998; Holm, 2005).

This change in strategy, however, did not mean a change in fundamental attitude towards native cultures. Pratt, describing Carlisle's mission to the 19<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference for Charity and Corrections opened his speech by stating: "A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres.<sup>12</sup> In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man," (Pratt, 1892). Pratt, convinced of the viability of assimilation, railed against the half-measures of previous generations dealing with the Indian Problem, describing prior efforts as a "pretense of anxiety to civilize the Indians,"

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12 The general Pratt references here is Brigadier-General Michael V. Sheridan, who is said to have coined the phrase in 1869. There is considerable evidence that this proverbial slur was already in use prior to this event, and that it reflected a common sentiment among many frontiersmen during this period, (Meider, 1993)

(1892). He argued that the earlier policy of corralling and transporting Native Americans onto reservations was and had always been a stop-gap measure to delay the more arduous task of Indian assimilation. Pratt considered assimilation both a political and spiritual matter, as a part of the ultimate destiny of the United States as a nation, (Pratt, 1892):

*However great this victory has been for us, we have not yet fully learned our lesson nor completed our work; nor will we have done so until there is throughout all of our communities the most unequivocal and complete acceptance of our own doctrines, both national and religious. Not until there shall be in every locality throughout the nation a supremacy of the Bible principle of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, and full obedience to the doctrine of our Declaration that ‘we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, with certain inalienable rights,’ and of the clause in our Constitution which forbids that there shall be ‘any abridgment of the rights of citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition.’*

This new project of intensive assimilation was supported by self-styled “Friends of the Indian,” and Pratt was generally well supported by them for the first several decades of the school’s operation, (Holm, 2005). While the Friends of the Indian did not question the inevitable extinction of native ways of life, they regarded the active extermination of Indians as unnecessary, cruel and immoral. Instead, they believed that it was both possible and necessary to “save” Indians from their “savage” and “heathenish” culture by any means necessary, (Fear-Segal, 2007d; Holm, 2005)

### **Set and Setting**

The failure of earlier private efforts at assimilation, and the apparent success of Pratt’s disciplinary methods, seemed to highlight the fact that the native subject had to be removed from their traditional habitus entirely for assimilation to be achieved, (Holm, 2005). Commissioner of Education T.W. Harris explained the logic as follows: “Modern studies in ethnology have made us acquainted with the depth to which the

distinctions of civilization penetrate, We do not now expect to work the regeneration of a people except by changing the industrial habits, the manners and customs, the food and clothing, the social and family behavior, the view of the world, and the religious conviction systematically and co-ordinately,” (1889, 3). On-reservation schooling, even boarding schools, was insufficient for the mission to civilize. Any contact with the student’s family would risk threads of their former culture surviving during the brief periods of contact afforded to them, (Morgan, 1890; Pratt, 1908). As such, the Friends of the Indian formed a consensus that off-reservation boarding schools, at which the students would remain for the entire duration of their course of study, were the best way to achieve the total assimilation they desired. The intended outcome of Carlisle, and other Indian boarding schools was that the civilized graduates of these schools should be capable of integrating into greater American society, forsaking their traditional homelands in favor of superior opportunity elsewhere. If graduates were to return to their tribes, it should be as leaders to direct their fellow Indians down the same path of assimilation they themselves were lead. As articulated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, T.J. Morgan, (1890, pp. 12-13):

*The high school should lift the Indian students on to so high a plane of thought and aspiration as to render the life of the camp intolerable to them. If they return to the reservations, it should be to carve out for themselves a home, and to lead their friends and neighbors to a better mode of living. Their training should be so thorough, and their characters so formed, that they will not be dragged down by the heathenish life of the camp. The Indian high school rightly conducted will be a gateway out from the desolation of the reservation into assimilation with our national life. It should awaken the aspiration for a home among civilized people, and offer such an equipment as will make the desire prophetic of fulfillment.*

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School served as the flagship institution for this new project, being the first off-reservation school entirely dedicated to the assimilation of Indians, (Brunhouse, 1939). Despite this designation, Carlisle was somewhat unique

in its underlying philosophy compared to other Indian Schools during this period. While the majority of other boarding schools framed their efforts in the context of scientific racism, Pratt was a dedicated Enlightenment universalist, who did not consider racial differences to be significant or relevant to the task of civilizing, (Fear-Segal, 2007a; 2007d). In his retrospective manifesto, Pratt articulates that,(1908, p. 42):

*The Indian is a man like other men. He has no innate or inherent qualities that condemn him to separation from other men or to generations of slow development. He can acquire all the above qualities in about the same time that other men acquire them, and is hindered or facilitated in acquiring them only by systems and environment that would equally hinder or facilitate other men...*

As such, while other off-reservation boarding schools, most notably the Hampton Institute, designed their curriculum as part of a multi-generational racial uplift, Pratt designed Carlisle with the expressed purpose of transforming its Indian students into industrious, white-passing American citizens within the school's five-to-ten year course of study, (Pratt, 1908; Fear-Segal, 2007a). Carlisle thus was designed to be the premier vehicle of cultural transformation, unrivaled in its ambition even by its sister schools, (Brunhouse, 1939; Bell, 1998; Fear Segal, 2007d).

Yet, while Pratt considered all peoples to be roughly equal in physical capacities and spiritual dignity, he did not extend this egalitarianism to differences in cultural, religious, political or economic traditions. Pratt was implacably convinced of the inherent superiority of Christianity and the American way of life, to the exclusion of all others, stating, (Pratt, 1908, p. 40):

*[The chief of the United States Bureau of Ethnology] alleged that it was of greatest importance that the origin, history, old life habits, languages and customs of the Indian tribes should be gathered and recorded by his bureau before they were forgotten by the Indians... the answer of the superintended of Carlisle, [Pratt], to that was John Adams' view in a letter to Thomas Jefferson on the 28th of June, 1812: 'Whether serpents' teeth were sown here and sprung up men, whether men and women dropped from the clouds*



*upon this Atlantic island, whether the Almighty created them here, or whether they emigrated from Europe are questions of no moment to the present or future happiness of man. Neither agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, science, literature, taste, religion, morals, or any other good will be promoted, or any evil averted, by any discoveries that can be made in answer to these questions'*

As far as Pratt was concerned, no aspect of native cultures were worth saving, or even worth the effort of investigating for any potential value. Moreover, Pratt was so convinced of the superiority of his own way of life that he considered any amount of hardship or suffering on the route to assimilation as a necessary evil to be celebrated. Comparing the plight of the Indians to those of former slaves, the staunch abolitionist and racial egalitarian argued, (Pratt, 1892):

*Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. Horrible as were the experiences of its introduction, and of slavery itself, there was concealed in them the greatest blessing that ever came to the Negro race—seven millions of blacks from cannibalism in darkest Africa to citizenship in free and enlightened America; not full, not complete citizenship, but possible—probable—citizenship, and on the highway and near to it.*

This attitude of uncompromising American chauvinism, even in light of blatant injustice and abuse, would inform every aspect of the design of Carlisle's curriculum. The independence of the students in action, speech or thought were considered to be acceptable losses for the project of assimilation, and Pratt considered any slack afforded to the students an unacceptable risk of backsliding into their traditional habits, (Pratt, 1908). Only through total control of the students' behavior and environment could the intended outcome be achieved.

In order to affect such a change, Pratt designed Carlisle to be an institution that would model and accelerate the supposed transformative effects of a civilized milieu. Through a system of environmental imprinting, Pratt intended for students to be uplifted

from their traditional “backwards” habits to join white Americans at the forefront of historical progress, (Pratt, 1892):

*It is a great mistake, to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life. We, left in the surroundings of civilization, grow to possess a civilized language, life, and purpose. Transfer the infant white to the savage surroundings, he will grow to possess a savage language, superstition, and habit. Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit. These results have been established over and over again beyond all question.*

Unlike his colleagues, who considered education to be the principal vehicle for assimilation, (Morgan, 1890), Pratt did not consider education to be a significant priority and he in fact denied its value for the project of assimilation. Instead, Pratt favored the transformational potential of environmental imprinting and believed that only through a fundamental change in environmental context would assimilation even be possible, (Pratt, 1892):

*Theorizing citizenship into people is a slow operation. What a farce it would be to attempt teaching American citizenship to the negroes in Africa. They could not understand it; and, if they did, in the midst of such contrary influences, they could never use it. Neither can the Indians understand or use American citizenship theoretically taught to them on Indian reservations. They must get into the swim of American citizenship. They must feel the touch of it day after day, until they become saturated with the spirit of it, and thus become equal to it.*

Nevertheless, Pratt acknowledged that however theoretically capable the Indian was, the sort of transformation desired by the Friends of the Indian within an acceptable time-frame would require significant, deliberate intervention. Pratt shared the belief of his colleagues that institutions could serve to accelerate the “natural” process of assimilation by creating an artificial environment in which civilized virtues could thrive, and in which tribal qualities would wither. Thus, Pratt structured Carlisle as an engine to affect this change “feeding the Indians to our civilization,” rather than “feeding our civilization to

the Indians” through traditional education, (Pratt, 1892). Propaganda photos Pratt distributed to donors and Friends of the Indian visualized the intended outcome in stark relief, (Bell, 1998; Fear-Segal, 2007a, Figs. 2 and 3)

**Figure 2**

*Benjamin Thomas, Mary Perry and John Menaul [Before]*



**Figure 3**

*Benjamin Thomas, Mary Perry and John Menaul [After]*



Note: From “Benjamin Thomas, Mary Perry and John Menaul [Before]” by J.N. Choate, 1880 (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/benjamin-thomas-mary-perry-and-john-menaul-1880>) and “Benjamin Thomas, Mary Perry and John Menaul [After]” by J.N. Choate, 1883 (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/benjamin-thomas-mary-perry-and-john-menaul-after-c1883>). CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

### **Pratt’s Four Points**

Carlisle’s process of environmental imprinting was designed around four factors which Pratt believed to be critical for a successful transformation. First: “Usable knowledge of the language of the country,” (Pratt, 1908, p.42), the adoption of English language as a primary and exclusive language. The English language program, it should

be noted, was emphatically not a bi-lingual program. Students were to be taught “the almost universal language of the country in which [they live],” (Pratt, 1908, p.42)and “talking Indian” was strictly forbidden and harshly punished, (Bell, 1998).<sup>13</sup> The intention of this policy was to break the generational transfer of the students’ native cultures and to replace it with a cultural transfer of Anglo-American society “in order to be at one with the great body of the people,” (Pratt, 1908, p. 43). The overwriting of the students’ native tongues with English would enable students to become immersed in “civilized” society not just physically, but culturally and ideologically. As the majority of students had never been exposed to English in their entire lives, and the phonology, grammar and orthography of the language was largely alien to them, English language acquisition would form the majority of the students’ formal education, (Standing, 1890).

The second factor of Carlisle’s program was “skill in some civilized trade that will enable successful competition” through direct experience in labor, (Pratt, 1908, p.42). While the industrial training at Carlisle focused on the development the hard skills of one or more tradecrafts and economic reasoning, equally important was the indoctrination of the habits of productivism, thrift and self-interest. As Native Americans were popularly demeaned as lazy, workshy and entitled, Pratt and other Friends of the Indian determined that it was their responsibility to cultivate the attitudes and habits of industriousness and material acquisitiveness in their wards, in order to better fit them in American society, (Pratt, 1890; Morgan, 1890; Leupp, 1910). Moreover, Pratt had a narrow intention for how his students would realize this skill. Students were to become

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13 Note here that Pratt asserts that the students are already living in the United States, and refuses to recognize any claim to sovereignty that Native Americans had as a matter of course. This attitude was consistent with the legal status of Native Americans at the time as internal wards of the state, neither citizens of the US, nor sovereign independent peoples, (Holm, 2005).

individualized wage-laborers, petty craftsmen and homesteaders, suitably fitted for America's capitalist economy. Alternative forms of economic organization, such as the collectively ownership of allotted farmland of the Cherokee, (Holm, 2005), were considered by Pratt to be a continuation of "the tribe and its socialisms," (Pratt, 1890, p. 313), and that "tribal disintegration and the individuality inevitable to real citizenship [would be] scarcely promoted," (Pratt, 1908, p. 18), should trade skills be taught to the Indians without also teaching the appropriate economic values of hard work, individualism and a desire for material wealth. In effect, the industrial education at Carlisle was as much ideological as it was practical, more so even, as we will describe in the following chapter.

The third factor to be taught at Carlisle was the "Courage of civilization, which will enable abandonment of the tribe and successful living among civilized people," (Pratt, 1908, p. 42). The "courage" in question was the indoctrination of students in the cultural and spiritual chauvinism of Anglo-American Christian society. Students were required to denounce their traditional spiritualities, become practicing Christians. Students were taught the superiority of white civilization as a force of historical progress, the backwardness of their cultures of origin by comparison and the fundamental importance of individualism in affecting this difference, (Standing Bear, 1928, Bell, 1998, Fear-Segal 2007a, Meness, 2017). The "Courage of Civilization" was, in essence, the courage of the students to turn their backs on their cultures and embrace Anglo-American society as their exclusive community, (Pratt, 1892):

*Carlisle has always planted treason to the tribe and loyalty to the nation at large. It has preached against colonizing Indians, and in favor of individualizing them. It has demanded for them the same multiplicity of chances which all others in the country enjoy. Carlisle fills young Indians with the spirit of loyalty to the stars and stripes, and then moves them out into*

*our communities to show by their conduct and ability that the Indian is no different from the white or the colored, that he has the inalienable right to liberty and opportunity that the white and the negro have. Carlisle does not dictate to him what line of life he should fill, so long as it is an honest one. It says to him that, if he gets his living by the sweat of his brow, and demonstrates to the nation that he is a man, he does more good for his race than hundreds of his fellows who cling to their tribal communistic surroundings*

In this aim, Individualism in particular was a crucial part of the Courage of Civilization, for “the tribes and all tribalizers and tribalizing influences are enemies of the individual, for immersed in the tribe how is the individual to successfully take on anything foreign to the tribe?” (Pratt, 1908, p. 43). If, then, the students came to see themselves as individuals of a superior culture and religion, then they would be inoculated against the temptation of returning to their cultures of origin and could then join the ranks of white society as equal citizens. This, it was believed, would lock-in the behavioral changes affected in Carlisle once the students departed the school.

Finally, and least of all in Pratt’s estimation, Carlisle was to teach a “knowledge of books, or education so-called,” (Pratt, 1908, p. 42). While Pratt did concede some time to the study of basic liberal arts, he nevertheless considered the effort to be auxiliary to the primary aim of assimilation. “Book education logically comes last,” he explained. “If a man speaks the language of the country, is skilled in some industry of the country, has courage of the country, and practices these qualities, he is a useful citizen without knowledge of books,” (Pratt, 1908, p. 43). While Pratt did not totally dismiss the utility of “book education,” he considered it to be, at best, an adjunct to the primary purpose of Carlisle, and was useful to him primarily a means to reinforce English language use, industry and the Courage of Civilization. When the three primary attributes were fully assimilated, the Indian student would have the opportunity for further education the same as any other citizen, on their own time, on their own prerogative and with their

own resources, (Pratt, 1908). In framing “Education so-called” as a subordinate to the other three pre-requisites, Pratt makes it clear that his goal as the Superintendent of Carlisle was entirely assimilation, not education. Education, in Pratt’s mind, was a welcome, but ultimately superfluous byproduct of being civilized.

In conclusion, as we observe the routines at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, we must keep in mind that intended outcome of the school amounted to nothing less than a total overhaul of the students’ life- focus, attitudes and habits, with the intention to create individuals fully Americanized in their cultural-behavioral models. Carlisle was designed to accelerate the supposedly natural process of assimilation in a simulation of Anglo-American life, equipped with artificial boundaries and supernormal stimuli, (cf. Barrett, 2010), to “correct” the students’ “backwards” behaviors. In this respect, Carlisle provides an exaggerated relief for a number of social customs prevalent in modern cultures. In the next chapter, we will examine the practical application of this intention, paying particular attention to how Carlisle manipulated students’ behaviors with respect to time.

## CHAPTER 6

### LIFE AND TIMES AT CARLISLE

In the operation of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, a foundational, albeit implicit goal of the school was to fundamentally alter the students' relationship to time, and how they acted with respect to time. While in their cultures of origin, students' behavior in time tended to be ecologically oriented and highly individualistic, the administrators of Carlisle deemed it necessary and of utmost importance that students subordinate their behavior in time and conceptualization of time to the demands of the administration. The following chapter details how this belief manifested in the daily operations of Carlisle, creating orderly, productive action with a shared understanding of history as a trend of progressive advancement in which the students must participate. The first section, Discipline, examines the disciplinary organization of Carlisle, the foundational practice which compelled the students to submit to the authority and rhythm set by the administration. The second section, Language of the Country, details how this same tendency for top-down control manifested in the classroom setting, and its effect on the pace of students' learning. The third section, A Productive Trade, explicates the nature of the industrial training students received at Carlisle, in which the idealization of hard work, submission to authority, and the erasure of tribal modes of production were given top priority, even at the expense of truly useful skills. The final section, the Courage of Civilization highlights the relation of the secular ethic of historical progress, productivity, and delayed gratification under a Protestant work ethic, which served to provide a coherent context for the individual behaviors advocated by the school's administration, linking individual self-discipline to the realization of a greater historical project.



## **Discipline**

Although the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was officially designated as an educational institution, Pratt was, at his core, a military man, and the basic design of Carlisle reflected this background. Drawing on his prior experience experimenting with the prisoners at Fort Marion, Pratt organized the administration of the students on military lines, establishing formal hierarchies, strict discipline and constant surveillance, (Pratt, 1908, Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998; Fear-Segal, 2007b; Fear-Segal, 2007c). While the purposes of the school was to indoctrinate students in English, competitive labor and the Courage of Civilization, in order to facilitate this, the administration of Carlisle first needed to habituate students to the fundamental habits of obedience to command, hierarchy, the clock and the aesthetic standards of civilized orderliness. As such, every aspect of the student's life was controlled by the administration, to allow the new habitus of civilized life to be internalized. As Commissioner Harris explained, (1890, p. 4):

*The new education for our American Indians as it has been founded in recent years by devoted men and women, undertakes to solve the problem of civilizing them by a radical system of education not merely in books, nor merely in religious ceremonies, but in matters of clothing, personal cleanliness, matters of dietary, and especially in habits of industry.*

For the project of assimilation, no detail was so small as to be below consideration. In order to correct the supposed faults of Indians- laziness, slovenliness and work-shyness, a strict adherence to time discipline was prioritized, and this discipline policed constantly throughout the activities of the school.

The basic structure of Carlisle's disciplinary apparatus drew heavily from the organization of the U.S. Army, the institution with which Pratt was most familiar. One of Pratt's first formal actions as a superintendent was to organize the students into military companies "for disciplinary purposes," (Pratt, 1908, 17). Students of the same tribe were

separated to discourage unwanted fraternization, even among siblings and a hierarchy of student ranks was established. A handful of students were selected to be officers, Captains, Lieutenants, Sergeants and Corporals under the command of a disciplinarian, (Thompson, 1892; Bell, 1998). Every aspect of the students' lives was structured around these hierarchies of command: when they rose, how they moved about the school, when they ate and the manner in which they ate, and with whom they were permitted to socialize. Iroquois student Howard Gainsworth describes the military precision with which the student's movements were controlled, recalling one of his first days at Carlisle, (Leahy and Wilson, 2013, p. 485):

*I took the cue and followed the crowd into the assembly room. At the side of the table at one end of the room stood the captain of our company with his arms folded. We sat on benches strung along the sides of the room. Mrs. Given entered and all became quiet. 'The new boys will remain seated until they are placed in line by an officer,' she said and then nodded to the captain. 'Fall in! fall in!' he commanded." It took but a minute to place the new boys in their proper places and make such changes in the ranks as were made necessary by the additions; a minute more to make us "count fours" and "dress" and about four minutes to call the roll. Then we were off- a hundred hungry boys headed for the dining hall*

All the movements of students in between scheduled activities were conducted as organized marches, and the order and sequence of activities any given student experienced throughout the day was dictated by the predetermined scheduling of their unit. Commands were issued either by disciplinarians or by signal chimes, which students were expected to obey immediately and without hesitation, (Thompson, 1892, 38). Gainsworth alludes to the mundane regimentation of daily life at Carlisle as the "Carlisle rut," rising and performing the routine actions of the day with an unthinking automaticity, even leaving their assigned work uncompleted in order to meet the demands of the administration's schedule, (Leahy and Wilson, 2013, 486). This "rut" was occasionally

interrupted throughout the day by burst of frantic activity, as students would compete for access to scarce resources such as hot water, (Standing Bear, 1928), good-quality food, (Standing Bear, 1928; Betzinez, 1952), or hurry to finish their cleaning duties in time for weekly inspections, (Leahy and Wilson, 2013).

Regimented discipline was likewise maintained in the quartering of students. Students were separated by gender and age, and during off-hours the maintenance of discipline was largely regulated by student officers, who themselves were under threat of punishment if they did not maintain order. Students were obliged to sleep in individual beds in open, overcrowded dormitories, where their nocturnal activities could be most easily monitored by matrons, (Bell, 1998; McBride, 2013). These beds were spaced widely apart, and fraternization and bed-sharing was strongly discouraged, (Bell 1998). Many of the students found this strict discipline difficult to adapt to, and struggled greatly during the first several weeks of their schooling, particularly at night as many were unaccustomed to sleeping alone, (Standing Bear, 1928; Betzinez, 1952; Bell 1998 Leahy and Wilson, 2013). Gainsworth describes the misery he faced dealing with the temporal demands at Carlisle, writing, (Leahy and Wilson, 2013, p. 487):

*That evening, I became terribly depressed. I wondered how I could stand the life at Carlisle any longer. It seemed as if we were always answering roll call, always reporting to someone, always marching somewhere, always keeping step with somebody, always under an officer's charge.*

Most students likely had similar reactions, particularly in the first few weeks of their transition. Compared to life at home, Carlisle was agonizingly precise in its control of all routine behavior.

With discipline, of course, came punishment, which the administration of Carlisle used freely and liberally. Student officers were required to make daily reports on their

sections' behavior to disciplinarians, reporting on any misbehavior observed among the lower ranks of students. A blank report form details the sort of infractions most astutely monitored, reading, (Thompson, 1892, p.36):

***Instructions:** the Non-Commissioned Officers in charge of each section will report to the Disciplinarian every morning before eight o'clock. Boys who are disorderly, who use tobacco, talk Indian, or soil their rooms will be named. If there is nothing to report, 'Good Report' will be written across the face of the report which will be dated and signed*

Individual students were likewise obliged to self-report misbehavior in a school assembly every Saturday evening and to report on their classmate's misbehavior, (Standing-Bear, 1928; Betzinez, 1952). In extreme cases, students were "court marshalled" and tried by their classmates, a practice which Pratt hoped would "[establish] in the minds of the students consideration of the principles of right and wrong," while also "greatly relieving the management" of administering discipline by the staff, (Pratt, 1908, p. 17).<sup>14</sup>

Punishments for misbehavior included public shaming during assemblies and in newspapers, menial labor or exclusion from class and trade-shop, and isolation in "lock-ups," either in small dorm rooms or in the old guardhouse, sometimes for days and often without food or water, (Pratt, 1908; Robinson et al, 1914; Standing Bear, 1928; Betzinez, 1952; Bell, 1998). Beatings by matrons and disciplinarians also occurred with some regularity, although there is little evidence with which to determine its frequency. Pratt himself favored corporal punishment as a good way of maintaining discipline, and students who complained of beatings were generally ignored or chastised for their complaints at all levels of administration, (Personnel File of Wallace Denny, 1918;

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14 The elevation of certain inmates of a disciplinary institution is a relatively common tactic to disrupt resistance and inmate solidarity, ensuring greater levels of control, and similar methods can be observed among the Kapos of Holocaust concentration camps and the trusty system employed in prisons in the southern United States during this period. Pratt likely came up with this system from his positive experiences of arming trusted prisoners at Ft. Marion, (Witmer, 1993)

Robinson et al, 1914; Adams, 1995; Bell, 1998), Expulsions were generally reserved for repeat offenders or students who broke the law, and were not only restricted students from attending Carlisle, but all non-Reservation schools, (Bell, 1998).

In addition to the surveillance of faculty, staff and student officers, subtler means of discipline were employed. Most notably school newspapers were leveraged to maintain an atmosphere of constant, but unpredictable scrutiny, (Fear-Segal, 2007c). This atmosphere was generated by a recurring character in *The Indian Helper*, the foremost student newspaper published by the student operated printshop known as the *Man on the Band-Stand*, (MoBS), or occasionally, as “Mr. See All,” (Fear-Segal, 2007c). The as the fictitious editor of the *Indian Helper*, the *MotBS*’ main purpose was to reinforce in the reader the sense that they were under constant surveillance through his constant, scrutinizing presence in the school’s internal newspaper, whether or not authority figures were present. Every edition of the *Indian Helper*, the character appeared throughout, publishing his “observations” of the student’s behavior- both good and bad, for all to read in addition to news, slanted think-pieces and student editorials, (Bell, 1998; Fear-Segal, 2007c). One such example of this can be seen in the regular column of “What I See and Hear,” published on the margins of every edition. Some of the *MotBS*’ observations from the *Indian Helper*, I.10 are as follows, (1885, p. 3):

- *The boys have new boots*
- *Joe Wisecoby made a good speech last night*
- *The girls are better at guessing enigmas than the boys*
- *Edgar Fire Thunder is working in Pine Ridge Agency black-smith shop now*
- *That ONE horn in the band makes TERRIBLE discord. Who blows it?*
- *How much better and more intelligent the girls look with their bangs combed back*
- *What did Capt. Pratt mean last Sunday night about the grain in the store-house rotting if we do not use it? Did he mean the knowledge in our heads? Yes! Knowledge is the grain, and our heads are the*

*store-houses. Let us make GOOD USE of every bit of knowledge we have and not let it rot. That boy or girl who went home and is lying around doing nothing is allowing 'the grain in the storehouse to rot'*

Noteworthy in this one example are the variety of rhetorical tactics employed to nudge students towards the administration's desired behavior: singling out individuals' good behavior ("Joe Wisecoby..," Edgar Fire Thunder..") while leaving the culprit bad behavior ambiguous or collective ("That ONE horn..," "How Much Better..."); cultivating student rivalries to encourage competition ("The girls are better..."); and planting desired interpretations of events as mere observations ("What did Capt. Prat mean...") all mixed in with mundane observations ("the boys have new boots") to create an air of pervasiveness and randomness about what is observed, when and why. Additionally, the MotBS reinforced the students' awareness of the actual disciplinary surveillance in the school by regular reminders of the measures the disciplinarians and matrons might take to maintain order. One such example of this is an article describing the MotBS participating in a surprise room inspection, ("Sunday Morning Inspection" the Indian Helper, I.10, 1885, p.2):

*The man-on-the-band-stand did not go around to inspection last Sunday morning. I didn't want to go around on Sunday morning. Of course, the boys and girls have their rooms fixed nicely on Sunday mornings, for that is the time they expect company. I want to go in the different rooms some week-day, when the pupils are all at dinner. I will not steal anything. I just want to see which boy keeps his clothes folded nicely and which girl has the neatest bureau and closet*

From this example and the prior one, the primary function of the MotBS is apparent: the administration did not want the students to relax or slacken in their discipline even when they were not being directly observed. Carlisle's administrators and faculty used the MotBS to fill the gaps of their real surveillance, creating the potential for scrutiny in the minds of the students where no real

scrutiny existed, (Fear-Segal, 2007c). This is a classic tactic of disciplinary institutions, a variation of the panopticon design, which aimed at internalizing the discipline of the subjects through the continuous potential of being surveyed, whether or not they are actively being monitored, (Foucault, 1979). The eponymous bandstand was located in the center of campus, (cf. Fig. 1), and was the frequent haunt of Pratt when not otherwise occupied. The bandstand afforded the broadest vista of activity in the school, able to survey the grounds and peer into the windows of the surrounding buildings, (Bell, 1998; Fear-Segal 2007b; Meness, 2017;). While the stand itself pre-existed the school, subsequent building projects directed by Pratt reinforced this effect, evidence that this panoptic vista was an intentional feature of the school.

One of the principle roles of discipline was to maintain the rigorous and all-encompassing daily routines of the school, ensuring that students had minimal free time to backslide into the looser time-habits to which they had been accustomed. The day for students began with rising at 6:00am, with a breakfast at 6:30 and a report to the disciplinarian at 7:40am for older students and 8:20am for younger students, under the supervision of a disciplinarian, (Thompson, 1892; Betzinez, 1952). Inspector Thompson from the Bureau of Indian Affairs reports the usual course of a day as he observed during his routine inspection as follows, (1892, 19-20):

- *Assemble in the Chapel at 9:00am, in double file, orderly, with military step.*
- *Reciting from memory passages from scriptures.*
- *News of the day or items of interest read by pupils or teachers*
- *Singing of one hymn by scholars*
- *Marching out of the chapel to the school rooms to the music of the piano*
- *Order, etc. of recitations arranged by each teacher independently*
- *Dismissal in regular order by twos.*
- *Home letter sent by each pupil first of each month at public expense*

- *At the noon intermission, the boys are dismissed first; in the evening dismissal the girls take precedence.*
- *School hours are from 9:00am to 12:00pm; and from 1:00pm to 4:00pm, the same hours being observed for industrial work*

A formal schedule published during the Friedman administration provides an even more comprehensive listing of the daily routines for each day of the week, scheduled events for events, regular and special programs throughout the year and scheduled dormitory inspections. A typical day's schedule is listed as follows:

**Table 1**  
*Schedule for Tuesday, Session of 1913-1914*

AM	PM
Rising Bell and Reveille – 6.00	Work Whistle – First: 12.55; Second 1.00
Assembly Call – 6.15	School Bell – First: 1.10; Second 1.15
Breakfast Bell – First: 6.25; Second: 6.30	Recall School Bell – First: 4.00 Second: 4.05
Work Whistle – First: 6.25; Second 7.30	Physical Culture – Girls from Normal [Rooms]: 4.10
Physical Culture – Small Boys 7.30	Recall Work Whistle – 5.00
Band Rehearsal – 7.30	Assembly Call – 5.15
School Bell – First: 8.30; Second 8.30	Supper Bell – First: 5.15; Second: 5.30
Chapel Exercise – 8.40	City Pastors' Meetings of all Protestants in Invincible, Standard and YMCA Halls – 6.00-6.45
Recall School Bell – First 11:30; Second 11.35	Catholic Instruction for Girls in Susan's Room and Small Boys in Assembly Room – 6.00-6.45
Recall Work Whistle – 11.30	Study Hour in School Building – First 6.50; Second: 6.55
Assembly Call – 11.45	Physical Culture – Troops A, B and Band (Boys) – 8.15
Dinner Bell First – 11.55; Second: 12.00	Roll Call and Prayers for Girls – 8.10
	Lights out for Girls – 9.00
	Roll Call and Prayers for Small Boys – 8.45
	Lights out for Boys – 9.00
	Roll Call and Prayers for Boys – 9.05
	Taps, and Lights out – 9.30

Note: From *Annual School Calendar: U.S. Indian School, Carlisle, PA. Session of 1913-1914* by M. Friedman, p. 9. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0



Coordination of all student action under the direction of authorities was a critical component to daily life in Carlisle, mimicking the regimented action of military drill, (Standing Bear, 1982; Betzinez, 1952; Bell, 1998; Leahy and Wilson, 2013). Whenever not occupied by school or training, students were regularly drilled, with “the idea being to keep them always engaged with something,” (Thompson, 1892, 19). The school’s administration extended this control of physical activity throughout the day. During lull periods in class, the students were required to perform coordinated calisthenic drills at the command of the teacher: In a letter describing the usual classroom activities, principal teacher C.M. Semple stated, (Semple, 1882, 6):

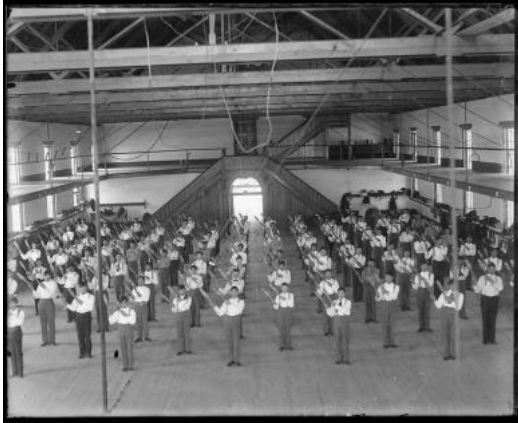
*Believing also that physical training should accompany the essential—a principle which seems especially important in the education of Indians—frequent exercises in alternate rising, sitting, standing, marching, jumping and later free gymnastics and singing formed a part of the daily school routine.*

In addition to this, physical training was intended to “preserve the health of the individual; [build] up the body by means of selected exercises; promote correct habits of standing and walking; [and correct] improper postures and abnormalities,” (Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902). These gymnastics consisted of highly regimented drills in calisthenics, dumbbells, Indian clubs and exercise wands, (Catalog of the Indian Industrial School, 1902, cf. Fig. 4-7), along with occasional “heavy gymnastics” and “gymnastic games.”<sup>15</sup>

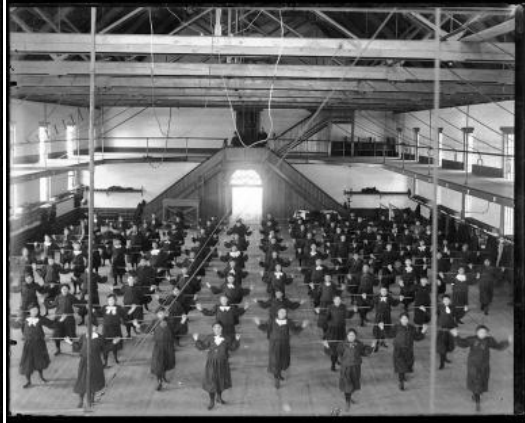
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15 “Heavy Gymnastics” consisted of “graded movements” in rope and ladder climbing, vaulting and ring and trapeze, while “Gymnastic games” included “pass-ball,” “hand-ball” and basketball, ( Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902)

**Figure 4**  
*Male students in gymnasium posed with Indian clubs*

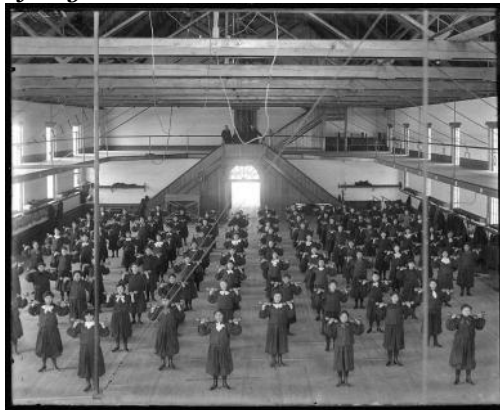


**Figure 5**  
*Female students in gymnasium with poles*

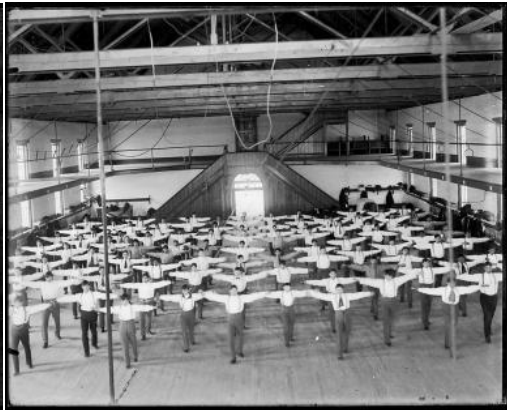


Note: From “Male students in gymnasium posed with Indian clubs” by J.N. Choate, 1887 (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/male-students-gymnasium-posed-indian-clubs-c1887>) and “Female students in gymnasium with poles” by J.N. Choate, 1887 (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/female-students-gymnasium-poles-c1887>). CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

**Figure 6**  
*Female students in gymnasium lifting barbells*



**Figure 7**  
*Male students exercising in gymnasium*



Note: From “Female students in gymnasium lifting barbells” by J.N. Choate, 1887 (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/female-students-gymnasium-lifting-barbells-c1887>) and “Male students exercising in gymnasium” by J.N. Choate, 1887 (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/male-students-exercising-gymnasium-c1887>). CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

When not studying or at work, supervised extracurricular activities- athletics, (principally Baseball, Football, and Track-and-Field), band, literary societies, debate societies, and formal socials filled the remainder of the time not devoted to study, work or meals, (Friedman, 1913; Bell, 1998). Like their schooling, these extracurriculars were

supervised and maintained strict, formal discipline with highly structured activities and tight scheduling. Sports and marching band in particular were valued for their tendency to require obedience to strict rule-sets under the supervision of a coach, usually one of the disciplinarians, as well as for the propagandistic value of Indian students publically excelling in a white man's leisure activity, (Adams, 1995; Bell, 1998). The Saturday evening assemblies, in addition to punishment usually had a guest lecturer, a performer or the superintendent occupying the evening for the students. During these lectures, Pratt would often take the opportunity to instill talking-points into the students with calls-and-response. Gainsworth describes one such Saturday night assembly as follows, (Leahy and Wilson, 2013, pp. 490-491):

*Presently, as if [Pratt] had bit upon an idea, he stepped to the edge of the platform and launched into a discussion of "this old Indian problem," as he called it. I wasn't aware that there was such a problem and I wondered what he was going to say about it. Before he had gone very far, however, he stopped short and shouted: "How shall we solve the Indian problem? Boys... Girls... Anyone... In just a sentence."  
"Abolish the Reservation system." Came one answer from the rear of the hall  
"Abolish the reservation system, says Fred Big Horse of the Great Nation" repeated the Captain. (I thought he said Great Big Horse)  
"Another..." "Abolish the ration system, says Chauncy Yellow another Sioux."  
"Another... Let's hear from the girls."  
And now boys and girls were bobbing up all over the hall, and what of solutions they offered! All this showed the thoughts by which Carlisle lived*

While some students resisted this oppressive environment, the majority eventually accepted the discipline of the school, whether out of necessity or out of true conversion, (Bell, 1998). Standing Bear, a child when he first arrived at Carlisle, accepted the premises of the school's instruction, resigned at first about the need to learn the ways of the White Man, but growing in enthusiasm as he was subjected

the lengthy indoctrination process, (Standing Bear, 1928).<sup>16</sup> Jason Betzinez by contrast, an Apache student taken from the war prisoners taken after the defeat of Geronimo, considered the school to be a positive experience compared to life on the run or as a prisoner in Ft. Marion, although he struggled greatly adapting to the new lifestyle on account of his advanced age, being 27 years old when he first arrived, (Betzinez, 1952). Others, such as the Lakota Ernest White-Thunder, refused to participate in the discipline of the school, resenting the fact that they “were all soldiers now,” being forced to transform into the people who had continually aggrieved them since they first made contact, (Lesiak, Jones and Romero, 1992, 31:45-31:55). In December of 1880, Ernest developed a fever. He refused food and medicine and eventually died from the illness, (Lesiak, Jones and Romero, 1992). In a letter to the secretary of the interior, Pratt stated that “he considered that [the illness] is entirely [White Thunder’s] own fault.” “He is still very obstinate” and “wants to die,” (Pratt, 1880a). Ernest died shortly after the letter was sent, (Lesiak, Jones and Romero, 1992). Such extreme resistance was not common, but rebellious students were a problem throughout the school’s history, with the administration having to catch runaways, police substance abuse, violent outbursts and even prevent student arson on more than one occasion, (Bell, 1998).

Even among the less openly rebellious students, discipline at Carlisle was not absolute. Students would often take gaps in the supervision to converse in their mother tongues, hide in closets to practice rituals and take advantage of lax discipline to cause mischief when they thought they could get away with it, (Standing Bear, 1928; Bell, 1998;

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16 Standing Bear subsequently rejected Carlisle’s mission upon his release, and became a vociferous critic of Indian education and assimilation in his adulthood, (1928)

Leahy and Wilson, 2013). Students did appear to have some free time, as there are reports of less structured leisure activities- ice skating, tennis and croquet, swimming, as well as other “amusements” and occasional “loafing” around Carlisle town, (Thompson 1892; Betzinez, 1952). Based on the schedules provided, this likely was limited to several hours a week when one’s own section was not called for a particular program (Thompson, 1892; Friedman, 1913; Bell, 1998), but there is little positive evidence to point to when or for how long students were permitted self-directed behavior. What is evident is that these occasions were quite rare, and for the vast majority of their time at Carlisle, students’ actions were under the direct command of the school’s administrators. While discipline did slacken significantly during later administrations, (Robinson et al, 1914), every available government inspection report of the school during Pratt’s administration report that excellent and strict discipline was maintained, providing substantial evidence of a high level of control over the students’ behavior throughout the majority of Carlisle’s existence, (Childs, 1882; Dorchester, 1889; Thompson, 1892; Bauer: 1898; Holland, 1898; Wright, 1898).

### **Language of the Country**

In contrast to the strict military discipline at Carlisle, the formal education at Carlisle, instruction in English language, literacy and arithmetic, was not significantly different than elementary education available to other American child at the time. The system of education, devised by principle teacher under Pratt, C.S. Semple, drew heavily from the system of Common Schooling: rows of students instructed from standardized lesson-books by a single, female teacher, advancing students from basic lessons to more advanced in regular grades separated by annual class, (Pratt, 1896, Rury, 2019). This system, inspired by the efficient throughput of factory education, was structured

principally for the ease of operation for the teachers and ease coordination of classes for the administrators, (Rury, 2019). For the students, the pace of this education was very rarely ideal, as the standardized pace of the lessons was usually poorly suited to the student's individual needs. The system of education was designed to prime students for a life coordinated from the top-down, providing and withholding relevant feedback at the discretion of the student's superiors, doing so largely at the expense of actual learning.

Initially, Carlisle's teachers attempted to employ traditional teaching methods for English literacy teaching the alphabet to the students by rote. Since the students themselves were not fluent in English, this method quickly failed. After a few years of frustration, the teaching staff adopted the "Object Method" wherein objects were employed as a means of demonstrating the meaning of spoken words in place of textbooks, (Reyhner, 2000). Principal Semple decried the old method in a letter reporting on the method of study at Carlisle, stating, (Semple, 1882, p. 10):

*The monotony of the old alphabet teaching is ten times more woeful when the teacher owing the ignorance of the child's vernacular can do nothing through association or illustration to aid the untrained memory or relieve the stupid useless worse than parrot-like repetition of unmeaning sound.*

Describing the new alternative, the Object Method, Semple writes, (1882):

*The chief mental characteristic of childhood is curiosity and to a certain extent this is true of the uncultured adult savage. Children of a larger growth their perceptive faculties are active, the eye quick and true the reason and judgment undeveloped. Taking advantage of the curiosity which prompted to the study of the countless objects, new and strange around them, we began by directing and stimulating that faculty presenting appropriate objects and gradually without set lessons and without compulsion, teaching their names and uses. In the same manner through observation and imitation the pupil was led to name and describe actions.*

In theory, this new method was intended to mimic the natural development of primary language acquisition, introducing vocabulary for objects and actions in the world as they arose through the physical demonstration of objects to the

student, (Reyhner, 2000). In practice, this change merely substituted an attempt to teach students the arcane symbology of an unknown language students by rote, with a brute-force method of assigning arbitrary names to objects without context or purpose. Compare, for example, the experience of Standing Bear learning through the alphabet method, to Hopi student Don Talayesva<sup>17</sup> learning through the object method, (Standing Bear, 1928, pp. 138-139; Talayesva, 1942, p. 107):

*The teacher wrote out the alphabet on my slate and indicated to me that I was to take the slate to my room and study... There I sat down and looked at those queer letters, trying hard to figure out what they meant. No one was there to tell me that the first letter was 'A' the next 'B' and so on... The next time the teacher told me by signs to take my slate to my room, I shook my head, meaning, 'no.' She came and talked to me in English, but of course I did not know what she was saying. A few days later, she wrote the alphabet on the blackboard, then brought the interpreter into the the room. Through him she told us to repeat each letter after her, calling out 'A' and then we all said 'A'; then 'B' and so on. This was our real beginning.*

*The first thing I learned in school was "nail," a hard word to remember. Every day when we entered the classroom a nail lay on the desk. The teacher would take it up and say, "What is this?" Finally I answered "nail" ahead of the other boys and was called "bright... I learned little at school the first year except 'bright boy' 'smart boy,' 'yes' 'no' 'nail' and 'candy'*

In either case the actual, practical routine of the education the students received was functionally identical: observe the example and repeat the words spoken by the teacher until the association was memorized. Students at Carlisle experienced this for at least four hours every weekday. In keeping with the policy that "Talking Indian" was expressly forbidden, teachers were not permitted to teach in the students' native languages, and students were expected to take their

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17 It should be noted that Don Talayesva was not a Carlisle Student, and this anecdote was regarding his experiences at the Hopi Day School in Kykotsmovi Village, AZ, (Talayesva, 1942). Despite this, this is one of the few descriptions of the Object method by a former Indian School student available. Both Carlisle and the Hopi Day school employed the Object method in their English language education, and Talayesva's description of the method in practice is consistent with that described by Semple, (Semple, 1882; Reyhner, 2000).

lessons entirely in English,<sup>18</sup> barring an insurmountable impasse of understanding such as described by Standing Bear. Consequently, teachers were constrained to communicate anything of substance to the students for the first several years of their schooling, and students largely had to become basically proficient in English through their own, unaided efforts.

Yet, before even before mastering this basic proficiency, students would be tasked to read and write through the same basic method. Semple describes the basic method as follows, (Semple, 1882, pp.6-11):

*Almost from the first, by the use of slate and black-board, the pupils were taught to write and read the names of objects or short sentences using script-describing actions. "Harry ran." "Mattie ran..." ten upon the board by the teacher following the action by the child copied upon the slate... When after six or eight months textbooks were put into the hands of our pupils, they readily distinguished words which they had already learned to write, and to read in script. Henceforth the lessons in Roman characters were copied in script, and read both from the book and the black-board. We found even then that reading in the ordinary acceptation of the term was impossible from the book.*

Feedback to the student regarding their performance appears to have been highly inconsistent and even designed to cause students to question their own ability. Students were required to perform on command to the standard of the lesson book, however many times the teacher required, without question or error. In one particularly striking instance, Standing Bear reports that, (1933, pp. 16-18):

*A pupil was asked to rise and read [a] paragraph while the rest listened and corrected any mistakes. Even if no mistakes were made, the teacher, it seems, wanted the pupils to state that they were sure they had made no error in reading. One after another the pupils read as called upon and each one in turn sat down bewildered and discouraged. My time came and I made no errors. However, upon the teacher's question 'Are you sure that*

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18 In any case, it is highly unlikely that any of the young, white female teachers drawn from the local Pennsylvanian population knew any of the students' primary languages anyway.



*you have made no error?’ I, of course, tried again, reading just as I had the first time. But again she said ‘are you sure?’ so the third and fourth times I read, receiving no comment from her... I started on the paragraph for the eleventh time, but before I was through, everything before me went black and I sat down thoroughly cowed and humiliated for the first time in my life and in front of the whole class... Saturday night came and the building was full of students and teachers. I was filled with anxiety and could not keep my mind from that reading lesson. I was, I thought, to be reprimanded before the entire school for having a poor lesson. Soon General Pratt was on the platform, talking about the value of possessing confidence. He said he always wanted us to do our best and never to be afraid of failures. If we did not do well at first try over and over again... Then he told the students that the class of Miss C. had received a reading test and that Luther Standing Bear had read the lesson eleven times in succession and correctly every time... in spite of the praise that I received that day and the satisfaction that I have had in all these years in knowing that I was a good student, I still have the memory of those hours of silent misery I endured in childish misgivings*

This teaching policy, unsurprisingly, generally resulted in students struggling greatly to learn even the most basic English. As Apache student Jason Betzinez describes, (Betzinez, 1952, p. 154):<sup>19</sup>

*It was extremely difficult for me to learn to speak English. At first, I was unable to make many of the sounds. I even had trouble pronouncing the letters of the alphabet. I couldn’t tell the difference between the strange sounds as readily as the younger people in the class. As a result I progressed very slowly, so slowly, in fact, that for the first three years it didn’t seem that I would ever learn...*

Despite Betzinez’ exceptional age, this difficulty was almost certainly a common experience. Most students at Carlisle were reported to take from three to four years to gain “a good, usable knowledge of English,” (Childs, 1882, p. 22; Meness, 2017). One inspector reported that, (Thompson, 1892, 18):

The pupils were all rather slow to see through a proposition, even after explanation. They would guess at the answer to a question, rather than think and it out... they did not appear to be original in any way, but imitators, being very good at that.

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19 Jason Betzinez was 27 when he first arrive at Carlisle, uncharacteristically old. He was selected by Pratt from the number of Apache prisoners of war from Geronimo’s band held in Florida (Betzinez, 1952)

Students were evidently and understandably hesitant to make an honest attempt. Moreover, the rate of development of English language competence did not improve substantially with greater experience, and that students had merely habituated to repeating whatever was asked of them.

The progress students made in mathematics was scarcely better. The same basic method of rote learning was employed in the math curriculum, described by Semple as follows, (Semple, 1882, pp. 12-13):

*The same principles [of the Object Method] are followed in the teaching of arithmetic – although here for various reasons greater latitude has been allowed as to methods. Grube’s leading idea- that of objective illustration- is insisted upon. We have sought to keep down in numbers developing slowly teaching addition, sub-traction, multiplication, and division simultaneously, and by the use of objects*

The official curriculum during this period articulates that mathematics beyond simple counting and fractions would not begin until at least the third grade, meaning that the first two years of mathematical education consisted of nothing but learning how to count, (Pratt, 1896). The first real application of numeracy students were exposed to was the reading of a clock in the second grade, an unsurprising priority given the strict time discipline of the school. By the third grade, when counting was supposed to have been mastered, students were finally taught real mathematics. In keeping with the industrial emphasis of the school, mathematical education consisted primarily in commercial applications of math: In third grade, students were taught monetary value and weights and measures; fourth grade, arithmetic focused on “common and decimal fractions, denomiate numbers, simplest forms of percentage and interest” and the keeping of account books; in fifth grade, the focus shifted to “many practical problems given on the black board for thorough work. Many skeleton problems (yds. \$. yds. \$.), bills involving fractional work,” (Pratt, 1896, p. 13). More advanced mathematics: roots, mensuration

and algebra, were not broached until ninth or tenth grade, a level which few students ever reached, (Pratt 1896; Bell 1998, Meness, 2017). How much students actually learned math is questionable. No student testimony actually reports having learned any mathematics throughout their time at Carlisle, despite reporting on their education in English, social studies, and trade skills, (Standing Bear, 1928; Betzinez, 1952, Leahy and Gainsworth, 2013). While this is certainly not evidence of its absence, this absence does suggest that the students' mathematical knowledge was not strongly emphasized outside of official administrative documentation. Other subjects, history, geography, science, drawing and music, were likewise scarce, and were a minor to the system of assimilation, (Meness, 2017).

Overall, the quality of education at Carlisle was nothing short of abysmal. Of the nearly 7711 students that attended, only 758 actually graduated the full course of study, a rate of about 9.8%, (Bell, 1998, Appendix 1). The historical evidence from actual student voices is, understandably, strongly biased to the best performers in English: Luther Standing Bear, Jason Betzinez, Howard Gainsworth and Pawnee Samuel Townsend. The most commonly cited sources on student perspectives at Carlisle were all exceptional in their mastery of English and formal academics, and thus, the best positioned to record their experiences. The effective mastery of English language of the average student is unknown, but by the graduation rates and inspector testimonies, it was almost certainly quite poor. Based on the statistics compiled by Bell and McBride, any given student was over twice as likely to run away as they were to graduate, at a rate of 23.5% of the total student population fleeing at some point, (Bell, 1998), and nearly as likely to die at or shortly after leaving Carlisle, at a rate of 5.1%, (McBride, 2013). Overall, despite being a supposedly major part of the school's curriculum and daily schedule, English language education seems to have been largely a complete waste of the student's time.

## **A Productive Trade**

The other major educational component of Carlisle's "education," industrial training, was little better, having more in common with a prison-labor camp than a trade-apprenticeship. As mentioned above, the education of the students in a productive trade was not only or primarily intended to provide students with practical skills for life in a market economy, but also the attitudes towards work, time and money deemed appropriate and moral by the administration. In practice, however, the relevance and quality of the trade education to the students was often non-existent. The financial interests of the school and the ideological priorities of the administration meant that the students, more often than not, were driven to work on otherwise useless tasks for the benefit of the institution at the expense of their time, health and future prospects.

Students began industrial training immediately upon their arrival at Carlisle, even before they had mastered the basics of English language. Unlike the formal education in English, which required significant adjustment on the part of the faculty to accommodate the students' general lack of comprehension, the industrial training was able to be demonstrated visually, and so there were few impediments to getting started. Industrial instructors and disciplinarians as a whole, were on much firmer ground in demonstrating the required labor than the classroom teachers, and the training was able to be "conducted as it would be in similar schools for White children in this country," (Bauer, 1898, 2). As Pratt explained in an annual report, (1890, p.310):

*Our people generally have, as beginners, an imperfect knowledge of the English language, and instruction by any course of lessons with explanation of process or methods is well nigh out of the question. Of necessity, therefore, they must acquire knowledge and skill by observation and practice. Education thus obtained is wholly practical. Shoe-making is taught by making shoes, tin-smithing by making tin-ware, carpentering by working with carpenters at whatever building operations are in progress, and so on through all the departments. The lowest intellect derives*

*satisfaction and encouragement from being able to produce a tin-cup, a pair of shoes, a horseshoe or a table, ect.*

Even so, there were irregularities in the training, largely based on Pratt's personal bias towards artisanal production and ideological preference towards hard work over labor-saving devices, (Pratt, 1908). All industrial labor was done by hand, even when machines were available and commonly used in professional practice, (Thompson, 1892). As the point of the industrial training was not just to teach a trade to the students, but also to accustom them to white work ethics, labor-saving devices were not favored, even when their use would have been more appropriate to the stated goal of training students in market-competitive skills, (Pratt, 1908). In the 1914 Congressional hearing Principle Teacher under Friedman John Whitwell testified that "there [was] no instruction" for the industrial training, and that students were assigned tasks arbitrarily, (Robinson et al, 1914, p. 1087). The agricultural training, supposedly the one of the cores Carlisle's educational mission and the most immediately relevant skill for students expecting to return to rural reservations, was "hardly worth mentioning" and that farm work was used as a defacto punishment for students, (Robinson et al, 1914, p. 1087).

While the Carlisle's primary goal was not economic in nature, much of the structure of its operation was centered around the economic needs of a subsidized, non-profit firm. While the school's social mandate and a significant portion of its funding came directly from the US Federal Government, the administrators were eager to minimize the portion of their operating budget derived from federal funding. For Pratt in particular, such a desire was both ideological and practical. Ideologically, Pratt was a vocal critic of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and worked to secure his personal control over the school by amassing funds and donations into the Carlisle Trust, over which he had direct control, (Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). Practically, federal funding and supply

was frequently insufficient to meet the school's overheads, and so the administration had to seek to supplement this want by other means,(Pratt, 1908; Brunhouse, 1939; Witmer, 1993; Bell, 1998). Moreover, for all administrators, the school's economic productivity- that is, the financial efficiency of the its operation- was a point of great pride, and a great portion of the annual reports to the commissioner of Indian Affairs highlight the material and financial productivity of the student body as evidence for the efficacy of the school, (Pratt; 1880; 1885; 1886b; 1890; 1895; 1901; Mercer, 1906; Friedman, 1910; Lipps, 1916)

Accordingly, in terms of the internal economy of Carlisle's a significant portion of the school's upkeep was paid for by student labor. Every students was scheduled to participate in an economically productive activity for at least half of the day. At its height, Carlisle operated with several hundred unpaid, part-time laborers producing either services for the school or goods which the school could sell to the BIA or private buyers, (Bell, 1998, McBride, 2013 Meness, 2017). The variety of tasks the students were required to perform included farming, manufacturing, maintenance of the grounds and student board, such as repairs, new installations, cooking, cleaning and laundry, the proceeds of which all benefited the school directly, or served as merchandise for sale, (Bell, 1998). Upon the initial arrival of students at the school in 1879, for example, Pratt assigned the students to repair the dilapidated structures of the former barracks and to construct a perimeter fence even for several days before they even saw the inside of a classroom. As another example, the carriages of the wagon-making shop were regularly sold to the BIA in such numbers that the "Carlisle Wagon" became a common nickname for the vehicles used by reservation agents to bribe native chiefs into compliance, (Bell, 1998, p. 161).

Under Pratt, most male students would be given enough time to develop some degree of specialized skill, but as the years went on, more and more the students were merely used to maintain, repair and finance the school however necessary, (Childs, 1882). By late in Friedman's administration, students reportedly "[changed too much from one place to another] for Principal Whitmer to consider Carlisle as an industrial school at all, (Robinson et al, 1914, p. 1087). What was consistent however, was that all students worked long and hard hours of physical labor with little food or opportunity for rest. Consequently a large portion of the student body suffered from poor physical and mental health throughout the stay, (McBride, 2013).

Even during the height of Carlisle's operation, however, the actual utility of the industrial training was questionable. A frequent point of contention among the students, for example, was that the specific trades in which students were designated to specialize were decided by Carlisle's administration with little to no input from the students themselves. Standing Bear, for example states that "One day they selected a few boys and told us that we were to learn trades. I was to be a tinsmith. I did not care for this, but I tried my best to learn this trade... I tried several times to drop this trade and go to school the entire day, but Captain Pratt said, 'No you must go to the tin shop, that's all there is to it,' so I had to go," (1928, p. 147). Jason Betiznez had a similar experience, stating "One day, Mr. W.P. Campbell, a Chippewa Indian who was our first disciplinarian, called me out and took me to the old blacksmith shop where he assigned me as an apprentice. I had previously asked him to put me in the carpentry shop, in which type of work I had become interested, but for some reason he wouldn't do it," (1952, p.154). Meanwhile, female students were even more restricted in their trade options than their male counterparts. The only industrial track available to the girls "[was] to make them good housekeepers. They were taught to cook, wash, iron and sew

and in general to do that which shall enable them to maintain comfortable and pleasant homes for themselves,” (Childs, 1882, p. 23). Students were expected to do as the administration told them without question or complaint. As a result of this inflexibility, students frequently found that the skills in which they were obliged to specialize in had little or no use on the reservation once they returned to their reservations, (Standing Bear, 1928; Bell, 1998). The administration was aware of this problem quite early on, but generally ignored this as a valid complaint, (Pratt, 1886; Pratt, 1890 Bell, 1998). A possible reason for this willful ignorance was that the primary purpose for industrial training was disciplinary, rather than practical in nature- teaching students the habits of industriousness, competitiveness and the dissolution of tribal relationships were considered more important aspects of industrial training than the practical utility of such skills in the context of student’s own communities, which Pratt considered to be “pandering to the tribe and its socialisms,” (Pratt, 1890, p. 313; cf. Morgan, 1890; Pratt, 1908). In one report the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pratt states, (Pratt, 1890, p. 312-313):

*It has been urged against industrial training of this and other schools that the trades taught are of no practical value to [the students] on their return to their agencies. This presupposes that the Indians are always to remain as they are in an ignorant tribal condition. If we ever get the Indians to break up their tribal relations and venture out into the world as successful individuals, it must be done through training them in various industries so that in different capacities they may individually feel able to cope with the whites... Very few of those who have returned to the reservations after three or more years with us but are able to support themselves by labor in any civilized community. If they do not do so on the reservations it is the fault of the conditions existing there.*

As the goal of the school was to destroy tribal communities, Pratt considers the inadequacy of his school’s industrial training to serve students in their home reservations to be an advantage, not a failing of the school. Yet, since most students returned to their home reservations after graduation anyway, (Bell, 1998), the majority industrial training the students participated in amounted to little more than ideologically



motivated busywork. The actual skills the students developed had little value once they returned to their old communities, and students found it difficult to get work elsewhere due to the racist attitudes of potential employers, who largely did not share Pratt's humanistic attitudes towards the Indian, (Standing Bear, 1928; Bell, 1998).

The arbitrariness and needless difficulty of the tasks assigned to student labor force belies the true purposes of the industrial training: not to develop skills, but discipline. In the imaginations of administrators and public officials, it was presumed that through this "industrial training" students would come to appreciate hard work for its own sake, and thus continue to discipline themselves and be economically productive on their own after the conclusion of their schooling. Commissioner Morgan articulates the importance of the internalization of discipline in his manifesto, stating, (1890, pp. 14-15):

*The schools should be organized and conducted in such a way as to accustom the pupils to systematic habits. The periods of rising and retiring, the hours for meals, times for study, recitation, work and play should all be fixed and adhered to with great punctiliousness. The irregularities of camp life, which is the type of all tribal life, should give way to the methodical regularity of daily routine. The routine of the school should tend to develop habits of self-directed toil, either with brain or hand, in profitable labor or useful study... When the Indian children shall have acquired a taste for study and a love for work the day of their redemption will be at hand.*

Not merely work, but hard work for its own sake: fast, competitive and conscious of social hierarchy, was what a good civilized Indian was intended to do. As one might expect, such messages are nowhere more evident than in the newspapers circulating the halls of Carlisle. In nearly every edition of the Indian Helper the moral message of hard work can be found, repeatedly reminding the students that not merely work, but hard work, was to be valued for its own sake. One example can be found in the Indian Helper, I.25, ("How to Succeed," 1886, p. 1)

*Here are 12 things if you will do you may succeed:*

1. *“Learn your business thoroughly*
2. *“Keep at one thing. Do not change your business*
3. *“Work as fast as you can, do your work well*
4. *“Plan out a way to do your work before you begin*
5. *“What ever is worth doing is worth doing well*
6. *“Do your work to-day, do not leave it until to-morrow*
7. *“Depend on yourself. Do not always wait for somebody to tell you how*
8. *“When you promise a thing, do it*
9. *“Never be idle, keep your hands or mind always busy*
10. *“Be kind and polite to everybody, help others*
11. *“Save your money*
12. *“Take your place when you find one, and work up to a higher one do not be discouraged because you can’t begin high*

Another example, taken from the Indian Helper IX.12, (“Silly Excuses Don’t Pay”, 1893

p. 4):

*Honorable positions in a class are obtained by hard work. The idlers always fetch up at the foot and burden the air with their silly excuses of failure. Hard work means constant study of the lessons given by the teacher, which is not so hard at all, if a time be set apart for doing everything.*

And from the Indian Helper XIV.49, (1899, p. 4):

*Have you noticed what a nuisance a person makes of himself who is always asking for little favors? "I'd like to be excused form this, that or the other thing because my finger is sore, or I don't feel like working, or I'm going to the country tomorrow." There is not one in a hundred of our students who tries to get excused from the regular way of doing things, but that ONE is very troublesome sometimes, and makes a poor reputation for himself, right along.*

The emphasis on hard work for its own sake, while ideological, was not solely so however. Pratt, in an early report to the commissioner of Indian affairs notes an additional advantage to the more labor-intensive instruction the students received, stating, (1886, p20):

*Not only does the regular half day at some trade or manual occupation train the hands and eye, but it is the safety valve of the school- the outlet by*

*which such surplus vitality is expended, as the ordinary academic or collegiate student find relief in a multitude of midnight escapades, hazing ect.*

Discipline, Pratt believed, was much more easily maintained so long as the students remained occupied at all times. Accordingly, the industrial training was an integral part of the larger system of discipline the school maintained. As reporter Frances E Willard described: “We keep [the children] moving,’ said the Captain as we passed from shop to shop in this great, humming hive of industry ‘and they have no time for homesickness—none for mischief—none for regret,” (Willard, 1889, 290). Students who were kept busy had little time to seriously consider their conditions, their life circumstances or the possibility of rebellion, and so students were deliberately worked to exhaustion in order to be pacified into submission.

Of all the industrial training in which the students participated only the Outing system was truly representative of the sort of work that students could anticipate upon their release. Usually, this would amount to little more than domestic or farm labor, (Brunhouse, 1939; Bell, 1998, but occasionally outings would include more urban types of labor: Standing Bear, for example, worked as a shop clerk at a department store in Philadelphia, (Standing Bear, 1928),<sup>20</sup> and in 1915, several students were employed as factory workers at the Ford automobile plant in Detroit, but such jobs were the exception rather than the rule, (Sells and Francis, 1917, Witmer, 1993). For the most part, students work as a farm-hand or live in maid for a white homestead, and were payed a paltry wage for their trouble, (Adam, 1995, Bell, 1998): “the boys from \$5 to \$12, and even \$15 dollars a month, averaging about \$8; the girls from \$2 to \$6. This in both cases is in

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20 An assignment granted largely to generate publicity for the school, (Standing Bear, 1928)

addition to their board and instruction they receive,” (Childs, 1882, p.23).<sup>21</sup> The wage was the student’s own in theory, but in practice, Carlisle’s administration exercised strict control over the management of the money, (Bell, 1998). The school held the students’ wages in trust, providing the students with only small sums for what were deemed essentials, largely the purchase of clothing or necessary instruments for their work, (Bell, 1998). The underlying logic of this control was that “[a] simple system of wage-earning, accompanied by a plan of savings, with debit and credit scrupulously kept, will go far towards teaching the true value of money, and the formation of habits of thrift, which are the beginnings of prosperity and wealth,” (Morgan, 1890, p. 16). Students were restricted from use of the money except to purchase essential items: clothing, books and stationary required by the school. The rest was held by the administration until the graduation of the student, at which point it would theoretically be transferred to them. There is little evidence one way or the other on whether this system was pedagogically effective, but the system did provide ample opportunity for the administration to garnish wages, withhold access to funds as punishment for truancy and bad behavior, or to embezzle the students’ earnings, (Robinson et al, 1914; Bell, 1998). Students, whose motivations and credibility were already suspect in the eyes of the administration, had little recourse for such abuse.

The fact that outed students were not on school grounds, certainly did not mean that they were free from Carlisle’s discipline, which followed them to this new setting as best it could, (Bell, 1998). Students seeking to work in an outing “make their applications in duplicate to their respective disciplinarians in writing on a blank form, and therein agree to observe the rules of the schools, so far as is applicable to them, while absent, and

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21 For context, the highest reported salary of \$15 a month in 1882 would come to \$402.30 in 2021 value, (Alioth Finance, 2021). (Generously) assuming a 10 hour workday, 6 days a week, the hourly wage of an outed Carlisle student is the equivalent of \$1.68 in today’s money.

obey their employer,” and Pratt held exclusive right to select the employer, and negotiate the terms of labor and wages on behalf of the student, (Thompson, 1892). In addition to evaluating the moral acceptability of employers and setting student wages, Pratt included an additional list of rules as follows:

**Table 2**

*Regulations to Govern Persons in Charge of out Students*

1.	<i>Do not allow students free use of money. Advise and assist in all purchases of clothing and other necessities, which charge up at the time. Give pupils spending money occasionally, if asked for it, but if bad use is made, withhold it and notify me. After two weeks trial talk with pupil and correspond with me about wages; but what is customary, for like service in your vicinity, should determine the matter. When returning to the school, give enough money for transportation and send balance to me in check, in favor of pupil</i>
2.	<i>Pupils must attend Sabbath School and Church regularly where such privileges are acceptable</i>
3.	<i>Absence without your permission, or loafing on Sundays and evenings must not be allowed.</i>
4.	<i>Pupils visiting their companions must not make a habit of staying for meals</i>
5.	<i>Patrons or others are not to hire pupils who have been sent to their neighbors, without my consent nor should students be encouraged to change places</i>
6.	<i>Except authorized by me, students are not to return, nor be returned to the school before the period for which they are engaged expires.</i>
7.	<i>Pupils are not to use tobacco or spirituous liquors in any form. This or any other offense against good order must be reported to me at the time</i>
8.	<i>When out for the winter, pupils are to attend school continuously at least four months, working out of school hours for board and washing</i>
9.	<i>Pupils must bathe at least twice a week</i>
10.	<i>Encourage the pupil to read and study during the off hours, even at busy seasons, and give some assistance</i>
11.	<i>Reports must be sent to me in promptly the last few days of each calendar month, even if the pupil has been with the patron only a few days.</i>

Note: From *Inspection Report of Charles H. Thompson* by C.H. Thompson, 1892, p. 57. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Patrons and students both were regularly mailed report cards in which to fill out and return to the school, over which Pratt held close scrutiny, (Thompson, 1892; Brunhouse, 1939; Bell, 1998). Of course, it was impossible for the administration to conduct the same degree of exacting control over the student’s routines while out as they

could while students were on campus. Consequently, students frequently reported their outings to be a positive experience, a welcome change from the strict discipline and arbitrary routines of the school. This of course, was largely dependent on the quality of the patrons, many of whom abused or overworked their student wards, (Bell, 1998). Nevertheless, most students seem to have preferred doing real work for an actual wage, however token, compared to the monotonous and largely pointless grind of daily life on the Carlisle grounds.

### **Courage of Civilization**

The final aspect of the Carlisle system of indoctrination, the “Courage of Civilization,” served as a means to both justify and reinforce the productivist, individualist attitudes cultivated by the institution. The Courage was an ideology characterized by cultivating of the myth of civilization progress, and sacrilizing the sacrifice of the present for future rewards, intended to provide a sacred and historical context for the project of colonization and assimilation. The students at the school were constantly exposed to these messages in order to reframe their conceptions of themselves in time to those consistent with the administration: as retrograde subjects, hurriedly advancing up the linear progress of history through their hard work.

In the early years of Carlisles operation the mission to civilize was characterized by an urgent evangelism, informed by a need to demonstrate the viability of native assimilation to an unsympathetic audience. Alarmed by the demographic collapse of native Americans throughout the continent, the drive to civilize the Indian was largely framed, both outside of and in the classroom as a means to stave off civilization. Indian students, as the first representatives of their people within civilized society, were loaded with the enormous burden of proving not just their own value to white society, but

whether any native Americans were worth keeping alive at all. Commissioner Morgan, alludes to this reality in his manifesto, explaining, (Morgan, 1890, p.16):

*No pains should be spared to teach them that their future must depend chiefly upon [the students'] own exertions, character, and endeavors. They will be entitled to what they earn... Society will recognize in them whatever is good and true, and they have no right to ask for more. If they persist in remaining savages the world will treat them as such, and justly so. Their only hope of good treatment is in deserving it.*

This sentiment was not merely shared among Friends of the Indian, but actively articulated to the students. Pratt would regularly remind his students that the well-being of both them and their families was solely dependent on their success at school, particularly in the early years when it was uncertain whether the project of Indian Education would work at all, (Bell, 1998). Standing Bear writes of one such warning upon departing to his outing, quoting Pratt as saying, (Standing Bear, 1928, pp. 178-179):

*My boy, you are going away from us to work for this school, in fact, for your whole race. Go and do your best. The majority of white people think the Indian is a lazy good-for-nothing. They think he can neither work nor learn anything; that he is very dirty. Now you are going to prove that the red man can learn and work as well as the white man... Now, my boy, you are going to do your best. If you are a failure, then we might as well close up this school. You are going to be an example of what this school can turn out. Go, my boy, and do your best. Die there if necessary, but do not fail.*

This speech, while dramatic, was not quite so dramatic as one might expect. Standing Bear was among the first cohort of students to arrive at Carlisle. At that time, in the early 1880s, it was very uncertain whether the white public would accept that Native Americans could be assimilated. The students at Carlisle were considered by the military to be political hostages, and Native Americans were broadly considered by the public to be closer to dangerous wild animals than people. Total extermination of the remaining native peoples was still very much on the table, and so the students' good behavior and capacity to pass as "civilized" was generally accepted, among both the Administration,

the student's parents, and many of the students themselves, (Pratt, 1892, Standing Bear, 1928, Holm, 2005).

While the threat of physical genocide was real and present, however it in of itself did not serve as a coherent ideology for the school. Instead, the principle justification for Carlisle's cultural genocide provided, (and sincerely believed) by the administration was the myth of linear historical progress and the narrative manifest destiny, (Morgan, 1877; Turner, 1920; Tuveson, 1980). These stories served as the core justification Carlisle as an institution, uplifting the students from their "backward" and "savage" cultures, pointing them in the right historical direction and speeding them along at an accelerated rate. Students were indoctrinated to understand the history of their peoples' relations with the United States not the sublimation of indigenous people into an imperial power, but rather as an expanding relationship of benevolent patronage between a higher, more advanced culture and their own. Commissioner Morgan explicitly commanded this attitude to be at the forefront of the historical education of all Indian students, stating, (Morgan, 1890, p16):

*[Students] should be taught to look upon America as their home and upon the United States Government as their friend and benefactor. They should be made familiar with the lives of great and good men and women in American history, and be taught to feel a pride in all their great achievements. They should hear little or nothing of the 'wrongs of the Indians,' and of the injustice of the white race. If their unhappy history is alluded to it should be to contrast it with the better future that is within their grasp.*

Anthropological theories of linear progression, the most popular understanding of both human and American history at the time, (cf. Morgan, 1877; Turner, 1921), were presented in all textbooks circulating all American schools at time. At Carlisle, student's cultures of origin were routinely degraded as primitive, ignorant and practically



subhuman. One such example of this, articulated in Barnes' Complete Geography, one of Carlisle's required textbooks, (Standing, 1890), reads, (Montheith, 1885, p.21):

*People are classified with respect to their social conditions, as savage, barbarous, half-civilized, and civilized, or enlightened. **Savages** are people without written laws or political government. They are ignorant and superstitious, and live by hunting and fishing.\* \*Savages place but little value on human life. **Barbarous** people live, chiefly, on the products of their herds and flocks. They have no permanent homes, but wander from place to place, to find pasturage for their cattle, sheep, and goats. **Half-civilized** people are more skilled in agriculture and manufacturing than barbarous tribes. They are more or less educated, but have little or no communication with other people. **Civilized**, or enlightened, nations are characterized by their knowledge of the arts and sciences, their education, literature, and capability of self-government.*

As another example, one of Carlisle's history textbooks, the Young Folks' History of the United States, *describes* "the Indian," as a monolithic entity functionally identical over space, (Higginson, 1875, p.14):

*But, however carefully they may have built their houses, all these Indians were alike in being a roving race, living in the open air most of their time, and very unwilling to be long confined to one place*

and incapable of significant social change over time, independent of the intervention of more advanced cultures, (Higginson, 1875, pp. 10-11):

*It is very natural to ask whether the Mound-Builders were the ancestors of our present American Indians. It does not seem at all likely that they were, because the habits of the two races were so very different. Most Indian tribes show nothing of the skill and industry required for these great works... Perhaps this singular people will always remain a mystery. They may have come from Asia, or have been the descendants of Asiatics accidentally cast on the American shore.*

Students were encouraged to believe in every lecture, sermon, presentation and text text available to them to think of themselves as progressing beyond this savage state, and adopting the most advanced civilized habits for not only their own sake, but the sake of their people, (Standing Bear, 1928; Betzinez, 1952, Bell, 1998, Leahy and Gainsworth,

2013). The benefits of the education at Carlisle were articulated regularly in school newspapers. One such example can be found in an untitled article in the *Indian Helper* I.44, (1886, p.4):

*The 'medicine men' of the white people can do very wonderful things. But not without years and years of patient, thoughtful study. The other day, a man who had become blind when a very little child had his sight given back by a skillful eye doctor. He remembered nothing of how the world looked. The faces of his wife and children he had never seen. You may think then how great was the joy of this man when he opened his eyes and for the first time saw those he loved. Can the Indian "medicine man" open the eyes of the blind? I have not heard of any that could.*<sup>22</sup>

Another example can be found In the article "How Some Indians Were Made to Suffer by Their Enemies," , a story is related about the precarity of life on the plains, relating how a village of horticulturalists had their winter caches stolen by a stronger tribe. The story concludes by stating, (the *Indian Helper*, Vol. 3 No. 21, 1888, pp. 1 and 4):

*'the Indians are all gone from that place now, and children from both these tribes of which I have told you have lived together in love at the Carlisle Indian School making my heart very glad, as I saw them there together'- A-te-ka*

The co-optation of indigenous voices such as this was a common rhetorical trick used by the school to propagandize their students. While it may be easier for students to ignore the assertions of their white captors, the same message supposedly coming from a fellow native certainly would have had significantly more authority to these students. In much the same way, the message of progress of the voices of students who bought into the school's propaganda. Samuel Townsend, an early student from the Pawnee, was allowed

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22 Incidentally, Fletcher reported around this same time that she had witnessed Sioux medicine men treat a child who had received a gunshot wound through the eye. The reservation agency physician declared that the child's case was fatal, but the child in fact made a full recovery within six months of the injury thanks to the persistent care of the medicine men, (2013, p. 161)

to publish an article about this new perspective he learned at Carlisle. Townsend writes, (the School News, I.5, 1880, p. 2):

*Some Indians don't want to be ignorant they want to know some- thing. They want to know about the things that the white men do. Indians can't learn anything without some wise people teaching them so the people of the United States must give the Indians more help and give them more education. They can't do the things like the white people because the white people have more knowledge but the Indians have not this kind of knowledge. The Indians are ignorant. Some of them are trying to know something. They put themselves among the white people...*

Note that not only does this opinion piece elevate whites as “wise” and degrade Indians as “ignorant,” but it obfuscates the agency of the relationship, claiming that the Indians themselves “put themselves among the white people” to learn. This served to strengthen the fiction that the majority of the students, or student’s relatives gave their consent to Carlisle’s education while hiding the broader environment of coercion in which the students made the agreement, as well as the regular use of disinformation by school recruiters, (Bell, 1998). While many, if not most of the students understood that they were attending the school under duress, the overwhelming presence of propaganda within the bounds of the school more often than not fostered sufficient buy in from the students to keep them obedient and docile, (Standing Bear, 1928; Betzinez, 1952; Bell, 1998; Leahy and Wilson, 2013). Many students, if not the majority, began to see themselves as a part of a larger historical project of civilizational progress.

Ultimately, though the historical progress advocated by Carlisle was more religious in nature than it was rational. The narrative of progress advocated by Carlisle was not based in legitimate evidence, but rather as the secular interpretation of Christian eschatology, and the millenarian anticipations of its administrators. The use of missionary language in describing Carlisle’s mission: salvation, zeal, evangelism, is not

metaphorical, it is an accurate description of how the Friends of the Indian conceived of their project. Pratt, in the first lines of his manifesto, states that, (1908, p. 5)

*The original idea leading to the establishment of the Carlisle Indian school cannot be traced farther back than Adam. It is clear that when Adam became the father of mankind there was then established that beneficent principle- the unity of the human race- which, through endless difficulties, still struggles for supremacy.*

While Commissioner Morgan explains, (1890, p.8, emphasis added):

*Education is to be the medium through which the rising generation of Indians are to be brought into fraternal and harmonious relationship with their white fellow-citizens, and with them enjoy the sweets of refined homes, the delight of social intercourse, the emoluments of commerce and trade, the advantages of travel, together with the pleasures that come from literature, science, and philosophy, **and the solace and stimulus afforded by a true religion.***

For Pratt, and many Friends of the Indian, the cultural superiority of Anglo-America was not merely a historical fact, a divinely ordained, (Tuveson, 1980), and the “salvation” of the Indian through was not merely metaphorical. To uplift the Indian was also to convert him to Christianity, a Christian understanding of history and a Christian understanding of one’s own life as inherently sinful and transient. The school’s top-down control over the students’ bodies, through strict hygiene, abstinence from masturbation, sexual intimacy, the use of tobacco and alcohol, and the suppression of the idolatry of students’ native spirituality was intended to provide a model for the students to internalize, preserving the sanctity of their eternal souls for after death by protecting it from the vicissitudes of the temporal world. As a project driving principally by protestants, the insistence on the rejection of Indian “laziness” and the withholding of student earnings in savings sprung from this same ethic of delayed gratification, the secular mirroring the spiritual on an individual and socio-historical scale, (Weber, 1905; Thompson, 1968; Rosa, 2013). Frequent reference is made in the student newspapers to

the role of the student's participation in education as a part of this progress, advancing in individual skill in the same way. "Progress and improvement are every man's duty. It is not right to remain as we were, or as we are... If the Lord puts us at the bottom of a hill, or at the beginning of a road, it may be for us to proceed, and stop where we are." one article writes, ("The Squib", *the Indian Helper*, XIV.49, 1899, p. 4). Another, "Places for Boys to Fill" articulates the link between good individual morals, a desire for progress and the potential for future rewards quite directly, (*the Indian Helper*, IX.9, 1893, pp. 1 and 4):

*The right kind of boys- BOYS WITH CLEAN BRAINS, good digestion, good morals, manners and associations will always be in demand to fill the following places: pure legislators; clever inventors; first-class farmers; skilled mechanics; incorruptible judges; consecrated ministers; contentious editors; benignant physicians; patriotic school directors. But one place, that of the Indian Agent will not ALWAYS be open, it is hoped, for boys to aspire to, because when the Indians become INDIVIDUAL citizens of the United States, as we are trying to make them at Carlisle, what need will there be for an Indian Agent?... Indians do not love darkness rather than light, but when the great cry of pretend-to-be-friends is, stay at home, stay on your own little piece of land, see nobody, stay away from the busy people of the world, look not upon their works... But when the Indian once gets out of such a place into the broad electric light of the best civilization and takes part in the work which brings happiness and peace, he enjoys it and cries for MORE LIGHT, as is the case of many of our pupils who are out in the world now, working up into somebody that the world can respect. [Sic]*

This passage encapsulates the message of Carlisle to the individual student quite succinctly: a good student who is bright, well mannered and with good, Christian morals, has the opportunity to advance themselves in the most advanced civilization in the world, and will wish to do so because it will bring them happiness, security and respect. Those who wish to cling to traditional, non-christian ways of life are "pretend-to-be-friends" who will only keep the good student from the benefits of civilization.

In this narrative's most extreme, even death is preferable to moral laxity, as the unrealized rewards in the afterlife were said to compensate for the hard drudgery the

students were destined to endure. Standing Bear, articulates this attitude quite starkly in a letter to his father, when writing of the death of a classmate, (1882/ Emery, 2017):

*Day before yesterday one of the Sioux boys died. His name is Alvan. He was a good boy always. So we were very glad for him. Because he is better now than he was on Earth. I think you may be don't know what I mean. I mean he has gone in heaven. Because he was a good boy everywhere I want you must give up Indian way. I know you have give it up a little. But I want you to do more than that and I told you so before this. But I will say it again you must believe God, obey him and pray to Him. He will help you in the right path and He will give you what you want if you ask Him. Dear father I know it is very hard for you to do that out there.*

At this time, Standing Bear had fully bought into the propaganda of the Courage, and believed it quite firmly until he was free from the intense atmosphere of propaganda at the school, (Standing Bear, 1928). What was evidently most important to him at the time, undoubtedly an echo of administrative talking points, was that, despite being the ultimate cause of Alvan's death, Carlisle's education had done him a favor by saving his soul before he died. This extreme, pathological devotion to delayed gratification was used to shift focus away from the real failings and harm to the students done by the administration, stringing the students along with promises of future rewards disproportionate to any outcome they might actually realize.

Reviewing the evidence, it is understandable why Pratt would deem it necessary to call Carlisle's ideology the "Courage of Civilization." Not did Carlisle demand the courage to forsake one's home and community, but it would likewise require courage to accept the alternative: a life strict discipline, scarcity, hard toil, monotonous and meaningless activity with only strangers for company under a constant threat of violence to oneself and one's family. It required great courage to hope for an uncertain reward of a life beyond the meager existence most students could expect upon their release. Life in Carlisle, by all accounts, was all at once rushed, monotonous, arbitrary and contrived, structured to make students the raw materials to be fed into an engine of civilization.

This life was a far cry from that the students might have otherwise experienced, a comparison which we will detail in the final chapter of our study.

## CHAPTER 7

### ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Our investigation of pace-of-life began with the frequently noted observation that pace-of-life in modern societies seems to be much faster when compared to non-modern counterparts, and that, despite its frequency in anecdotal observation, the phenomenon had only recently come under scholarly investigation. In our literature review in Chapter Two, we noted that the vast majority of studies on pace-of-life focused primarily on describing the correlations of aggregated population-level data to large scale socioeconomic factors such as city size and density, economic productivity and social inter-connectivity. While significant correlations were found, we noted that such a broad perspective failed to include finer-grain factors of deliberate social organization, leading to inaccurate interpretations of the data as emergent properties of individual behavioral changes. We highlighted the historical work of E.P. Thompson, in his 1968 article “Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism” which observed the significant role of factories as a disciplinary institution in changing the time-culture among the English lower classes in the early modern period. Our own investigation observed a similar transition from a non-modern to a modern lifestyle, the case of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS).

In the previous four chapters, we have examined the particular case of the CIIS, an institution designed to habituate its students to a modern, “civilized” lifestyle through their immersion a corrective disciplinary simulation of modern routines and social structures. Using historical records of the daily lives of the Plains Indian Cultures (PIC), we were able to reconstruct a rough approximation of the daily and annual routines of both men and women of the PIC, as well as their traditional process of child socialization to such a lifestyle. We focused on the methods by which children learned to reproduce



the lifestyle of their elders, and the values by which Plains Indians related themselves to their environment with respect to time. In subsequent chapters, we described the history, design goals and operation of the CIIS as it attempted to retrain students to a modern lifestyle and social context.

This chapter will directly compare the two cases in order to identify critical distinctions in social structure with respect to pace-of-life. This comparative analysis will address the four questions articulated in Chapter Two: 1) How are routines organized in these two cases?; 2) How do these routines relate to the economic activity of these two cases?; 3) Onto what environmental information do the subjects?; and 4) what temporal values are emphasized in the socialization process: how are children advised to relate themselves to time, both in terms of time orientation and in the appropriate pace of action? Previous studies into pace-of-life established strong correlations between pace-of-life and gross socioeconomic and cultural indicators, but either the coarseness of quantitative studies prevented a means to determine a causal relationship, or else the studies were too historically specific to confidently extrapolate outside of their particular case. Our analysis seeks to examine the correlations of the former category on a finer scale to begin to establish a causal relationship, and to expand the historical dataset of the former case to include an independent, but similar case.

As in E.P. Thompson's article, we find that the most significant shift in the routine pace-of-life of students transitioning from a non-modern culture to a modern culture was their compulsory immersion in a disciplinary institution and the displacement of routine organization from local self organization onto a centralized administration. Immersion in the disciplinary institution of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School significantly restructured the daily and annual routines of students in order to

suit the political and economic priorities of the institution. These priorities, and the means by which they were realized, were directly antagonistic to the autonomy of individuals and local communities to generate routine structures localized to specific ecological and cultural conditions. One consequence of this antagonism was that the routine pace-of-life of the students significantly accelerated compared to their expected experience in PIC. Adding to Thompson's thesis, we note that, from the perspective of individual agents, the change in pace is a natural consequence of the change in behavioral requirements of their socioenvironmental conditions: in the PIC, slow deliberate observation and patient non-reactivity served vital functions for survival, and was thus valued by adults socializing their children. By contrast, at the CIIS, survival demanded a strict adherence to imposed time discipline, productive activity and enthusiasm for progress imposed by the administration.

### **Social Organization**

The most evident difference between the PIC and the CIIS with respect to the structure of routines is tendency in PIC for self-organization of daily activity, with very few instances of coercive, top-down control of routines, for either adults or children. In contrast, the CIIS was overwhelmingly an institution of top-down control, with the routine structures of students being almost entirely dictated by a centralized administration. The evidence suggests that this distinction of bottom-up self organization vs top-down command and control is related to the scale of social interconnectivity: Large, coherent social networks can afford disproportionate social influence to individuals or small groups, who may then leverage that influence to directly control the behavior of low-status individuals. Such a phenomenon is evident in both

historical cases, but while such social dynamics are relatively constrained in PIC, they are the defining feature of the CIIS.

Broadly stated, the most significant contributor to differences in pace-of-life experienced by an individual resulting from social organization is the consequence of division of labor and social stratification. In the PIC, the most evident division of labor common across individual tribes is the division of labor by gender. Women, taken as a whole, tended to participate in more labor on a daily basis than men, as the tasks customarily assigned to them demanded more regular attention, and the need and opportunity to perform tasks related to household maintenance occurred daily. Meanwhile, the tasks assigned to men occurred with much less frequency, and a significant portion of men's time was devoted not to performing tasks *per se*, but in seeking opportunities to do so. As discussed above, both the relative infrequency of opportunity to hunt, raid or trade, and the advantage of being unpredictable in the former two tasks meant that, relative to plains women, plains men's life tended to be less intense the majority of the time.

Moreover, a notable aspect of PIC social organization, is the significant lack of social stratification, particularly when compared to the CIIS. Each individual member participated in their role largely through their own volition, albeit one strongly influenced by cultural traditions of reciprocity and tribal/band identity. While certainly, the PIC did not lack social hierarchies, status did not come with division of labor activities, nor in the ability to direct the labor of others, except through willing participation and, perhaps, peer pressure. Indeed, the relative status of PIC men and women came from their exceptional ability to perform the same tasks as their peers: the status of chief among men was generally derived from exceptional ability as a warrior,

hunter, traders, magicians or political actors. Meanwhile high status among women was principally derived from the wealth of the household she maintained and the quality and value of the products she manufactured. Such influence was largely the domain of prestige, not dominance, and thus was entirely dependent on the esteem of others for its efficacy.

This lack of dominance-based social organization is particularly evident in the domain of child socialization, where the use of corporeal punishment, common among Anglos at the time, was entirely absent from PIC parenting, apart from the rare pulling of hair or ears for particularly troublesome children. Rather, like among adult relationships, child socialization was largely dependent developing individual skills and capacities that would win them the esteem of their band and tribe-members. PIC children wanted to participate in adult society, and could readily observe adults who they perceived as the most successful. As such, children, for the most part, trained themselves to emulate adults, with corrective adult feedback principally serving a supplementary role in the socialization process.

The notable exception to the non-coercive prestige based social organization is the significant social power afforded to successful colonial traders, who managed to leverage their access to valuable trade materials and technologically advanced weaponry to accumulate significant stocks of capital, namely horses and productive secondary wives. The social relationships these wealthy men subsequently cultivate, a significant clientele of poor debtors and low-status slave wives, are some of the few examples of daily life routines in the PIC being significantly altered due to social organization.

Significantly, the principle advantage these men had was not primarily in changes in their own skill or work pace, but in their capacity to leverage new social

connections. PIC traders used their disproportionate advantage of access to colonial markets to leverage traditions of reciprocity and hypergamous polygamy to accumulate personal social influence. Even so, because social status among the PIC was largely non-transferable, either intergenerationally, or to other members of the household, (Standing Bear, 1928; Fletcher, 2013), the power of wealthy traders did not readily transfer beyond their own individual lifetimes. This social custom of non-transferable status, of course, very well may have changed had such social stratification been allowed to continue, but the overwhelming disturbance of settler-colonialism disrupted this dynamic in its infancy, and so its long-term consequences can only ever be speculative.

The connection between social interconnectivity, class stratification, and changes to pace-of-life are more apparent in the social organization at the CIIS, in both its historical circumstances and design of the organization itself. In case of circumstance, it is not unreasonable to say that the primary reason the CIIS was able to capture and indoctrinate students at all is the overwhelming advantage in social scale, social interconnectivity and thus social complexity possessed by the United States compared to the PIC. The United States could maintain and enact a specific, directed and coherent policy of hostility to Native American sovereignty for over one hundred years, nearly two thirds the global range of explicit cultural memory of the PIC.<sup>23</sup> This policy was supported by multiple-sub organizations, both within the government (e.g. the US Army, the US Court system the Bureau of Indian Affairs), outside of the government (private militias, the Lake Mohonk Conference, the Friends of Carlisle), and the implicit consent

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<sup>23</sup> “Explicit cultural memory” meaning the ability to recall specific cultural information and the spatio-temporal context of its origin. The PIC’s record for this type of memory is the Lakota tradition of the winter-counts, which provide a time-stamped record of specific historical events extending back nearly 150 years prior to its final entry (Risch, 2000). The explicit cultural memory of the CIIS, by contrast, extends back thousands of years, thanks largely to continuous traditions of writing and printing.

of millions of citizens. In addition, The CIIS was financed and resourced by a rapidly growing global economy, and was informed by an explicit cultural memory spanning thousands of years and tens of thousands, if not millions, of contributing individuals. The CIIS itself, although largely spearheaded by Pratt, likewise operated with the support of hundreds of individuals, the teachers, staff, donors, outing patrons and multiple other organizations providing support directly or indirectly. Compared to a PIC band or even an entire tribe, the CIIS's social network was orders of magnitude larger, when those both directly involved and indirectly supporting the school through donations, trade or political support are included. Such disproportionately large social interconnectivity, when compared to students and their immediate families, resulted in an equivalently disproportionate influence over the pace-of-life of the students once regular contact was established.

Moreover, it is notable that much of the structure of Carlisle physically and organizationally, was designed in order to create a highly unbalanced flow of social information. The organization of Carlisle afforded the administration afferent channels about the activity of students, through widespread and systematic surveillance, and efferent channels through which command and coordinate the students actions en-mass, through military style regimentation. In contrast, students were granted no such opportunity to observe or monitor the activities of their social superiors or their peers, nor to affect the behavior of the administration, their peers, or even their own routine activity. As such, the effective social interconnectivity between the CIIS and its students is essentially one-way in favor of the administration, affording them opportunities to alter student behavior while simultaneously insulating themselves from any effective feedback from students. As the vast majority of students had to be compelled to participate in the organization, it is evident that the changes of pace-of-life the students

experienced could have only occurred under the overwhelming imbalance of coercive power that existed between Native Americans and Anglo-American society.

While the school itself was a largely artificial environment, and thus reasonably questionable in how well it represents life in modern society, the choices the administrators made for what habits and attitudes were trained at the CIIS: time-discipline, productivity, obedience to authority, and a rejection of alternative forms of organization, clearly reflect the students' anticipated role in modern American society. Students were, in effect, being trained to serve as subordinate laborers, maintaining their subaltern social relationship as they transitioned out of a school into another hierarchical organization, such as a business firm, the military, or, in the case of female students, as economically dependent housewives or domestic servants. Even in the most generous non-exceptional post-Carlisle scenario, in which students would become small-scale farmers, the practical outcome would still be the students subordinating their routine activity to the labor demands of more powerful organizations, namely the highly monopolized urban grain and meat markets which dominated rural economies in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, (Cronon, 1992). The habits and attitudes driving the increased pace-of-life in the CIIS were designed to train the students of Carlisle to accepting their lot in the lower rungs of a hierarchical class system in which they will be directed to enact certain activities at a time, place, attitude, and pace of their social superior's choosing, regardless of what career in which they found themselves.

This unequal relationship of social influence, of course, is not unique to the CIIS, as Pratt did not invented the disciplinary institution whole cloth. The school was modeled on other pre-existing disciplinary institutions: the US Army, the Ft. Marion prison, Christian churches, the factory system, and the Common School education

system. The disciplinary institution, the techniques and organization of which had been under development in western cultures since at least the late Middle-Ages are designed to provide a small number of individuals a disproportionate, one way, fine grain and largely coercive influence over a large body of subordinates, is a common, if not universal feature of all modern societies, (Foucault, 1978; 1979; Giddens 1987; Scott, 1998). The disciplinary institution is only achievable when both the scale of a society is large enough and the socio-technical interconnectivity strong enough that one class of people has the time, resources and technical capacity to dictate the routine structure of another class at a fine scale, (Foucault, 1979, Giddens, 1990, Scott, 1998). The development of such techniques and the technologies that enable them: the clock, the printing press, the timetable, and the panopticon, is necessarily a multi-generational project spearheaded by a high-status class with a vested interest in controlling the organization of subaltern classes, (Foucault, 1978). In the case of the CIIS, this manifested as the interest of Anglo-Americans in subsuming native populations into the lower classes of the Anglo-American racial hierarchy. Given that many of the habits and attitude affecting the pace-of-life of the students at Carlisle: punctuality, obedience and responsiveness to authority, and productivity, are common targets for disciplinary intervention, it would be surprising not to see similar changes to pace-of-life in other disciplinary contexts.

### **Economic Activity**

As might be surmised from the previous' sections assertion that the social division of labor is a primary determining factor of routines, and thus of pace-of-life. Much of the pace of such routines are determined by the nature of the labor being performed- the economic activity. The principal contrast in economic activity between the PIC and the CIIS is the primary mode of material production in which each group



participated. While the routines and pace of the PIC are largely dictated by the nature of their hunter-gatherer and raider-trader lifestyle, the CIIS' routines and pace are greatly informed by the personal economic and ideological incentives of the school's administration.

The primary economic activity in the PIC was subsistence foraging centered the hunting and processing of game animals, horse raiding and bartering with neighboring tribes and settlers. Accordingly, the actual routines of daily economic activity in the PIC varied significantly as a consequence of changing environmental circumstances. The presence of game, neighbors vulnerable to raids, or willing traders, while predictable at a gross scale, was generally quite unpredictable day-to-day, and much of the activity of adult men in particular was spent scouting and patrolling for opportunities and threats that needed to be addressed. The actual acquisition of goods, be it through hunting, raiding or trading, represented a relative minority of the day's routine activity. Women, by contrast, had a more predictable routine, as a significant portion of their daily activity consisted of tasks that required regular upkeep, namely, cooking, cleaning and foraging. Maintenance of durable items: clothing, baggage, shelter, and household tools also required regular activity, although not to the same degree as daily housekeeping. Finally, when downed game was available, the activity of women would increase in order to process the meat and hides before they spoiled. At an annual scale, the routines of both men and women were much more predictable, with activity rising in the summer as the presence and accessibility of forage and trading opportunities increased, peaking in the late summer and fall, with a significant lull in the winter. Because of the nature of child socialization in the PIC, the pace-of-life experienced by children was much the same as adults, with a shift from idle play towards more deliberate gendered activity as the children grew.

At both a daily and annual scale, however, the general pattern was for the pace-of-life to be relatively low intensity, with significant spikes of activity over short periods. Clear patterns of this cycle exist at an annual scale, but at a daily scale, the historical evidence is too limited to identify any specific patterns of routine. Given the nature of activities, however, it is not unreasonable to make some predictions regarding such patterns. On some occasions, men may depart for a hunting trip or raid only to return with their quarry in a couple of hours, while on other occasions they may be gone for days or even weeks at a time before returning to camp. Whether one result or the other occurred certainly depended on the individual skill of the scouts and trackers in the party, but was equally dependent on a variety of factors neither controllable nor predictable in advance. Moreover, it is probable that men deliberately varied their routines significantly during each mission, as being too predictable to game animals or enemy warbands would put the men at a significant disadvantage when hunting or conducting raids.

Meanwhile it is probable, given that women's work was entirely self-directed, that women developed their own daily routines that best enabled them to complete their tasks given their environment and their own personal preferences. In deprived areas, women may have spent far more time on household maintenance foraging for water and fuel, while when in areas of abundant materials or trading opportunities, they would spend more time on manufacturing. While the demands of household maintenance meant that women had a baseline level of routine daily activity, matters of more active production were highly dependent on the availability of materials, as well as the individual needs and desires of women and their households. On the one hand, it is unlikely that women spent too much time resting, given that nearly all of a PIC's possessions required manufacturing from scratch. On the other hand, there is no benefit

for a nomadic people to produce more than is immediately necessary for survival and trade, and thus there existed a natural point of satiety for material production.

In contrast, in the CIIS, nearly all of the economic activity students were assigned to perform was under the direction and control of the school's administration which was soundly capitalist in its mode of production. As with all capitalist enterprises, the direction of labor and the profits from such labor was controlled and distributed by a small, high status minority with antagonistic economic interests to their labor-force. Students were mandated to work for at least four hours every day except Sunday and a few holidays- Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter, every week for the entire duration of their tenure, and were encouraged (and in all likelihood coerced) to work as fast and as hard as they could, regardless of context. The value of student labor was largely subsumed into the operation of the school, with the students having no control of either the production or the products as a consequence of being the school's wards. The school profited indirectly from the students as well, such as the use of their likenesses in the form of propaganda photos to solicit donations, or through the confiscation of outing wages, either as a punishment for student offenses or exploiting the students' inability to prevent or press charges against wage theft, (Bell, 1998). The tasks themselves were quite repetitive, as was normal of factory work of the day, and students were sectioned off into trade specializations over which they had no control.

This heightened work-pace was regularly encouraged through propaganda boosting Protestant work-ethics and the supposed need to counter the "lazy Indian" stereotype, backed up with both direct threats of humiliation and punishment if students did not maintain the appropriate pace, and the indirect threat to the students' families should students fail to adopt the work habits deemed to be sufficiently civilized. As the

students' trades were selected for them by the administration and were known by the administration to be largely useless to the students once they graduated, it is reasonable to conclude that the tasks performed by student were selected based on the administration's economic and ideological priorities. Because of the school's economic dependence on student labor, the strong economic incentive to minimize of the school overhead complimented with the ideological mandate to convert the students into competitive laborers for a capitalist economy. The practical result of this was that students were driven to labor with a much greater intensity and significantly greater frequency compared to their childhood peers or even adults in the PIC.

### **Environmental Pacers**

A noteworthy distinction between our two case studies is the role of the physical, built and informational environment in the structuring of children's routines over the course of a day, year and lifetime. While prior studies on pace-of-life strongly emphasize the role of the environment in generating a specific pace, generally by citing the relative business of cities, (Simmel, 1903/1950), the role of artificial timekeepers, (Wirth, 1939), or the environmental "atmosphere" of a place, (Milgram, 1970), our own findings suggest that that the role of environmental pacers is auxilliary in nature. Social organization plays the key role in setting pace, while the environment is either attuned to or restructured to suit the purposes of a given form of organization. The phenomena in the environment onto which each society entrains serves a social purpose: for the PIC, the attunement to imprecise and variable natural pacers served sufficiently for their relatively small-scale and self organizing societies, while in the CIIS, the artificial pacers served to standardize the behavior of the students in such a way that facilitated top-down

control by the administration, but only so long as they could back such control with sufficient disciplinary force.

Among the PIC, the use of natural phenomena as the primary environmental pacers is reflective of the local, self organizing nature of PIC bands. Daily and sub-annual time reckoning, entirely reliant on celestial bodies, were generally quite poorly developed, most likely on account of the fact that daily routines in PIC were task oriented and locally contained, and thus did not require high levels of coordination. On a broader time-scale, PIC's principal annual pacers likewise consisted of ecological signals, namely markers of the changing of seasons: shifts in weather patterns, the movement and behavior of animals and the life cycles of vegetation served as the key diagnostic tools to assess the time of year, and, consequently appropriate collective behavior for the band. Like daily pacers, these seasonal pacers served principally to orient a single band locally in the progression of natural events, common points of reference by which individual members could coordinate action. Large scale coordination, such as the gathering of bands into a single tribal camp, relied upon the relatively coarse signal of the changing of the seasons. As such large scale coordination were relatively infrequent in the day-to-day of a Plains Indian's life, more precise pacers were not required.

The acceptability of imprecise environmental pacer is likewise reflective of the fact that Plains Indians appeared to put significantly more priority into attuning to unpredictable ecological events than maintaining a regular pace. As the majority of the activities in which Plains Indians participated were not strongly time-sensitive, and oftentimes depended on the activity of ecological forces outside of their control, it was more useful and convenient to attend to ecological irregularities as they occurred in real time, than attempt to formally define and plan for them in advance. The cultural

emphasis on patience and attentiveness highlight the fact that routine behavior in PIC was strongly dependent on one's ability to correctly identify the appropriate moment for action as it occurred within context, rather than possessing a comprehensive ability to comprehend and direct of the course of events in advance.

We observe a similar attention to the specific occurrences of organic diagnostic markers during the process of child socialization. During the socialization process, there is no evidence that the PIC was concerned with the precise chronological ages of any of their members, and instead significant socialization milestones, weaning, puberty rites, society initiation and marriage, were determined based on either biological markers—such as menarchy, or social achievements, such as the completion of a vision quest. While certainly, birth, childhood, maturity, elderhood and death were recognized as significant events, the specific duration was of marginal importance. There was a significant degree of flexibility regarding the specific time-horizon of any given milestone's achievement: the actual realization of a specific outcome was more important than the exact time it took to realize it. While this, like other natural pacers, served to reduce the metric precision of timekeeping in the PIC, the gains made by being able to attune to natural variations in a child's development was more suited to the lifestyle and customary socialization practices of the PIC, which encouraged the development of autonomous individuals who cultivated skills and preferences independent of adult control.

In contrast, the artificial environment experienced by students in the CIIS was an outgrowth the top-down social organization of the school and the technical demands of such a command and control system. The pacers onto which students entrained consisted of clocks, signal chimes, work whistles, bugles, drill and marching cadences,

weekly schedules, monthly and annual calendars, and multi-year courses of study each designed to keep the students moving according to the administrators' plans. These artificial served not only as the primary referent for time for students, but also defined the pace and sequence of activity. While most students found that they could usually entrain onto such mechanical paces, maintaining such precision in the long term generally required significant external intervention. Most evidence shows that students did not appreciate the vacillation between the hurried competition for resources such as hot water for bathing or the choice pickings of food in the dining halls and the tedium of extended periods of monotonous work or study, only to be interrupted in the middle of their tasks or else forced to wait or perform busy-work to pass the time.

Adding to this, the students were regularly and inescapably bombarded with misinformation regarding their place in history, the appropriate pace at which to work, and the future they might expect through their compliance. Individually, students may or may not have disregarded each piece of information. Propaganda does not operate through individual cases, however. Students exposed to a continuous campaign of misinformation generally succumbed to it, accepting its premise even if they found it personally distasteful. CIIS' propaganda provided a coherent, if inaccurate, contextualization of their present circumstances in a larger historical trajectory, and such rhetoric is difficult to resist when one is already emotionally traumatized and vulnerable.

The primary role of of the multitude of artificial pacers present at Carlisle was to afford the administrators a medium by which to coordinate the student body's activities, in order to quickly, efficiently, and reliably overwrite the student's prior socialization with that of Anglo-American culture. Like the regimentation of the students into discrete

military units, the routinization of student behavior by means of regular schedules, calendar time-tables and courses of study, afforded the school's administration to dictate the behavior of a large number of students at both fine and coarse temporal scales, ranging from dictating the individual gaits of students when moving from one activity to another, to the life-long career paths of students based on the trade skills assigned to them. The degree to which this control was exercised on each individual student, of course, varied depending on the specific activity, but the presence of clocks, timetables and other artificial pacers afforded a great degree of flexibility with respect to how the administration controlled the students. For routine activities, daily schedules, marching orders and the like, students were treated as a unified body, while individual case profiles were maintained to monitor areas of interest for the school, such as grade performance, work or extracurricular talent, and obedience to authority.

That being said, observable in the case of the CIIS is that rationalization of any complex system at one scale generally results in significant friction in the operation of another, (Scott, 1999; Muller, 2018). At Carlisle, this manifested in the need for such overwhelming structures of coercive discipline and propaganda to maintain such regimented routines. Throughout most of the school's history, this discipline was indeed maintained, and so the students themselves bore the brunt of the regimentation's burden, which manifested in emotional trauma, substance abuse, poor academic performance, stress-related illnesses, truancy and retaliatory violence, (Bell, 1998; McBride, 2013). When Pratt was relieved from command of the school, and other superintendents attempted to dial back the coercive presence of the administration, the school effectively ceased to function, lacking the necessary coercive power to control the students' behavior. Moreover, the evidence points to the fact that students who returned to the reservation, or otherwise left the school did not, in fact, maintain such a



regimented and strenuous pace-of-life when they were no longer forced to do so, (Standing Bear, 1928; Betzinez 1952; Bell 1998). The primary exception to this of those who carried on to join another disciplinary institution, such as those students who joined the Army during WWI or worked in an early Ford Factory, continuing from an outing assignment, (Sells and Francis, Bell 1998). Indeed, even among contemporary Plains Indians, there is still a significant presence of task and community orientation in their work habits, (Anderson, 2004; Pickering, 2004), indicating that, with respect to the temporal values the CIIS attempted to ingrain in its students, it was only ever successful when the clocks and schedules were backed with the threat of force. Carlisle's failure indicates that, while the environment can significantly influence an individual's behavior, as Pratt articulated, the effect on people's pace is a short term change driven ultimately by social dynamics, rather than long-term behavioral change.

### **Temporal Values**

While the primary determining factors of the changes in pace-of-life experienced by students transitioning from the PIC to the CIIS were organizational and economic in nature, it should not be therefore assumed that the individuals within these social systems were merely passive conduits of larger social forces. To the contrary, the PIC and the CIIS both could only organize themselves through the active participation of individuals, and much of the socialization process experienced by children in both the PIC and the CIIS involved developing a specific relationship with time which served the broader needs of social organization and economic activity.

In the PIC, patience and observation was strongly emphasized, both in practical and social contexts. This value system emphasized the need for children to slow down and observe the world as it happened, without excessively disturbing it with their own

activity. Likewise, time-orientation towards the present emphasized, in order to prime children for greater adaptability to this short term variation, with children being advised not to presume too much about the course of future events. Such a values system better enabled children to attune to their local context, which was quite fluid and unpredictable, both environmentally and socially. As an environmental context, the Great Plains were quite unpredictable, with significant changes in weather, landscape and the location of animals and rival tribes being a fairly regular occurrence.

Socially, the relative equality of individuals within a social group, and the attentiveness to good relationships with strangers, guests and spirits, likewise served to provide a context in which patience was valuable: allowing people to act in their own time served as a display of deference to their needs, a small, but regular concession that emphasized the priority of others above oneself. The PIC recognized the social power afforded to those holding the initiative and yielded the initiative in order to both demonstrate respect and better understand both the natural and social forces they encountered in their day-to-day lives.

By contrast, in the CIIS, future orientation, hard work and strict time-discipline emphasized were the primary temporal values emphasized to the students, reflecting the socioenvironmental context of an industrial, capitalist society. In contrast to life on the plains, which was considerably variable from day to day, life within a modern industrial context is exceptionally predictable, and deliberately so. The school's administration operated under long, multi-year time horizons and precise timetables, predicting and ordering the course of events students would enact years ahead of their actual occurrence. Much of the student's indoctrination was focused on persuading them to accept the inevitability of the future trajectories prescribed by their social superiors-

that native culture would vanish, that American culture was and would continue to be the superlative of historical progress. The CIIS, of course, elided their own role in actively bringing about such futures, preferring to frame such events as natural and inevitable outcomes of forces outside of their control.

Buying into such a futures, moreover, served both as a justification for and a narcotic against the grinding monotony of the Carlisle rut. In the present tense at Carlisle, the primary temporal value for the day-to-day was to increase one's pace to the greatest of one's ability and to maintain the discipline demanded of them from above. The emphasis to the students of putting all their effort into the daily routines scheduled by the administration had a number of justifications, generally hedging against a hostile social environment. Students had to learn to control their behavior in the prescribed way, in order to survive in cut-throat market competition, correct stereotypes of the "lazy Indian" in the minds of their white peers, and generally prove their worth to a society and to a deity that did not intrinsically value them. This daily routine, like the general project of Carlisle, was framed as an upward trajectory of self-improvement and progress.

In practice, however, the students' conditions can hardly be said to have progressed: they were emotionally traumatized, physically abused, economically exploited, and politically subjugated. For nearly all the students, the promised life of wealth and security never came. The fact the promised future failed to materialize was of little relevance to the administrators, faculty and staff of CIIS, who had minimal investment in the students' well-being beyond the gates of the school. Barring the personal pride of Pratt, administrators had little incentive to seriously reconsider the effect they were having on the student. Indeed, the operators of Carlisle had great

financial and ideological incentive to prolong CIIS' false-future as long as they could, and only stopped when the actual progression of history had made their institution irrelevant.

## **Conclusion**

While it is difficult to make general statements from historical case studies, the correspondence of the case of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School shares sufficient similarities to the early case of early Modern England explored by E.P. Thompson is suggestive of a causal source for the increase of pace-of-life experienced in modern societies. To wit, the presence and social dominance of disciplinary institutions in many aspects of modern society undermines the ability of low-status individuals and communities to self-select work paces. This unequal relationship results in a pace-of-life more strenuous on average than the subjects might otherwise choose to participate. Future orientation and emphasis on hard work in this instance primarily serves the interest of the disciplinary institution, largely at the expense of the subject as and indicators of coercion and emotional manipulation more than they are legitimate temporal orientations. Moreover, Increasing shift away from ecological towards artificial pacers likewise are consequences of unequal capacity to organize one's routine activities. While undoubtedly useful to individuals, a primary function of standardized, artificial pacers appears to be to enable a centralized administration to control and coordinate masses of subjects at a scale suitable to the administrators at the expense of the subjects' well-being. These are consequences of demographic scale, and social interconnectivity to be sure, but are more specifically consequences of how human societies organize themselves in response to such changes in scale. In this, with respect to pace-of-life *how*

people interconnect with increasing scale seems to be more relevant than the increasing interconnectivity itself.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

#### **General Summary**

This study sought to answer the question what factors in a transition from a non-modern to a modern lifestyle are most relevant to the changes in routine and pace-of-life in such an experience? Prior research demonstrated that the most significant variables related to increases of pace-of-life in contemporary cities were principally socioeconomic and cultural in nature, possibly due to changes in social organization related to increasing demographic scale and social interconnectivity in undetermined ways. In order to bridge this knowledge gap, we performed a comparative historical analysis of the lifestyles of Plains Indian Cultures and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School to identify socioeconomic and cultural differences in lifestyle related to daily routines and pace-of-life before and after their matriculation at Carlisle.

We found that the routine structure of Plains Indians was largely self-selected and variable based on local environmental and seasonal conditions, but overall tended to be relatively low intensity, interspersed with brief periods of high activity. The time culture of the Plains Indians emphasized patience and attentiveness to these local conditions, which served as the primary environmental pacers for their activity. We found that the change most significant to restructuring the student's daily routines and pace-of-life was their immersion within the school's disciplinary structure, aimed at overwriting prior cultural habits to one compatible with life in a modern society. The routine structure at Carlisle was highly regimented and organized from the top down, providing students with little opportunity to regulate their own pace. The time culture the school cultivated among the student body consisted of the glorification of progress

and hard work for its own sake, and the deferment of immediate needs in favor of the unrealizable promise of future rewards. The realized pace of students at the CIIS was significantly and consistently more intense than they might have otherwise experienced, consequent of the ideological and material interests of the school.

Reviewing the evidence, we highlighted the role of social stratification, coincident with increasing social scale and interconnectivity, in producing these differences in routine, pace and time culture. In short, increasing social scale and interconnectivity affords high status individuals and groups increasingly disproportionate leverage in directing the behavior of social inferiors who are unable to take advantage of these new contentions. This dynamic is evident in our non-modern case with the nascent rise of wealthy colonial traders among Plains Indian cultures, who leveraged their wealth in horses to capture the labor value of poorer members of their bands. This dynamic likewise manifests in our modern case as the disciplinary institution, organizations designed to systematically change the behavior of their subjects based on the desires of the institution's administration. It is noteworthy, however, that the effects of these institutions appear only be effective for as long as the relationship is maintained.

### **Study Limitations**

#### **Analytic Imprecision**

Due to the relative scarcity of research into pace-of-life, the term generally lacks an accepted definition which affords rigorous scientific precision. Likewise, the general inattention to routine activities in the historical record meant that some aspects of our study required extrapolation and generalization based on the evidence that was available. While this is was a necessary compromise in order to effectively perform this study, a precise definition of pace-of-life throughout the literature is sorely needed. We

have provided our own definition of Pace-of-Life, and encourage future researchers to further refine or challenge our definition, as well as correct any erroneous assertions about routines that we may have made in either historical case.

### **Study Bias**

In our study on the effects of a transition of a non-modern to modern lifestyle on pace-of-life, we examined the specific case of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School largely due to the relative abundance of evidence of a usually silent transition. Because of our focus on the CIIS, this study likely is focused changes in routine that are specific to disciplinary institutions. While disciplinary institutions are a common part of every-day life in modern society, they are very rarely as totalizing as the experience of CIIS students, and so it is possible that our case is overstated with respect to their relative importance for an average modern individual. Moreover, while the small amount of evidence available to us suggested that the routine structures and pace experienced in Carlisle, waned rapidly without continuous exposure, this evidence is largely anecdotal and is too small to be representative. Further study is needed to determine whether routines mandated for the subjects disciplinary institutions has a lasting impact on their behavior once no longer immersed in a disciplinary environment

### **Generalizations**

In our study, we described the routines and pace-of-life of the students of Carlisle comparatively to a generic lifestyle we described as the “Plains Indian Cultures.” The PIC, of course, is a proxy describing the shared qualities of a number of different tribes, each with their own specific lifestyle, culture and history. While we identified that these tribes shared common social and cultural qualities with respect to routines and time culture, we do not intend to suggest that such generalizations are precisely descriptive of



any given tribe or band. On the other hand, we must also acknowledge CIIS students came from a wide range of different tribal groups outside of what we classified PIC, with differing lifestyles, time-cultures and degrees of integration with Anglo-American society prior to enrollment at CIIS. While the premise of our study was to compare a specific lifestyle transition from the PIC to the CIIS, this transition was not the experience of all students, although the experience of school life we described would have been shared by all students irrespective of background. In both cases, the generalizations we made were necessary compromises of granularity for the sake of the study. We encourage interested researchers to further explore the routine structure and pace-of-life of specific Plains Indian tribes and other Native American cultures, and to correct any mistakes or errors we may have made in our own analysis due to our generalizations.

## **Broader Impact**

### **Sustainability**

Returning to our original issue of the relationship of pace-of-life and sustainability, while we cannot conclusively support with our body of evidence the statement that “the discrepancy between natural cycles and social pacers in many modern capitalist societies,” (Rau, 2019, 374), are directly involved in environmental degradation as Rau asserts, at least one noteworthy observation can be made. The potential for incompatibility between natural cycles and social pacers is clearly evident among the students of Carlisle, who suffered significant physical and emotional trauma in no small part due to administrative demands for disciplined routines and intense work paces. It is noteworthy that Carlisle was explicitly capitalist in its ideology and organizational structure, intolerant of any alternative forms of organization. The fact that the vast students found life in Carlisle utterly unsustainable cannot be counted as a

coincidence, and is likely indicative of a broader incompatibility between the viability of complex systems and capitalist modes of social organization.

### **Academic**

In this study, we focused our investigation on the formation and change of human routines with respect to pace in a two distinct socioenvironmental contexts: 19<sup>th</sup> century Plains Indian bands, and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. While the specific case certainly may be of historical interest, the broader focus of this study was an attempt to describe how a specific temporal quality of human routines, pace-of-life, coevolves with changes in social and physical environment.

Yet, human routines are complex socioenvironmental phenomena, and pace-of-life is only one of a number of factors that inform us of their nature. Other factors include the formation and maintenance of individual habits and cultural traditions, task sequencing, behavioral modulation and social and environmental feedback. These individual factors of routine are worth studying, but ultimately, they are reflections of a much more complex interactions between humans and their environmental context. Human-environment systems geographers, already primed to attend to such relationships are uniquely positioned to attend to the dynamics of routines more closely, attending to temporal aspects of human-environment systems and their outcomes for both agent and environment. Routines form the core of human behavior, and yet, because they are so ordinary to our experience, they are too frequently overlooked as a critical aspect of our daily lives. We encourage our fellow geographers to take the task of describing how routines arise, how they are affected by our environment, and by what means they can be influenced by others seriously. While by no means a simple task to

develop, a mature science of routines would be of great interest to social scientists, engineers, designers, policymakers and the general public

### **Future Research**

Moving forward on the study of routines, there is a great deal of research specific to human-environment geography that would serve to further our knowledge of routines as a human environment interaction. We will conclude our study by suggesting several lines of approach future researchers might take to advance our understanding of routines, and pace-of-life in particular

1. Historical case studies on changes in time-culture: as discussed with respect to the research of E.P. Thompson in chapter two, one of the inherent limitations of historical case studies is the narrow applicability of their findings. While historical case studies are incredibly useful tools for understanding specific events in detail, they are only applicable for broader theoretical applications with volume sufficient to filter out the noise of historical contingency. As it stands, more research needs to be done with respect to changes in time culture, particularly in non-modern to modern transitions before any general conclusions may confidently be articulated. Historical periods such as Meiji era Japan, the early USSR, or other colonial projects in the Americas, Africa and Asia may prove especially fruitful in this respect
2. Contemporary field studies on routine and pace-of-life changes: early versions of this thesis had intended focus on changes in routine and pace-of-life specific to rural to urban transitions, namely of European subsistence-farming immigrants migrating to cities in North America. Our attempts were stymied by the lack of historical record on the daily routines of such individuals, and so we turned our

attention to the more focused and well-recorded case of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Nevertheless, case studies of such rural-urban transitions could provide further insight onto the formation of routines and pace and, in particular, the role of human-environment interactions in such dynamics. Currently, there are still areas of the world in which such major habitat transitions occur with some regularity, most notably in rural to urban migrations in East Asia and Africa. While this researcher lacked the technical and cultural expertise necessary to conduct such field studies, they may be of great interest to human geographers and sociologists of the appropriate background.

3. Experimental studies on routine formation and pace-of-life in human-environment systems: While there is much to be said for both historical and contemporary case studies, an obvious limitation of them is that the inherent complexity of human-environment dynamics in the field can confound the underlying mechanics of the interaction. Controlled experiments with respect to how specific routines and paces manifest in specific environmental contexts are necessary in order to identify clear, deterministic factors in such relationships.

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