

Names Tell a Story:
The Alteration of Student Names at Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1890

Liliana Elliott
History Honors Thesis
University of Colorado Boulder
2019

Under the supervision of:

Dr. Elizabeth Fenn, History Department, Thesis Advisor
Dr. Sungyun Lim, History Department, Honors Council Representative
Dr. Gregory Johnson, Religious Studies Department, Committee Member

Defended April 3, 2019

Abstract

Using the administrative naming practices at Carlisle Indian Industrial School as a case study, this thesis illuminates the assimilation practices of the federal government towards Native American children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Current historical scholarship on off-reservation, government-operated industrial schools between 1879 and 1918 takes little heed of naming practices at these institutions. The alteration of Native American student names sheds light on questions of assimilation, identity, and captivity in ways that advance the understanding of these industrial schools. Most importantly, it puts the experiences of individual students at center stage. The Anglicization of Native American student names demonstrates how the practices at these schools put children in a liminal state intended to eradicate their previous identities before assimilation into white society. Tracking student names however, reveals a more complicated story. In fact, the evolution of student names demonstrates Native American resilience and ingenuity despite the federal government's attempts at cultural genocide.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... 4

INTRODUCTION 7

CHAPTER 1: THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS 16

CHAPTER 2: INDIGENOUS NAMES..... 31

CHAPTER 3: LIMINALITY, CAPTIVITY, AND SOCIAL DEATH: A NEW
INTERPRETATION OF INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS: 40

CHAPTER 4: NAMES AT CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL 53

CHAPTER 5: RECLAIMING NAMES IN AN ERA OF CULTURAL GENOCIDE....74

CONCLUSION: NAMES, THEN AND NOW 87

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....92

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe many thanks to those that have helped this thesis come into existence. First, I would like to thank my advisors for their support throughout this process. I single out Dr. Elizabeth Fenn for accepting the responsibility of this project and for her immense guidance. My writing will forever be impacted. I would also like to thank the Charles R. Middleton Scholarship for providing the funding for my research trips to both Durango, Colorado and Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I need to thank Ms. Barbara Landis and Mr. Jim Gerencser for taking the time to answer all of my Carlisle related questions and directing me to immensely valuable records and published materials. I would also like to thank both Ms. Landis and Mr. Gerencser for creating the Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center as this thesis would not exist without that archive. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Catherine M. Cameron with the University of Colorado's Anthropology Department, Dr. Sally McBeth, Ms. Paula Palmer, Dr. Andrew Cowell with the University of Colorado's Linguistics Department, and Dr. John R. Gram at Missouri State University for providing insight and direction in the initial stages of my thesis. And last, but surely not least, I would like to thank my friends and family for listening to me talk endlessly about this project.

The Names¹

by Laura Tohe
Diné author

Lou Hon, Suzie, Cherry, Doughnut, Woody, Wabbit, Jackie, Rena Mae, Zonnie, Sena,
Verna, Grace, Seline, Carilene

"Virginia Spears," the Algebra teacher calls roll.

(Her name is Speans,)

And Virgie winces and raises her hand.

"Here." Soft voice.

She never corrects the teachers.

"Leonard T-sosie."

(His name is Tsosie.) Silent first letter as in ptomaine, Ptolemy.

Silent as in never asking questions.

Another hand from the back goes up. No voice.

"Mary Lou Yazzy. Are you related to Thomas Yazzy?"

Yazzie is a common Navajo name, like Smith or Jones.

She rhymes it with jazzy and snazzy

Mary Lou with puzzled expression. "No."

"Oh, I thought you might be. He's quiet too."

I start to tense up because I'm next

with my name that sticks out

like her sensible black high heeled lace-ups

clap, clap, clap down the hall

"Laura Toe."

And I start to sink,

to dread hearing, it on the bus tossed around

like kids playing keep away.

Suddenly we are immigrants,

waiting for the names that obliterate the past.

Tohe, from T'óhii, meaning Towards Water.

Tsosie. Ts'óhsí means Slender.

And Yazzie, from Yázhí, meaning Beloved Little One/Son.

The teacher closes the book and

¹ Original poem from Laura Tohe, "No Parole Today" (PhD diss., University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1993), 20-21.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/304079596/abstract/6021C0A0752E4584PQ/1>.

we are little checkmarks besides our names.

Roanhorse, Fasthorse, Bluehorse, Yellowhorse, Begay,
Deswod, Nilwod, Chee, 'Átsidí, Tapahonso, Haabaah, Hastiñ Néez

Introduction

“Oh, you’re here for the Indian tour? Show your identification to the guard at the gate and make sure to stop at the cemetery on your right as you enter the base.” With these words the front desk administrator at Carlisle Military Barracks permitted my entrance to the military base.

As a historian I believe it is crucial to visit the places one is writing about. With the help of the Charles R. Middleton Scholarship I visited Carlisle Military Barracks, previously the home of Carlisle Indian Industrial School. To gain entrance to the barracks I had to undergo a fairly rigorous background check. After the administrator approved my credentials, she expressed surprise when I explained I was there for the “Indian Tour.” According to the front desk employees, very few millennials show interest in the history of the barrack hence their surprise. Yet, Carlisle Indian Industrial School has left a lasting legacy on Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Jim Thorpe Road and Pratt Avenue are reminders of the school’s prior existence.² As soon as one drives onto Carlisle Barracks, a small cemetery comes into view. Fifty white headstones mark the burial spots of Native American students who never had the opportunity to return to their tribal communities.³ The colonial style buildings, now used by the military base for housing or administrative purposes, stand as historic reminders of a prior era. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these buildings were full of Native American students. It was in these buildings, now all identically white and adorned with American flags, that federal employees stripped Native American children of their tribal culture. Armstrong Hall, now administrative offices, was previously where the disciplinarians tasked Native American students with the

² Jim Thorpe was a famous athlete most notable for being the first Native American to win a gold medal for the United States. Thorpe attended Carlisle Indian Industrial School from 1904-1913. Captain Richard Henry Pratt was the founder and first superintendent of Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

³ This thesis will use Native American, Native, and Indigenous interchangeably. ‘Indian’ will only be used when replicating the rhetoric from the industrial school era.

school's laundry. Washington Hall—once a hospital for Indigenous students and later an athletic dorm—now serves as a hotel for the base. Many of the halls still standing today, named in honor of various generals, credit their construction to the “Indian Students.” According to the “Indian Tour Map,” the Native American students graded and removed rocks to build the Grandstand at Indian Field, a large athletic field that continues to serve the barracks. These anecdotes might lead one to question the extent of formal education that actually occurred at Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Walking the landscaped walkways, visitors can hardly ignore juxtaposed building plaques mounted on adjacent buildings. One notes the accomplishments of a military general in the fight against “the French and Indians in the colonial period,” while the next boasts of the industrial school athletes who called that building home.

The “Indian Tour” is a sanitized nod to the educational experiment the United States imposed on Native children at this military base. The tour recognizes the existence of the school while failing to acknowledge the realities of the life endured by its students. Individualized stories of students who passed through Carlisle are implicitly non-existent on the military base. Many tribal names on headstones in the cemetery are misspelled. The plaques give more attention to administrators than students. And the on-site cultural museum fails to address the school's monumental consequences for Native American peoples. This thesis begins to address this silence.

My own secondary education in the United States failed to teach me about the assimilation era of the federal-Indian relationship. As a result, I was ignorant to the occurrence and subsequent consequences of off-reservation, government-operated industrial schools prior to coming to college. I was struck by my ignorance and longed to learn more. The more I learned,

the more my fascination grew. I wanted to know not just about the industrial schools but also about the students who attended them.

The industrial-school era, more commonly referred to as the boarding school era, began officially with the opening of Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 and continued well into the twentieth century. For the purpose of this thesis, I will refer to these institutions as industrial schools in order to properly evoke their true nature.⁴ The term “industrial school” thwarts the benevolent images commonly associated with boarding schools today. Indian industrial schools were far from benevolent.

My personal research grew into an independent study supervised by Dr. Gregory Johnson in which I focused upon the religious implications of the industrial-school era. As I conducted research into the plethora of analyses of the industrial-school era, I became aware of a few trends. First, I noted the lack of attention to the alteration of the student's names upon their admittance to the industrial schools. Many authors mention name alteration in a passing sentence or even a few paragraphs when discussing assimilation practices. I have found no secondary materials dedicated exclusively to the name alterations in industrial schools despite the compelling primary source evidence. Second, very few sources focus upon students as individuals. Genevieve Bell's monumental work *Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918* was unique in its use of archival records to present a student centric approach to an analysis of industrial schools.⁵ However, most sources on the

⁴ Brett Lee Shelton, Staff Attorney at the Native American Rights Fund and legal counsel for the National Boarding School Healing Coalition, has asked me to use the term industrial school in place of boarding school, suggesting not only that the “industrial” title is more technically accurate for places like Carlisle Indian Industrial School, but that it also accurately indicates the nature of the education such places provided. I thank Mr. Shelton for this recommendation and insight.

⁵ Genevieve Bell, “Telling Stories out of School Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998).

industrial school era, while informative, paint with broad strokes. Thus, I could not find a source that combined both an individualized approach and an analysis of name alterations.

While my original research focused on religious impacts, connections, and consequences of industrial schools, I realized that historical themes and trends had much explanatory power. I thus set aside religion and decided to dedicate my efforts to a honors history thesis. My research became more historical and factual. I was fascinated with the potential for understanding the larger consequences of the industrial schools through a focus upon the evolution of individual students at the schools. I wanted to explore specific narratives and expose the history of the industrial-school era in a manner that was different from the broad historical analysis many others have generated. I therefore began to focus my research on the names of students at both Carlisle Indian Industrial School and Fort Lewis Indian School.

In the early stages of my work, I intended for this thesis to consist of two comparative case studies: one on Fort Lewis Indian School and the other on Carlisle Indian Industrial School. The proximity of Fort Lewis Indian School and the dearth of published material on the school drew me to the archives to delve into the practices implemented by Fort Lewis administrators. I spent months collecting material on Fort Lewis Indian School, and I garnered important insights during time spent in the archive at Fort Lewis College, which now stands in place of the industrial school. Yet, I eventually learned that the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) prohibits access to the school's student files. As a result, I was unable to track the evolution of the Fort Lewis students' names to the same degree as I could for those at Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Thus, this thesis will focus primarily on students who attended Carlisle

Indian Industrial School. However, I will still use material from my research into Fort Lewis as supporting and comparative evidence for the assimilationist practices I discuss.

In contrast to those at Fort Lewis, the student files from Carlisle Indian Industrial School are readily available. The existence of this thesis is largely thanks to the archiving and digitization of Carlisle-related records by Dickinson College. Dickinson College, in conjunction with historian Barbara Landis, has digitized hundreds of student files, student identification cards, photographs, and publications associated with Carlisle Indian Industrial School. The student files serve as the foundational evidence for this thesis. Although I spent valuable time studying Carlisle-related records at Dickinson College, it was the online archive that enabled me to track the evolution of the student names. The student files contain identification cards as well as correspondence school administrators had with students following their departures. Some files also contain newspaper clippings pertaining to students while at the school or after graduation. These files provide tiny snapshots of student experiences during and after their time at Carlisle. This thesis relies heavily on the recordkeeping of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, legislative publications, Native American writing and memoirs, and the writing of federal officials for its primary evidence.

After comparing student files, I decided to narrow my focus to the students admitted to Carlisle Indian Industrial School between 1879 and 1890. The experiences of these students most clearly highlight the initial, assimilation policies of the federal government as implemented through education.

As I read widely and delved into my research, I began to view industrial schools in a different light. The unique environment created by the strict regimen at the industrial schools

resembled spaces of imprisonment or captivity designed to change the identities of individuals held there. Prisoners and captives have all confronted attempts to erase language, dress, names, religion, and replace them with new cultures and identities. When I realized how deeply these experiences resonated with those of Native children at industrial schools, I began to research prisons, captivity, and slavery to understand how authorities created goal-oriented environments to alter the identity of their subjects. The parallels to government-operated, off-reservation industrial schools were striking. The federal government's assimilation strategies—like captivity and enslavement—aimed for complete cultural erasure. The aim, in fact, was more expansive. Policymakers intended not just to erase individual identities but those of entire Native American cultures—the very definition of cultural genocide. My reading, and my consultation with scholars such as Dr. Catherine A. Cameron in the University of Colorado Boulder Anthropology Department, led me to conclude that the literature on captivity could indeed shed light on the experiences of students at institutions like Carlisle.

It was at this point in my research that I reached the conclusion that the environment officials at Carlisle Indian Industrial School imposed upon students was essentially a “liminal state.” This term comes from the social sciences. In his monumental *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*, the sociologist Orlando Patterson explores liminality in much detail, arguing that for slaves, “liminal incorporation is institutionalized, and this natal alienation has the important nuance of a loss of native status, of deracination.”⁶ According to Patterson, liminality encourages “marginality and incorporation”—which is to say it distances people from their roots while inculcating new forms of identity.⁷ At the crux of the liminal state is the isolation of the

⁶ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Harvard University Press, 1982), 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

subjects from both their native communities and the societies into which they are to be assimilated. Indian industrial schools were one such environment. Indeed, this becomes apparent through examination of student names and identities as they evolved over time.

To argue that officials created industrial schools, especially Carlisle Indian Industrial School, to impose a liminal state preparatory for assimilation is a new addition to historical discussions of the industrial-school era. The imposition of a liminal state upon students in industrial schools was one piece of a calculated, deliberate policy of cultural genocide on the part of United States officials. The federal representatives began with the forced assimilation of children in the belief this would in turn force the elders to follow suit. The ultimate end—however unsuccessful—was the complete eradication of tribal cultures and identities.⁸

Current historical scholarship on off-reservation, government operated industrial schools only begins to address naming practices at these institutions. My work suggests how fruitful further investigation can be. The alteration of the Native American students' names engages ideas about assimilation, identity, and captivity in ways that advance our understanding of these industrial schools. The Anglicization of a Native American student's name demonstrates that the school experience put children in a liminal state, eradicating their previous identities before assimilation into white society. But names do not just reveal one way in which officials and administrators sought to annihilate everything Indigenous. They also reveal failure. Close tracking of student names illuminated how students and former students retained, reclaimed, and

⁸ "Do not feed America to the Indian, which is a tribalizing and not an Americanizing process, but feed the Indian to America, and America will do the assimilating to annihilate the problem." Brig. Gen. R.H. Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School: The Origin, Purposes, Progress, and the Difficulties Surmounted* (Hamilton Library Association, 1908), 44. <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/23472/059171660224380.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>.

repurposed Indigenous identities, highlighting resilience and ingenuity in an era of attempted cultural genocide.

I have deliberately structured this thesis to mimic the way Native American students would have experienced alterations of their names. Chapter One provides an introduction to the industrial-school era and the assimilation policies the federal government imposed on the Native American population of the United States. Here I highlight the racist and genocidal rhetoric used by federal officials, which is the explanatory premise for the creation of liminal states. Chapter Two explores Indigenous naming practices. Since Native children sent to off-reservation schools already had Indigenous names, the analysis of the names logically begins here. In this chapter I explore a variety of Native American naming practices. Native American names, their meanings, and societal purposes contrast sharply with the naming practices enacted by officials at industrial schools. Chapter Three proposes a new way to understand industrial schools through a discussion of cultural genocide. I begin with the history of Richard Henry Pratt's idea for the creation of Carlisle Indian Industrial School and move on to explore liminality, identity, and assimilation as students experienced them at Carlisle. This chapter exposes the militarized regime at Carlisle and the parallels between the students and traditional captives. Chapter Four continues the themes of Chapter Three using naming practices at Carlisle Indian Industrial School as a case study. This chapter highlights varied naming practices and provides a detailed analysis of three students' name alterations in particular. Finally, Chapter Five uses the students discussed in Chapter Four to explore the ways students used their names after they left the school. Chapter Five emphasizes themes of Native resilience found in the evolution of student's names. This argument about

Indigenous ingenuity and tribal activism leads me to contemporary themes pertaining to Indigenous resistance and name alteration that I discuss in my conclusion.

In sum, I seek to bring a new perspective to bear on the industrial-school era and also contribute to the academic literature. Yet, I am keenly aware of my position as a non-Native scholar writing Native history. I know I will miss things, misinterpret things, and make mistakes that a Native American scholar might not make. I nevertheless hope that my efforts to individualize student experiences, challenge narratives of victimization and passivity, and highlight Native resilience will make this a worthy endeavor. I also hope to create a work that crafts historical links between the industrial-school era and contemporary society. Highlighting Native ingenuity and resilience brings the consequences of the industrial-school era into conversation with contemporary Indigenous issues and exposes policies of cultural genocide for what they were.

Chapter 1

The Rise of Industrial Schools

The Federal government's forced education of Native American children was one of the United States' attempts to eradicate Indigenous culture in North America. In 1879, the federal government opened the first government operated, off-reservation industrial school. As a replacement for on-reservation schools considered unsatisfactory, the federal administration created off-reservation, industrial schools that isolated Native children from their tribal communities. In the aftermath of the founding of the first industrial school, more than one hundred and fifty additional industrial schools opened across the United States, all with the goal of assimilating Native American youths into mainstream, Anglo-American culture. Officials, teachers, and administrators stripped children of their tribal traditions, languages, dress, names, and spirituality. The schools grew dramatically over the next half century. In November 1879, one hundred and fifty-six students attended off-reservation industrial schools.⁹ By 1884, the number reached one thousand. This number rose rapidly to ten thousand, or eighteen percent of the total Indigenous population, in 1914.¹⁰ The number of industrial school attendees reached a peak of eighty-three thousand in 1934 and slowly began to decline in the latter half of the twentieth century.¹¹ Thus, the implementation of industrial schools had a monumental impact upon the education and upbringing of Indigenous children during the nineteenth and twentieth century.

⁹ "One way to provide a few schools for a part of our Forty-thousand untaught Indian Youth," *Eadle Keatah Toh*. 1, no. 5, August 1880, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/eadle-keatah-toh-vol-1-no-5>.

¹⁰ Matthew T. Gregg, "The long-term effects of American Indian boarding schools," *Journal of Development Economics* 130 (2018): 20, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2017.09.003>.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

This thesis focuses upon the alteration of student names at industrial schools. Tracking the evolution of the Native American student names reveals harsh realities as well as the varied, individualized experiences of students. But before examining names, their meanings, and their evolution, we must first explore how and why the federal government decided to create state-sponsored industrial schools for Native American children. This decision illuminates the federal government's goals as well as the subsequent purpose of name alterations.

The government operated, off-reservation industrial schools of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were one of many efforts to assimilate Native Americans into Euro-American life. In North America, these efforts date to the seventeenth century if not earlier, as missionaries and colonists—who saw Indians as “savage”—tried to impose Christianity and other European values, norms, and institutions on the peoples they encountered.¹² For the purpose of this thesis, however, our examination of the nature of assimilationist attitudes and policies will focus on the nineteenth century. This is the era in which policymakers in the United States implemented off-reservation industrial schools to eradicate Indigenous cultures and incorporate Native peoples into a homogenized vision of American life. Officials anticipated that Native American students would enter these schools as “Indian” and emerge as “civilized persons.”

Industrial schools were not the only assimilationist educational efforts in the nineteenth century. Day schools, missionary schools, and on-reservation schools preceded and sometimes co-existed with industrial schools.¹³ But philanthropists and federal officials deemed them insufficiently effective. The question, as policymakers saw it, was how to solve the “Indian

¹² For an in-depth analysis of the Native American education at the hands of colonizers before the nineteenth century, see: Genevieve Bell, “Telling Stories out of School Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998), 25-37. And Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783* (University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

¹³ Native Americans were not lacking in education prior to the imposition of government and missionary education on their communities. Traditional ways of learning and educating younger generations existed for centuries and even millennia. However, non-Natives in most cases did not recognize these traditional practices as education. Ironically, it was the federal government that was ignorant, not the tribal communities.

Problem”—a vague but succinct term with varied meanings that depended on context. The “Indian Problem” could refer to Indigenous belligerence and refusals to relinquish land. But it could also refer to poverty, illiteracy, clothing, language, spirituality, sexuality, kinship, and a host of other social and cultural practices that non-Natives labeled “savage.” In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, mass education—really reeducation—of Native American children became the fashionable, state-sponsored solution. As historian Cathleen D. Cahill argued, in schools “the battle for the hearts and minds of Native America was fought, and Indigenous children were on the front lines as students.”¹⁴ This chapter does not tell the entirety of the that story. Instead, it focuses on the policies and rhetoric that serve as essential background for understanding how industrial-school officials tried to use names to eradicate Native identities.

Beginning in the early years of the nineteenth century, the United States government worked with Protestant missionaries in an educational mission intended to civilize Native Americans.¹⁵ However, after the Civil War many non-Natives viewed this undertaking as unsuccessful. In 1869 President Ulysses S. Grant told Congress he believed “the present management of the original inhabitants of this continent--the Indians--has been a subject of embarrassment and expense.”¹⁶ To address this failure, Grant implemented a new “Peace Policy” in 1869. Cahill explains, the Peace Policy sought to solidify reservation boundaries and discipline Native populations. Therefore, it was poignantly named as “it declared that the federal government would remain at peace with all tribes who agreed to stay within the boundaries of their reservations but would go to war with all who transgressed those borders.”¹⁷ The policy

¹⁴ Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 52. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=716593>.

¹⁵ R. Pierce Beaver, “The Churches and President Grant’s Peace Policy,” *Journal of Church and State* 4, no. 2 (1962): 174–190, www.jstor.org/stable/23913198.

¹⁶ Ulysses S. Grant: “First Annual Message,” *The American Presidency Project* (December 6, 1869), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29510>.

¹⁷ Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 18.

also replaced corrupt Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents with civilian administrators (often Christian missionaries) and established schools and churches on reservations. Grant and others believed that Christian morals and education were optimal methods for “civilizing” Native peoples. For Grant and his supporters, exhausted by the Civil War and by decades of Indian Wars, the Peace Policy was a marked improvement over past patterns of violence. “Is it not here an opening for Christian enterprise?” wrote the renowned author-philanthropist Harriet Beecher Stowe. “We have tried fighting and killing the Indians, and gained little by it. We have tried feeding them as paupers in their savage state, and the result has been dishonest contractors, and invitation and provocation of war. Suppose we try education?”¹⁸

Benevolent impulses surely did fuel the thinking of Grant, Stowe, and others. But so too did money. The real selling point of the Peace Policy was that education would be cheaper than war. Thomas J. Morgan, who served as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1889 to 1893, argued that it was “cheaper to educate the rising generations of Indians than it [was] to feed them or fight them.”¹⁹ Many government officials concurred. They argued that past policies had been “costly, wasteful, and extravagant,” serving merely to sustain Native “barbarism.”²⁰ The U.S. government’s Peace Policy and Native education policy arose from motives that were primarily financial even if they sometimes used a philanthropic façade. Statements of this view could be crass. Members of an 1868 Peace Commission, charged with ending Native American hostilities, countered those who said “that because they are savages, they should be exterminated” with arguments only slightly less callous. “Aside from the humanity of the suggestion,” the

¹⁸ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield & Classroom: An Autobiography by Richard Henry Pratt*, 2nd ed., ed. Robert M. Utley (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 2003), 162AS.

¹⁹ Thomas J. Morgan, “A Plea for the Papoose,” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 249.

²⁰ Ibid.

commissioners wrote, “it will provide exceedingly difficult, and if money considerations are permitted to weigh, it costs less to civilize than to kill.”²¹

War and removal had not solved the “Indian problem,” even though the problem was one created by citizens and officials themselves, eager to abnegate treaties and seize Native lands. Thus, assimilation and mass education garnered support. As the historian Robert Keller put it, officials, reformers, teachers, and missionaries strove to completely “obliterate all vestiges of Native culture—language, dress, food, sex roles, religion, marriage—and replace it with private property, schools, citizenship and work ethic.”²² Cultural genocide superseded physical genocide, and education was the primary tool. Grant’s policy revitalized missionary work and initiated an expansion of Native “education.” As the Supreme Court Justice William Strong put it in 1885, the Peace Policy was created to “promote the Christianization and civilization of all the Indians in this country.”²³ The debate and educational agenda of the federal government laid the groundwork for the reservation schools—and eventually the industrial schools—of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Initial efforts under the Peace Policy took the form of reservation day schools that taught Native children on site, surrounded by their families and by the cultural and social practices into which they were born. Within a generation, however, many philanthropists and federal officials deemed these undertakings inadequate. Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior under President Rutherford B. Hayes, argued in 1891 that the “efforts made by the government in the direction of [day schools] may not always have been efficiently conducted with the exception of a few hours

²¹ Accompanying Papers to the Annual Report of The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission, (Jan. 7, 1868) *University of Wisconsin Online*, 42.
<http://images.library.wisc.edu/History/EFacs/CommRep/AnnRep68/reference/history.annrep68.i0005.pdf>.

²² Robert H. Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy 1869-82* (University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 150.

²³ William Strong, “Remarks on Indian Reform,” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 39.

spent in school, the children remained exposed to the influence of their savage home surroundings.”²⁴

The debate over the “Indian Problem” and Indigenous (re)education thus turned to the influence of the reservation environment and tribal culture on Native children. Richard Henry Pratt, the life-time military officer who founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, was a leading proponent of this view. “Indians just needed the same props of environment in order to make their civilization a success,” he wrote in hindsight. “Therefore, it was irrational to keep them reserved in their aboriginal environments away from and outside our civilization and expect success in promoting their Americanization.”²⁵ To Pratt, it was “a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us.”²⁶ Thinkers like Pratt thus concluded that Native assimilation required not just education but education in the right environment. Firmly rooted in this argument was the belief that Native children were intelligent, impressionable, and capable. They could learn just as whites could, and indeed, they could learn to live as whites did.

Pratt thus privileged environment over race. He believed you must “Kill the Indian” to “save the Man.”²⁷ The “Indian,” Pratt believed, arose from a reservation environment that contaminated the blank slate. That said, Pratt and others argued that Indigenous children (like immigrant children) might achieve the most educational benefit from a rigorous regimen of industrious work accompanied by English-language training, conversion to Christianity, and instruction in such subjects such as reading and arithmetic.²⁸ Success required the complete

²⁴ Carl Schurz, “Present Aspects of the Indian Problem,” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 18.

²⁵ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield & Classroom*, 249.

²⁶ Richard H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites, from an extract of the Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction (1892),” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 268.

²⁷ Richard H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” 260–271.

²⁸ “There are three types of problems to be met with in education of the immigrant child - the purely educational, the civic, and the moral.” John H. Haaren, Associate Superintendent of New York Public Schools, “Education of the

elimination of all vestiges of tribal culture—a strategy impossible to carry out if children returned home each afternoon after attending the day schools. "In 1875," Pratt wrote, "all the schools were purely tribal and reservation; there were no Government or Mission Indian Schools away from the tribes."²⁹ The solution, as he saw it, was off-reservation schools. "The system of removing them from their tribes and placing them under continuous training in the midst of civilization is far better than any other method," he wrote to the U.S. House Representative Thaddeus C. Pound in 1881.³⁰

Pratt was not alone. A prominent philanthropic group known as the Friends of the Indian, which often provided advice on Indian affairs, likewise argued that removing children from their parents provided the best chance for immersion in the kind of transformative environment that would assure assimilation.³¹ Thus, the non-Native public and federal officials became convinced that off-reservation education was the moral choice to eradicate Indigenous culture. As the newspaper *The Red Man* argued to its readers, "if we do not educate Indian children to our civilized life their parents will continue to educate them to their savagery."³² Proponents believed that off-reservation schools promised success where missionaries and day-schools had failed. If

Immigrant Child," *Education of the Immigrant: Abstracts of Papers Read at a Public Conference, Under the Auspices of the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League from Immigrants, Held at New York, City, May 16 and 17, 1913*, Bulletin 1913, no.51(Washington Government Printing Office 1913), 23.

²⁹ Brig. Gen. R.H. Pratt, "One of General Sheridan's Ways with Indians and What came of It," in *American Indians, Chained and Unchained Being an Address before the Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion at the Union League*, (University of Michigan 1913) 15.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015003689984;view=image;page=root;size=100;seq=5;num=1>

³⁰ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield & Classroom*, 259.

³¹ The Colorado Branch of the Indian Rights Association explained, "The most rapid and efficient way of civilizing Indians is to put their children into government schools to acquire patriotism, some knowledge of fundamental English branches and habits of industry. To the student of a governmental school the ability to work is an important part of an education... Indians are in danger of forgetting that a return to some reservations is almost certainly a return to barbarism." Fort Lewis College, Center of Southwest Studies, The Indian Rights Association Papers Incoming Correspondence, Annual Report of the Society of Colorado Branch of the Indian Rights Association March 10, 1893, I35, Roll 10.

³² *The Red Man* 9, no.9, September 1889, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/red-man-vol-9-no-9>.

they could assimilate children, the rest of the tribe would follow, and the “Indian Problem” would dissipate. No one, of course, consulted Native Americans.

Indeed, Pratt’s views derived not from consultation but from his own experiment in coercion. In 1875, after years of conflict among Native peoples, white settlers, and the United States Army, the federal government began transporting Native American prisoners to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. The initial group of Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho, and Caddo captives numbered seventy-two in total. Pratt, at this time a lieutenant, was their supervisor. He used the opportunity to conduct an experiment in “civilizing” the prisoners in order to prove that the “Indian Problem” was largely a product of tribal, reservation environments. As historian Jennifer Graber has argued, Pratt “*required* prisoners to undergo cultural transformation. He *situated* prisoners so they made contact with non-Indians” in the hope that doing so would prove the faults of the reservation system.³³ Harriet Beecher Stowe visited Fort Marion and observed Pratt’s prison experiment. Her admiring description is telling. The prisoners, she said, “learned by heart life’s first lesson, ‘to obey.’ They received every kindness when they deserved it and suffered severely for every violation of orders. There is not today a more orderly body of soldiers in the service.”³⁴

Pratt used the vulnerability of these men to validate his personal beliefs about reservations and tribal culture, and he used photographs to showcase the transformation of the Native men under his control. (Pratt continued this practice at Carlisle Indian Industrial School.) Pratt juxtaposed photographs of individual men upon their admittance to prison—with traditional hair and clothing—with later photographs of the same men in shorn hair and “civilized” dress.

³³ Jennifer Graber, *The Gods Of Indian Country: Religion and the Struggle for the American West* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2018), 123.
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/oso/9780190279615.001.0001/oso-9780190279615>.

³⁴ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield & Classroom*, 163.

For Pratt, the images portrayed successful assimilation. Whether or not this was actually the case, the photographs were indeed successful at garnering the admiration of the U.S. public and the federal government. It seemed that Pratt's Fort Marion experiment had worked. Some even saw "the imposition of labor, drills, classes, and new bodily habits" as "a 'kindness' made possible because their architect, Captain Pratt, exemplified a spirit of Christian service."³⁵ Thus Pratt emerged from his time at Fort Marion with his reputation enhanced in non-Native circles. He was a self-proclaimed expert on the proper ways to educate and civilize Native Americans. The evidence he presented suggested his methods worked, even if they obscured coercion, cruelty, and forms of resistance.

The emergence of support for off-reservation, government-operated schools correlated directly to Pratt's lobbying and that of officials and philanthropic groups arguing for a change in the education policy. These advocates made a case that off-reservation schools could solve the "Indian Problem" on a large scale. With Fort Marion as a model, these schools would isolate Native children in an environment tailored to assimilation and the prerogatives of what some saw as productive citizenship in non-Native American society. At industrial schools, students would interact with white laborers and members of local communities. They would speak English, and they would wear Anglo-style clothing. The goal was "civilization"—an exclusive, forced civilization intended to undercut student identification with the traditions into which they were born, themselves civilizations evolved over thousands of years.

In 1880, almost ten years after the introduction of the Peace Policy, House Resolution 1735, entitled "A bill to increase educational privileges and establish additional industrial training schools for the benefit of youth belonging to such nomadic Indian tribes as have

³⁵ Jennifer Graber, *The Gods Of Indian Country*, 137.

educational treaty claims upon the United States,” was introduced to Congress.³⁶ H.R. 1735 was one of the first legislative actions created to establish the industrial school project. U.S. House Representative Thaddeus C. Pound released a report from the Indian Committee of the House of Representatives in support of the bill. On behalf of the committee, Pound argued it “cannot be too strongly urged that in the education of Indian youth the primary aim should be to train the hands to work, and to impress upon them the absolute importance of useful labor to insure their well-being and happiness, as well as the ability to properly converse, read, write, and calculate.”³⁷

The publicity surrounding the bill shaped the public’s understanding of the purpose of the industrial schools. *Eadle Keatah Toh.*, a newspaper published by Carlisle Indian Industrial School, reproduced the entire house report in the hope it would clarify the intent of the school for those outside of the political realm.³⁸ The publishers of the newspaper explain in the interterm of the “pending action upon this measure, and insurance of its policy, a school has been established in Carlisle Barracks, in the State of Pennsylvania, which is progressing in a successful manner.”³⁹ Thus, the introduction of H.R. 1735, in conjunction with the House Report, generated awareness of what had already taken place: the foundation of Carlisle Indian Industrial School. On October 5, 1879, almost six months prior to the publication of the house report, Pratt became the first superintendent of an Indian industrial school when Carlisle opened its doors to Native American students.⁴⁰

The Indian industrial school movement coalesced with other efforts to assimilate Native Americans and eradicate tribal cultures and identities. Reformers, federal officials, and the non-

³⁶ “One way to provide a few Schools for a part of our Forty-Thousand untaught Indian Youth,” *Eadle Keatah Toh.*

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Native public neither understood nor respected Indigenous family structures, kin relations, social patterns, political formations, and land-use arrangements. As early as 1871, policymakers had taken measures to supplant these institutions with Anglo-American ones that undercut tribal sovereignty and identity alike. Despite a centuries-long history of negotiation with Native groups as sovereign nations, Congress's Indian Appropriation Act of 1871 ended both treaty-making and federal recognition of specific tribes. The act, supporters believed, would break up reservations and pressure Native Americans to settle in Anglo-style nuclear families on individual homesteads, supplanting Indigenous patterns with those of Euro-Americans.

Reinforcement came in another act passed by the same congress. An 1872 act forbade contractual agreements "with any tribe of Indians, or individual Indian . . . for the payment of any money or other thing of value," unless the Indian involved was "a citizen of the United States."⁴¹ In this era, Native Americans could only achieve citizenship through personal land ownership and evidence of assimilation. The 1872 act thus did more than affirm the 1871 negation of tribal sovereignty. It also coerced assimilation. The federal government was not averse to manipulation and exploitation of economic needs to coerce Native Americans to abandon tribal communities, take up private land, and live in non-traditional nuclear families on individual homesteads. In 1885, some fourteen years after the repudiation of tribal sovereignty and six years after Pratt opened Carlisle, an educator-reformer named Merrill E. Gates summarized the views of many non-Natives. "The tribal system," he claimed in an address to the American Social Science Association, "paralyzes at once the desire for property and the family life that ennobles that desire."⁴²

⁴¹ An Act regulating the Mode of making private Contracts with Indians, 42nd Cong., Sess. II, § 176, 177 (1872), 136.

⁴² Merrill E. Gates, "Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians, from the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1885), in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 51.

Just two years later, in 1887, such views led to the passage of the Dawes Severalty Act, also known as the General Allotment Act. Signed into law by President Grover Cleveland, the Dawes Act allowed the federal government to divide tribal lands among individual Native Americans to be held in private allotments. Those who took up allotments would in turn become U.S. citizens. The intent, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan explained in 1890, was “to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into national life, and deal with them not as nations or tribes or bands, but as individual citizens. The American Indian is to become the Indian American.”⁴³ In other words, the intent was the total destruction of Native cultures.

The Dawes Act and the off-reservation industrial schools had essentially the same purpose: the eradication of tribal identities and the complete assimilation of Native peoples into Anglo-American society. Officials in the federal government argued individualization was key. Through it, they believed Native Americans would give up longstanding patterns of culture, property, and kinship and would instead embrace nuclear-style families, economic individualism, and a patriotic allegiance to the United States. “There is an utter barbarism in which property has no existence” wrote Merrill E. Gates. “To transform savages into civilized and enlightened citizens is a process requiring time,” and “to make him responsible for property...this is the first great step in the education of the race.”⁴⁴

The Dawes Act held a direct connection to efforts to eradicate Indigenous names—the subject of this thesis. The anthropologist Ruth Underhill reports that a renowned author and philanthropist in the U.S. West named Hamilton Garland believed “renaming the Indians was a

⁴³ United States Office Of Indian Affairs, “Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, for the year 1890 (XV)”, *University of Wisconsin Online*, vi. <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=turn&entity=History.AnnRep90.p0012&id=History.AnnRep90&isize=M>.

⁴⁴ Merrill E. Gates, “Address at the Lake Mohonk Conference,” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 46.334-335.

way of protecting their land titles from those who would cheat them. Also, he believed that systematic naming would protect the Indian from degrading names.”⁴⁵ Thomas J. Morgan, one of the most influential figures in nineteenth-century Native American education, gave voice to related concerns.⁴⁶ In an 1890 circular, which Morgan sent to Reservation Agents and School Superintendents, he explained that once allotment made Natives citizens, “the inheritance of property will be governed by the laws of the respective States, and it will cause needless confusion and doubtless, considerable ultimate loss to the Indians if no attempt is made to have the different members of a family known by the same family on the records and by general reputation.” Morgan’s solution was predictable: “Among other customs of the white people it is becoming important that the Indians adopt that in regard to names.”⁴⁷

Assimilation, inheritance, and record-keeping all trumped Indigenous identity, culture, and practice, whether in schools or in allotment titles. As the historian Francis Paul Prucha has noted, “the renaming of the Indians undoubtedly eased some of the confusion surrounding allotment and the inheritance of altered lands, it was a notable example of the insensitivity of white reformers to the Indian cultural patterns.”⁴⁸ Officials thus changed the names of adults when they acquired allotted land and the names of children they attended school or underwent baptism at the hands of missionaries sent to reservations under the Peace Policy.

The combined strategies described here—some reinvented and some new—were more complicated than war, treaty-making, and the creation and re-creation of ever-smaller reservations. But they were less costly financially and morally. Off-reservation schools were a

⁴⁵ Garland’s project would later receive praise and approval from President Theodore Roosevelt. For a more in-depth review of Garland’s interest in renaming Indigenous peoples read: Lonnie Underhill, “Hamlin Garland and the Indian,” *American Indian Quarterly* 1, no. 2, (University of Nebraska Press, Summer 1974). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1183891>

⁴⁶ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian* (University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 701.

⁴⁷ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father*, 673-4.

⁴⁸ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father*, 675.

key piece of the plan. As the twentieth-century historian David Wallace Adams notes, "the opening of Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 came just at the time policy makers were desperately searching for a means of absorbing Indians into the larger society. . . . Pratt's Indian school offered a resounding answer to these questions."⁴⁹ At industrial schools, reformers and federal officials believed that environment and curriculum might simultaneously educate, assimilate, and indoctrinate Native children so that they would forsake tribal identities for those of U.S. citizens.

The founding of Carlisle Indian Industrial School thus marked a new assimilationist strategy in the wider assimilationist climate of the late nineteenth century. What was new was not the imposition of Anglo-style education upon the Indigenous peoples but the large-scale institutionalization and removal of children from their families and from their traditional social and cultural surroundings. This was revolutionary for its method, its scope, its federal support, and in the end its cruelty to students and families. Through off-reservation education, the government aimed to isolate Native American children, "civilize" them, shape them into U.S. citizens, and teach them "appropriate" ways to use allotted or inherited land.

Pratt and others like him were proud of their work, despite the toll it took on Native children and families. Moses Friedman, who served as the Superintendent of Carlisle Indian Industrial School from 1908 to 1914, believed the schools served their purpose and even redeemed the Indian race.⁵⁰ For such men, Native American re-education was not a kindness but a duty. "The Indians therefore are simply the wards of the nation," he wrote. "Justice to them, a fair price for their lands, education for them, not in return for their lands, but as the right of all-American citizens, among whom we mean to place them, because we recognize that civilizing

⁴⁹ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield & Classroom*, xii.

⁵⁰ "Annual Report, United States Indian School, Carlisle PA, M. Friedman", June 30, 1910, National Archives Denver, M1011, Roll 9, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs RG 75.

them is a duty that [out]ranks every other duty in the case, since to civilize them means to destroy them."⁵¹

For the reformer-educators of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Indian industrial schools represented an intermediate step between tribal life and civilization, a bridge to a new state of being. This language, however, is far too gentle. Behind the façade of benevolence and Christianity, the federal government put Native students in a liminal state resembling captivity. They remained in this state until deemed sufficiently assimilated to be released. The imposition of prescribed forms of dress, language, food, work, discipline, and instruction reminded students of their ambiguous status from minute to minute, day to day, and year to year. So too did names—the names they used, the names they remembered, the names they embraced, and the names they rejected. The chapters to come begin to shed light on what they all meant.

⁵¹ *The Red Man* 8, No.12, November 1888, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/red-man-vol-8-no-12>.

Chapter 2

Indigenous Naming Practices

Indigenous naming practices in North America vary widely in accordance with different tribal traditions, kinship organizations, and religious practices. However, all naming traditions hold the common function of establishing the identity and social status of the individual. Anthropologists David H. French and Katherine S. French argue in Native American societies, "names have a dual role, serving also as signs (or symbols) of social identities, relationships, categories, or positions, and as vehicles for modes of social interactions. They make statements, significant ones, both about persons and about groups."⁵² Names and naming practices thus reverberate with meaning across Indigenous societies.

This chapter examines names, their origins, their use, their meanings, and their significance in an array of Native American cultures. While this subject could constitute several books in its own right, my goal here is simple. I aim to provide essential background for chapters to come, which explore attempts to eradicate Native names at industrial boarding schools in the late nineteenth century. This, I argue, was part of the wider attempt to eradicate Indianness in general. This chapter explores naming practices by dividing the traditions into age-related categories. Starting with infancy and ending with adulthood, this chapter takes the reader through naming traditions in the same chronological order as individual Native Americans might have experienced their own name alterations.

In some Indigenous communities the first naming tradition involves the absence of a name. North Dakota's Hidatsa people refrained from naming newborns immediately. According

⁵² David H. French and Katherine S. French, "Personal Names," *Handbook of the North American Indians: Language 17*, comp. William C. Sturtevant, (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 200.

to anthropologist Alfred Bowers, Hidatsa infants received names on their tenth day when a feast was held and a family member, chosen by the parents, named the child in exchange for payment.⁵³ In Hidatsa belief, prior to naming, infants existed in an intermediate state between the spiritual realm and the earthly, familial realm.⁵⁴ “The rites of naming the child,” Bowers, explains, “were viewed as the formal way of introducing him to his father’s relatives” and welcoming him (or her) into the physical world beyond the maternal earth lodge.⁵⁵ Mandans adhered to similar practices and understandings. “Until the child received a name,” Bowers writes, “it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village.” But “upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan.”⁵⁶ Thus, children among Mandans and Hidatsas did not possess full personhood until initiated through the naming ceremony.

Apaches adhered to similar practices. “Parents do not give a child its Apache name until it is at least one or two months old, when they are sure it will live,” writes the anthropologist Grenville Goodwin. “It is considered a bad thing to name a newborn baby which might later die.”⁵⁷ So too for California’s Maidu people. Ethnologist E.M. Loeb has noted that Maidus deferred naming for a year after the birth because naming a child who died rendered the name unusable. A nickname sufficed in the interim.⁵⁸ Names and traditional naming ceremonies established identity and position in a community. They marked—and still mark—personal, physical, and social development. A name signified the belonging and esteem earned by surviving and thriving, which foretold of future contributions to family, clan, town, and tribe.

⁵³ Alfred W. Bowers, *Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization* (University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 129.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 128

⁵⁶ Alfred W. Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (University of Nebraska Press, 1950), 59.

⁵⁷ Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology: Ethnological Series; University of Chicago Press, 1942,) 526.

⁵⁸ E.M. Loeb, “The Eastern Kuksu Cult: The Maidu,” in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, ed. A.L. Kroeber, Robert H. Lowie, and Ronald L. Olson (University of California Press: Berkley, 1932-1934), 177.

The deferment of naming suggests the very importance of such ceremonies and their consequences. A child unnamed was a child without a place.⁵⁹

Whether or not they adhered to waiting periods, many Native American cultures had specific naming traditions for infants. The famed photographer and ethnologist Edward S. Curtis observed that Wichita “children were named at birth, and sometimes before birth, after a bird, an animal, a dream, a vision, game, or what not, or it might be a name handed down in the family.”⁶⁰ In one instance, when a Wichita “woman gave birth, one of the women present by chance opened a door and saw the snow falling, so the child was named *Natskiwus* ("Snowbird"). Likewise, among the Miwoks of California, "a child was named shortly after birth, preferably by a grandfather, but not infrequently by any of the near relatives.”⁶¹ The designation of the infant’s name by an extended family member was a common practice in many Indigenous societies and served as an early establishment of the child’s kinship relationships. Among the Pawnees, according to the ethnographer George A. Dorsey, “a child was given a name by the midwife” not long after birth.⁶²

Infant naming practices often involved ceremonies. In his 1996 autobiography *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing*, Severt Young Bear described Lakota naming practices. According to Young Bear, who died three years before his autobiography appeared, Lakotas of his generation experienced one of two naming ceremonies. One was called a *hunka*, or making of relatives ceremony. It was an elaborate, deeply spiritual rite that included prayer, sacred singing,

⁵⁹ Bowers notes that when Hidatsa children “died unnamed, they were wrapped and placed without ceremony in a tree with other unnamed children.” Bowers, *Hidatsa Social & Ceremonial*, 129.

⁶⁰ Edward S. Curtis, “The Wichita,” *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska 19*, Edited by Frederick W. Hodge. (Northwestern Library, 1930), 40. http://curtis.library.northwestern.edu/site_curtis/.

⁶¹ Edward Winslow Gifford, “Miwok Moieties,” *American Archeology and Ethnology 12* (University of California Press, 1916), 146. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t1jh45v1g>.

⁶² George A. Dorsey, “Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,” *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History: Anthropological Series 27*, no. 2, ed. James R. Murie and Alexander Spoehr, (1940), 92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2978223092>.

and the use of sacred items.⁶³ The other Lakota naming ceremony was simple and straightforward by comparison, with less ritual involved. In both ceremonies, parents chose honored members of the tribe to bestow names. “The name givers chosen and the type of name that is given reflect the desire of the parents to have a good influence on their child,” Young Bear said.⁶⁴ Naming ceremonies were public events that affirmed not just the belonging of children involved but also traditional practices and kinship relations. For Lakotas, and many other Native American communities, names established much more than genealogy. They established identity and multi-directional responsibilities among kin.

Whatever their birth names, Native children often acquired new names over time. Edward Curtis, who traveled widely among Native groups, observed that a newborn Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) of the Pacific Northwest garnered a second, new name before a year had passed:

the first name is retained until the age of ten months, when, on the occasion known as the hehluqila, all the young people of the child's sex are invited to the house to observe the father or an uncle singe its hair in order to cause luxuriant growth. Its head and face are then dusted with powdered red paint, and the father distributes gifts and announces the new name. Then the guests cover their faces with red paint, and one by one sing their love-songs, all aiding each singer. The child is now regarded simply as the son or the daughter of its father, not as a tribesman.⁶⁵

The new name signified the recipient's initiation into early childhood and the emergence of new family relationships. The ceremony is celebratory and purposeful, while simultaneously unifying the community.

⁶³ Young Bear notes the sacredness of this word and its inherent connection to power and honor. I have taken Young Bear's own publication of the word as sanction for my use of it here. Severt Young Bear, *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing*, ed. R.D. Theisz (University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 8-9.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 10.

⁶⁵ Edward S. Curtis, “The Wichita,” 52.

The Sauks, originally from the American Midwest, also had ceremonies for changing children's names. As the ethnologist Alanson Skinner reported, "When the child is from ten to thirty days of age" an old man of the father's gens, to whom this part of the ceremony has been entrusted, rises and announces the name which he has decided to confer upon the child, and the moiety to which the baby will belong.⁶⁶ The Apaches also gave children new names over the course of their early years. But according to Goodwin, they were less ceremonial. In Apache culture, "When someone has a good name which he wishes to bestow on a child, he goes to the parents and says, "I have a good name for this child, and I would like to give it to him. Let him be called So-and-so from now on."⁶⁷ Goodwin explained "Such names are considered very lucky, and the person who dreams one will hold it for some child to whom he wishes to give it."⁶⁸

In many cultures, the onset of puberty warranted another name change. "In the Cheyenne Tradition," Professor Carol A. Markstom explains, a pubescent boy first went on a four-day vision quest. Then he "returned to the council of elders or a shaman" who interpreted "his experiences" to determine a new, medicine name. The new name became "a source of power" for the recipient.⁶⁹ Among Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutls), fathers determined when their sons were of age. Typically, between ages six and fifteen, boys received feast names from their fathers. The new names gave them the right to attend council meetings and adult feasts.⁷⁰ Similarly, Diné (Navajo) girls received new names after completing the *Kinaaldá* ceremony. A name thus signified "to the recipient as well as her social network that an important

⁶⁶ Alanson Skinner, "Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians," *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* (Published by Order of the Board of Trustees, August 1930), 16.

⁶⁷ Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*, 527.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Carol A. Markstom, *Empowerment of North American Indian Girls: Ritual Expressions at Puberty* (University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 159. ProQuest Ebook Central.

<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=332861>. Created from ucb on 2019-02-27 20:22:33.

⁷⁰ Edward S. Curtis, "The Wichita," 138.

transformation has occurred,” writes Professor Markstrom. “A name change,” she says, “can also bring about changes in identity and may serve as a culminating act of reincorporation at the end of a rite of passage.”⁷¹ Maidu children first received nicknames that served for years until replaced by “real,” or proper names in puberty ceremonies.⁷² Despite the arrayed purposes and rituals, name changes at puberty generally symbolized initiation into adulthood as recipients took on new status and responsibilities.

Other name changes marked acts of bravery or merit. These were most common for men and served as reminders of stature and accomplishment. In his memoir *My People the Sioux*, Luther Standing Bear (Óta Kté or Kills Plenty) described the evolution of his father’s name. “My grandfather - my father’s father - was a chief,” Standing Bear explains, “and accounted a very brave man. He had captured many spotted horses from other tribes.” As a consequence, when Standing Bear’s father “was born, he was given the name Spotted Horse.” He kept that name “until he was old enough to go on the war-path and earn his own name.”⁷³ The naming experience of Spotted Horse, later named Chief Standing Bear for his bravery, suggests a close relationship between Lakota names, personal accomplishments, and sense of self. The name “Spotted Horse” conveyed the boy’s family reputation and position within his community. The name Standing Bear, which he acquired later, conveyed his adult character and social standing.

Merit-based name changes were commonplace in traditional Indigenous communities. Like Lakotas, Sauks too changed men’s names “as a reward for prowess on the warpath. If a warrior is among the first four to touch the body of a slain enemy, his name is discarded and a new name is at once given to him by the partisan in charge of the party.”⁷⁴ This new name instantly became the warriors new name without further ceremony. Skinner explains “a

⁷¹ Carol A. Markstrom, *Empowerment of North American Indian Girls*, 312.

⁷² E.M. Loeb, “The Eastern Kuksu Cult: The Maidu,” 177.

⁷³ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, ed. E.A. Brininstool (First Bison Books, 2006), 3-4.

⁷⁴ Alanson Skinner, “Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians,” 16.

particularly successful brave may have his name changed several times in the course of his life, depending on his ability in battle."⁷⁵ Among the Blackfeet, male youths had to adopt new names that were often sarcastic and evoked teasing. Only after a "worthy deed" could a young man acquire "a new and more dignified name."⁷⁶ The Blackfoot man gained respect and social standing as a result of the bravery now embodied in his new name. Similarly, Pawnee names could "also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery."⁷⁷

Native American names could thus contain multi-layered connotations and serve a plethora of purposes. As French and French explain, "Many names of Native North Americans not only designated persons but also 'meant' or alluded to, something else." They might, for example, refer to "place of origin or birth," "astronomical, climatic, and similar phenomena," "animals, plants, and other natural objects (or qualities)," or "characteristics or persons--and the events in their lives."⁷⁸ The scholar R. H. Barnes has noted that Hidatsa "names are partly constitutive of social personality and are intimately linked to spiritual make-up."⁷⁹ They "encode events and thereby relate the person to the structure of his community and to its history."⁸⁰ Correspondingly, the anthropologist Edward Winslow Gifford found that among Miwoks, a "name has more than its literal meaning. It has an implied meaning, which usually brings in a reference to an animate or inanimate object." Gifford noted that "the personal name Wüksü is a form of the verb meaning 'to go.' Yet to the friends and relatives of the man his name meant "Sun going down."⁸¹

⁷⁵ Alanson Skinner, "Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians," 16.

⁷⁶ Clark Wissler, "The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 3 (New York: Published by Order of the Trustees, 1911), 17.

⁷⁷ George A. Dorsey, "Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society," 92.

⁷⁸ David H. French, and Katherine S. French, "Personal Names," 214

⁷⁹ R. H. Barnes, "Hidatsa Personal Names: An Interpretation," *Plains Anthropologist* 25, no. 90 (Taylor & Francis, Ltd., November 1980), 328. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25667652>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Edward Winslow Gifford, "Miwok Moieties," 146.

Indigenous names conveyed individual characteristics and nuances of meaning and status incomprehensible to outsiders. According to the anthropologist Carol G. Lombard, the “descriptive backing of *Niitsitapi* [Blackfeet] personal names comprises a complex network of (oftentimes somewhat obscure) non-linguistic associations that are deeply rooted in a wide range of elements — personal, social, cultural, psychological, historical, physical, geographical, ecological, and spiritual — which make up the reality of the *Niitsitapi* world.”⁸² Thus, “*Niitsitapi* personal names provide a powerful means of establishing, maintaining, and communicating perceptions of individual as well as social and cultural (ethnic) identity.”⁸³

Niitsitapi (Blackfeet) names were not unlike other Indigenous names in this respect, especially when it came to denoting kinship. Among Hidatsas, “names exhibit[ed] a principle of organization in Hidatsa life which [was] quite as important as the matrilineal rule of descent.”⁸⁴ Likewise, for Haudenosaunees (Iroquois) “attention was given to naming after an object of their respect for persons and their relations. Here is manifested a desire to perpetuate the honor and memory of kins or friends.”⁸⁵ Similarly, among Yocha Dehe Wintun (Rumsey Patwin) peoples, children take on the names of deceased relatives.⁸⁶ Kinship likewise inflects Luther Standing Bear’s account his father’s name, already described above. Readers may recall that Luther’s father, originally named Spotted Horse after his own father’s accomplishments, took on the name Standing Bear to mark his own military accomplishments. Later, his son (now known as Luther Standing Bear) garnered the birth name Óta Kté, or Kills Plenty, because his father “had killed

⁸² Carol G. Lombard, “The Sociocultural Significance of Niitsitapi Personal Names: An Ethnographic Analysis,” *Names* 59, no. 1 (March 2011), 48. <https://www.tandfonline.com/colorado.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1179/002777311X12942225544714?needAccess=true>.

⁸³ Carol G. Lombard, “The Sociocultural Significance of Niitsitapi Personal Names,” 49.

⁸⁴ R.H. Barnes, “Hidatsa Personal Names: An Interpretation,” 328.

⁸⁵ Charles A. Cooke, “Iroquois Personal Names: Their Classification,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, no. 4 (1952): 433. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3143800>.

⁸⁶ E.M. Loeb, “The Eastern Kuksu Cult: The Maidu,” 219.

many enemies.”⁸⁷ As infant names, Spotted Horse and Kills Plenty represent identity, family history, family reputation, and patrilineal descent with admirable clarity.

Names aside, those who gave them also mattered. The anthropologist Grenville Goodwin found that Apache children were “most often named by their parents, but other relatives such as older siblings, grandparents or either kind, uncle, or aunt, or even a kindly disposed person who is unrelated may also be the one to name a child.”⁸⁸ For Apaches, namers and the children they named had a special relation of kinship, much like that between children and godparents in Anglo-American arrangements. A name could thus convey kinship thanks to its giver as well as its literal content.

Names therefore structured many layers of identity for Native American peoples. They marked the development of children. They marked kinship. They marked character. They marked status, events, age, accomplishments, origins, relationships, spiritual connections, and much, much more. As we will see in the coming chapters, officials representing the federal government either failed to understand these qualities or deemed them barbaric, unworthy, and retrograde. Either way, they were wrong. Indeed, nothing conveys the significance of Indigenous names so succinctly and poignantly as the title for one of Severt Young Bear’s chapters: “Names Tell Stories.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Luther Standing Bear, *My People The Sioux*, 4.

⁸⁸ Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*, 528.

⁸⁹ Severt Young Bear, *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing*, 8.

Chapter 3

Liminality, Captivity, and Social Death: A New Interpretation of Indian Industrial Schools

How did Richard Henry Pratt's vision and Fort Marion experience influence the experience of Native children? This chapter uses the Carlisle Indian Industrial School as a case study to explore the practices Pratt implemented at this infamous institution. The renaming of children takes center stage. The meaning and implications of this process expose ideas larger than the typical analysis of this industrial school. These larger impacts emerge most clearly through a deep exploration of Pratt's protocols, the Carlisle environment, and insights gained from a wider literature that addresses not education but captivity and cultural eradication—in this case a project of cultural genocide.

Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt's 1875 experiments at Fort Marion, Florida, profoundly influenced his approach to Native American education in years to come. In his 1908 memoir, Pratt explains that he "obtained many practical ideas in regard to industrial training" thanks to his "experiences in Florida."⁹⁰ Many of these "practical ideas" made their way into the curriculum and schedule at Carlisle. Education, it turns out, had much in common with captivity. Indeed, we must turn first to the scholarship on this subject to gain a deep understanding of the practices at Carlisle.

Using the definition provided by the anthropologist Catherine M. Cameron, captives are "men, women, and children who are unwillingly (and usually violently) seized, taken from their homes and introduced into a new society."⁹¹ Captives do not have to be military or political enemies. Rather, as Cameron argues, "Captive taking is a selective process," that furthers the

⁹⁰ Brig. Gen. Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 16.

⁹¹ Catherine M. Cameron, *Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World* (University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 9.

goals—any goals—of the captors. Indeed, she elaborates, captive-taking was “a carefully considered activity” that “advanced the social and economic goals of the captors.”⁹² And equally if not more important for our purposes, “placing captors in the correct social location—either within or outside of the kinship system—was critical to this endeavor.”⁹³

Captivity intersects with the idea of the liminal state. As Cameron notes, “from the point of view of captor society, [captivity] was a temporary state.”⁹⁴ Captivity was intermediate to assimilation and integration. Separated from their natal communities and from the captor’s society at large, captives existed in a liminal state physically, mentally, and emotionally. Physically, captors placed captives into a crafted environment that severed them from their previous community. Captors often organized this environment in a manner that furthered the authority’s goals, whether this be elimination or assimilation. However, the liminal state also impacted captives mentally and emotionally. Captives were in limbo. Their situations rendered past identities moot, even if they were unforgettable and deeply haunting. Thus, as Cameron argues, captives’ “rights of social personhood may be limited,” but “their alien origin [is] never completely forgotten.”⁹⁵ By definition, captives were in a liminal, intermediate state in which they could not interact with society or develop full-fledged identities.

Liminal states facilitated a kind of social death—especially in the eyes of captor societies. The very nature of captivity severed captives from natal cultures, identities, and social bonds. But captives were at the same time outsiders to the captor society that held them.⁹⁶ In Cameron’s framing, only when captives are released were they ““reborn” to the society of their captors.”⁹⁷

⁹² Catherine M. Cameron, *Captives*, 9.

⁹³ Ibid., 46-47.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 43.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 38.

⁹⁷ Catherine M. Cameron, *Captives*, 43.

Purged of previous status and identity, captives thus undergo a social death intended to sever all ties to natal communities.

The sociologist Orlando Patterson describes the process succinctly: An "institutionalized marginality" created by captors furthered "the liminal state of social death" of captives.⁹⁸ This in turn led to the "ultimate cultural outcome of the loss of natality as well as honor and power."⁹⁹ For captives, a liminal state was transitional to social death and was to be followed by reemergence into captor society. The liminal state of captivity—at least from the perspective of captors—made "blank slates" of those caught in it, in anticipation of the creation of something new. But for captives, it was not so easy. "Because the social identities captives developed in their natal societies are erased and replaced, the construction of social identity for these individuals is different than for native-born children," Cameron notes.¹⁰⁰ Liminality, in essence, never dissipates. The annihilation of past connections and identities is a captor fantasy.

The disintegration of identity facilitated the assimilation of the captive. In many instances, the imposed environment was highly militarized or resembled an army recruitment camp.¹⁰¹ Militarization promoted strict obedience and the destruction of individualized identity.. The captive, like a soldier, was now part of a highly regimented environment that encouraged the success of the authority's goals. In the words of the philosopher Claudia Card, the concept of social death "takes our focus off body counts and loss of individual talents" and directs "us instead to mourn losses of relationships that create community and give meaning to the development of talents."¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 46.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Catherine M. Cameron, *Captives*, 44.

¹⁰¹ Tom Holm, "The Militarization of Native America: Historical process and Cultural Perception," *The Social Science Journal* 34, no. 4 (1997): 471. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0362-3319\(97\)90005-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0362-3319(97)90005-7).

¹⁰² Claudia Card, "Genocide and Social Death," *Hypatia* 18, no.1 (Winter 2013): 1.

The concept of social death often appears in discussions of cultural genocide. “Genocide,” as defined by Raphael Lemkin, the Polish jurist who coined the word, “does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killing of all members of a nation.” Rather, genocide can “signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves.”¹⁰³ But as Lemkin saw it, genocide had a cultural component. “The objectives of such a plan,” he wrote, “would be disintegration of the political and social institutions of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups.”¹⁰⁴ For Lemkin, culture is the vitality of a community and thus compares to physical death in importance.

Cultural genocide has yet to be fully defined by legal scholars. The 1994 draft of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples used the term, but it disappeared from the version adopted in 2007.¹⁰⁵ (The United States voted against it at the time, but President Barack Obama reversed this decision and proclaimed U.S. support for the Declaration in 2010.¹⁰⁶) But it is nevertheless clear that cultural genocide killed (and continues to kill) cultures, identities, and social functions rather than people. The liminal state of captivity, intended to annihilate natal ties, was a key step in the process. As the sociologist Patterson notes, natal alienation meant “loss of native status” and “deracination.”¹⁰⁷ It meant estrangement “from any

¹⁰³ Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, 1944), 79.

¹⁰⁴ Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 79.

¹⁰⁵ UN General Assembly, Resolution 61/295, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (September 13, 2007), http://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf. The declaration does state that “Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture” (10).

¹⁰⁶ U.S. Department of State, “Announcement of U.S. Support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” December 16, 2010, archived at <https://web.archive.org/web/20150218235610/http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/184099.pdf>.

¹⁰⁷ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 7.

attachment to groups or localities other than those chosen . . . by the master.”¹⁰⁸ Social death was the individual manifestation of cultural genocide. Another sociologist, Damien Short, juxtaposes “social death” and “mass killing,” arguing that social death allows “us to distinguish the peculiar evil of genocide from crimes against humanity and mass murder.”¹⁰⁹ Annihilation of cultures through coerced assimilation and destruction thus constitutes its own kind of genocide.

Captives of all kinds live in liminal states—a sort of suspended animation—between worlds. Severed from their old environments, they are nevertheless incompletely incorporated—legally, socially, culturally—into their new ones, even if assimilation is the captor’s ultimate goal. The same can be said of Native students at industrial schools. Just as the prisoners at Fort Marion were captives forced into liminal states, so were many of the students who forcibly attended Carlisle Indian Industrial School. The federal government used a variety of methods, including force, to recruit students in the industrial-school era. In 1892, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan sent a letter to C. A. Bartholomew, the U.S. Indian Agent at the Southern Ute Agency, in which he stated:

I write this letter to ask you to begin immediately the work of collecting Ute children for the school. You will use such means as may seem to you best. It is desirable of course that the matter should be laid before the adults fully, the purpose of the Government clearly stated, and they should be told that it is designed to give all their children that kind of education that will fit them best for a life of usefulness, happiness, and prosperity. If you find that they will not consent willingly to having their children go, then use such a compulsion as may seem to you wise.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Damien Short, *Redefining Genocide: Settler Colonialism, Social Death and Ecocide* (London: Zed Books, 2016), 43.

¹¹⁰ Commissioner T. J. Morgan to C.A. Bartholomew, U.S. Indian Agent, Southern Ute Agency, Ignacio CO, March 2, 1892, Fort Lewis College. Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis Indian School Records, Outgoing Correspondence in general, 1906 January- October; M211, Box 4, Folder 5.

A year later, Daniel M. Browning the new acting commissioner, proposed a different approach. In 1893, he sent a mass letter to all Indian agents as well as all industrial school superintendents and supervisors denouncing the removal of children “without the full consent of the parents and approval of the agent.”¹¹¹ Just two years later, however, Browning changed course and distributed a letter that left room for coercion. “As Agent having the care of these poor, benighted mortals,” he wrote, “you should use all the means in your power to influence enrollment of all children in this school, and to encourage the parents to keep them there once enrolled.”¹¹² As this suggests, the protocol for student recruitment changed constantly. It is clear, however, that students lacked agency and parental consultation was minimal if it existed at all. Like captives, Indigenous students endured forcible removal from their natal cultures, families, and communities. The purpose of their removal was assimilation and the ensuing destruction of tribal culture.

For students at Carlisle, Pratt crafted a militarized environment much like the one he created for prisoners at Fort Marion which effectively threw his wards into a liminal state. As Pratt explained it, this meant a disciplinary regimen implemented from the school’s very beginning. The model was distinctively military, just like the one used in Florida. “For disciplinary purposes,” Pratt said, “the boys and girls were organized into companies with officers among themselves to march them to and from the school and dining room.”¹¹³

The regimented environment served two main purposes, one practical, the other social and cultural. In practical terms, military organization helped administrators organize and keep track of the school’s many students, some two hundred and twenty-six in number over the course

¹¹¹ Commissioner D. M. Browning to U.S. Indian Agents, Bonded Superintendents and Supervisors, April 12, 1893, Fort Lewis College, Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis Indian School Records, Outgoing Correspondence in general, 1906 January- October; M211, Box 4, Folder 5.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Brig. Gen. Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 17.

of 1882.¹¹⁴ The historian David Wallace Adams notes “the sheer organization problems created by having to house, feed, teach, and most significantly, control” hundreds of youths uprooted from life as they had known it.¹¹⁵ “Good health, neatness, politeness, the ability to concentrate, self-confidence, and patriotism were also attributed to military regimen.”¹¹⁶ Pratt bragged about how the first boys who attended the schools “were drilled daily by Lieutenant Brown. Simple bathing arrangements were established, and cleanliness and order soon prevailed.”¹¹⁷ For Pratt and his fellow administrators, order was the first step towards assimilation. As they saw it, only a strict routine would cultivate civilized, Anglo-American habits in the Native youths they oversaw.

But Pratt’s overarching goal was assimilation. This was the second reason for Carlisle’s strict, military-style environment. Pratt wanted his education experiment to succeed. The discipline he imposed put students in a liminal state like that of captives or plebes at an army or navy academy.¹¹⁸ No longer a part of the world they once knew, they structured their lives around imposed protocols intended to eradicate everything they were and create something new. Mike Burns, a Yavapai man who attended Carlisle in the 1880s, described his experience under this regimen in his biography: “The boys and girls came together in the classroom, but at mealtimes the boys were called together in lines and rows just like soldiers. One of the boys was the first sergeant.” There was no leeway for inattention or distraction. “Mr. Campbell would call off our names,” Burns remembered, “and we had to answer immediately or get marked absent,

¹¹⁴ The number of attendees at Carlisle obviously varied, year-to-year and month-to-month. This particular number is the average number of monthly attendees in 1882. Retrieved from “Table of Statistics Relating to Indian Education.” *The History Collection- UW Digital Collections*, University of Wisconsin Press, digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/Historyidx?type=article&did=History.AnnRep82.i0035&id=History.AnnRep82&isize=M.

¹¹⁵ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (University Press of Kansas, 1995), 118.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield to the Classroom*, 234.

¹¹⁸ “Annual Report, United States Indian School, Carlisle PA, M. Friedman”, June 30, 1910, National Archives Denver, M1011, Roll 9, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs RG 75.

and then we would have to miss a meal or even get sent to the guardhouse."¹¹⁹ Burns's account was one of many survivor narratives that dwell at length on strict regimens and punishments at Carlisle. These narratives make it clear that pupils at Indian industrial schools felt more like soldiers than students. Their experiences shared little with those of white peers who attended public schools. Carlisle did convey a basic education but it was of a piece with its disciplinary setting, intended above all to advance assimilation.

It makes sense that in designing his practices at Carlisle, Pratt returned to his training as a military officer. Having served in the U.S. army in the Civil War and the Indian Wars (as a commander of African American "Buffalo Soldiers"), Pratt's military experience defined his life in the years before he became an educator. He surely knew much about harsh discipline and the regimented instruction of young men. The intent of military training is preparation for combat, an undertaking that may well replace old identities and allegiances with new ones. But even if they do not enter combat, those trained for military service typically reenter the societies from which they come. In Pratt's Carlisle experiment, the intent was not unit cohesion, preparation for combat, or the development of discipline under fire. Instead, it was the complete annihilation of Indigenous identities and cultures. To Pratt, however, the difference in intended outcomes seems to have mattered little. A harsh, institutional environment of military drills and regimens would uproot students from their pasts, put them in the kind liminal state he had used elsewhere, and insure effective assimilation over the long haul. That, at least, was his vision.

One of Pratt's priorities was erasing tribal identities. To do this, Pratt placed students "in dormitories so that "no two of the same tribe were in the same room."¹²⁰ He goes on to explain that "this not only helped in the acquirement of English but broke up tribal and race

¹¹⁹ Mike Burns, *The Only One Living To Tell: The Autobiography of Yavapai Indian*, ed. Gregory McNamee (The University of Arizona Press, 2012), 122.

¹²⁰ Brig. Gen. Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 21.

clannishness, a most important victory in getting the Indian toward real citizenship."¹²¹ Carlisle teachers and administrators deemed anything related to tribal culture unsavory for the industrial school environment. By separating students from common cultures, Pratt and others intended to nationalize Native students so they would identify not with their tribal nations but with the United States.¹²² Carlisle administrators would not have used the phrase “liminal states” to describe student experiences. But that is nevertheless what they sought to induce. School administrators intended for military drills, strict rules, and immersion in Anglo-American culture and practices to destroy tribal traditions.¹²³

Although much of the federal government’s rhetoric describes the importance of education, an analysis of the daily life of Carlisle students suggests that assimilation mattered more. The federal government effectively disguised cultural genocide behind a benevolent façade of education. As Carlisle Superintendent Moses Friedman explained in 1910, "Carlisle is a vocational school...Its efforts have been consistently in the direction of providing thorough training for Indian boys and girls which will fit them for the duties and responsibilities of an honest, law-abiding, industrious, American citizenship."¹²⁴ Federal officials imposed similar practices upon immigrant children. John H. Haaren, Associate Superintendent of New York Public Schools, explained in 1910 that the government funded schools “must take its part in solving the problem that has been precipitated by the great immigration of peoples who differ from the great mass of our population, not only in language, but in customs, political ideals, and

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Annual Report, United States Indian School, Carlisle PA, M. Friedman, June 30, 1910, National Archives Denver, M1011, Roll 9, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs RG 75.

¹²³ Administrators were not always successful in these goals—a subject I will address later. For now, it is worth noting that my research has yielded anecdotes of students misbehaving, surreptitiously engaging in traditional prayer, or speaking their Indigenous languages. Additionally, Ms. Barbara Landis, a historian who works on the history of Carlisle Indian Industrial School, believes some students may have purposely placed misspellings or typos in the student-printed newspaper as a way to protest their superiors’ strict practices.

¹²⁴ Annual Report, United States Indian School, Carlisle PA, M. Friedman, June 30, 1910, National Archives Denver, M1011, Roll 9, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs RG 75.

to a considerable extent in religion."¹²⁵ Thus, in the education of children born outside of Anglo-American society, assimilation and the creation of patriotic affinities was equal to if not more important than arithmetic.

Mike Burns said in his memoir: "I did not think I was getting on fast enough, as we had only half day's school every day, and no one can progress very fast at that rate of study."¹²⁶ The majority of the student's day involved the performance of industrial work designed to prepare the students for life within Anglo-American society. Assimilation shaped every part of the student's day, as schools imparted skills required for Anglo-style farming and industrial employment. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School thus prepared students for white society post-graduation. Like other captives caught in liminal states, students were expected to emerge with new identities separate from their natal communities.

Nothing symbolized the captive state of Carlisle students more dramatically than fencing. "There was no fence or protection around the grounds" in the school's early days, Pratt wrote, "and so curious and large was the crowd of people daily that I that telegraphed the department and asked to build a picket fence seven feet high to protect and keep the Indians in and the whites out, until we could get in shape."¹²⁷ With help from the Fort Marion prisoners who followed Pratt to Pennsylvania, the first students at Carlisle built a fence that separated them from the world outside. Supervised by the school's administrators, Native students and men built the very wall that contained them and enforced their liminality. Only when they relinquished traditional practices, beliefs, and ways of life would white administrators release them into the

¹²⁵ John H. Haaren, Associate Superintendent of New York Public Schools, "Education of the Immigrant Child," *Education of the Immigrant: Abstracts of Papers Read at a Public Conference, Under the Auspices of the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League from Immigrants, Held at New York, City, May 16 and 17, 1913*, Bulletin 1913, no.51(Washington Government Printing Office 1913), 19.

¹²⁶ Mike Burns, *The Only One Living To Tell*, 123.

¹²⁷ Brig. Gen. Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 15.

world beyond the fence. The fence at Carlisle was the physical manifestation of a liminal state enforced to make the students feel that assimilation was their only viable future.

Fences, military discipline, and cultural segregation were not the only ways to perturb and destroy traditional cultures, practices, and identities. Carlisle compelled assimilation in other ways, too. Luther Standing Bear details how he and his peers dressed in “white men’s clothes” given to them by school administrators.¹²⁸ Many students experienced the trauma of having their hair cut. Standing Bear explains that the chopping of his hair brought tears to his eyes as he felt it affected his bravery and connection to his father.¹²⁹ The historian Jennifer Garber elaborates: “When new students arrived, they were quickly subjected to strenuous baths, dressed in American clothes, and had their hair cut short. Speaking Native languages was strictly forbidden.”¹³⁰ These were traumatic experiences for Native students. The dramatic alteration of personal appearance undercut identity itself, replacing it the physical façade of assimilation.

If captivity is a liminal state, one likely end is the “social death” of those held. Fort Marion was a case in point. There Pratt inaugurated the infamous outing system later adopted at Carlisle and other industrial schools. Pratt described a staged process by which he sought to sever his Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho, and Caddo prisoners from their former identities and social connections. Distance worked in his favor, just as it would a few years later at Carlisle. Once Pratt’s plains-Indian prisoners “were secure” in the Florida fort, he explained, “the great distance from their homes convinces them of the impossibility of escape.”¹³¹ This made it possible to remove “their irons” so the process of social death and assimilation could

¹²⁸ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 140.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹³⁰ Jennifer Garber, *The Gods of Indian Country*, 141.

¹³¹ Brig. Gen. R.H.Pratt, “One of General Sheridan’s Ways with Indians and What came of It,” in *American Indians, Chained and Unchained Being an Address before the Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion at the Union League*, (University of Michigan 1913) 6.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015003689984;view=image;page=root;size=100;seq=5;num=1>.

begin. Once his wards had “accepted their banishment,” Pratt explained, “they were placed out to work in various industries in and about the old town.”¹³²

A similar system became a key part of Pratt’s strategy at Carlisle, which he founded just four years after the first prisoners had arrived at Fort Marion. The outing system, created by Pratt and implemented at Carlisle and other Indian industrial schools, placed Native American students in local households or at industrial jobs for a summer or even longer. The point was for the children to gain speaking ability in colloquial English, live in “civilized” households, and acquire domestic, agricultural, trade, or industrial skills. Pratt was unabashed in connecting the school outing system to the one at Fort Marion. “The experience with the prisoners in Florida had fully established” the system’s benefits, he said. Indeed, Pratt believed that by “bringing the two races in contact with each other” and fostering “better understanding,” the outing system helped Indians and non-Indians alike.”¹³³

But platitudes about interracial “understanding” do not disguise Pratt’s primary intent. The placement of students in white households would help eradicate the tribal traditions ingrained in Native American students. It was part and parcel of the social and cultural death Pratt hoped to accomplish. As he famously put it himself, his intent was to “Kill the Indian, Save the Man.”¹³⁴ Interaction with the outside community, the Carlisle superintendent believed, would teach Native children how to function in Anglo-American society. He and other assimilationists believed that by adulthood, such children could be white in every respect except skin color.¹³⁵ “The industrious farmer and mechanic is in sight daily,” Pratt wrote. “The evidence that man

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Brig. Gen. Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School*, 19.

¹³⁴ Richard H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” 260–271.

¹³⁵ “The American Indian is finding himself. He is rapidly taking is proper place with the white man as a good citizen, a true patriot, a self-respecting and self-supporting workman, and a Christian....with each year more integrally a part of American citizenry...differing little except in physical characteristics from the white man.” “Annual Report, United States Indian School, Carlisle PA, M. Friedman”, June 30, 1910, National Archives Denver, M1011, Roll 9, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs RG 75.

must obtain his living by the sweat of his brow is constantly before the children and it becomes an easy matter for them to join with the sentiment of the community in that direction."¹³⁶ As at Fort Marion, the outing system gave students a reprieve from the militaristic daily life at the school itself so they could instead gain assimilation experiences in a different environment. The physical and mental liminal state of the children was constantly reinforced by Carlisle administrators. As we will see in the coming chapter, the alteration of student names served as the first indoctrination into this liminal state.

¹³⁶ Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield & Classroom*, 259.

Chapter 4

Names at Carlisle Indian Industrial School

One of the most notable and deeply personal assaults on students was the assignment of new names in a language and manner completely divorced from traditional practices. Renaming in this fashion reeks of cultural genocide, as it gets to the very essence of identity, history, and sense of self. If nothing else put industrial school students in a liminal state, this did. Many historians who write about industrial schools mention the renaming and name alterations imposed on Native students. But these brief analyses do not do justice to the insights naming and renaming provide. In her essay “The Names,”¹³⁷ Barbara Landis, a historian with extensive knowledge about Carlisle, illustrates the ways in which the alteration of children’s names made it difficult for descendants of the students to locate headstones or confirm the child’s attendance. Landis’s essay, unique in its attention to name changes, makes an immensely valuable contribution to the study of name changes at industrial schools. However, since she does not explicitly focus on individual students but rather on the consequences for future generations trying to locate their relatives, scholars still have work to do.

David Wallace Adams has likewise dug into this topic. In *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928*, Adams addresses name changes from the perspective of school administrators and government officials seeking to transform Native Americans into-self-reliant, individualized, Anglo-style property owners.¹³⁸ New names, Adams says, facilitated this process. In this case, the point was not so much about

¹³⁷ Barbara Landis, “The Names”, in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, & Reclamations*, ed. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 88.

¹³⁸ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 111.

assimilation as it was about heritability and the legalities of patrimony. Officials deemed these needs ill-served by Indigenous naming patterns. Adams also identifies other reasons administrators changed Native names. Teachers at Carlisle and elsewhere did not have the patience to memorize names in Indigenous languages. Moreover, Adams suggests, school administrators have found translations humiliating for Native students.¹³⁹ Thus, Adams appraises the official motivations for name alterations, and he briefly addresses the ways these changes might have affected the student identities. However, he does not explore the impact of these names in such broader contexts as militarized disciplinary regimens, tribal kinship patterns, and the liminal transition to assimilation in its own right.

Historians have thus addressed name alteration, but they have not probed the subject in depth, and they have not done so from the perspective of students. A detailed analysis of name changes suggests deeper meanings and broader connections. Name alterations highlight the federal government's disregard, or lack of understanding, of tribal kinship and religion. They illuminate the liminal state students entered at industrial schools, reminding students of their powerless, captive-like existence. As Orlando Patterson argues, "the changing of a name is almost universally a symbolic act of stripping a person of his former identity."¹⁴⁰

The underlying premise of this thesis is that names are revealing. Names and their alteration shed light on broader assimilation policies including language eradication, enforcement of gender binaries, and destruction of traditional kinship patterns. Discussing student's individualized experiences brings these details to light. Name changes constitute specific examples of attempts to eradicate tribal culture and identities. Close study of individual name changes likewise pays homage to what particular students endured, restoring their

¹³⁹ Ibid., 108.

¹⁴⁰ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 55.

experiences to the historical record. These realities are hard to find in broader, historical works on the effects of the industrial-school era.

Thanks to digitization undertaken by Dickinson College, the student records of Carlisle Indian Industrial School are available. I use these records to understand individualized experiences of students who were admitted from 1879-1890. Each student's experience was unique. My findings surely do not apply to every industrial school attendee. Nor does my conclusion imply that I understand all the nuances of Native names and student identities. Rather, the case studies I offer illuminate a part of many students' stories we have thus far overlooked. My intent is to expose the themes, goals, and consequences of federal policies while honoring and illuminating the experiences of industrial school students.¹⁴¹

Very few administrators or federal agents addressed topic of names in their assimilationist rhetoric. They may have felt it simply belabored what to them seemed obvious and necessary. In their view, Native American names were unacceptable. Just as Indigenous adults received new names upon accepting allotments, Indigenous students received new names when they arrived at industrial schools.

While they rarely addressed names, federal officials did discuss their opinions on the importance of speaking English. In the same manner that federal official's enforced English upon immigrant children, proponents of institutionalized education viewed English as instrumental for Native American 'Americanization.'¹⁴² The emphasis upon English, in its own way, sheds light on their views of names. In an 1868 report to the President, an Indian Peace Commission

¹⁴¹ The author acknowledges the issues of a white author writing about Indigenous history and presents this research with the desire for it to be understood as a historical exploration, rather than a definitive presentation of tribal cultures, identities, or experiences.

¹⁴² William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of New York City Public Schools in 1913, argued in reference to immigrant children: "We must give him the power of the English language." William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Public Schools, New York City, "Education of the Immigrant Child," *Education of the Immigrant: Abstracts of Papers Read at a Public Conference, Under the Auspices of the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League from Immigrants, Held at New York, City, May 16 and 17, 1913*, Bulletin 1913, no.51 (Washington Government Printing Office 1913), 19.

consisting of reservation agents and military generals, lauded the English language as a remedy for the “Indian problem.” “By educating the children of these tribes in the English language,” the commissioners wrote, many problems might have been avoided.¹⁴³ Communication “differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once.”¹⁴⁴ Indeed, the commissioners said, “In the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble.”¹⁴⁵ The peace commissioners termed Native speech a “barbarous dialect” that “should be blotted out and the English language substituted.”¹⁴⁶

In practical terms, the peace commissioners obviously sought peace. Native acquisition of English, they believed, would facilitate negotiation and assimilation alike. Language conveyed values, morals, and aspirations. It created common ground. “The object of greatest solicitude,” the commission said, “should be to break down the prejudices of tribe among the Indians; to blot out the boundary lines which divide them into distinct nations and fuse them into one homogeneous mass. Uniformity of language will do this--nothing else will.”¹⁴⁷

J. D. C Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1885-1888, held similar views. In fact, he supported education of Native Americans in part because it required students to learn English. “Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language,” wrote Atkins in his 1887 report to the Secretary of the Interior.¹⁴⁸ It was in the “very best interest of the Indian, both as an individual and as an embryo citizen” to have a policy of

¹⁴³ Accompanying Papers to the Annual Report of The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission, (Jan. 7, 1868) University of Wisconsin Online, 43.

<http://images.library.wisc.edu/History/EFacs/CommRep/AnnRep68/reference/history.annrep68.i0005.pdf>.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 44.

¹⁴⁷ Accompanying Papers to the Annual Report of The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission, (Jan. 7, 1868) University of Wisconsin Online, 44.

<http://images.library.wisc.edu/History/EFacs/CommRep/AnnRep68/reference/history.annrep68.i0005.pdf>.

¹⁴⁸ J.D.C. Atkins, “Board of Indian Commissioners: From Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1887),” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 200.

English strictly enforced at schools.¹⁴⁹ For Atkins, English was necessary for assimilation. It forced Native peoples to “acquire knowledge of the Constitution of the country” and encouraged them to “transact business with English-speaking people.”¹⁵⁰

Atkins and the 1868 Peace Commission were not alone in these sentiments. Richard Henry Pratt surely agreed, as did other advocates of Native (re)education. Lyman Abbott, a renowned minister and reformer, argued at the 1888 Lake Mohonk Conference that it would be wholly wrong for the government to “spend a dollar of the people’s money to educate a pagan population in a foreign tongue.”¹⁵¹ English instruction should be mandatory, Abbott said, because a Native person who could not speak English would forever remain a “gypsy.”¹⁵² Men like Abbott believed that if citizenship and private land ownership were the goals, English had to supplant Native languages.

It is therefore not surprising that English-language acquisition was one of the most important missions of Indian industrial schools. As Francis Paul Prucha, a Jesuit priest and historian, put it, “The cultural imperialism of the reformers was exhibited sharply in the demand that Indian languages be prohibited and only English allowed in Indian schools.”¹⁵³ The coerced use of English and the prohibition on Indigenous languages rendered tribal cultures and differences moot. If Native students wanted to communicate, they had to suspend their languages and identities and speak English.

Part of the problem was that school employees lacked the very linguistic dexterity they demanded of their students. They found Indigenous names difficult to pronounce, and their meanings were lost on teachers and administrators alike. At a 1904 meeting for the National

¹⁴⁹ J.D.C. Atkins in *Americanizing the American Indian*, 201.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 200

¹⁵¹ Lyman Abbott, “Education for the Indian,” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 213.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father*, 690.

Education Association Emily S. Cook, an employee of the Office of Indian Affairs, explained “[t]o be sure a teacher would be at a disadvantage in trying to be affectionate or disciplinary with an eight-syllabled girl like Sah gah ge way gah bow e qay.”¹⁵⁴ Additionally, English translations of names were often deemed insufficient or outright unacceptable. Thus officials determined to change any name they found “impossibly long or grotesque.”¹⁵⁵ Many administrators and members of white society poked fun at Indigenous names or mocked them for the ways they differed from Anglo-American names.¹⁵⁶

A February 1888 issue of *The Indian Helper*, a newspaper printed by Native students and written by people affiliated with Carlisle, contains a short article on Indigenous names. “No wonder the Indians are willing to have some of their names changed,” the author writes. “Here are three names we heard on our recent western trip: Many-tall-feathers-coming-over-the-hill. Birdie-kills-across-the-way. The-cow-that-goes-up-the-coulee-and-looks-at-the-spotted- calf-in-the-gully.”¹⁵⁷ Since we do not have Native-language versions of these names, we cannot assess the accuracy of the translations. But the author’s tone drips with non-Native condescension towards Indigenous names. The tone alone suggests the names are neither acceptable nor worthy of use. The same attitude applied to the cultures that produced them.

The same 1888 issue of *The Indian Helper* also chastened Chief Spotted Tail, a Brule Lakota headman, for keeping his Indigenous name.¹⁵⁸ The comments disrespected not just the chief but also his name’s meaning, its importance, and Lakota naming practices more generally.

¹⁵⁴ United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, “Emily S. Cook: Indian Names,” *Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, 1905, 423.

¹⁵⁵ “Renaming the Indians,” *The Arrow* 4, no. 27, 1908, Carlisle Indian School Digital Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/arrow-vol-4-no-27>.

¹⁵⁶ *The Indian Helper*, often published lists “of unique Indian names” that the publication had received in the weekly applications for subscriptions. The tone is inherently mocking. *The Indian Helper* 8, no. 25, 1893. Carlisle Indian School Digital Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/indian-helper-vol-8-no-25>.

¹⁵⁷ “Indian Names,” *The Indian Helper* 4, no.14 1888, Carlisle Indian School Digital Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/indian-helper-vol-4-no-14>.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

Additional elaboration follows, from the same author in the same issue of *The Indian Helper*.

“The Indians are not named when babies,” readers learn, “except as the children of their fathers; but when later, some childish adventure or accident befalls them, it proves, if not the turning point, at least the naming point of their lives. A little fellow is kicked by a pony, and he is known in the future as “Kicking Horse.”¹⁵⁹ The author provides additional examples of “accidents” that could generate children's names, suggesting that the “list could be made endless.”¹⁶⁰ The author was obviously misinformed. But the superior, mocking tone is equally disturbing. One can only imagine its impact on Native children. Finally, since both articles appeared in Carlisle's own newspaper, they surely reflect the views of people employed at the school.

For such individuals, the preparation of Native children for assimilation into white society was paramount. Anglo-American names were an initial step that marked social death as well as entry into a new, transitional state of liminality. Teachers, officials, and administrators expected Native children to fully inhabit their new names by the time they emerged out the industrial school and assumed daily life in white civilization. Indeed, much of the rhetoric of assimilation reflects a belief that true personhood remained impossible until assimilation was complete. In the words of Carlisle superintendent Moses Friedman, the school's attendees were to be “transformed while at Carlisle into a full-fledged man or woman.”¹⁶¹ Implicit is the assumption that those who adhered to tribal traditions, values, and identities lacked full personhood. No longer would such individuals be what the educator Merrill E. Gates called “ward[s] of the government.”¹⁶² Instead, new names and other measures would—in the eyes of

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ “Annual Report, United States Indian School, Carlisle PA, M. Friedman,” June 30, 1910, National Archives Denver, M1011, Roll 9, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs RG 75.

¹⁶² Merrill E. Gates, “Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians,” 46.

the assimilationist politician Henry L. Dawes—lift Indians “up into citizenship and manhood, and co-operation with us to the glory of the country.”¹⁶³

Although the historical record contains many instances across Carlisle’s history where name changes occurred, our primary focus here is on the first wave of students admitted to the school from 1879 to 1890. This thesis relies heavily upon the name changes of the first group of students who arrived in 1879, yet examples from subsequent years are also included. For one thing, the naming practices imposed on the first students laid the groundwork for the experiences of those who came later. Equally significant is the fact that “success” with the first students was essential to Pratt’s long-term efforts. Only demonstrable results could insure continued funding and the proliferation of off-reservation schools. For Pratt, traditional names were a jarring reminder of tribal culture, religion, and language. New names, by contrast, seemed an easy-to-implement marker of success.

Time constraints also shaped the decision to focus mostly on the first class of students. The limited time available for research simply made it impossible to undertake a full, longitudinal study.¹⁶⁴ With that in mind, we should recognize that the experiences of the first group students may not translate directly or universally to those who followed. They do, however, illuminate one way in which teachers and administrators imposed social death and liminality on students in order to achieve assimilationist goals.

The first Native American children and young adults from across the United States, including many Lakotas from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations, arrived at Carlisle Indian Industrial School on the night of October 5, 1879. On November 13th of that same year, Pratt sent a letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Era H. Hayt in which he described the

¹⁶³ Henry Dawes, “Indian Policy Reform,” in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 30.

¹⁶⁴ Ideally, more in-depth research would be conducted to track trends of name alteration and trace ongoing name uses on the part of specific students following their exits from Carlisle.

transportation of the students and included a detailed list of their names and the agencies from which they originated.¹⁶⁵ In most instances, Pratt provided a child's age, father's name, and tribal affiliation. He also, in most instances, provided phonetically spelled Indigenous names along with either new English names or English translations of Indigenous names.¹⁶⁶

Pratt's letter is the first representation of Native American names in connection to industrial schools. The students he mentions appear next in the student files compiled by administrators at Carlisle. Taken together, these records indicate that the imposition of English-language names on Native students was pervasive and very likely important to administrators. Beyond this, these records illuminate four major naming patterns.

First, many students were assigned English first names but no surnames. These names, typically Christian in nature, adhered to a strict gender binary. School officials thus changed the male Rosebud Lakotas Ho-pteh-che-lah (Short Legs) to Gilbert, Cho-lah (Whistler or Cook in Guts) to Julian, Wo-gu-ha-ge (Yellow Sack) to Herbert, and We-ka-wah (Runs After the Moon) to Albert.¹⁶⁷ Likewise, they changed the female Rosebud Lakotas Tepe-g'e (Yellow Lodge) to Nellie, Cha-hah-pah (Shoes) to Ida, and Sunka-wah-Kan-Skah (White Horse) to Stella.¹⁶⁸ An English-language gender binary adheres throughout. This practice was not limited to the Lakotas however. Two Kiowa students were also only given first names. Kar-ah-do (Knife Holder) was

¹⁶⁵ Richard Henry Pratt, "Report of the First Party Brought to the Carlisle Indian School" November 13, 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/report-first-party-children-brought-carlisle-indian-school>.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 7-9; and "Student Files, Date Entry 1879," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_records/all?field_ephemera_year_entry_tid=5719&field_nation_tid=All&field_ephemera_type_tid=All&title=&sort_by=field_ephemera_date_of_doc_creat_value&sort_order=ASC&items_per_page=25.

¹⁶⁸ Student Files, Date Entry 1879," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_records/all?field_ephemera_year_entry_tid=5719&field_nation_tid=All&field_ephemera_type_tid=All&title=&sort_by=field_ephemera_date_of_doc_creat_value&sort_order=ASC&items_per_page=25.

given the name Fanny, and Sone-dy (Little) was named Mabel.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, Navajo student Hollow Loud (Navajo-language name unknown) was named Francisco, and Good Blanket (Cheyenne-language name unknown) was named Curtis.¹⁷⁰

Even though records indicate these students provided their father's names and their own Native names, they received only first names—a practice that seems surprising given longstanding Euro-American traditions of indicating patrilineal descent through familial surnames. In all, the new names are striking for their blandness and lack of associative meaning, which contrasts sharply with the naming practices of many Native groups. One can only imagine how vapid and perfunctory these name changes seemed to newly arrived Native students, accustomed to names that evolved over time by way of ceremonies, deeds, kin ties, and character traits.

Nowhere is the banality more poignant than in the Carlisle cemetery, all the more so for students who only received first names. When the Lakota boy Sunka-wa-Ken Ktah (One That Kills Horse) arrived at the school in 1879, he was twelve years old.¹⁷¹ Two and a half years later, on March 29, 1882, Sunka-wa-Ken Ktah died, to be buried beneath a headstone listing his tribal affiliation as “Sioux” and his name as Alvan.¹⁷² The stone bears no surname. Similarly, officials

¹⁶⁹ “Fanny (Knife Holder) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1328_b002_c00k_0060.pdf. And “Mabel (Little) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/mabel-doanmoe-little-student-information-card. Another information card provides a surname for Sone-dy but the record implies the surname was added after she left Carlisle.

¹⁷⁰ “Curtis (Good Blanket) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b007_f0304.pdf. And “Francisco (Hollow Loud) Student Information Card,” Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1328_b005_c00f_0013.pdf

¹⁷¹ Richard Henry Pratt, “Report of the First Party,” 7.

¹⁷² “Alvan (One That Kills Horse) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/alvan-one-kills-horse-student-information-card-0. “Alvan (One That Kills Horse) Cemetery Records,” in Cemetery Records, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-cemetery/Cemtery_Docs_ALVAN%20%28One%20That%20Kills%20Horse%29.pdf. One That Kills Horse

assigned Shaw-Shaw (Red Rose) the shortened English name Rose. When she died on April 29, 1881, her headstone simply said “Rose,” with further no indication of kinship or personal identity.¹⁷³ These cemetery inscriptions—heartrending for what they do not say—indicate not just death by disease or accident but also the social death such students endured.¹⁷⁴

The second pattern was for newly arrived students to receive Anglo-style first names along with a surname consisting of the English translation of their fathers’ names or a chief’s name. Some Native peoples—like Lakotas—do trace ancestry through patrilineal descent. But this surname pattern was Anglo-American, and school employees surely intended for its use to facilitate assimilation. They thus changed the name of the Lakota boy Mah-rpe-yah-e-yah-Kah (Runs in the Cloud) to Geoffrey Chips since his father’s name was Chips.¹⁷⁵ Kills in the Water (a.k.a. Rain Water) became Arthur Two Strikes for his father, a Lakota (Brule) Chief named Two Strikes.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, Curley Hair (Cheyenne-language name unknown) acquired the name Clarence Wolf Face after Chief Wolf Face.¹⁷⁷ Administrators changed the name of Crockery Face (Lakota-language name unknown) to Grace Cook after her father, whose name was

appears in a letter written by Luther Standing Bear to his father in 1882. Standing Bear wrote, “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.” Luther Standing Bear to Father, “Indian Training School, Carlisle, March 31st, 1882”, in “Alvan (One That Kills Horse) Cemetery Records,” in Cemetery Records, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-cemetery/Cemtery_Docs_ALVAN%20%28One%20That%20Kills%20Horse%29.pdf.

¹⁷³ “Rose (Red Rose) Cemetery Sources,” in Cemetery Records, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-cemetery/Cemtery_Docs_ROSE%20%28Red%20Rose%29.pdf.

¹⁷⁴ It should be noted that the graves have been moved twice since these students were laid to rest and the headstones are not the originals. However, the replacement headstones were apparently inscribed to match the first.

¹⁷⁵ “Geoffrey Chips (Runs In The Clouds) Student Information Card”, in “Student Files, Date Entry 1879,” Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1329_b005_c00c_0028.pdf.

¹⁷⁶ “Arthur (Two Strikes) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879,” Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1328_b004_c00t_0237.pdf.

¹⁷⁷ “Clarence Wolfe Face (Curley Hair) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1881, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1328_b006_c00w_0081.pdf.

Cook.¹⁷⁸ Data (Chippewa-language name unknown) became Henry Bonga after Peter Bonga who was most likely his father.¹⁷⁹ The imposition of Anglo-American style surnames discounted, overlooked, and flat-out ignored the fact that in many instances kinship was already inflected the children's Indigenous names.

The third pattern that emerges from the records is one of naming students for famous figures in United States history.¹⁸⁰ Chastine (Cheyenne-language name unknown), a Cheyenne boy who arrived at Carlisle on October 27, 1879, was given the name Chester Arthur.¹⁸¹ An orphaned Hidatsa student who entered Carlisle in 1883 got the name George Washington, though he later went by George W. Hill.¹⁸² Lastly, an Arapaho student without a recorded Indigenous name became known as U. S. Grant.¹⁸³ Grant's father's name (Left Hand) appears in his file but has no bearing on the name used at Carlisle.¹⁸⁴ Such names inevitably reflected the political sympathies of those who bestowed them. It seems likely that they also served successfully or not—to inculcate patriotism and identification with the United States in recipients.

Finally, there is a fourth pattern, consisting of no pattern at all. Some student files make no mention of Indigenous names. Such cases could indicate haste, sloppiness, or lack of care on the part of school record keepers. Indeed, we have no indication that there were guidelines, parameters, or protocols of any kind for renaming Native children at Carlisle. Student records

¹⁷⁸“Grace Cook (Crockery Face) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1327_b062_3152.pdf.

¹⁷⁹ “Henry Bonga (Data) Student File,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1884, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/henry-bonga-data-student-file.

¹⁸⁰ This was a common practice at Fort Lewis Indian School.

¹⁸¹ “Chester Arthur (Chastine) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/chester-arthur-chastine-student-information-card.

¹⁸² “George Washington Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1883, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1329_b014_c00_0492.pdf.

¹⁸³ “U.S. Grant Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1329_b012_c00_0823.pdf.

¹⁸⁴ The file indicates Grant later changed his name to Grant Lefthand, which reflects his father's name.

vary in the amount of information they contain, and new names also vary in structure, composition, and persistence. Daisy Glode is a case in point.



Fig. 3.01. Lizzie (a.k.a. Daisy) Glode, 1882, dressed in traditional Anglo-American fashion. John N. Choate, Lizzie Glode c. 1882, glass plated photograph, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/lizzie-glode-c1882>. The Carlisle archivist notes this may have been her school uniform.

Records make no mention of her Indigenous name, although they do show she was a Lakota from Pine Ridge and that she had a white father. Glode was her father's name. But at some point, for reasons unknown, her name changed from Daisy (which might have been a translated Lakota word) to Lizzie.¹⁸⁵ Cha-Ku-lu-tah (Red Road) garnered the name Sarah Mather even though her father was Chief Spotted Tail. We have no clues as to how or why she acquired a new surname typically associated with a family of New England Puritans.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ "Lizzie Glode Student Information Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b063_3186.pdf; and Pratt, "Report of the First Party," 7.

¹⁸⁶ "Sarah Mather (Red Road) Student Information Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center,

A closer focus on three Carlisle students allows us to probe these patterns, especially the first three, in depth. The first student to step foot inside Carlisle Indian Industrial School was Luther Standing Bear, a Sicangu and Oglala Lakota.¹⁸⁷ Luther was the son of George Standing Bear and Pretty Face. Standing Bear's given name was Óta Kté, or Kills Plenty.¹⁸⁸ Richard Henry Pratt (Figure 3.02) recorded Óta Kté's age as fifteen, his name as Sun-Ka-Wa-Kan-Otah (Kills Plenty), and his father as a brave named Standing Bear.¹⁸⁹ The record is mundane, but the fact that such explicit records were kept of the student's names upon arrival is important.

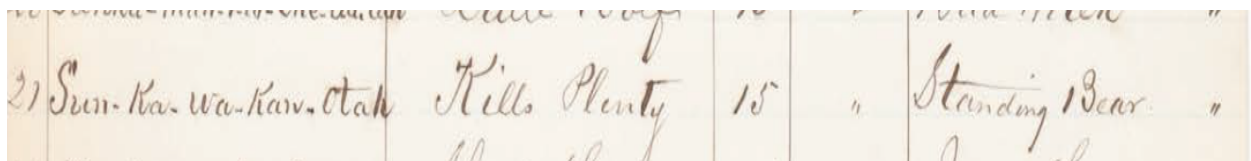


Figure 3.02. Óta Kté appears as student number twenty-one in Pratt's letter. Pratt also indicates the phonetic spelling of his Native name, the proposed translation, his age, and uses a ditto mark to show he was from the Brule Band of Sioux, or Lakotas. The last column lists his father's name with a ditto mark indicating his father held the status of Brave.) Richard Henry Pratt, "Report of the First Party Brought to the Carlisle Indian School" November 13, 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/report-first-party-children-brought-carlisle-indian-school>.

It would be easy to think that recordkeeping of this kind, with its careful, phonetic rendition of Native names, indicates respect for Indigenous cultures and names. But given what followed, it seems more likely that the transcription of Native names served a different, less admirable purpose. The juxtaposition of Native and English names, in one file or across many, was proof of Carlisle's success—the ultimate end being assimilation. Readers might also

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1329_b007_c00m_0073.pdf; and Pratt, "Report of the First Party," 9.

¹⁸⁷ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 133.

¹⁸⁸ To thwart the problematic consequences of enforcing Anglo-American names upon Indigenous peoples as emphasized in this thesis, the student's highlighted in this chapter will largely be referred to by their given Indigenous name. This is done out of respect for the students and their experiences.

¹⁸⁹ The handwriting used to record the Indigenous names is different than that of the rest of the chart and the letter, thus it is assumed by the author that the translator did this recording. The spelling and organization of the Indigenous names implies that the translator recorded the names in a phonetic manner and was not proficient in writing the Lakota Sioux language. Thanks to the generous help of Dr. Andrew Cowell within the Department of Linguistics at the University of Colorado, it can be confirmed that these translations are correct. Although the spelling and dictation of the names is not accurate, the translator was successful in finding an English translation that paralleled the literal meaning of the names in the Lakota Sioux language.

interpret record keepers' careful attention to paternal names (even if not used as surnames) as a sign of respect. But this too was about assimilation. The aim was to create patriarchal, nuclear families, implement Anglo-style inheritance patterns, and eradicate tribal modes of kinship. Because many Native peoples within the United States did not adhere to patrilineal calculations of kinship, federal employees and philanthropists sought to impose what they saw as a "better"—i.e., Anglo-American—system upon them. Educator-reformers such as Merrill E. Gates, who served as chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, viewed naming structures that instituted patriarchy, inheritance, and nuclear families as crucial to this effort.¹⁹⁰

In his renowned memoir *My People the Sioux*, Óta Kté recounts his name change at Carlisle in vivid detail:

our interpreter came into the room and said, 'Do you see all these marks on the blackboard? Well, each word is a white man's name. They are going to give each one of you one of these names by which you will hereafter be known. None of the names were read or explained to us, so of course we did not know the sound or meaning of any of them. ... When my turn came, I took the pointer and acted as if I were about to tough an enemy. Soon we all had the names of white men sewed on our backs.'¹⁹¹

Óta Kté thus makes the institutional purpose of renaming clear. Unlike traditional names bestowed for distinct reasons by friends, family, or kin, the students' new names lacked meaning and conveyed nothing about the character of the recipients. They were purely for assimilation. Óta Kté's story captures the routine, insensitive way by which Native children acquired Anglo

¹⁹⁰ "But the tribal system paralyzes at once the desire for property and the family life that ennoble that desire.... We must as rapidly as possible break up the tribal organization and give them law, with the family and land in severalty as its central idea. We must not only give them law, we must force it upon them." Merrill E. Gates, "*Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians*," from the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (1885)," in *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Harvard University Press, 1973), 52.

¹⁹¹ Luther Standing Bear, *My People The Sioux*, 137.

names. His story also gives us a glimpse of how the first Carlisle students experienced this and other parts of the assimilationist process. For Óta Kté and surely for others, this moment was confusing, unsettling, and momentous enough to be remembered in explicit detail forty-nine years later. Óta Kté's personal account of his name change also highlights the intersection of names and language. The children could not read or pronounce the names they received. For the moment, teachers trained them merely to respond the sound of their new names.¹⁹² Thus a façade of assimilation supplanted previous identities.

Luther Standing Bear's student file lists his age (15), his parents' status (living), his father's name and address, and his "Indian name"—Kills Plenty.¹⁹³ It is this card that first identifies him in the written record as Luther Standing Bear, although it appears that the surname Standing Bear was written in later than Luther. The source of Luther's father's Anglo-American name-- George Standing Bear—is not clear. But it seems likely he took this name in or after 1887, when the Dawes General Allotment Act forced many Native Americans to abandon communal lands for individual plots titled under names that suited U.S.-imposed inheritance laws. So too for Óta Kté himself. The surname Standing Bear, an indicator of his father, supported Anglo-American inheritance and patterns of kinship. Óta Kté's Carlisle-acquired name thus embodies the assimilationist goals of school officials and the federal government more generally.

Kagi Sni-Cuicrt, or Brave Killer, was a Wazaza Lakota (Sioux) from the Pine Ridge Reservation, who also entered Carlisle on October 6, 1879. According to Pratt's November 13, 1879, letter, Kagi Sni-Cuicrt was twelve years old at the time. Her father was a brave whose translated name was Lone Bear (Figure 3.03). Although there are no known records describing

¹⁹² Ibid., 137.

¹⁹³ "Luther Standing Bear (Kills Plenty) Student File," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879. Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/luther-standing-bear-kills-plenty-student-file.

Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's renaming, it may well have unfolded like Luther Standing Bear's. Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's student file indicates that Carlisle representatives named her Alice Wynn, an appellation that surely meant little to her. Unlike Óta Kté, who got his father's name as a surname, Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's surname seems to have little relationship to her kin or her origins. If her renaming had followed the patrilineal pattern reformers advocated, she might have become Alice Lone Bear. But Wynn it was.¹⁹⁴

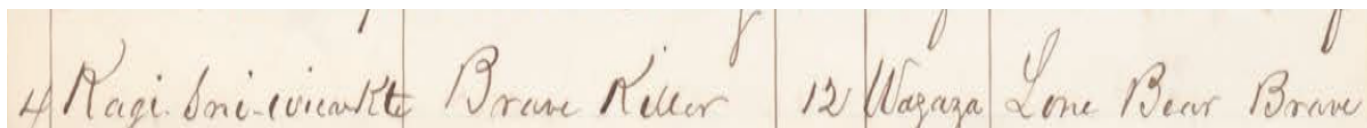


Fig. 3.03. Kagi Sni-Cuicrt appears as student number four under "Girls from Pine Ridge Agency." Note the phonetic spelling of her Native name, the translation, and the notation that she was twelve years old upon admittance. Wazaza designates her band. Pratt also records her father as a Brave named Lone Bear. Richard Henry Pratt, "Report of the First Party Brought to the Carlisle Indian School" November 13, 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/report-first-party-children-brought-carlisle-indian-school>.

Records do not lend insight into reasons for this inconsistency, so all a historian can do is speculate. Perhaps Kagi Sni-Cuicrt did not receive her father's name as a surname because she was female and was therefore unlikely to inherit her father's allotment. Even so, the assignment of a random surname might well complicate the family structure the federal government was aiming to impose. It is conceivable that the name Alice Wynn reflected a family tie that Carlisle knew about, possibly from a translator or from an Indian agent at Pine Ridge.¹⁹⁵ Either way, Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's name was completely Anglicized. The discrepancy highlights the absence of protocol and the varied nature of student experiences at Carlisle. Kagi Sni-Cuicrt, unlike Óta Kté, acquired a new name that captured little if any of her character or Lakota identity.

¹⁹⁴"Alice Wynn (Brave Killer) Student File," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/alice-wynn-brave-killer-student-file.

¹⁹⁵ In the records there is a young man named Nicholas Wynn, a Wazaza Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation, who attended Carlisle in 1882. Because they have the same father recorded on their student identification card, it can be assumed that Kagi Sni-Cuicrt and Nicholas were related. Thus, there may well have been a familial connection to the surname Wynn.

Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's Indigenous name gradually disappeared from student records as well. Over time, as Carlisle changed its administrative system, employees created new cards for some students. Kagi Sni-Cuicrt was one of the students with two identification cards in her file. Her "Indian Name" does not appear on the second one. It is impossible to say whether this was deliberate or an oversight. Yet, the omission highlights the attempt to eradicate Native identities at Carlisle. In the eyes of administrators, Kagi Sni-Cuicrt now had an appropriate Christian name, and her Indigenous name was no longer needed for daily life or record keeping. The incremental erasure of Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's Indigenous name stands in for the more general eradication of tribal culture at the core of the school's mission.

Indeed, it is Alice Wynn, not Kagi Sni-Cuicrt, who appears in school newspapers published during her time at Carlisle. An 1886 article on "Exhibition Night" in *The Indian Helper* reports that "Alice Wynn told three lessons that were taught by the monkey gods."¹⁹⁶ An earlier article in *The School News* said the girl had befriended "Katie La Croix a Yankton Sioux student."¹⁹⁷ While this anecdote sheds limited light on Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's life at Carlisle, her Native name is not present. By her name alone, she sounds like an Anglo-American student with no Indigenous connections. Small details like this highlight the liminal qualities of the industrial-school experience, intended to transform Native children into Anglo-American citizens. Alice Wynn thus replaced Kagi Sni-Cuicrt.

Lastly, Sunggnire, or Packs the Dog—a Lakota (Sioux) student from Pine Ridge—rounds out the threesome. Sunggnire was sixteen years old when he arrived at Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879. His father's name was Yellow Knife. But school employees nevertheless gave

¹⁹⁶ "The Exhibition," *The Indian Helper* 1, no. 30, March 5th, 1886, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/indian-helper-vol-1-no-30>.

¹⁹⁷ "Excerpts from Student Letters," *The School News* 1, no. 10, March 1881, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/school-news-vol-1-no-10>.

Sunggnire the name Clarence Three Stars.¹⁹⁸ Sunggnire has several information cards in his student file. The earliest, which dates to his admittance, displays the same irregularity in ink and handwriting that appears on Óta Kté's record. It appears that someone entered a surname after the initial completion of the card (Figure 3.04). The origins of his surname are unknown, but it does not appear to have come from his father. It sounds like an Indigenous name, even in translation. But the records found to date do not provide clues. All we can do is speculate. Whether this was an attempt to separate Sungghire from his tribal connections or was due to this father's lack of allotment it will never be clear. However, unlike Kagi Sni-Cuirt, Sungghire's surname name still indicated his Indigenous heritage.

[illegible]

Fig. 3.04. Student Information card for Sunggnire (Clarence Three Stars). “Clarence Three Stars (Packs The Dog) Student Identification Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1329_b014_c00_0374.pdf.

¹⁹⁸ “Clarence Three Stars (Packs The Dog) Student Identification Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879. Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center,
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1329_b014_c00_0374.pdf.

In summary, all three of these children experienced some kind of name alteration. Despite the variations, the new names in each case were Anglicized in multiple ways. All were rendered in English. All contained some version of a generic but gender-inflected, Anglo-style given name, whether Luther, Alice, or Clarence. Kagi Sni-Cuirt (Alice) received a seemingly generic surname as well (Wynn). Indeed, the mere use of a surname—even a translated Indigenous surname—was an imposition that did not align with Native American traditions. Renaming, although more subtle than some other kinds of coerced assimilation, thus epitomizes the goals of Indian industrial schools and the experiences of the students.

Did federal officials understand Indigenous forms of kinship and seek to destroy them? Or did they fail to see longstanding kinship practices because they differed from those of Anglo-Americans? These questions are important, but they are beyond the scope of this thesis. For our purposes, what matters is that federal officials and others succumbed to their own blinders and sense of supremacy. The Board of Indian Commissioners Chairman Merrill E. Gates no doubt spoke for many government officials when he described Native peoples as primitive, subordinate, and inept.¹⁹⁹ It is clear that many disdained Indigenous kinship patterns as well, despite their richness and complexity. Names like Óta Kté's—connecting him to his father and his father's reputation—belie these assumptions.

What officials at Carlisle and elsewhere did grasp was the importance of Indigenous names for identity and communal function. That is why they changed the names of children in the first place. The federal government's deliberate, purposeful eradication of Indigenous names was one tactic in a broader strategy of cultural genocide in the industrial-school era. For the

¹⁹⁹ "There is hardly one tribe outside the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory which can merit the name of an organized society." Merrill E. Gate, "Land and Law as Agents in Educating Indians," 49.

students highlighted in this thesis, name changes in their own right were not new. But the context, method, and purpose of such changes at industrial schools were new and destructive alike. Names, therefore, should not be a mere footnote to discussions of the industrial-school era. They are more like a window, thrown open to shed light on an inhumane experience. As Óta Kté explained in his memoir, he was a different person after his name was changed and his hair was cut: “I felt I was no more Indian, but would be an imitation of a white man. And we are still imitations of white men, and the white men are imitations of the Americans.”²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Luther Standing Bear, *My People The Sioux*, 141.

Chapter 5

Reclaiming Names in an Era of Cultural Genocide

Given the assimilationist intent and practices of Indian industrial schools like Carlisle, it is no surprise that experiences at these institutions left children scarred and traumatized. At Carlisle, fewer than one in ten students graduated.²⁰¹ Some ran away, some disappeared, and some refused to return after trips home. Many also died, to be buried in school cemeteries.²⁰² As the scholar Jacqueline Fear-Segal notes, the stones that marked their graves—if they existed at all—typically bore “recently acquired American names” sometimes rendered incorrectly in their own right.²⁰³

Native students proved resilient in spite of the abuse they endured at Carlisle and other off-reservation schools. Some used their training in later years to advance their own prospects or those of their people.²⁰⁴ The historian Farina King cites the example of the Diné (Navajo) student called Tom Torlino, who used “his background in English to assist Diné leaders such as his uncle, Manuelito, in their correspondence with the federal government.”²⁰⁵ The Lakota woman Zitkála-Šá (a.k.a. Red Bird and Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) also capitalized upon the skills she learned at school.²⁰⁶ Individuals such as these deployed literacy, language, law, and skills

²⁰¹ Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 100, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=4643647>.

²⁰² Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, 177-78. Scholars estimate that 293 or more children died at Carlisle from 1879 to 1918. On death rates at Carlisle in particular, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Jeffrey Ostler, “Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt: Cultural Genocide and Native Liberation in an Era of Racial Oppression,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 91-92.

²⁰³ Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, 167-68. For students buried without headstones, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Jeffrey Ostler, “Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt,” 92.

²⁰⁴ Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, 178.

²⁰⁵ Farina King, “The Earth Memory Compass: Navajo Educational Experiences in the Twentieth Century (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2016), 76, cited in K. Tsianina Lomawaima, “Indian Boarding Schools, Before and After: A Personal Introduction,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 16.

²⁰⁶ Zitkála-Šá’s “School Days of an Indian Girl” describes her experiences at White’s Indiana Manual Labor Institute. It appears in Zitkála-Šá, *American Indian Stories* (Washington, Hayworth Publishing House, 1921), 47-80.

garnered in industrial schools to navigate interactions across social and cultural boundaries. They used their names the same way. The students used translated names, Anglo names, and Native names to suit different situations, purposes, and circumstances over time.

This chapter examines ways in which former industrial school students used their names later in life. Resources for this inquiry include memoirs, autobiographies, newspapers, and student case-files from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. These sources reveal not just the evolution of student names but also the autonomy, creativity, and determination of those who claimed them. In so doing, names reveal both the cruelty of the attempt to destroy Native American culture, and the resilience of those who endured.

This chapter emphasizes the negative aspects of the industrial schools to showcase the immense success of those who overcame this cruelty. These details negate the federal government's propaganda of the benevolent success of the institutions, while simultaneously demonstrate the student's impressive ingenuity once they left the schools. The personal descriptions of the enforced assimilation from survivors, the imposed militarized regime as discussed in Chapter 3, and the abusive realities of the school's conditions exposed in retroactive government reports could lead many to conclude that Native students were passive victims of an unfortunate circumstance. However, this was not the case. An overarching claim of student's suffering or complacency would be unfair to the varied individualized experiences of students forced to endure life within this liminal state.

Negating the common narrative of passive victimization is not a denial of the trauma, hardship, or suffering endured by the students who attended Carlisle Indian Industrial School or other industrial schools. Highlighting the hardships these students most likely faced at the industrial schools illustrates immense determination and success of those who utilized their acquired skills and names to advance Indigeneity. Through an analysis of the name alteration and

the subsequent evolution of the student's names it becomes apparent that these students were rarely passive victims. The Native American students' resilience and perseverance is the primary reason the federal government's goals of cultural genocide never came to fruition.

Personal memoirs of the industrial school era contain many examples of the hardships suffered by students in off-reservation schools. Óta Kté (a.k.a. Luther Standing Bear) described inadequate heat and bedding in dormitories at Carlisle.²⁰⁷ David Wallace Adams notes that death and disease were common aspects of the industrial school experience.²⁰⁸

The most explicit account of the cruel conditions imposed at industrial schools appeared in a massive document called *The Meriam Report*, published in 1928. Commissioned by the Institute for Government Research and funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, *The Meriam Report* was an in-depth survey of the standard of living of Native Americans in the United States conducted by Lewis Meriam, an experienced federal bureaucrat with multiple law degrees. Historian Brenda J. Child argues *The Meriam Report* demonstrated that the “government boarding schools were woefully inadequate, that they needlessly separated families, and that children in the overcrowded schools were often malnourished [and] sick” which confirmed the complaints Native families and students had been making for years.²⁰⁹ Thus, although published after the closure of Carlisle, *The Meriam Report* can be used as a glimpse into the possible conditions enforced within the liminal state. The report's account of the harsh realities endured by Indigenous peoples far and wide shocked the general public. But it was most notable for exposing conditions at Indian industrial schools. In his chapter on “Health,” Meriam lays out the following findings:

²⁰⁷ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 133-135.

²⁰⁸ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 125.

²⁰⁹ Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families* (University of Nebraska, 1998), 42.

1. The Indian children in boarding schools are generally below normal in health as compared with standards for white children.
2. The appropriations for food for these children are not sufficient to secure for them a suitable, balanced diet for well children, much less for children whose health is below normal.
3. The boarding schools are generally crowded beyond their capacity so that the individual child does not have sufficient light and air.
4. The boarding school dormitories are generally of the congregate institutional type so that those who are below par in health cannot be isolated from the others. Contagious diseases under these circumstances have almost free scope.
5. The normal day at the boarding schools, with its marked industrial features, is a heavy day even for well, strong children. It is too much for a child below normal. Added to insufficiency of diet and overcrowding, it may be an explanation of the low general health among children in Indian boarding schools.²¹⁰

The Meriam Report appeared ten years after the closure of Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Statistics and student memoirs nevertheless suggest that the conditions described in *The Meriam Report* also existed at the Pennsylvania site. In fact, since Carlisle Indian Industrial School was the first such institution—and the one others emulated—it seems likely that the other schools drew their own practices from Carlisle and thus resembled it in most respects. *The Meriam Report* described “the discipline in the boarding schools [as] restrictive rather than developmental” and identified “routine institutionalism” as an “almost the invariable characteristic of the Indian boarding school.”²¹¹ Renaming students was part of this routinized,

²¹⁰ Meriam Lewis "The Problem of Indian Administration (1928)," *Native American Rights Fund*, 193. <https://narf.org/nill/resources/meriam.html>.

²¹¹ Meriam Lewis "The Problem of Indian Administration (1928)," 141.

disciplinary regimen, intended to grind away at old identities and etch new, Anglo-American identities into the spirits of Native children.

Yet, it was not to be. Students overcame these hardships. Records suggest that even though the liminal reality that Richard Pratt and other officials imposed on Native children was supposed to be lifelong, many students recovered their autonomy and took full authority over their identities after they left. The names of industrial school students are one of the most obvious examples of whitewashing and forced assimilation. Focusing upon the student names was the clearest way to track how students worked to regain their autonomy, connections to their Indigenous communities, and deny the federal government success in their assimilation goals. Student files showcase this evolution. Carlisle administrators sent letters to former students in order to acquire information on their current daily lives, marital status, and career trajectories. Many Carlisle alumni did not reply or returned incomplete forms. But the letters and forms returned offer clues about the ways former students claimed authority over *all* of their names after leaving.

One former student who did return a short form was the Wazaza woman Kagi Sni-Cuicrt, known during her Carlisle days as Alice Wynn. In 1910, Kagi Sni-Cuicrt told Carlisle administrators that she was now a housekeeper in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. But she no longer went by the name “Alice Wynn.” Instead, she reported that her “Present Name” was Mrs. Lone Bear Holy Eagle.²¹² Kagi Sni-Cuicrt’s 1910 name invoked a Native American—not an Anglo-American—identity. Lone Bear was the translated name of Kagi Sni-Cuicrt’s father, suggesting a valued kinship connection. Moreover, Kagi Sni-Cuicrt had gotten married. We can only wonder whether her husband’s name was Holy Eagle.

²¹² “Alice Wynn (Brave Killer) Student File,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/alice-wynn-brave-killer-student-file.

Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's new name showcased a Native American identity inflected by Anglo practices. Her student file renders the name in English. The appellation "Mrs." denotes her marital status. And if Holy Eagle was indeed her husband's name, her decision to use it as a surname invokes Anglo-American practices. Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's name was thus a fascinating representation of the multifaceted identities Carlisle alumni may have adopted upon returning to their tribal communities. But questions remain. Was Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's reply to Carlisle an accurate rendition of the nomenclature she used among her Lakota relations in 1910? Or was it a polite response to a query from the institution that had tried to squeeze the Lakota girl into an Anglo-American mold? We may never know. But we do know that Kagi Sni-Cuicrt no longer identified herself as Alice Wynn, a fact she made clear to school officials.

The evolution of Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's name after her departure from Carlisle was not unique. Alfred Brown's name took a similar path. Brown was a classmate of Kagi Sni-Cuicrt's at Carlisle. His student file contains more correspondence than hers does. The names used within this correspondence offer a fascinating record of the changing identity Brown presented to school officials after his departure in 1883 and until the communication ends in 1913. In 1910, twenty-seven years after leaving Carlisle, Brown signed his letter "Alfred Brown (Bearfoot)," providing both his Anglicized name and the English translation of his Indigenous name.²¹³ In March 1913, Brown signed a letter "Alfred Brown (Cheyenne)."²¹⁴ And in December of that same year he returned a student postcard with his name indicated as "Alfred Brown (*Na'koya'ta*)."²¹⁵

These incremental transitions surely registered with school officials. Indeed, Brown used his letters to expound upon his Native American heritage, explicitly challenging presumptions of

²¹³ Alfred Brown (Na'koya'ta) Student File," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/alfred-brown-nakoyata-student-file.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

assimilation. Brown asked for the addresses of his peers, highlighting the sense of comradery many Native students formed while at the industrial schools. Brown states his occupation as Native Evangelist who is a proud Christian. This occupation inflects the assimilation practices at Carlisle, yet Brown emphasized his engagement with his Native community.²¹⁶ Thus, Brown's letters detail him simultaneously invoking and challenging the assimilationist practices enforced upon him during his education. His varied signatures do something similar. The letters show Brown progressively proclaiming his Native identity to school officials. It is impossible to know how students referred to themselves in their daily lives, but we get a glimpse of their identities—even if they withheld full information from school officials—in the signatures attached to such letters.

However, not all students changed their names. The records indicate that many students continued to use their Anglicized name following their departure from Carlisle. Both Óta Kté and Sunggnire, now Luther Standing Bear and Clarence Three Stars, continued to use their assigned name once they returned to the reservation. These men used their assimilated name to benefit themselves as well as their tribal community. Three Stars and Standing Bear were not passive victims during their attendance at Carlisle, but instead worked hard to acquire skills that would further their career. The men utilized skills they acquired and the Anglicized name to work in spheres where Native Americans were historically underrepresented.

Luther Standing Bear explains he “had come away from home with the intention of never returning alive unless [he] had done something brave,” and thus worked hard at Carlisle to make something of himself following his departure.²¹⁷ Standing Bear worked diligently at Carlisle to become proficient in reading and writing English because he viewed these skills as

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 141.

crucial to the acquisition of a 'brave' career in Anglo-American society. Overtime, Standing Bear became a less prominent advocate for enforced assimilation and white-centered education, but initially following his graduation Standing Bear advocated for further education of Native Americans. At the request of Captain Pratt, Standing Bear, while still at Carlisle, returned back to the Pine Ridge Reservation to recruit other students to attend the school. Yet, following his departure, Standing Bear went on to use his name and acquired skills for advocacy and creative work.

Standing Bear's file indicates a pride in his name. Unlike Kagi Sni-Cuicrt, Standing Bear's returned letters only contain Luther Standing Bear, under "Name at Carlisle" and in both returned forms the line for "Present Name" was left blank. According to the records, Standing Bear did not change or adjust his name. Moreover, Standing Bear's name became renowned for his memoir, advocacy, and work in film.

Standing Bear's name exposes a nuance to his story that is often lacking from historical analyses of his industrial school experience. For some students, keeping their assigned names served them in white society. The adherence to Anglo-American naming practices allowed the students to appeal less 'other' or stereotypical Native when they were advocating for themselves or other Indigenous peoples. Standing Bear's name symbolized his complex place in life as a result of his attendance at Carlisle. Luther represented the part of his identity that he worked bravely to acquire; his proficiency in English, his career in Anglo-American society, and his determination to hold a successful life outside out the reservation. Yet his surname, served to demonstrate his connection to his Indigenous life and heritage. Standing Bear gave him an authority on Indigenous issues. He would go on to use this perspective to advocate for the needs of his tribal community and for the representations of Native Americans in Hollywood.

Standing Bear travelled to become an actor. In his memoir he explains how he noticed “there is not an Indian play on the stage that is put on as it should be.” and to try to rectify this issue he personally spoke to “directors and stage managers and playwrights and explained this to them, telling them that their actors do not play the part as it should be played, and do not even know how to put on an Indian costume and get it right.”²¹⁸ Standing Bear did not shy away from his Native American upbringing nor his knowledge on tribal ways of life. He was firmly rooted in his beliefs about Native representation and used his name and race for an authoritarian position on the subject. Standing Bear explained he could not “help noting how we Indians were held back while white ‘imitators’ were pushed to the front.”²¹⁹

Frustration fueled Standing Bear’s advocacy throughout his career in film as well as in the rights of Native Americans more broadly. Standing Bear did not assimilate to white society, the Indian was not killed, but rather he asserted himself as an Indigenous person who was educated in both white and tribal ways of life.²²⁰ Standing Bear utilized the skills he acquired at Carlisle to gain citizenship. After he personally was a recipient of United States citizenship, of which he proudly reported to Captain Pratt, he openly shared his experience with other Native peoples.²²¹ Standing Bear argued as he U.S. citizenship would allow Native peoples to release themselves from the poverty enforced by the reservation system. In his memoir, Standing Bear tells how “many of the Indians had decided that they, too, would like to become citizens...As I had got my own rights, it was pretty evident that I should be able to do something for the others....I told them I would be pleased to go to Washington to represent their needs.”²²²

²¹⁸ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 285.

²¹⁹ Ibid. 284.

²²⁰ Richard H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” 260–271.

²²¹ Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 284. And “Luther Standing Bear (Kills Plenty) Student File,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/luther-standing-bear-kills-plenty-student-file.

²²² Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 284.

Standing Bear used his name and his unique standing in white society to advocate for the rights of other Native peoples. Standing Bear spoke on behalf of those who had not had the privilege, as he viewed it, of attending industrial schools. The memoir concludes with the following statement: “On July 25th, 1927, I am starting Indian Employment Agency, which I trust will be for the betterment of the whole race. The Indian is bright and capable of holding good, responsible positions if he is only given a chance.”²²³ Standing Bear exhibits an understanding and acceptance of the federal government's policies for Native American assimilation, but he followed these guidelines with weariness and a firm rootedness in his Indigenous ancestry.

Thus, Standing Bear is a prominent example of the multifaceted identity the industrial schools created. Standing Bear’s advocacy and acceptance of his complicated identity therefore negates the narrative of passive victim. Tracking his name across time allows the historian to grasp the determination of many of the students who attended industrial schools to further their rights as Native peoples. Standing Bear’s name symbolizes the unique perspective industrial students held as members of both Indigenous communities and those who experienced assimilation within liminal states. Additionally, Standing Bear’s name showcased the ways in which students used their rare identity to negate negative assimilation goals and foster careers that furthered the presence of Indigeneity within the United States.

In a very similar fashion, Clarence Three Stars used his name and acquired skills to become active in politics both within his tribal nation and the United States. Again, it is unknown if Clarence Three Stars used this name in his daily life, but from textual records it is apparent he used this name in correspondence and when running for public office. Identical to Standing Bear, Three Star’s returned letters indicate that he did not change his name following his departure

²²³ Ibid. 288.

from Carlisle. The line for his ‘Present Name’ was left blank, and all newspaper clippings related to his career refer to him as Clarence Three Stars. Three Stars departed Carlisle in 1884 and returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1910 after a brief stint working with Luther Standing Bear in Philadelphia.²²⁴ Three stars received his own allotment, worked as a rancher, and later became a teacher at one of the on-reservation schools.

Three Stars took correspondence courses and passed the South Dakota State Bar Exam.²²⁵ In 1913, he was elected the first State Attorney for Bennett County, South Dakota. Three Stars’ success as an U.S. elected official while simultaneously advocating of his own tribal community was a poignant example of the ways students worked to overcome the assimilation processes at Carlisle. Arguably, Three Stars used his Anglicized name to his benefit when running for office, as a name that was recognizable to white settlers would have lessened racial stereotypes. Yet, Three Stars did not negate his tribal connections, instead he worked to better his nation. His continued alignment with this tribal nation emphasizes the government's failure to coerce students to reject their tribal ancestry and negate their tribal affiliation.

Remembered as a “Sioux Leader” and as a U.S. politician, Three Stars demonstrated the unique identity students of Carlisle formulated for themselves.²²⁶ Despite the adamant negation of the reservation environment for success by federal officials, Three Stars’ successful career and advocacy grew out of his adulthood spent interacting with the reservation community. Three Stars followed the assimilation methods that benefited his career and his tribe, but he did not aid in the federal government's goal of eradicating tribal life. Three Star’s success and the persistence use of his Anglicized name throughout his life demonstrated the complexities of the

²²⁴ Barbara Landis, "CIIS Biographies: Clarence Three Stars," *History of the Carlisle Indian School*.
<https://carlisleindian.historicalociety.com/biographies/three-stars-clarence/>.

²²⁵ "Clarence Three Stars, Sioux Leader, Is Dead." *Argus Leader* (Sioux Falls, South Dakota), August 31, 1931,
https://www.newspapers.com/clip/14091744/clarence_three_stars/.

²²⁶ Ibid.

industrial student's experiences and was an example of the autonomy students assumed after their departure from Carlisle.

Other students took various measures to reclaim their Indigenous identity through their names. Austin Holy Bear entered Carlisle as Wind Blows (Lakota-language name unknown), and his father was listed as Holy Bear.²²⁷ Like the other children he was assigned the name Austin, however he was not given a surname upon his initial renaming. Yet, in the records it becomes apparent administrators began to use his Native name as his surname and hence, Austin Wind Blows was represented in the archives. Austin returned a survey to Carlisle in 1910 and personally listed his name as Austin Holy Bear. Thus, since Holy Bear had left Carlisle, he had taken it upon himself to change his surname to reflect his father's name. Holy Bear's name now held a sense of kinship that was previously lacking. Despite his returned survey, the administrators continue to refer to Holy Bear as Austin Wind Blows in his student file, which showcased the administrators' rejection of Holy Bear's personal name change.²²⁸

Likewise, Howard Chawip's (White Wolf) file indicated a personal decision to revert to Indigenous names. White Wolf (Comanche-language name unknown) was Howard's father's name, it is unclear if Howard had a different Indigenous name upon admittance to Carlisle.²²⁹ It is also unclear where Chawip originated. Yet, over the progression of the correspondence in White Wolf's file it became apparent that he was assuming agency over his name. In 1910, White Wolf returned a student survey and listed his name as Howard Chawip (White Wolf). By 1913, White Wolf was signing his correspondence as Howard White Wolf with no recognition of Chawip. White Wolf had replaced his Anglicized surname with his father's name. Like some of

²²⁷ "Austin Holy Bear (Wind Blows) Student File," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NAR_A_1327_b_069_f3458.pdf.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ "Howard Chawip (White Wolf) Student File," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b012_f0579.pdf.

the other students, White Wolf's file exposes how Indigenous students used their names to express their involvement with their tribal community. White Wolf's name also represented a blend of Anglo-American and Indigenous ideas of using names to represent patrilineal kinship.

As a starting point, historians can use names to appreciate the variety of experiences held by those who attended Carlisle Indian Industrial School. The student's personal use of their assigned names exhibited explicit examples of perseverance and creativity in the face of diversity. Scholarship on the industrial school era often overgeneralizes the student's experiences and the analyses of Carlisle generally paint the students as passive victims. Yet, using the student's files and tracing the evolution of their names after their departure sheds light on the nuances of the industrial school experience. Individualizing a few student's experiences is intended to emphasize the examples of Native resilience, renewed tribal affiliation, and strong tribal culture that persevered in this era despite the enforced cultural genocide. The evolution of the names associated with the students who were forced into the liminal state illuminated the federal government's failure to enact the assimilation goals. Analysis of student naming experiences here points to the need for further work on more widespread naming practices implemented on reservations, at day schools, and in churches. Yet, when historians individualize the experiences of the students who attended these schools the narrative of the industrial school era should become one of Native American resilience and determination.

Conclusion

Names, Then and Now

The varied experiences of students attending off-reservation, government-operated industrial schools render the history of this era both troubled and complex. Some students left their off-reservation schools with lasting trauma and conflicted identities, while other students viewed their educational experiences as a reprieve from troubled life on reservations. Still others most likely carried mixed and conflicting legacies with them.²³⁰ All students, however, shared the ordeal of forced assimilation and the disorienting experience of liminality intended to prepare them for Anglo-American life.

The consequences and legacies of the industrial-school era persist to the present, and names in their own right continue to reverberate with political, social, and cultural implications. Nowhere is this more visible than in the checkered implementation of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). Enacted by Congress in 1978, the ICWA was purportedly intended "to protect the best interest of Indian Children and to promote the stability and security of Indian tribes and families by the establishment of minimum Federal standards for the removal of Indian children and placement of such children in homes which will reflect the unique values of Native culture"²³¹ The Native American Rights Fund, in Boulder, Colorado, has published an online ICWA guide, updated through 2011. In it, the authors explain:

²³⁰ In a phone conversation with anthropologist Sally McBeth, I learned of her encounters with students who enjoyed their experience at industrial schools during the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries. Many found their time at industrial school to be better than the reservation as they were regularly fed and clothed. Additionally, in the introduction to *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (University of Nebraska Press, 2006), the authors emphasize that student perceptions of their industrial school experiences were "often layered and complex" (28). These examples support my claim that there is no single, overarching way to discuss the industrial school experience.

²³¹ United States Code, *Chapter 21: Indian Child Welfare Act, Title 25: Indians; Section 1902*.
<http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title25/chapter21&edition=prelim> (25 U.S. C. 1902)

From the embryonic days of our Nation, Indian tribes have long struggled against the assimilationist policies instituted by the United States which sought to destroy tribal cultures by removing Native American children from their tribes and families.

In fact, in the 1950s and 1960s, the federal government worked with non-Indian organizations, such as the Child Welfare League of America, to outright remove Indian children from their homes and place those children in non-Indian homes. Statistical and anecdotal information show that Indian children who grow up in non-Indian settings become spiritual and cultural orphans. They do not entirely fit into the culture in which they are raised and yearn throughout their life for the family and tribal culture denied them as children. Many native children raised in non-Native homes experience identity problems, drug addiction, alcoholism, incarceration and, most disturbing, suicide.²³²

Just as the federal government had removed Native children from their homes and cultures to go off-reservation schools, it did so again through adoption. Indeed, the reasoning differed little from that offered earlier: In both periods, federal officials deemed Native American parents unfit.²³³ The statistics are shocking. “Between 1969 and 1974,” one historian notes, “twenty-five to thirty-five percent of all Indian children were separated from their families and placed in non-Indian homes of other institutions.”²³⁴

The ICWA represented a collaborative effort on the part of tribes, advocacy groups, and sympathetic senators and representatives to prevent the further removal of Native children from tribal cultures. The law, however, left many—especially in the adoption industry and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—disgruntled. As a consequence, the ICWA has faced

²³² Native American Rights Fund, ICWA Guide Online: Introduction, (National Indian Law Library), <https://www.narf.org/nill/documents/icwa/ch1.html>.

²³³ Allison Herrera, “Who can adopt a Native child?” *High Country News*, March 5, 2018, <https://www.hcn.org/issues/50.7/tribal-affairs-who-can-adopt-a-native-child>.

²³⁴ Troy R. Johnson, “The State and the American Indian: Who Gets the Indian Child?,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 14, no. 1 (1999): 208, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1409524>.

challenges that have whittled away at the protections promised to Native children. For Native peoples, these disputes invoke worries about federal paternalism and efforts at cultural genocide that date back to the industrial school era.

An infamous ICWA case in 2013, called *Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl*, demonstrates the connections. The case garnered media attention due to its emotional narrative, involving a Cherokee father and an Native girl adopted by a non-Native South Carolina couple. The decision, issued by the United States Supreme Court, went against the Cherokee father. This case nevertheless highlights the persistent historical practices that generated ICWA and the ways in which government officials can remove Native children from their tribal cultures in the present day. University of Connecticut Law Professor Bethany R. Berger offers an analysis of the case in a law-review article titled “In the Name of the Child: Race, Gender, and Economics in *Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl*.” “While made in the name of the child,” she says, “the decision supports practices and policies that do not forward and may even undermine children’s interests.” Indeed, she explains, the case was a “microcosm of anxieties about Indianness, race, and the changing nature of parenthood.”²³⁵ The separation of the child from her father and her Indigenous roots evoked the memory of children likewise separated from their families in the industrial school era. “The Court participated in a long-standing trend of using children to forward racial, gender and economic agenda that violate the rights of their birth parents, and, ultimately, the interests of the children themselves,” Berger writes.²³⁶ *Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl* thus serves as a specific, concrete, and individualized example of the ways industrial-school era attitudes and practices have persisted to the present. Native parents still worry that state or federal agencies

²³⁵ Bethany R. Berger, “In the Name of the Child: Race, Gender, and Economics in *Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl*,” *Florida Law Review* 67, (2015): 296. <https://scholarship.law.ufl.edu/flr/vol67/iss1/>.

²³⁶ Berger, “The Name of The Child,” 297.

will deem them unfit, that someone else will educate their children, and that children will receive new names devoid of Indigenous identity, culture, and meaning.

Views of ICWA are admittedly diverse. But even in their diversity, they resonate with the legacy of industrial-school era assimilation policies. Dave Simmons, a policy expert from the National Indian Child Welfare Association, invokes history in response to opponents of ICWA. Such opponents say ““You can’t trust any tribe anywhere to take care of their children,”” Simmons says. This, he continues, “is an old line that was used over a hundred years ago as they forced Indian people onto the reservations, and they took their kids forcibly from them and put them in military-style boarding schools.”²³⁷ As Simmons sees it, Native children need ICWA protection precisely because of the industrial-school era and its consequences. The debates surrounding ICWA, and the need for the creation of ICWA in the first place, are contemporary indications of the lasting consequences of the paternalism and eradication of tribal culture perpetrated by the federal government in the industrial-school era.

Like Kagi Sni-Cuicrt, who discarded the name Alice Wynn for Mrs. Lone Bear Holy Eagle after leaving Carlisle, Native people today are reverting to Indigenous personal names and family names to indicate connections to tribal cultures.²³⁸ These names embody much more than cultural connection: They embody character, puberty rituals, courage, meaning, and resistance.²³⁹ As the journalist Maija Kappler explains, “Returning to lost traditions and ceremonies can be an important act of reclamation for Indigenous peoples, and names are often a first step.”²⁴⁰ Native

²³⁷ Allison Herrera, “Who can adopt a Native child?”

²³⁸ Carly McIntosh, “Native name brings me closer to Mother Earth,” *Indianz*, July 27, 2015, <http://www.indianz.com/News/2015/018328.asp>; and Carly McIntosh “Turtle Woman: My Gift from the Elders,” *Indian Country Today*, July 25, 2016, <https://newsmaven.io/indiancountrytoday/archive/turtle-woman-my-gift-from-the-elders-WiXt1614c0GPWt9wglTrCg/>.

²³⁹ Maija Kappler “Claiming a Name,” *Ryerson School of Journalism*, 2019, <http://trc.journalism.ryerson.ca/claiming-a-name/>.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

names fly in the face of assimilationist policies and narratives of annihilation. Instead, they convey identity, tradition, and sovereignty.²⁴¹

This inquiry into the impact and nature of name alterations in the industrial-school era has unearthed cruelty and resilience alike. From the perspective of history, the study of names personalizes industrial school experiences and shows how Native peoples endured and pushed back. For Óta Kté, and Sunggnire, returning to the reservation was a way to use their skills to support their people and uphold cultural birthrights. For Kagi Sni-Cuicrt, the reversion to a traditional name was a claim to heritage in defiance of coercive and presumptive Anglo-American ideals.

From the perspective of the present, the children in this thesis provide inspiration. Native Americans have found strength in names, practices, spirituality, and family structures for generations. They have done so despite violence, industrial schools, family separations, coerced assimilation, broken treaties, and attempts to write Indigenous peoples out of American history. The Native children who attended industrial schools have many lessons to teach us. Their experiences point to the need for further work on more widespread naming practices implemented on reservations, at day schools, in churches, and across landscapes. But more than anything, the strength and resilience of these children should be a source of strength for generations to come.

²⁴¹ For example, in contemporary Odawa communities there is particular importance put on naming ceremonies, which usually take place in the spring. Most people have Christian names on their birth certificates and driver's licenses. The gift of an Odawa name is a means of cementing one's position in, and identity with, the community. Accumulating names expands one's personal definition and social identity." Thus, many within the community have multiple names that serve different functions. Melissa A. Pflüg, "Pimadazwin: Contemporary Rituals in Odawa Community," in *Native American Spirituality: A Critical Reader*, ed. Lee Irwin (University of Nebraska Press, 2000) 139.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Burns, Mike. *The Only One Living To Tell: The Autobiography of Yavapai Indian*. Edited by Gregory McNamee. The University of Arizona Press, 2012.

Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. "Student Files, Date Entry 1879."

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_records/all?field_ephemera_year_entry_tid=5719&field_nation_tid=All&field_ephemera_type_tid=All&title=&sort_by=field_ephemera_date_of_doc_creat_value&sort_order=ASC&items_per_page=25.

— "Alice Wynn (Brave Killer) Student File," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/alice-wynn-brave-killer-student-file.

— Alvan (One That Kills Horse) Cemetery Records," in Cemetery Records.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-cemetery/Cemtery_Docs_ALVAN%20%28One%20That%20Kills%20Horse%29.pdf

— Alvan (One That Kills Horse) Student Information Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/alvan-one-kills-horse-student-information-card-0.

— "Arthur (Two Strikes) Student Information Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1328_b004_c00t_0237.pdf.

— "Austin Holy Bear (Wind Blows) Student File," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b069_f3458.pdf.

— "Chester Arthur (Chastine) Student Information Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/chester-arthur-chastine-student-information-card.

— Choate, John N. "Lizzie Glode c. 1882." glass plated photograph. Images.

<http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/lizzie-glode-c1882>.

— "Clarence Three Stars (Packs The Dog) Student Identification Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1329_b014_c00_0374.pdf.

— "Clarence Wolfe Face (Curley Hair) Student Information Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1881.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1328_b006_c00w_0081.pdf.

— "Curtis (Good Blanket) Student Information Card," in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.

http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b007_f0304.pdf.

- “Fanny (Knife Holder) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1328_b002_c00k_0060.pdf
- “Francisco (Hollow Loud) Student Information Card,” Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1328_b005_c00f_0013.pdf.
- “Geoffrey Chips (Runs In The Clouds) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1329_b005_c00c_0028.pdf.
- “George Washington Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1883.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1329_b014_c00_0492.pdf
- “Grace Cook (Crockery Face) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1327_b062_3152.pdf.
- “Henry Bonga (Data) Student File,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1884.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/henry-bonga-data-student-file.
- “Howard Chawip (White Wolf) Student File,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b012_f0579.pdf.
- “Lizzie Glode Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b063_3186.pdf
- “Luther Standing Bear (Kills Plenty) Student File,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/luther-standing-bear-kills-plenty-student-file.
- “Mabel (Little) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/mabel-doanmoe-little-student-information-card.
- “Rose (Red Rose) Cemetery Sources,” in Cemetery Records.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docscemetery/Cemetery_Docs_ROSE%20%28Red%20Rose%29.pdf.
- Sarah Mather (Red Road) Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1329_b007_c00m_0073.pdf.
- “U.S. Grant Student Information Card,” in Student Files, Date Entry 1879.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docsephemera/NARA_1329_b012_c00_0823.pdf.

Commissioner D. M. Browning to U.S. Indian Agents, Bonded Superintendents and Supervisors,
April 12, 1893, Fort Lewis College, Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis Indian

School Records, Outgoing Correspondence in general, 1906 January- October; M211, Box 4, Folder 5.

Commissioner T. J. Morgan to C.A. Bartholomew, U.S. Indian Agent, Southern Ute Agency, Ignacio CO, March 2, 1892, Fort Lewis College. Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis Indian School Records, Outgoing Correspondence in general, 1906 January- October; M211, Box 4, Folder 5.

Eadle Keatah Toh. "One way to provide a few Schools for a part of our Forty-Thousand untaught Indian Youth." Vol. 1, no. 5 (August 1880). Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/EKT_v01n05.pdf.

Education of the Immigrant: Abstracts of Papers Read at a Public Conference, Under the Auspices of the New York-New Jersey Committee of the North American Civic League from Immigrants, Held at New York, City, May 16 and 17, 1913, Bulletin 1913, no.51 (Washington Government Printing Office 1913).<https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t6sx7223q>.

Fort Lewis College, Center of Southwest Studies, The Indian Rights Association Papers Incoming Correspondence, Annual Report of the Society of Colorado Branch of the Indian Rights Association March 10, 1893, I35, Roll 10.

Friedman, M. "Annual Report, United States Indian School, Carlisle PA." June 30, 1910. National Archives Denver, M1011, Roll 9, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs RG 75.

Grant, Ulysses S. "First Annual Message." *The American Presidency Project*, (December 6, 1869). <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29510>.

Indian Peace Commission. Accompanying Papers to the Annual Report of The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Report to the President, Jan. 7, 1868. *University of Wisconsin Online*.<http://images.library.wisc.edu/History/EFacs/CommRep/AnnRep68/reference/history.annrep68.i0005.pdf>.

Landis, Barbara. "CIIS Biographies: Clarence Three Stars." *History of the Carlisle Indian School*. <https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/biographies/three-stars-clarence/>.

Lewis, Meriam. "The Problem of Indian Administration (1928)." *Native American Rights Fund*, <https://narf.org/nill/resources/meriam.html>.

Native American Rights Fund (National Indian Law Library). "ICWA Guide Online: Introduction." <https://www.narf.org/nill/documents/icwa/ch1.html>.

Pratt, Brig. Gen. R.H. "One of General Sheridan's Ways with Indians and What came of It," in *American Indians, Chained and Unchained Being an Address before the Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion at the Union League*. University of Michigan 1913.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015003689984;view=image;page=root;size=100;seq=5;num=>.

Pratt, General Richard Henry. *The Indian Industrial School: The Origin, Purposes, Progress, and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association, 1908.
<https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/23472/059171660224380.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>.

Pratt, Richard Henry. *Battlefield & Classroom: An Autobiography by Richard Henry Pratt*, 2nd ed., Edited by Robert M. Utley. Norman: Oklahoma Press, 2003.

—“Report of the First Party Brought to the Carlisle Indian School.”
 November 13, 1879. Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.
<http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/report-first-party-children-brought-carlisle-indian-school>.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Americanizing the American Indian: Writing by “Friends of the Indian” 1880-1900*. Harvard University Press, 1973.

Standing Bear, Luther. *My People the Sioux*, Edited by E.A. Brininstool. First Bison Books, 2006.

“Table of Statistics Relating to Indian Education.” *The History Collection- UW Digital Collections*. University of Wisconsin Press.
<http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/Historyidx?type=article&did=History.AnnRep82.i0035&id=History.AnnRep82&isize=M>.

The Indian Helper 1, no. 30, March 5th, 1886. “The Exhibition.” Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/indian-helper-vol-1-no-30>.

The Indian Helper 4, no.14, 1888. “Indian Names.” Carlisle Indian School Digital Center.
<http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/indian-helper-vol-4-no-14>.

The Indian Helper 8, no. 25, 1893. Carlisle Indian School Digital Center.
<http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/indian-helper-vol-8-no-25>.

The Red Man 8, no.12, November 1888. Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.
<http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/red-man-vol-8-no-12>.

The Red Man 9, no.9, September 1889. Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.
http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedMan_v09n09.pdf.

The School News 1, no. 10, March 1881. “Excerpts from Student Letters.” Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/school-news-vol-1-no-10>.

UN General Assembly, Resolution 61/295, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, September 13, 2007.
http://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wpcontent/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf.

U.S. Congress, House. An Act regulating the Mode of making private Contracts with Indians, 42nd Cong., Sess. II., 1872.

U.S. Department of State. "Announcement of U.S. Support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." December 16, 2010. Archived at
<https://web.archive.org/web/20150218235610/http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/184099.pdf>.

United States Code, *Chapter 21: Indian Child Welfare Act, Title 25: Indians; Section 1902*.
<http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title25/chapter21&edition=prelim>.

United States Office Of Indian Affairs. "Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, for the year 1890 (XV)." *University of Wisconsin Online*.
<http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgibin/History/Historyidx?type=turn&entity=History.AnnRep90.p0012&id=History.AnnRep90&isize=M>.

Young Bear, Severt. *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing*. Edited by R.D. Theisz. University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Zitkála-Šá. *American Indian Stories*. Washington, Hayworth Publishing House, 1921.

Secondary Sources:

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928*. University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Barnes, R. H. "Hidatsa Personal Names: An Interpretation," *Plains Anthropologist* 25, no. 90 (November 1980): 311-333. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25667652>.

Beaver, R. Pierce. "The Churches and President Grant's Peace Policy." *Journal of Church and State* 4, no. 2 (1962): 174-190. www.jstor.org/stable/23913198.

Bell, Genevieve. "Telling Stories out of School Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998.

Berger, Bethany R. "In the Name of the Child: Race, Gender, and Economics in Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl," *Florida Law Review* 67 (2015): 296-360.
<https://scholarship.law.ufl.edu/flr/vol67/iss1/>.

Bowers, Alfred W. *Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization*. University of Nebraska Press, 1963.

- Bowers, Alfred W. *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization*. University of Nebraska Press, 1950.
- Cahill, Cathleen D. *Federal Fathers and Mothers : A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933*. University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=716593>.
- Cameron, Catherine M. *Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World*. University of Nebraska Press, 2016.
- Card, Claudia. "Genocide and Social Death." *Hypatia* 18, no.1 (Winter 2013): 63-80.
- Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families*. University of Nebraska, 1998.
- Cooke, Charles A. "Iroquois Personal Names: Their Classification." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96, no. 4 (1952): 427-239.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3143800>.
- Curtis, Edward S. "The Wichita," *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska* 19. Edited by Frederick W. Hodge. Northwestern Library, 1930.
http://curtis.library.northwestern.edu/site_curtis/.
- Dorsey, George A. "Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society," *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History: Anthropological Series* 27, no. 2 Edited by James R. Murie and Alexander Spoehr. (1940). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29782230>
- Fear-Segal, Jacqueline and D. Rose, Susan. *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016.
- French, David H. and Katherine S. French. "Personal Names." *Handbook of the North American Indians: Language* 17, Compiled by William C. Sturtevant. Smithsonian Institution, 1978: 200-221.
- Gifford, Edward Winslow. "Miwok Moieties." *American Archeology and Ethnology*, 12. University of California Press, 1916. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t1jh45v1g>.
- Graber, Jennifer. *The Gods Of Indian Country: Religion and the Struggle for the American West*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2018.
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/colorado.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/oso/9780190279615.001.0001/oso-9780190279615>.
- Gregg, Matthew T. "The long-term effects of American Indian boarding schools." *Journal of Development Economics*, 130. (2018): 17-32.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdevco.2017.09.003>.

- Goodwin, Grenville. *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology: Ethnological Series. University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- Herrera, Allison. "Who can adopt a Native child?" *High Country News*, March 5, 2018. <https://www.hcn.org/issues/50.7/tribal-affairs-who-can-adopt-a-native-child>.
- Holm, Tom. "The Militarization of Native America: Historical process and Cultural Perception." *The Social Science Journal* 34, no. 4 (1997): 461+ . [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0362-3319\(97\)90005-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0362-3319(97)90005-7).
- Johnson, Troy R. "The State and the American Indian: Who Gets the Indian Child?" *Wicazo Sa Review* 14, no. 1 (1999): 197-214. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1409524>.
- Kappler, Maija. "Claiming a Name." *Ryerson School of Journalism*, 2019. <http://trc.journalism.ryerson.ca/claiming-a-name/>.
- Keller, Robert H. *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy 1869-82*. University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- King, Farina. "The Earth Memory Compass: Navajo Educational Experiences in the Twentieth Century ." PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2016. Cited in K. Tsianina Lomawaima. "Indian Boarding Schools, Before and After: A Personal Introduction." *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2018).
- Lemkin, Raphael. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, 1944.
- Loeb, E.M. "The Eastern Kuksu Cult: The Maidu," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Edited by A.L. Kroeber, Robert H. Lowie, and Ronald L. Olson. Berkley: University of California Press, 1932-1934.
- Lomawaima, K. Tsianina and Jeffrey Ostler,. "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt: Cultural Genocide and Native Liberation in an Era of Racial Oppression." *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 79+.
- Lombard, Carol G. "The Sociocultural Significance of Niitsitapi Personal Names: An Ethnographic Analysis." *Names* 59, no. 1 (March 2011): 42-51. <https://www.tandfonline.com/colorado.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1179/002777311X12942225544714?needAccess=true>
- Markstom, Carol A. *Empowerment of North American Indian Girls: Ritual Expressions at Puberty*. University of Nebraska Press, 2008. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucb/detail.action?docID=332861>.
- McIntosh, Carly. "Native name brings me closer to Mother Earth." *Indianz*, July 27, 2015. <http://www.indianz.com/News/2015/018328.asp>.

- “Turtle Woman: My Gift from the Elders.” *Indian Country Today*, July 25, 2016. <https://newsmaven.io/indiancountrytoday/archive/turtle-woman-my-gift-from-the-elders-WiXt1614c0GPWt9wglTrCg/>.
- Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian*. University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Short, Damien. *Redefining Genocide: Settler Colonialism, Social Death and Ecocide*. London: Zed Books, 2016.
- Skinner, Alanson. “Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians.” *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*. Published by Order of the Board of Trustees, (August 1930): 6-57.
- Szasz, Margaret Connell. *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783*. University of New Mexico Press, 1988.
- Tohe, Laura. *No Parole Today*. PhD diss. University of Nebraska, 1993. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/304079596/abstract/6021C0A0752E4584PQ/1>.
- Trafzer, Clifford E., Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*. University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
- Underhill, Lonnie. “Hamlin Garland and the Indian,” *American Indian Quarterly* 1, no. 2. University of Nebraska Press, (Summer 1974): 103-114.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1183891>.
- Wissler, Clark. “The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians.” *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 3. New York: Published by Order of the Trustees, (1911): 3-63.