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OF THE various attempts that have been made to solve the Indian problem, one method which was used relatively late in our national history was that of education. The school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, marked the beginning of a new policy of the federal government in regard to education of the Indians. The aim of the school was to take the red man out of his environment and to teach him the rudiments of modern life in a civilized community. To appreciate the situation in 1879, the year when the school at Carlisle was founded, it is necessary to take a brief glance backwards.

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century the government did little to encourage the education of the aborigines. During colonial days attempts to educate the Indian were made by a handful of enthusiastic individuals without adequate means, or by a half-hearted Congress devoid of genuine interest. In 1794 the national government entered upon three-quarters of a century of treaty making with the Indians by which various tribes were promised some form of education. But when the time came to vote money for this purpose, Congress conveniently forgot its obligations. So, from 1819 till 1870 the process of civilizing the native was left to various missionary societies, while the government took no active part except to subsidize these religious endeavors in a feeble way.

After the Indians had been confined to reservations and reduced to a comparatively helpless state, the government began to carry out some of its past obligations. In 1870 it established some of the first day schools and boarding schools on the reservations. Although industrial training was a prominent feature, the courses were elementary, and the day schools especially were hampered by poor equipment, inefficient teachers, and an environment that

encouraged poverty and idleness. Obviously this first attempt to educate the Indians was not a marked success. The degenerating influences of the reservation too strongly negated every effort toward progress.

The attitude of the people in general was apathetic, if not hostile, to the welfare of the Indian. Three and a half centuries of experience with treachery, scalplings and border raids had ingrained into the consciousness of the white man the belief that the Indian was dangerous at his worst and useless at his best. Writing in 1851, the historian Francis Parkman voiced the current opinion that the aborigine was by nature unchangeable and by fate doomed to extinction: "He will not learn the arts of civilization, and he and his forest must perish together. . . . We look with deep interest on the fate of this irreclaimable son of the wilderness, the child who will not be weaned from the breast of his rugged mother."¹ With less rhetoric and more experience other persons expressed themselves in fewer words: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

There was one man who did not share the popular attitude of indifference. Richard Henry Pratt believed that the Indian could become a progressive part of the population through education. But to civilize the red man Pratt insisted that he must be taken from the reservation, that he must be torn up from the roots of his old culture and transplanted to surroundings which would encourage him to learn the English language, to work for a living, and to become a useful citizen. It was at the Carlisle School that Pratt carried out his ideas. Of the many interesting chapters in the story of this institution probably the most significant is the founding of the school. There were obstacles to be overcome and problems to be solved before the institution became a reality.

Pratt had years of training before he launched the Carlisle project. Born at Rushford, New York, in 1840, the son of a canal contractor, he soon migrated with his parents to Longport, Indiana. When his father was murdered in the gold rush of 1849, Richard was expected to help his mother support the family. At the age of thirteen young Pratt left the village school to become a printer's "devil" at a dollar and a half a week. Despite the

¹ Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*, I (Boston, 1903), 48.

demands of making a living, he found time to become familiar with the best books and to form a reading club among his fellows. Still in his teens he was apprenticed to a tinsmith and became proficient at the trade.² At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Union army and by 1865 had attained the rank of captain. It was during this war period that his attention was first turned toward the red man. A pathetic song, setting forth the land-hungry white man hounding the Indian to extinction excited his imagination "on the march, in the camp, or on lonely guard."³ After the war he found the hardware business so unattractive that he joined the regular army in March, 1867, and was sent to Indian Territory to aid in quelling some troublesome tribes.

It was in Indian Territory that Pratt had his first real experience with Indians. After the Civil War a great influx of white settlers to the lands west of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers limited the hunting grounds of the aborigines and caused them to retaliate all the way from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1867 the government made treaties with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, who agreed to go on reservations. In these tribes, however, discontented spirits continued to incite outbreaks. Lieutenant General Sheridan, then commanding the military west of the Mississippi launched a vigorous campaign against these restless tribes, drove them to reservations and forced them to come under the control of agents. Since the government did not observe all of its treaty obligations, these tribes began fresh depredations. Conditions became worse until 1874 when Sheridan rounded up the most troublesome individuals and selected seventy-two who were believed to be the ringleaders. Pratt was placed in charge of the prisoners and was ordered to conduct them to Fort Marion at St. Augustine, Florida, where they were to be imprisoned so as to prevent further outbreaks on the frontier.⁴

² The only full length biography of R. H. Pratt is Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1935). The best short account is the sketch by John Bakeless in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV. There is little information available on Pratt's youth, but see Sarah S. Pratt, *The Old Crop in Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1928).

³ R. H. Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Its Origins, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted* (Carlisle, 1908), p. 6, where several stanzas of the song are quoted. This forty-four page pamphlet will be cited hereafter as *Carlisle Indian School*.

⁴ R. H. Pratt, *One of General Sheridan's Ways with Indians and What Came of It* (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), p. 3.

Pratt's experience in Florida convinced him that something worth while could be done with Indians. In the first place he removed the heavy chains with which his charges had been shackled on the long trip. Then he put them to work. They polished ten thousand sea beans for a novelty dealer who paid them for it. They made canoes, bows and arrows and other curios which were sold to tourists. Later they were placed out to work in the various industries about the town. Several were taught to bake bread, while others grubbed the rough palmetto land to prepare it for orange groves, worked in saw mills, cared for horses, milked cows, picked oranges or acted as skippers for fishing parties. Encouraged by the intelligence and willingness these prisoners displayed, Pratt next established classes in the walled casements of the old fort. Several benevolent women offered their services as teachers and their work produced results as the Indians began to speak English and to write creditable letters. Four months after arriving, Pratt organized the younger men into a company to guard the fort and thus dispensed with the military detachment.⁵

So favorable was the effect of the East upon these Indians that when their three years of imprisonment were ended, twenty-two of the younger men asked for greater school opportunities. This the government was willing to allow if it could be done without cost to the national treasury. Several benevolent persons who learned of the situation furnished the necessary money.⁶ But to find agricultural or industrial schools that were willing to open their doors to the twenty-two Indians was another problem. Two obstacles that blocked the way everywhere were the fear and prejudice of the whites. After communicating with General S. C. Armstrong, one of the pioneers in Negro education and then head of the Hampton Institute, Pratt succeeded in placing seventeen of his former pupils in that school. The progress of these young Indians soon attracted the attention of important government officials. Pratt was then sent to several agencies on the Missouri

⁵ Unpublished autobiography of Richard Henry Pratt, Chapters XI and XII. This manuscript was made available to the author through the courtesy of Mrs. Edgar N. Hawkins, Rochester, N. Y., who is a daughter of General Pratt. This lengthy work is the most complete account of the first twenty-five years of the history of the school. It will be cited hereafter as *M.S. Autobiography*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter XVIII.

River to obtain a group of young Indian boys and girls "for education in books and manual labor" at Hampton. Ordered to bring thirty-four, he reported that such a small number was "a beggarly allowance compared with the needs and willingness of the Indians," and requested orders to bring seventy-five. The Indian Commissioner set the limit at fifty.⁷

Although the experiments at St. Augustine and Hampton inclined the government officials to a more favorable view of non-reservation education for Indians, Pratt was thoroughly dissatisfied with his assignment at Hampton. He believed that the education of the Indian and Negro together was an unwise mixing of two race problems. According to Pratt's views it was necessary for the Indian to associate and to compete directly with the white man in order to demonstrate that the Indian was no peculiar creature. Only in this way could the prejudice on both sides be destroyed. Pratt wanted to get his views before the nation, but this would be possible only if he could set up his own school and put his ideas into practice unhampered. Yet events pointed to fixing Pratt's stay at Hampton. The army appropriation bill contained a clause detailing an army officer with reference to Indian education. This clause had been introduced by the representative from the Hampton district in Virginia, and in the discussion in Congress Pratt's name was mentioned. "I plainly told the General," wrote Pratt, referring to General Armstrong, "that I could not bring myself to be satisfied with such a detail, and he allowed me to go to Washington and talk with the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of War about it."⁸

In Washington Pratt used all the arguments at his command to induce government officials to give him a school of his own. First he approached Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior. "You, yourself, sir, are one of the best examples of what we ought to do for the Indian," Pratt told the Secretary. Schurz had come to the United States as a poor German immigrant, but by associating with the best Americans and by learning their

⁷"Report of Lieut. R. H. Pratt, Special Agent to Collect Indian Youths to be Educated at Hampton Institute, Va.," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1878, p. 173; *Carlisle Indian School*, pp. 7, 8.

⁸MS. Autobiography, pp. 298-300.

language and customs he had advanced himself to a place in the President's cabinet. "It would have been impossible for you to accomplish your elevation," Pratt continued, "if when you came to this country you had been reserved to any one of the solid German communities we have permitted to grow up in some sections of America." Making the transition to the Indian problem, Pratt explained that the red man needed the same chances Schurz had enjoyed: "They can only reach this prosperous condition through living among our people." "Give me three hundred Indians and a place in one of your best communities," he asked the Secretary, "and let me prove it is easy to give Indian youth the English language, our education and industries it is imperative they have in preparation for citizenship." He suggested Carlisle as a suitable place to begin the experiment not only because an army barracks was located there, but also because the town was situated in a fertile agricultural valley and close to large cities. Pratt then directed his next efforts to Secretary McCrary of the War Department. This official who was easily won over promised to investigate the feasibility of turning the Carlisle barracks over to the Department of Interior for the experiment. A special act of Congress, however, was necessary to effect the transfer.⁹

Several years passed before the bill which made the Carlisle School possible was enacted into law. Schurz requested Thaddeus C. Pound, a member of the House Indian Committee, to introduce the bill. In the Senate Pratt found a friend in Dr. Pendleton whose wife had taken a great interest in Pratt's success at St. Augustine. Although introduced in 1879, the bill wandered about through the Congressional mill for more than three years until final action was taken. In the meantime the Carlisle School had been established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs pending the action of Congress. Several of the members of the House Indian Committee had visited the new institution and their report reflected a keen enthusiasm in the experiment. Before the vote was taken, several men, especially Holman and Doering, defended the bill. Doering said that he had visited the institution twice and from what he saw he came to the conclusion that: "Here, then, is the solution of the vexed Indian problem." The bill passed

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-304.

both houses and finally received the President's approval on July 31, 1882.¹⁰

While the bill was in process of passage, other potential obstacles to the school were removed. General Sherman, in whose department the Carlisle barracks were located, gave his approval "provided both boys and girls are educated in the said school." There was fear that the citizens of Carlisle would protest such an institution in their neighborhood. Only a few years before, these good townfolk complained of the Sunday dress parades staged by the army school, and on this complaint the War Department moved the school to the middle west. To forestall trouble Pratt took train to Carlisle to secure a petition asking for the school to be located there. In Harrisburg, however, he was met by Judge Biddle of Carlisle who promised to secure the necessary signatures. Soon the petition with a long list of names was sent to Washington. Thus all potential opposition to the school was removed, and though Congress had not yet passed the bill in 1879, Commissioner Hayt drew on money from the "Civilization Fund" of the Indian Office and sent Pratt west to secure the first pupils for the new experiment.¹¹

The Indian Office used the Carlisle School as a means to secure from discontented tribes the children of the important tribal leaders, who could thus be held as hostages for the good behavior of the whole tribe. Pratt had fully expected to be sent to the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches, whom he had known a decade before in Indian Territory. Among these tribes Pratt had made many friends and he knew that it would be relatively easy to obtain their children for his school.¹² But in 1879 the Indian Office had a problem on its hands with the discontented Sioux under Spotted Tail and Red Cloud. These Indians had just been removed from the banks of the Missouri in Nebraska to Rosebud Agency and Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota.

¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, 47th Congress, I Session, pp. 205, 6454. *House Report*, No. 446, 47th Congress, I Session. *Statutes at Large of the United States*, XII, Ch. 363. Although the act was couched in general terms, the immediate object was to authorize the use of the Carlisle barracks for the proposed Indian school. Under the same act other non-reservation schools were later established.

¹¹ *Carlisle Indian School*, pp. 8, 9. Carlisle *American Volunteer*, August 28, 1879. MS. Autobiography, pp. 306, 307. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1882, p. xxxviii.

¹² MS. Autobiography, p. 308.

They suffered hardships in emigrating to their new home in the severe winter and they were dissatisfied with the provisions which the government had made for them there. About the same time they were persuaded to cede away the Black Hills. Shortly after this transaction gold was discovered in that region.¹³

The problem before Pratt was to convince these restless tribes of the value of a school education for their children. To the forty Indians led by Spotted Tail, White Thunder, Milk, and Two Strikes, assembled in council Pratt explained his mission. The government had adopted a new policy; it believed the Indian youth could acquire the same educational and industrial training as white youth. This could be accomplished if the Indians would be willing to send their children to good schools and allow them to live among civilized people. To this Spotted Tail had a ready answer: "The white people are all thieves and liars," he replied, "We do not want our children to learn such things. The white man is very smart. He knew there was gold in the Black Hills and he made us agree to give up all that country and now a great many white people are there getting out the gold. . . ." Also the Indians were cheated in their reservations; government surveyors had drawn lines which greatly diminished those tracts. "We are not going to give our children to learn such ways," the chief concluded.¹⁴

To win over Spotted Tail was Pratt's chief task. "Spotted Tail," he began, "you are a remarkable man. You are such an able man that you are the chief of these thousands of people. But Spotted Tail, you cannot read or write. You cannot speak the language of this country. You have no education." His dependence upon interpreters caused great misunderstanding when dealing with the government. The Indians would now be digging gold in the Black Hills, Pratt aptly suggested, if they had been educated and able to understand the implications of the treaty they signed. Pratt then directed his appeal to the education of the chief's children and pointed out that after a few years at school

¹³ Accounts of the trouble can be followed in detail in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1875, pp. 4-9; 1876, pp. xv, xvi; 1877, pp. 17-19; and especially 1879, pp. xxvii-xxxii. A recent work by George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1937) traces the story of these Indians to 1878.

¹⁴ MS. Autobiography, pp. 309-311.

these children would be of great value. They would be able to write letters, to interpret, and to look after the tribal relations with the government. He asked for four or five of the chief's children and for two or three of the progeny of each of the other headmen. After discussing the question with his associates, Spotted Tail finally announced: "It is all right. We are going to give you all the children you want." Encouraged by his first victory, Pratt hastened on to Pine Ridge Agency where he was able to get sixteen boys and girls. During his absence the Rosebud Indians grew very eager to send their children eastward and on his return to that agency, parents paraded ninety of their young ones before him as candidates for the honor. Of these he selected fifty-six, thus making the allotted total of seventy-two.¹⁵

Pratt constantly bore in mind that the government wanted the children of dissatisfied tribes. In fact he exceeded his orders and increased the number of Indians from the Rosebud Agency to sixty-six on the ground that "the hostage idea of the Indian Department administration warranted" it because of the former trouble with these Sioux. If the hostage system was to be effective, it was necessary to obtain the children of the tribal chiefs and headmen. This he was able to do when Spotted Tail, Milk, Two Strikes, and White Thunder offered some of their offspring. At Pine Ridge Agency Red Cloud, the leader of his people, offered his grandson, the only child of school age the chief had. American Horse, another prominent leader, gave two sons and a daughter. Before leaving for the East Pratt wrote to the Indian Commissioner to explain that of the children he had collected "a large proportion [were] the progeny of chiefs."¹⁶

Soon after the first party of pupils arrived at Carlisle early in October, 1879, Pratt made a second trip to the West for more young Indians. He sent two Florida boys, a Kiowa and a Chey-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-314. *Carlisle Indian School*, pp. 10-13, 15. Pratt was disappointed at not receiving more children at Pine Ridge Agency. He stated that there were "outside influences" working against him. In MS. Autobiography, p. 316, he explained that "local missionary influence was not friendly to the effort." On later trips he complained specifically of opposition from Catholic priests among the Indians.

¹⁶ Pratt to E. A. Hayt, October 2, 1879, United States Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous P/980; "Description of Grounds, Buildings . . . of Carlisle Indian Training School," *Ibid.*, 1880, Misc. P/269. These manuscripts of the Indian Office will be referred to as D.I., O.I.A.; MS. Autobiography, pp. 315, 316.

enne, to their respective tribes, and delegated an English Quaker, A. J. Standing, to visit the Pawnees. The three met Pratt at Wichita, Kansas, with a total of fifty-five young recruits. At this place government authority for railroad tickets was not forthcoming and as Pratt wrote later, "the situation was most aggravating." Old faded telegrams at Washington tell the story in Pratt's usual poignant manner: "Expenses heavy." "No authority for tickets here as you telegraphed. Delay oppressive." He arranged to convey the party by wagon several hundred miles and finally arrived at Carlisle on October 27, 1879.¹⁷

With the pupils on hand the next problem was to organize the school. The most immediate need was to obtain food for the young Indians. Weeks before Pratt had made his first trip, he had asked for food supplies. "If shipped here at any time," he wrote, "they will be received and stored with care and safety." But when he arrived on October 6, he found to his own amazement and to the Indians' discomfort that no rations were on hand. The first breakfast consisted of bread and water, and the first dinner of meat, bread and coffee. When the first food supply came, it was accompanied with instructions as to how much should be served. Pratt followed orders for two days but realizing that this "starvation supply of food" could not continue, he adopted the army ration schedule. "I have been feeding the army rations," he wrote to Washington a short time later, "and so far there is nothing to spare. Like recruits for the army, it will take two or three months to fill them up. Hungry people are not contented; these youth must be kept contented and their intercourse with their people [must] show it, else the effort will fail." For twenty-five years Pratt followed the army ration schedule at Carlisle.¹⁸

¹⁷ Pratt to Indian Commissioner, October 6, 1879, D.I., O.I.A., Misc. 1879 P/997; Pratt to E. A. Hayt, October 13, P/1027; October 24, P/1081 (telegram); October 17, P/1055 (telegram); October 18, P/1067 (telegram); October 23, P/1076; October 23, P/1081; same date, P/1082; October 28, P/1091. A nineteen page report of his trip is given in Pratt to E. A. Hayt, November 13, P/1182. For the recollections of an Indian boy who was a member of the first party and his account of the enticements held out to the children, the freedom which marked their decision to come East, and their fears on the journey to Carlisle, see Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux* (Boston, 1928), Chapter III.

¹⁸ Pratt to Hayt, September 10, 1879, D.I., O.I.A., Misc. P/918; October 6, P/997; October 11, P/1023; October 23, P/1093. MS. Autobiography, p. 327. Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, p. 134.

At the same time there was the problem of securing clothing and general supplies. A month before the arrival of the first party Pratt asked the government to have clothing on hand. The month passed; no clothing. The first pupils arrived; still no clothing. Three days later Pratt telegraphed to Washington, "No word about supplies of clothing. Can't they be hurried up?"¹⁹ It seems that beds also were lacking, and that the buildings were not heated on that chilly October night when the first pupils arrived, if we may accept the account of Luther Standing Bear who later described the scene thus:

When our interpreter told us to go to a certain building he pointed out to us, we ran very fast expecting to find nice little beds like those the white people had. We were so tired and worn out from the long trip that we wanted a good long sleep. . . .

But the first room we entered was empty. A cast-iron stove stood in the middle of the room on which was placed a coal-oil lamp. We ran through all the rooms, but they were all the same—no fire, no beds. This was a two story building, but we were all herded into two rooms on the upper floor.

Well, we had to make the best of the situation, so we took off our leggins and rolled them up for a pillow. All the covering we had was the blanket each had brought. We went to sleep on the hard floor, and it was so cold! We had been used to sleeping on the ground but the floor was so much colder.²⁰

As late as October 10 Pratt was importuning Washington for permission to buy bedsteads and mattresses for the girls, and bunks and straw for the boys. After his second trip west for another party of children he returned to Carlisle on October 27. And still no clothing. "I can not afford to tell many lies to these youth," he protested to the federal authorities. "This violates my pledge to the Indians and places me at a disadvantage." After another week the boys were still in their breech clouts and blankets. The first shipment of supplies to arrive was the least necessary of all, an organ to be used in assembly singing. Finally, about one month after the first pupils had arrived, the clothing supplies

¹⁹ Pratt to Hayt, September 9, 1879, D.I., O.I.A., Misc. P/917; September 10, P/915; October 6, P/997; October 9, P/999.

²⁰ Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, pp. 133, 134. Quoted by special permission of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Company.

came. But the problem was still not solved. This clothing proved to be "the shoddiest of the shoddy," to use Pratt's description. The shoes wore out in about twelve days, caps in four days, and trousers seem to have served their usefulness after one day's wear. The original letters at Washington tell many such vivid stories of Pratt's trials with government supplies.²¹

It was also necessary to adapt the buildings of the old military post to educational uses. Having been practically abandoned for several years, they were badly in need of repairs. A local builder estimated that \$2,600 would be necessary for this purpose, but Pratt pared down the amount by one-half and suggested that "the difference between my judgment and the builder go into additional students, rather than into buildings." The day the first pupils arrived, Pratt called on Washington for four thousand feet of picket fence six feet high "to keep the Indians in and the citizens out" of the grounds.²²

This experiment could not have been a success without capable and experienced teachers. While Pratt was stationed at Fort Sill, he became acquainted with Alfred J. Standing who was teaching school at the Indian Agency. Standing was an English Quaker who came to America in his earlier years and had accumulated a wealth of experience in dealing with Indians in the West. While engaged in his Florida experiment Pratt learned of Miss Semple who was then in charge of schools at St. Augustine. She took charge of school room work at Carlisle and Standing later became assistant superintendent. Miss Burgess had four years of teaching experience at Pawnee Indian Agency. As the winter months wore on, other members were added to the teaching staff. As early as January, 1880, Pratt realized that some of his teachers could not stand the strenuous work, and several months later he complained, "I find it no easy matter to find good teachers."²³

Since relatively few supplies were necessary for classroom work, this feature was begun before the industrial phase. Some time

²¹ Pratt to Hayt, October 10, 1879, D.I., O.I.A., Misc. P/1003; October 28, P/1091; same date, P/1119; November 4, P/1129; November 7, P/1138. MS. Autobiography, pp. 326, 327.

²² Pratt to Department of Interior, September 2, 1879, D.I., O.I.A., Misc. P/902, note on builder's estimate. Pratt to Hayt, October 6, P/989.

²³ "Monthly Report for January 3, 1880," *Ibid.*, P/126; Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 14, P/65; Pratt to Trowbridge, March 24, P/458. MS. Autobiography, pp. 322-324.

during October, 1879, that is, while "we were yet wearing our Indian clothes," the interpreter told the pupils to go to classes.²⁴

The industrial features of the school were introduced gradually. By the end of January, 1880, the shoemaker's shop had been furnished with tools and three boys were at work there. Other boys were instructed in carpentering and blacksmithing. By February instruction in agriculture had begun, and later in the same month a number of boys were learning their trade in the tinshop. By the end of April harness-making, tinning, blacksmithing, building, and garden work were in full swing.²⁵

Tact and patience were necessary to teach these young Indians the customs of civilized living. They came to Carlisle garbed in the customary blankets and accompanying filth. Baths were in order and heads of matted hair were combed and cared for. As soon as the opportunity came, the barber's shears clipped off the long locks of the boys, though not without opposition and a scene that remained vividly in the memory of all for years to come. This transition period for the pupils was filled with other trials. Manufactured shoes felt hard on feet accustomed to soft moccasins, and red flannel underwear produced a sensation to be remembered for a lifetime.²⁶ In a letter of December 1, 1879, Pratt indicated that conditions were well under control but that all his problems were not solved. He wrote:

Lt. Brown [who organized the boys into military squads] is getting the kinky out of the boys rapidly. Some of them are perfect little devils to fight, and play the mischief. They have been stealing Boglus tobacco, and the smallest of them indulge in heavy smoking. I delay a rule against smoking until we can see what can be done by moral suasion.²⁷

Two months later he explained that: "The corners are all knocked off now, and our boys and girls are quite models of good behavior,

²⁴ Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, pp. 136-139.

²⁵ *Carlisle Herald*, January 29, February 26, April 29, 1880. "Monthly Report for January 21, 1880, D.I., O.I.A., Misc. P/126. "Description of Grounds, Buildings . . .," P/269. This nine page report, written probably in the middle of February, 1880, gives a valuable account of the school during the early months.

²⁶ MS. Autobiography, pp. 324, 325. Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, pp. 140-144; also by the same author, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (Boston, 1933), pp. 232-234. Chauncey Yellowrobe in speech at Ogden Indian Teachers' Institute, 1897, reported in the *Red Man*, February, 1898.

²⁷ Pratt to Hayt, December 1, 1879, D.I., O.I.A., Misc. P/1250.

studiousness, and in neatness are making great strides. . . ." In the middle of February, 1880, Secretary Schurz, members of the House Committee on Indian Affairs and of the Board of Indian Commissioners, paid a brief visit to the school. An official report of the visit remarked on the astonishing change which had been wrought in three and a half months on these young wards of the government. A reporter from a New York newspaper, who accompanied the visiting committee, wrote that when the Indian children had arrived in Carlisle in October they

were as unused to the ways of civilization as so many freshly captured wolves. Today they were clad in the garments of civilization, and wore them with apparent pride. They maintain a fair degree of tidiness about their persons and their quarters, and accomplish wonders with the knife and fork.

The visitors found the children in the classrooms reciting, those in the shops working, and general good order prevailing. The Carlisle School was established.²⁸

This institution was the first government non-reservation Indian school in the country and the only one of its kind in the eastern states. In the outing system it developed a unique educational method. Later, when other non-reservation schools sprang up in the West and Middle West, Carlisle was the model on which they were patterned. The founding of this institution was the result of several converging forces: a growing realization of some men like Carl Schurz that non-reservation education might be the answer to the Indian question; the desire of the government to hold some of the restless tribes in leash by bringing their children East to attend school, but actually to become hostages; and the persistence of Richard Henry Pratt who would not be satisfied until he could put his ideas into practice in his own way.

²⁸ Pratt to Indian Commissioner, January 27, 1880, *Ibid.*, P/132. [Charles Warren,] "The Indian School at Carlisle Barracks" (Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington, 1880.) *New York Daily Tribune*, February 23, 1880, p. 5, "Working Out the Indian Problem." For another account of the institution during the first year of its existence see "Indian Training School at Carlisle," *Pennsylvania School Journal*, XXX (1881), pp. 30-33.

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