



The Indian Industrial School

CARLISLE
PENNSYLVANIA

Its Origin, Purposes, Progress
and the Difficulties
Surmounted

By

Brig. Gen. R. H. Pratt

ITS SUGGESTER AND ITS SUPERINTENDENT FROM
SEPTEMBER 1879 TO JULY 1904.

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THE BEGINNING OF CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL LIFE. FIRST PARTY OF 82 SIOUX AS THEY ARRIVED OCTOBER 6, 1879.



THE ENDING OF CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL LIFE. GRADUATING CLASS OF 1904.
EACH STUDENT TRAINED IN A CIVILIZED INDUSTRY WHICH WOULD ENABLE SELF-SUPPORT IN A CIVILIZED COMMUNITY

ORIGIN OF THE
Carlisle Indian Industrial School
ITS PROGRESS AND
THE DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED

THE original idea leading to the establishment of the Carlisle Indian school cannot be traced farther back than Adam. It is clear that when Adam became the father of mankind there was then established that beneficent principle—the unity of the human race—which, through endless difficulties, still struggles for supremacy. It was a great setback that immediately followed when one of Adam's sons killed the other. Jealousy, greed and misconception in the family have led to no end of killing among the sons of Adam from that day to this. For the last two thousand years this fundamental truth that all men are brothers has had great incentive from the divine living and teaching of it by the Son of the Father of the Universe, and while yet vast crime of all sorts has been committed upon each other among the brotherhood, there has been a constant gain in its acceptance until in these later centuries nations have incorporated it as a principal feature in their charters. Foremost among these national declarations we must place our own. When, however, we declared the platform on which we founded our right to become a nation we were doing the greatest violence to the principle itself in our treatment of two races, one alien, the other native, and this condition led to endless acrimony and violence. Such was the abiding faith of the larger part of our people that when those opposed determined to build a government at variance with the principle we went to war, and at the cost of enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure settled it in favor of the original declaration by giving especially to one race, but really including both races, in words, at least, a real place in our national family. This surely meant for them all the rights and privileges of educational, industrial and moral training and development needed to make them equal, and competitors for the benefits of our American life.

This paper was announced on the regular program of the Hamilton Library Association, but the presentation was unavoidably prevented, and it is published now, as furnished, that there may be no further delay in bringing this interesting and valuable information before the public.

Carlisle school was clearly the product of these conditions. The suggester and builder of the school never claimed originality or discovery of any sort. He did claim, apply and demand the same opportunities and training for the Indian youth of the school that the other youth of the national family enjoyed.

In his earlier years the suggester never saw an Indian, but a deep impression was made upon him by the pathetic singing of an Indian song by an early and accomplished friend, one verse of which ran as follows:

Oh, why does the white man follow my path
Like the hound on the tiger's track?
Does the dusk on my dark cheek waken his wrath,
Does he covet the bow at my back?
He has rivers and seas where the billow and breeze
Bear riches for him alone,
And the sons of the wood never plunge in the flood
Which the white man calls his own.
Yoho, Yoho, Yoho, Yoho.
Go back, go back on the hunter's track
The red man's eyes grow dim
To think that the white man would wrong the one
Who never did harm to him.

Yoho, Yoho, Yoho, Yoho, Yoho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho.
Yoho, Yoho, Yoho, Yoho, Yoho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho.

This became a part of the song repertoire of the suggester of the Carlisle school, bringing a picture of unfortunate relations to his mind at every singing, on the march, in the camp or on lonely guard, throughout his military duties during the four years of Civil War. When, in 1867, he was called to service in the regular army, and sent to the southwestern frontier among the Indians, he was to some extent more than his fellows sympathetic and willing to think of our Indians as entitled to more kindly consideration. Two days after joining his company at Fort Gibson, I. T., he was placed in command of the Indian scouts, and at once looked upon them as men and brothers, lacking in attainment only, and that through no fault of theirs. His contention with his fellow officers and others whom he met was that the Indians were entitled to a full, fair chance for development in every way, and until they had that, our people had no right to form adverse opinions of them, or to condemn them as incorrigibly savage. His friendship for the Indians led to his being assigned to the special duties concerning them which usually fell to the lot of some particular officer in every command contiguous to them. Experience with them only confirmed his previous feelings and judgments. He trusted them, used them in the performance of most dangerous duties, met with them in council and was gradually accepted as their friend and defender in the locality where he served.

In the spring of 1869 General Grant pronounced his first brief inaugural and in it gave his conception of the nation's duty to the Indians in the following words:

"The proper treatment of the original occupants of this land—the Indians—is one deserving of the most careful study. I will favor any course towards them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship."

The officer at once adopted this as his platform and never in his long career of dealing with the Indians did he waver from it. He was afterwards called upon in the execution of his office and orders to lead and direct bodies of Indians enlisted to battle against their own people, and to hold many of them as prisoners of war in irons, and to deport a company of seventy-four of their leaders so shackled thousands of miles from their homes and families and keep them in confinement for three years. He always and invariably tempered his actions, even in this trying service, according to General Grant's declared policy. Though prisoners of war under his care at old Fort Marion, Saint Augustine, Florida, in the year 1875-8, there was school for all of them, there was daily training in industries to earn money and to make them thrifty. There was constant opportunity and encouragement for them to meet multitudes of our own people under kindest auspices. He organized the younger men into a company, gave them guns, sent the soldier guard away and for two years and nine months they guarded themselves and the fort without committing a single breach against the discipline established. The three years of imprisonment resulted in English speaking, in the adoption of civilized dress and habits and in a hungering on their part for a career in the larger life of the nation. They even petitioned bodily to be permitted to have their families and to remain away from their tribes and live among the whites, and this petition was submitted to the government and denied by the Indian bureau. Such was the effect upon them of these influences that when their three years of imprisonment ended, twenty-two of the younger men of their own free will asked to remain east three years longer, provided they could have larger school and training opportunities. This the department was willing to permit but only if it could be accomplished without cost to the government. As soon as this fact became known among those having means among our own people, such was their confidence in the sincerity of the Indians, that they at once furnished money for the expenses of these twenty-two to remain east and have additional educational and industrial training. Prejudice and fear closed the doors of quite a number of industrial and agricultural schools that were appealed to until finally Hampton Institute, Virginia, a normal training school for colored youth, opened its portals for seventeen, and the other five were provided for near Utica and in Tarrytown in New York state. The conduct and earnestness of these twenty-two soon attracted the attention of the highest officials of the government, including the president. At the suggestion of the officer the number at Hampton was increased by fifty youth of both sexes

who were brought by him and his wife from their homes along the Missouri river, including Fort Berthold, Yankton agencies, and the agencies between. The quick improvement and the progress of the new recruits as well as of the older young men from Florida continued to prove that the Indian, like the Anglo-Saxon and the African, was only hampered by the circumstances and opportunities of his surroundings and responded to his privileges as promptly and successfully as either of the others.

A law of congress was passed that an officer of the army, not above the rank of captain, should be detailed by the War Department with reference to Indian education, which law aimed to keep the suggester of Carlisle on duty at Hampton Institute. His experience there had led him to conclude it was not the best of help to the Indian to unite the two race problems; that what the Indian needed was to gain ability to hold his own, and fellowship with the whites, and not with the negro. His mind wandered away to the West, to the needs of the larger field, and he urged that his presence at Hampton was entirely unnecessary, that the army officer already detailed there was more than able to meet the demands of the Indian situation at the school for the number then there and any increase that might be thought best. He accordingly went to the secretary of the interior first, and then, on the secretary's suggestion, to the secretary of war, proposing that if he were to be kept in Indian school work that he be given two hundred and fifty to three hundred young Indians at some point east, and be allowed to demonstrate their development according to his own ideas. He suggested Carlisle barracks as a suitable place for this purpose. His proposition was at once accepted by both secretaries and after several months of delay in attempting to get a law authorizing such a school and the use of the barracks, he was finally detailed to establish the school at Carlisle and directed to proceed to the Indian agencies and get pupils.

The head of the army, General Sherman, had not been friendly to detailing an army officer for Indian educational duty, and had written that officer that it was "old woman's work," but the officer had to be governed by the fact that the president of the United States and the secretary of war, the superiors of the General of the Army, were directing his movements. They kept him in Washington interviewing members of the house and senate on Indian affairs to convince them of the feasibility of his ideas. A proposed act was introduced into both house and senate, which provided that Carlisle, and any other vacant military post or barracks, could be turned over by the War to the Interior Department for Indian school purposes and that one or more army officers could be detailed to superintend each school so established. The passage of this act was not secured during the session of 1878-79 and did not become a law until 1882, but a very favorable report was made to the house by Ex-Governor Pound of Wisconsin, who was a member of the house Indian committee. Seeing that congress would adjourn without passing the act the secretary of war

informed the officer he had made up his mind that he would "turn over Carlisle barracks for an Indian school pending the action of congress on the bill," but first would submit the question to General Hancock, who commanded the department in which Carlisle barracks was located, and then to the General of the Army. General Hancock's endorsement was favorable, and stated that the "barracks would never again be required for military purposes, and he knew of no more favorable place for such an experiment." This being referred to General Sherman, he endorsed: "Approved, providing both Indian boys and girls are educated at said school." The order was then issued and the officer and his wife went to make a parting call on the General of the Army. The general received them with compliments and talked pleasantly of previous meetings with them under circumstances of great danger from the Indians in the West. His gracious reception dispelled all anxiety on account of his previous opposition.

When Carlisle barracks was being used as a training school for cavalry, the ministers of the town, in 1872, appealed to the War Department to stop the Sunday parades because they brought many people to witness and hear the band. At that time General Sherman said he would relieve their discontent by moving the cavalry school to St. Louis, which he did, and after that the barracks had remained vacant except for a small guard of an officer and a few enlisted men to take care of the property. In discussing the matter General Sherman said to the secretary of war:

"The first thing you know after establishing your school the people of Carlisle will be petitioning to have some feature of the Indian school modified, or to have it removed."

The secretary of war submitted this view to the officer and asked what had better be done about it. The officer replied that a good way would be to forestall that by securing a petition from the people to have the school established there. This was approved by the secretary and the officer accordingly started for Carlisle. At Harrisburg he met General Biddle, who lived at Carlisle, told him his mission, and General Biddle said:

"You return to Washington and I will see that within two days you have a petition from practically everybody in Carlisle asking for the school."

The petition came to the war department duly signed by all the leading people of the town. From that time to the close of his career of twenty-five years as superintendent of the school the officer found only the greatest friendship for his enterprise and for himself among the inhabitants of the town.

One of the teachers of a class of Indian prisoners in Florida was a Miss Mather, who before the war had carried on a young ladies' school in the old town of Saint Augustine. She wrote that if an opportunity offered she would like to see the Indians in their western homes. When the order was received in Washington on the 6th of September, the officer telegraphed her in Florida that he would leave on the 10th

of September for Dakota to bring in children and asked her to go along to look after the girls. She arrived in due time, and they proceeded to Dakota with instructions to get thirty-six from Rosebud agency, which was then dominated by Chief Spotted Tail, and thirty-six from Pine Ridge agency, whose principal chief was Red Cloud.

On arrival at Rosebud the officer found that the agent had already received the order from the Indian office, and at a council had submitted it to the Indians, and they had resolved not to send children. The officer insisted that it was proper he should have a conference with the Indians and himself present the case. The chiefs and principal Indians, about forty, were summoned to the agency, and the officer, with the interpreter and Miss Mather, went with them into the council house. He explained the plans and purposes of the proposed school and urged the Indians to withdraw their opposition and send their children. The Indians sat in a circle and listened, but it was plain to the officer that their minds were against him. After a conference among themselves Spotted Tail answered for all. The recent treaty in which they had ceded the Black Hills country and which prevented their hunting and camping in that region had greatly angered them, especially when they found that gold had been discovered there. Spotted Tail began his address by saying:

"The white people are all thieves and liars, and we refuse to send our children, because we do not want them to learn such things. The government deceived us in the Black Hills treaty. The government knew that gold was there and it took the land from us without giving us its value, and so the white people get rich and the Indians are cheated and become poor. The government let us keep this plains country and it agreed that the lines should be away out, and we should have a large district. Your men are out there now running the lines and they run the lines a long ways inside of where we agreed they should be. Some of our people who lived outside of these lines have been compelled to move inside. The government has always cheated us and we do not want our children to learn to do that way."

He said much more on the same line and his charges against the government were applauded by the assembled chiefs and the officer saw that this was the crucial moment of his enterprise. Guided by large experience, he replied:

"Spotted Tail, you are a very distinguished man. Your name has gone all over the United States. It has even gone across the ocean to other countries. You are the head of these people because you have a strong mind, but Spotted Tail, you cannot read and write. You sign papers and you do not know what you sign. You know very little about the large interests of your tribal property and what is best for the people over whom you are placed, simply because you have no education. If you had been educated like the whites you might have known there was gold in the Black Hills, and how to get it out; you might be there now with all these people directing them to get the

gold out of the ground, but you did not know and so you were at a disadvantage and lost for your people a valuable possession.

“You accuse my government of deceiving you. Bishop Whipple made the treaty and I am sure no deception was practiced on you. I am sure that the treaty papers which you signed distinctly state that the lines would be run around your present reservation just where these young men are running them. If these young men sitting here had been educated and knew as much as the young men who are out there running the lines they might be filling the places of those young men, getting \$100 to \$200 per month for doing that work for the government, but because they are uneducated they lose these chances. I am your friend and the friend of your people, and am near Washington. It might be that something will come up there in the affairs of your people that it would be best for only you and I to know, and that I would like to tell you of, but I cannot write to you and tell you of it because a third party, this interpreter or somebody else, has to be called in to read my letter to you, so I have to let it go. You might want me to do something for you in Washington and you would like to write me, but do not want anybody else to know about it, but you cannot tell me what you want me to do because you cannot read and write. In either case neither of us can be sure we get exactly what the other intended to say because in the interpretation the exact thought or idea might not be given as intended. You are a man of large mind; there are others here who have large minds. I have no doubt but if you had been properly trained as a young man and had the same opportunities our people have you might be filling some high position in the land, but lacking in education and experience in our affairs you are not able to protect the interests of your own people. You have seen how the white people keep coming more and more. When a boy you very seldom saw a white man; now they are covering the country all around you. There is no more chance for your people to keep themselves away from the whites. You are compelled to meet them. Your children will have to live with them. They will be all about and among you in spite of anything you can do, or that can be done for you by those interested in keeping you apart from our people. Your own welfare while you live and the welfare of your children after you, and all your interests in every way, demand that your children should have the same education that the white man has, that they should speak his language and know just how the white man lives, be able to meet him face to face and take care of themselves and their property without the help of either an interpreter or an Indian agent. Your children can acquire these qualities by no method that separates them from close contact with our people and these actual experiences. I propose not only to take your children to the school at Carlisle, but I shall send them out to work and to live among the white people, and into the white man's home and schools so that as boys and girls they will be coming into the same classes with white boys and girls and will so learn to know each other, and this will take away their prejudice against

the whites and take away the prejudice of the whites against your people, and it is the only way to remove such prejudice.

"I am sure this is a great turning point in the history of your people. It is far more important to you than you can possibly think or understand.

"Spotted Tail, you have many children, give me some of them, and let me take them to Carlisle and teach them our language, how to read and write and do business as we do, so that they may come back and help you in your position as chief of this people.

"Milk, you have two children, let me take them to Carlisle and make them able to be useful to you, and useful to themselves and their people hereafter by their knowledge of our ways and our language.

"Two Strike, you have two boys, let me take them to Carlisle and make men of them.

"White Thunder, you have a boy and girl, give them to me for education.

"I asked the commissioner to let me go after pupils to the Indians I knew, and who knew me, the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches and others, but the secretary wanted me to begin here because yours is the largest of all the tribes, and he said you should have the first chance, and if you refused, then I might go and get all the children needed from these other tribes who know me. You had better council again about it, I will go over to the agent's house and wait for your answer."

The interpreter, Miss Mather and I walked over and sat on the agent's porch for more than an hour before the council broke up. When the Indians came outside they stood for quite a while in front of the council house talking and looking our way; finally, Spotted Tail, Two Strike, White Thunder and Milk, the principal chiefs whom I had spoken to personally, came over and sat down without any demonstration. They kept talking to each other in an undertone, and looked me over critically. After a few moments Spotted Tail got up, came and shook hands with me, then with Miss Mather and the interpreter, and said:

"It is all right. We are going to give you all the children you want. I am going to send five, Milk will send his boy and girl, Two Strike his two boys, White Thunder will send his boy and girl, and the others are going to send the rest."

This part of the beginning of the school has always seemed about the most momentous of its history.

I then told them I would have to go to Pine Ridge after a similar party, and that I would be back again in four or five days, that they could make up their minds just which children they wanted to send and when I got back I would see the children and have them examined by the doctor to see that they were strong and healthy, and then make up the list. I asked them if there were an Indian who had a spring wagon and two good, stout ponies that could drive the hundred miles from Rosebud to Pine Ridge agency in one day, that I would give

him \$25.00 for taking me to Pine Ridge and bringing me back. That I wanted to start next morning at 7 o'clock and be in Pine Ridge at night. They talked a little and said an Indian named Cook, who was going to send a daughter with me, was the man. I asked them to send Cook to me; he reported, and we made arrangements and started the next morning at 7 o'clock. It was a silent journey as I could speak no Sioux, and Cook could speak no English or Comanche, the only Indian language of which I knew anything, and he did not know the sign language, of which I had some knowledge. The ponies were short, thick set and hardy, and I soon realized that the Indians had made a good selection. Where the road was favorable he drove his ponies at high speed and by 2 o'clock we had made about half way. We stopped to rest and graze the ponies and eat our lunch. The road was dim and sometimes no road, but a generally westerly direction was maintained and I felt sure we were going right. When night came on there was no moon, but it was starlight, and without abating speed the Indian drove on and on. Towards 10 o'clock we saw in the distance a light, but it was a long time before we reached it and found the agent's office and the agency clerk (Mr. Alder, for many years and now the clerk at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas), busy trying to keep up with his work. Early the next day he called a council of the Indians at which Red Cloud, American Horse, Young Man Afraid of His Horses and others of the leaders were present. I submitted the wishes of the department to them, and told them what Spotted Tail and his people were going to do, and they agreed to send some of their children. Red Cloud had no children of his own young enough, but said he would send a grandson. American Horse sent three. It soon developed there was an outside influence against the children being sent away, and after two days there I was only able to get eighteen. I hired parents of the children to haul the party the two hundred miles from Pine Ridge to Rosebud Landing on the Missouri river. There were then no railroad facilities nearer than Yankton, Dakota, a considerable distance below Rosebud Landing, and reached by steamer.

The day before starting back I sent Cook with his two horses to ride half way and wait for my coming the next day, and hired another Indian with fresh horses to drive me that far, he and Cook having an understanding as to the point we were to meet. After seeing the party off the next morning, we started and drove rapidly until early in the afternoon, when we found Cook and lunched together. The Indian went back to Pine Ridge and Cook and I drove through to the Rosebud agency that night.

Selecting children at Rosebud had gone on so well that more than enough to cover the shortage at Pine Ridge and give the full number required from the two agencies had been provided. The children at both agencies were submitted to an examination something similar to that for army recruits, a record of the examination made, and fifty-four were accepted and enrolled at Rosebud. The afternoon after the party

was completed there was a demonstration, the like of which I never saw but the once among Indians. It appeared to be their custom when stirred by any great reason for joy that those who were foremost participants and causes of it gave something of their possessions to the poor, and entertained and fed others of the tribe. More than two thousand people gathered at the agency and those sending children gave away scores of horses and ponies, many bolts of calico and muslin, large quantities of groceries, etc., they had purchased at the store. Many cooked food, which was free to all. One man occupied the arena at a time and himself announced:

"I am sending my children, my heart is glad and I give six horses."

He had six sticks in his hand and said:

"Where is there an old woman who needs a horse?"

Some tottering old woman would go forward and take a stick and it was plain to be seen that she felt happy. He would then say:

"Where is there an old man who has no horse?"

Then some old man would go forward, and so on until he had given away the six sticks which represented horses that he had selected which the recipients could have by going to his home; each stick had a mark to indicate which horse. A few had brought horses with them; sitting on their horses they held the horses they were to give away with lariats. They announced that they were sending son or daughter, and "Here is a horse for an old man or old woman," and the old man or woman would go forward and take the horse. In every case, so far as I could see, the gifts were only to the needy. All was conducted with entire propriety and decorum and everybody acquiesced in the claim of the recipient in every case, and there was on the part of all those who received the gifts evidence of great satisfaction. One Indian had a daughter who was a belle in the tribe; the father was a manly, handsome fellow as he sat erect on his bareback horse and proud of his daughter. He had brought to give away one of the prettiest Indian ponies I ever saw. I soon found that the pony was also celebrated. Miss Mather, then 63 years of age, said:

"I am an old woman and I have no pony. If they will give me that pony I will take it home to Florida with me."

Spotted Tail, who was standing near, was told by the interpreter what she said, and he replied:

"All right, when he calls for somebody you go forward and get it."

So Miss Mather moved into the circle ready to get the horse. The man told he was sending his daughter and because he felt so glad he was giving this pony. Miss Mather moved forward, but after making his speech the Indian pulled his pony up to his side and said:

"Anybody that catches this pony can have it." And then slipping the noose over its head turned it loose and the pony at once bounded away through the crowd like a deer. Instantly fifty or more young Indians mounted their ponies and were in pursuit, and before the affair was over one of them came back leading the pony, greatly pleased that he had gotten it.

Having the complement of seventy-two authorized by the department at Pine Ridge and Rosebud, I also hired the parents of the children at Rosebud to haul their children to the landing to start the following morning and make the trip in two days.

I was immediately besieged by other parents who wanted to send children, and the pressure becoming great I did agree to take several others whom the doctor said were all right. Many other Indians than those immediately interested went to the landing, so that we had quite a caravan. After we reached the river additional children were urging to go, both parents and children anxious to have a part in the movement. The steamboat came, the children were put aboard, but when I came to count them I found that there were eighty-two instead of the seventy-eight I had accepted. I hunted out those who had not been inspected, but so anxious were they to go, and parents in their desire to send, and such good material, as I judged, I finally agreed to take the whole eighty-two.

On reaching Yankton I secured two special cars to take us through to Chicago, and telegraphed to Chicago for cars thence to Carlisle. Crowds met us at every point, and when we reached Chicago, the papers having published our coming, many thousands of people were in and about the station to see us, and such was the pressure that the railroad authorities were compelled to run our cars out in to a private yard with a high fence around it to keep us from the crowd. Even then scores of men and boys jumped the fence and got inside to see the young Indians who were going so far from home to school.

Gettysburg Junction is on the eastern edge of the town of Carlisle, and nearer to the barracks than the station in town, and I arranged to have the party stop there. We reached the Junction at 1 o'clock in the morning of the 6th of October, 1879, and were met by hundreds of people waiting up at that late hour to see us, and they followed us into the school grounds.

Hampton had kindly let me have eleven of the young men that were with me in Florida who spoke English and who had learned proper ideas of discipline and conduct and could give good help at the beginning. They at once undertook the care of these new boys. There was no fence or protection around the grounds and so curious and large was the crowd of people daily that I 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. I purchased the material and set the Florida young men to work under the direction of a carpenter, and with the help of the new boys we soon had a fence around the twenty-seven acres.

Before starting for Dakota I had sent two of the Florida party, a Kiowa named Etahdleuh, and a Cheyenne named Okahaton, to their respective agencies to make up parties of students for Carlisle. In a week things were in such running order that I could leave the care of the pupils in the hands of Mrs. Pratt and several helpers I had employed, among them the principal teacher, Miss Semple, the girls'

matron, Miss Hyde, and the principal of the Sewing Department, Mrs. Worthington, and some friends who had come to Carlisle to help, and I went west to Wichita in southern Kansas with Miss Mather, where I had instructed the young men to bring their parties of students. I had employed a former teacher among the Indians, Mr. Standing, whose home at that time was near Lawrence, Kansas, to go to the Pawnees and get children. These three parties concentrated as arranged and numbered forty-seven. Mr. Standing accompanied us to Carlisle and became my assistant superintendent, and for over twenty years served the school with great faithfulness.

The second party reached Carlisle in time to open school on the 1st of November, 1879. Before starting for Dakota I had made requisition on the Indian Bureau for food, clothing, books, desks and material to begin school. Nothing had arrived when I returned from Dakota and I again appealed to the commissioner, urging that the supplies be forwarded at once. On my second return with the party from the territory I found no supplies, and again began my appeals and urgency. Among the things I had requested was an organ, the least necessary of all, but that was the first to arrive. Finally clothing, desks, books and food supplies came. All of the children from Dakota reached Carlisle in their camp condition, with the long hair, blankets, leggins, moccasins, etc., of their Indian life. During my absence for the second party Mrs. Pratt, under my direction, hired a barber and had the boys' hair cut. This was the occasion of some loud lamentations on their part, which lasted well into the night, until Mrs. Pratt summoned the interpreter and told him that the noise would disturb the people of the town and that the children must keep quiet, and they immediately complied.

I had obtained many practical ideas in regard to industrial training during my boyhood days and in my experiences in Florida, and to these I had added much from being at Hampton a year. It was to be a thoroughly practical industrial school, so that the industries taught would, as far as could be done in a school, enable the young Indians to go out and work at what they had learned. To me it was inevitable that eventually the Indians would have to hold their own among the whites through practicing the accomplishments of the whites and uncared for by bureau or agent. Practical journeymen mechanics were engaged to teach the trades, shops were established and all the products were real articles to be used in the school or sent to the western agencies as evidence to the Indians of what their children were doing. The school room work was to go on just as it would in any white school. There would be no fads of any sort, and nothing was to be done in the way of catering to the pupils because they were Indian children. We were dealing with those who must eventually become independent, useful American citizens. To properly develop them as such there was only one way which was to give them the intelligence and industry of citizens. Universally consigned to an agricultural life by the government's allotment system, where and how can the Indian

youth be better taught farming skill and industry than on farms and under the tuition and pressing necessities of our best farmers? It always seemed to me a very simple procedure and the only way that promised success.

The school opened with one hundred and forty-seven pupils from seven tribes. For disciplinary purposes the boys and girls were organized into companies, with officers among themselves to march them to and from the school and dining room, and who were made responsible for their companies in the dormitories. To maintain discipline when serious offences occurred courts were instituted, composed of the students themselves, and the facts of the case brought before them, when they gave judgment of guilt and recommended punishment and the superintendent approved or modified. This system was begun at once and continued throughout all the years, and was without material exception most satisfactory. It greatly relieved the management and established in the minds of the students consideration of the principles of right and wrong and gave them experience in jury duty and the administration of justice.

To carry on industrial training in connection with the school and make such divisions of time as would utilize both systems in the highest degree was a problem. After experimenting on short periods of shop work each forenoon and afternoon, as I had learned at Hampton, it soon developed that the best results were not to be had in that way, and a system of half-day work and half-day school, with an evening study hour for all, was established, and this proved so advantageous that it was continued and came to be used in all Indian schools. Half the students were in school in the forenoon and the other half at work; in the afternoon these were reversed. Subsequently, it seemed a better plan to reverse the whole order once a month so that students who were in school in the forenoon one month were in school the afternoon the next month.

The mechanical work of the school, even to the erection of buildings, was performed by the students under the direction of their instructors. While many excellent results were obtained, especially where students who had learned trades at Carlisle, went out into the world to improve and use them, there were two drawbacks to highest success that ought to be noted. One was the fact that we were unable, from the very nature of the case, to give our students the real, practical, competitive skill required for fully equipped journeymen mechanics. One instructor had to teach many apprentices, whereas the old apprentice system usually placed one apprentice under the instruction and observation of a number of journeymen mechanics, with whom he competed all day. Many apprentices under one instructor gives competitive power only among themselves.

The other feature is that the bureau system hires the Indian student to return and remain a part of his tribe, through sharing in tribal annuities, tribal funds, tribal lands, tribal associations, tribal surroundings, under the baneful influence of privileged traders, money sharks

and hosts of degenerating schemers who fatten on specially authorized opportunities among the Indians. Such a thing as fitting him for and then pushing him out into the ordinary affairs and avenues of the industrial life of the nation as we do our own youth forms no part of the bureau's schemes. In the tribes on the reservations the only substantial employer of mechanics or labor of any sort is the government, through its Indian agent and agency system. Only a limited number of mechanics and helpers are allowed, so that feature helps to prevent material success. Where lands are allotted to the Indians the allotments are usually contiguous to each other, which urges them to continue to live in tribal masses, and the allotting of lands really amounts to little more than a reservation reducing process. The original allotting theory was to put the Indians on their lands and require each Indian to farm his own land, but the practice became at once almost universal, particularly among the less civilized Indians, to have the agent lease the lands to white men under bureau approval, collect the rental and pay it over to the individual allottee. This makes more business and work for the management and less for the Indian. The result has been that tribal disintegration and the individuality inevitable to real citizenship is scarcely promoted. I urged and contended when lands in severalty was under discussion that allotments should be made of alternating quarter sections so as to sandwich Indians and white men, which would mix interests and give the Indian a chance to see and pattern after his white neighbor whichever way he turned.

Physical development in the school, notwithstanding the labor features, was found to be necessary in the very start, and soon a gymnasium was established and the students trained in its use and also in outdoor sports. The rude gymnasium in the old cavalry stables grew to a fine and well equipped gymnasium, 150x60 feet, in which hundreds of boys or girls could be exercising at the same time. Calisthenics were introduced and great proficiency and fine order secured. Outdoor sports, track work, baseball and football were scientifically developed under the most expert instruction. The football, baseball and track teams were brought into competition with the very best organizations of our colleges and universities, and soon came to hold their own on every field. It is not too much to claim that Carlisle's football team has in all probability in the past ten years played its games under the observation of as many people as any other team in the country.

The co-operation of the different churches and Sunday schools in Carlisle was sought, especially for those who had come from various missionary influences at their homes, and this was cheerfully given. The personal friendships and interests between the good people of the town and the students that grew from this association increased every year throughout the history of the school and was of inestimable value to the students and the school. The Indian boys in the Sunday schools of the town were invariably under the care of excellent teachers.

A Sunday school was established on the school grounds for the girls, small boys and the larger boys who were not sufficiently advanced

to profitably attend Sunday schools with white children. This was carried on by the teachers and other employes of the school and was also most promotive in the moral training of the Indian youth. After about ten years the Catholic authorities began to insist on having their children exclusively under their care for all church purposes, and it was so arranged.

In addition there was instituted in the beginning on the school grounds, and continued throughout, a Sunday afternoon preaching service and Sunday evening praise service, at which students were required to be present. The preaching services were conducted by the different pastors of the town or one of the professors of Dickinson College. Dr. McCauley, president of the college, gave the first few services; after that for several years Dr. Lippincott, one of the professors, and then the pastors of the town alternated with the professors of the college.

The interest of the college authorities from the beginning and throughout my twenty-five years of service as superintendent of the Indian school was valuable and unswerving. When the education of the young Indians reached a point where they could enter the preparatory department of the college, or the college proper, some of the best pupils of the school were entered and practically without intermission thereafter students of the Indian school were in attendance at the preparatory and college for the last twenty years of my supervision.

A Young Men's Christian Association and King Daughters Circle were established at an early date at the Indian school and the friendly relations between these organizations and the college, town, state and national organizations were of the most cordial and helpful nature.

The greatest value accruing to the Indians from having their children attend schools surrounded by the best influences of our American civilization is found in the multitude of opportunities for bringing the two races in contact with each other along lines that mean better understanding and help to both. The experience with the prisoners in Florida had fully established this fact. During the year at Hampton this was urged upon the management there, and General Armstrong, on the officer's suggestion, sent him with an Indian to help Deacon Hyde of Lee, Mass., find homes, and the young men who had been under his care in Florida were placed as farm helpers in Berkshire County, Mass., during the summer of 1878, and Hampton has continued this outing ever since.

The first summer at Carlisle places were found and twenty-four boys and girls were sent out into individual homes in the country contiguous to the school to work for pay, live in and be treated as members of the family, and to generally conform to the habits and customs of the home life of our best agricultural population. The families were selected with care, but ignorance of English, lack of previous training and industry, and in some cases the fears of the people or student, led to many lapses. Nearly half of the young people failed to stick to their

work through the summer and had to be brought or were sent back to the school.

The following year, 1881, one hundred and nine students were placed out, largely in Bucks County, and in the country around Philadelphia. Experience had shown that it was better to send the children far enough away from the school to make their return a matter of some difficulty. The school's report to the Indian office for that year indicates that "the outing," as it came to be called, was a great success. A number of encomiums from their employers were printed in the annual report to the Indian office. It was arranged that some of the students should remain out during the winter, work for their keep and attend public schools; six girls and twenty-three boys were thus left out for the winter of '81 and '82.

The school had a total attendance during the second year of two hundred and ninety-five, representing twenty-four tribes and languages.

The report for the third year contains the following: "No feature of the work is more productive of good results than that of temporary homes for our students in good families. In this way barriers and prejudice between the races are removed and the Indian youth have an opportunity to measure their capabilities with white youth. The order and system so necessary in an institution retards rather than develops self-reliance and forethought. Individuality is lost. They grow into mechanical routine. The thousand petty emergencies of every-day family life they do not have to meet. Placed in families where they have individual responsibility, they receive training that no school can give."

On account of the large number going home that year only eighty-nine were placed out; forty-eight, however, were allowed to remain out to attend public school during the following winter. Each patron having an Indian was required at the close of the year to give a report upon his or her conduct. The general quality of these reports was most excellent, and became part of the superintendent's annual report to the Indian office.

This admirable feature of the school's curriculum continued to grow year after year, until the numbers placed out each summer and the amount of money earned was remarkable. In 1900 the school had twelve hundred and eighteen pupils from seventy-nine different tribes; of these eight hundred and ninety-three had outing experience; their total earnings for the summer amounted to \$27,255.52, of which they saved \$15,518.39. The total earnings of the students for that year and the eleven previous years amounted to \$226,255.84. In 1902 nine hundred and twenty-eight boys and girls were placed out for summer work and their earnings amounted to \$31,619.15. The school records show that they had at the close of the outing period for that year \$32,337.79 saved and at interest, and that three hundred and sixty-one remained out for the winter attending public schools. In 1903, the last year this officer made a report, there were nine hundred and forty-eight boys and girls placed out and their united earnings amounted to \$31,393.02.

Three hundred and five remained out and attended public school that winter.

The limit of the school room acquirement was fixed at about half way between the grammar and high school grades and it was 1889, ten years after the school was established, before we were able to bring a class to graduation. None of our original students appeared in that class or any subsequent class. In the beginning we had to fix a period at which we returned the pupils to their homes. Three years was agreed upon and this was conformed to until 1887 when we secured a change to five years. Experience showed that it took about the same average time to bring the Indian youth through the grades we had established that it did the white youth in the public schools, and this was accomplished notwithstanding the Indian had the apparent difficulty of language to overcome. It was found that language was not a real difficulty, for the young Indian during the first months of learning to read also learned the English language. English was early established as the one medium of the school. Therefore, a new pupil had to learn it, which he hustled to do in order to be at home among his fellows. The multiplicity of tribes represented, enabled a mixing of tribes in dormitory rooms. The rooms held three to four each and it was arranged that no two of the same tribe were placed in the same room. This not only helped in the acquirement of English but broke up tribal and race clannishness, a most important victory in getting the Indian toward real citizenship. The alleged economy in money argued in favor of day schools and boarding schools where all the pupils are from one tribe with large dormitory rooms is more than lost in this one item alone through the cultivation of tribal clannishness during education. In America all of our many alien white races are merged and origins lost and not one of our ten millions of negroes can tell his tribal origin simply because all these have been forgotten through constant participation in American opportunities. Segregated and denied opportunity of real American association the native Indians remain tribally intact in a discouraging equivocal position because tagged as Penobscots in Maine, Mashpees in Massachusetts, Senecas in New York, etc., and so far the prevailing design seems to be to keep Indians everywhere encumbered with unending tribal conditions. Certain it is we can never make the Indians real, useful American citizens by any systems of education and treatment which enforce tribal cohesion and deny citizenship associations.

The Indian Bureau and its reservation system is now and always has been the guilty cause of their continued ignorance and undeveloped condition. The government, therefore, owes to them widest opportunity and it will be small amends to give them the best chances for individual contact with our people and that practical education and industrial development which alone is calculated to fit them for the individual competitions of citizenship.

We show great vigor and indulge in vast expense to develop our many resources, land, mining, transportation, agriculture, etc., but

when it comes to this red man and the possibilities of his developed ability to help produce instead of consume our national wealth, we weaken and give more money to encourage the man in manageable ignorance than we do to develop him into a real independent civilized useful man and citizen.

We seem to have a pride in keeping him crude and rough that we may place that feature of him on exhibition. During the last three years at every great convention in Denver, the Grand Army, the Elks, etc., Indians in their native dress have been brought from their remote reservations and in exadurated paint and feathers made a distinctive parade feature and there is no hesitation in officially favoring the educated young Indians being prominent in these processions and then in officially calling public attention to such educated Indians with a view to disparage their education. That the civilization of a helpless dependent race should wait upon and be subject to such inanity is wholly inexplicable.

The promise of just as good schools and just as good training in the home school made by agents and others anxious to perpetuate tribal conditions is impossible of realization. Never can the best equipped and managed home school at all compare with the suitably located and properly managed non-reservation school in power to develop and influence to build real citizenship. Whenever the commissioner of Indian affairs is an enemy of non-reservation schools and thus encourages resistance to them among the reservation employees and the Indians, and promotes restricting regulations against pupils going to the non-reservation schools and favorable to their remaining in the home schools there will soon eventuate the end to such non-reservation schools through lack of pupils, notwithstanding the will and appropriations of Congress to the contrary.

The allegation that the day school and its product lifts the Indian home more rapidly than the non-reservation school and its product is a myth confirmed as such by all experience. The day school child never learns how to lift the home because the child itself is kept on the level with the home. Such education makes no real citizens, but does keep up the long drawn out supply of tribal Indians. The only Indians who become equal to the duties and affairs of our American life are those who go out from the reservations and so become trained and experienced in these duties.

Perhaps the greatest public influence exerted by the Carlisle school through these illustrations of its benefits in the presence of all the people and especially to the legislative and executive officers of the government was found in the rapid acceptance of its principles and the building of many other schools intended to be patterned after it. Immediately after the school was started the Indian Bureau determined that there ought to be a like school at Forest Grove, Oregon, for the Pacific Coast, and accordingly an army officer, Captain Wilkinson, was detailed to organize and superintend it. The school was afterwards removed to Chemawa, near Salem, the capital of Oregon, and continued

to grow until it is now one of the largest non-reservation Indian schools. Such schools as Haskell Institute in Kansas, Genoa in Nebraska, Albuquerque in New Mexico, and a score of others followed on. Not in one of these schools, however, did they carry out with any zeal the outing system which was the main and by far the most helpful feature at Carlisle, and the one great reason in favor of non-reservation schools. The Indian Bureau began early to militate against the non-reservation schools. Its first efforts were largely exerted to have new non-reservation schools located as near the reservation as possible and very many of the later schools were so placed. This feature practically eliminated the outing at such schools, for it was much easier for the pupils to run away from their outing homes and go to their reservations, and such schools became scarcely better than reservation boarding schools. The non-reservation schools near the Indians also failed in attendance from this condition and became educators in running away, so that the non-reservation effort was somewhat nullified and brought into disrepute from this source. However, there was some good in the fact that all the non-reservation schools received pupils from different tribes, which broke up tribal clannishness and hastened the acquirement of English. The barrier of language is the great wall between the whites and the Indians. That broken down, the Indians can get information and instruction from everybody and much more rapidly learn to take care of themselves as citizens. On some of the principal reservations the bureau increased the day schools and reservation boarding schools to the extent of caring for about all the youth on such reservations, so there were few or none to spare for the non-reservation schools. Then it influenced in favor of the home school by enforcing no scheme of transfers to the non-reservation schools and thus compelled such schools to secure students by individually canvassing the reservations in any haphazard way that offered success.

About seven years after Carlisle was established some mission schools, conducted in Indian languages and supported by the government, were required by the bureau to teach English. This occasioned a great outcry, especially from the Presbyterian, Episcopal and Catholic churches, but the department stood firm, and after considerable wrangling the order was accepted and soon its opponents became its friends.

An important era in the history of the Carlisle school was the Chicago World's Fair. The superintendent of the school urged that the duty of the Indian Bureau ought to be exclusively confined to illustrating the educational and industrial progress of the Indian people, and that there should be nothing in the nature of a Wild West show or camp life at government expense. His argument was that Buffalo Bill would be there with his Wild West show, which would be ample illustration of that feature of the Indians, and as the bureau was for the sole purpose of bringing about the civilization and citizenship of the Indians it was manifestly out of place for it to degrade the public

mind and the Indian by illustrating in any way the old Indian camp life. His advice was rejected and the advice of ethnologists was adopted, who planned an elaborate Indian show, in which their old Indian life and habits were the main features, and education and development in civilized pursuits was minimized. The commissioner of Indian affairs, after having rejected the officer's suggestions and organizing against him, insisted that he, the officer, should take charge of the Indian office exhibit, which was to be Indians from the various tribes living in their native huts, tepees, wigwams, etc., dressed in their original, native costumes and engaged in the manufacture of bead work, pottery, blankets, etc., of their native life, with a school in the camp. This the officer respectfully declined to do and asked that the Carlisle school be eliminated from any part of the Indian office exhibit, and he would see that Carlisle was represented at the exposition without cost to the government. The commissioner of Indian affairs was greatly offended, and from that to the end of his official career the relations between him and the officer were much strained. The officer then proposed to the commissioner that as he was not in sympathy with the bureau's purposes he had better be relieved and go to his regiment. This the commissioner emphatically would not agree to; asserting there was ample room for both methods. The officer replied they were building two different systems directly opposed to each other and eventually one would kill the other, that the commissioner's plan led to long drawn out bureau supervision and control not calculated to make independent, useful men and citizens of the Indians and it was impossible for Carlisle under the officer to work in accord with the bureau's plans and he renewed his desire to quit the Indian service. Through the commissioner's urgency the officer finally yielded and remained at Carlisle working against wind and tide, hopeless that there would be material citizenship results. The officer then arranged and took three hundred and twenty of his boys, divided into ten platoons, every boy of each platoon carrying emblems or products of an industry represented by that platoon, went to Chicago and took part in the opening ceremonies parade in 1892. A large banner was carried by one of the stalwart boys of the school inscribed "United States Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa. Into Civilization and Citizenship." The march from the exposition grounds down to the city, throughout all the long parade, then back to their place with the regular troops in Machinery Hall, covering about twenty-five miles, the endurance and excellence of the marching, and all the features presented, received large public notice and praise. As they passed the reviewing stand filled with the governors of states, general government officials and officials of the exposition, these arose en masse on summons of J. D. Miles, one of the exposition management, and gave the school an ovation. All along the parade there were constant yells, "What's the matter with Carlisle?" "She's all right!" "Who's all right?" "Carlisle!"

General Miles, who commanded the parade, as he reviewed the divisions at the close, called the officer to him, and thanking him said: "Carlisle is by far the best feature of the parade."

The expenses of this movement were met entirely through contributions from friends of the school.

The officer secured space in the educational division in the Liberal Arts Building as a very part of the educational exhibits of the world, and without cost to the government placed therein a full illustration from every branch of the school, educational and industrial, and all through the exposition kept employes and an Indian to explain to visitors. This exhibit also attracted vast attention. The carriage made by Indian boys, which was on exhibition together with many articles of industry, were, at the close of the exposition, purchased by an English superintendent of a native school in South Africa, and shipped there to show the Zulu and other youth what the Indian boys and girls at the Carlisle school were able to accomplish.

The prejudice of the commissioner of Indian affairs was so strong that although on the grounds and directly invited to come and see the Carlisle exhibit he refused and would not even look at it.

The following diploma was awarded by the commissioners and the original hangs on the walls of the school building:

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By Act of Their Congress Authorized

THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN COMMISSION

At the International Exposition, held in the city of Chicago, State of Illinois, in the year 1893, to decree a medal for specific work which is set forth below over the name of an individual judge acting as an examiner, upon the finding of a board of international judges, to

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

EXHIBIT: WORK, PHOTOGRAPHS AND COURSE OF STUDY

—AWARD—

For excellence of methods, objects and results as a part of the best plan for the industrial, intellectual, patriotic, social, moral and spiritual training of the Indian to take his place as a member of civilized society; seen, first, in his separation from savage surroundings; second, in wise and well fitted plans and methods of theoretical and practical training of boys and girls in the several years of school life, during which they learn the conditions of caring for health and are prepared for active affairs, in common studies such as reading, writing, drawing, arithmetic, composition, geography, music, bookkeeping and morals, and in industries for girls, such as household economy, needlework, cutting of garments, and cooking; and for boys, farming, carpentering, blacksmithing, harness and wagon making, the making of tinware and shoes, and printing; third, as seen in the outing system by which pupils are placed in good families where both boys and girls for a year or

more become familiar, by observation and practice, with all the customs and amenities of American home life, fixing what they have been learning in the theory and practice of the school; fourth, as seen in the results obtained, (a) in the outing system of 1892, which resulted in the earning by four hundred and four boys of \$16,797.85, and two hundred and ninety-eight girls of \$5,170.15, or a total of \$21,868.90, all of which was placed to their individual credit, and (b) in the useful and worthy lives of the great majority of those who have returned to their Indian homes.

(Signed) JOHN EATON,
Individual Judge.
(Signed) JOHN BOYD THACHER,
Chairman Executive Committee of Awards.
(Signed) K. BUENZ,
Presidential Departmental Committee.
(Signed) GEO. R. DAVIS,
Director General.
(Signed) T. W. PALMER,
President World's Columbian Commission.
(Signed) JNO. T. DICKINSON,
Secretary World's Columbian Commission."

In the spring of 1893 the officer informed the students that those who would earn and save the money to pay their expenses and so desired would be permitted to go to Chicago at the close of the summer outing. The report for 1894 says:

"The most gratifying feature of our connection with the World's Fair was the visit made in October of four hundred and fifty of the students in a special train of ten coaches, leaving Carlisle at midnight October 1st, and returning at midnight October 7th, after a most valuable and instructive stay of more than four days in Chicago, during which time the services of the band in the different band stands, a concert in Festival Hall by the band and choir, and a daily parade and drill of one hour by a battalion of five companies of school cadets, were accepted by the management as earning daily entrance for the whole number of students to the grounds, and incidentally gave the school and all government Indian school work great publicity. The expenses of this trip were paid by the students themselves with their summer earnings, especially favorable rates being granted by the Pennsylvania railroad for the use of a special train which was run to and from Chicago as a section of the fast Columbian express. I consider the outlay of this trip a valuable investment on the part of the students educationally. The event constituted a lifetime memory, and is, so far as I know, the only instance on record of a like trip with Indian or any other school."

Though fourteen years have passed since that expedition it remains in the memory of those who participated as among the most significant of their experiences. The opening ceremonies parade and

this expedition of a large proportion of the school constitute the most important events of the kind in its history.

In 1892, we participated in the Columbian parade in New York City, where girls as well as boys were in the marching columns. The school also took part in the Bi-Centennial parade in Philadelphia in 1882, where we had eight floats on hay wagons brought from Carlisle on which were represented the treaty of William Penn and the various industries taught at the school, and at the head of the column marched a company of new pupils who had just arrived from the West, together with some older Indians in their native dress. It was estimated that not far from a million people lined Broad street as we marched from far towards the north to well towards the south end, about seven miles, and back.

Mrs. E. G. Platt, at that time a lady of sixty-three, was an employe of the school. She had begun teaching Indians more than forty years prior to that and had spent the greater part of her life among the Pawnees. She composed a poem on the occasion, which is worthy a place here:

THE INDIAN AT THE BI-CENTENNIAL.

He marched amid the throng with stately tread,
Like chieftain born with grace he poised his head,
But scanning close that copper-colored face,
No line upon it could you chance to trace
To prove what passions or emotions stirred his soul
As he strolled on in time to drum beat's roll,
The blare of trumpets and the cymbals clang,
That out on every side of him in triumph rang.
With stolid look he went through marble halls
Met waving flags, 'neath arches moved and walls,
And when the wondering eyes of all that mighty host
Were fixed upon him, still self poised he passed.
But well I knew that 'neath that earthen look,
There shone a light like that which Gideon took
And hid in pitchers for his mighty host,
And quick resolved to break the spell at any cost.
So as with panting breath the iron horse
Bore us with haste along our homeward course,
I asked, "My Brother, as you passed along
With measured pace within that surging throng,
What said your mind to you talking within,
Of all you saw and heard amid that mighty din?"
For moments mute he sat, with lips compressed,
And hands pressed tightly to his heaving breast,
Then with unwavering voice and steady eyes
He looked and said, "God made the white man wise;
My fathers o'er these grounds long years ago

In pride and darkness strode with spear and bow—
Never to them had God in love revealed
The wondrous wealth His hand had here concealed;
The secrets in the hearts of all these mountains round
He never told to them—how, from out the ground,
They could make life and wealth their hands to fill
They never dreamed; they only lived to kill.
The white man came; God gave him work and thought,
And with these two he all these wonders wrought,
I see today your fields and houses and your flocks,
Your walls and towns and towers built from these rocks,
I hear your whisper run along the wires,
And borne on iron road by horse that never tires
See forms arise from the deep bowels of the earth
At your command to light your home and warm your hearth.
And greater still, I've seen, while passing by,
Far more in number than the stars in sky,
Men and their children, who with thought and toil
Have wrought their magic from the rocks and soil;
And yet with such glad smiles their faces shone,
I thought they had forgot how hard the work they've done,
And my mind spoke to me talking within,
As I walked there 'mid all the rush and din,
'These lives, this wealth, these wonders from the soil,
Are God's good answer to the white man's toil.'"

There were many other times when the school went as a body to take part in various great public demonstrations, including inaugurations of presidents, for every one of which there was without exception liberal and favorable newspaper notice, and the cause of Indian education and civilization and public confidence therein went forward at a rapid pace. On each of these occasions the school band at the head of the column secured universal favor.

When the Omaha exposition occurred I found it impossible to get an opportunity to distinctly show the Carlisle system except as a very small part of the limited exhibit made by the department to cover all Indian schools. The overshadowing Indian illustration at that exposition was what was called "The Indian Congress," which was alleged to be intended to have the leading Indians from different tribes come together and council about their affairs, but which was really, as carried out, a Wild West show of the most degenerate sort. An appropriation given by congress paid the Indians' expenses and salary to leave their homes, camp at the fair and give daily greatly exaggerated illustrations of their savage life. Sham battles were fought and even sham burnings at the stake and scalplings were portrayed. Many of the young Indians educated at the non-reservation schools, some of them graduates, were hired with government money to leave their homes and their farms and spend months of their time at the exposition in these

sensational illustrations of their wild, and, in many cases, long ago abandoned life. In a book of photographs gotten out by the official photographer of the exposition may be found nine former students and graduates of the Carlisle school, all painted and feather-bedecked for the dance. The effect, if not the intention of this, was to bring discredit upon the educated Indian and degrade and deceive the public mind in regard to Indians generally. Of course, the people who looked on knew nothing of the Indian Bureau's manipulations to accomplish its purposes. The fact that the government hired the Indians to do this and paid them with government money for doing it was never understood. However, it was highly ethnological and scientific and so satisfied people of that sort.

When the St. Louis fair was being arranged I made extra effort, determined, if possible, to repeat my showing at Chicago, but soon found that I was thoroughly estopped and forestalled. The secretary of the interior was from St. Louis and, guided by the chief of the bureau of ethnology, was determined that the Carlisle school and its principles should have no opportunities to illustrate its civilizing and citizenizing methods and accomplishments. Here, as at Omaha, the wild life of the Indians was the great dominating feature, and again numerous educated Indians were hired to give the examples. Both the Omaha and St. Louis expositions were about as wise and helpful performances for benefiting the Indians as it would have been for the white race to have hired Anglo-Saxons to impersonate Adam and Eve in the garden at the fig leaf period.

The origin of the band is worth noting. In the summer of 1880 the school was visited by Mrs. Walter Baker, proprietress of the Baker Chocolate Company. Things were crude and the superintendent had not interfered to stop Indian music, permitting the boys to have tomtoms and amuse themselves at reasonable hours beating their tomtoms and singing Indian songs. Mrs. Baker desired to do something for the school that would be special. While talking about it they heard the tomtoms and the boys singing in their dormitories. The officer suggested to her that she give instruments for a brass band and he would then detail these tomtom players and singers to blow the horns and beat the drums, and that the civilized music would soon drive out the Indian music, that he did not like to suppress their own music until he could give them something better and would not even then order the Indian music to stop but believed it would cease of itself by this course. She sent the instruments. The wife of one of the mechanics was one of the celebrated Coleman sisters, cornetists, who had, by their skill, attracted attention through America and Europe. As soon as she heard the instruments had arrived she proposed to train the boys. The hours were fixed and the Indian musicians detailed. Most of them knew nothing of civilized music, and were yet unable to speak much English. A schoolroom, where she had blackboards, chalk and simple music, was provided. She went to work and in three months reported that the band could play some simple tunes and would like to have

a place in the evening dress parades. She made herself a bloomer costume, was instructed how to march back and forth with her band in front of the line, and immediately the attendance of visitors from the town to witness the parades was greatly increased. The music, crude at first, improved rapidly. She and her husband quit the school to travel again and an old cavalry band leader, Phil Norman, was employed, and the band was greatly enlarged. Later one of the Indian boys who had grown up in the school and developed unusual musical ability, Dennison Wheelock, became celebrated as leader of the band and a composer and compiler of Indian music. After he left the school his brother, James Wheelock, who had also grown up in the school, became its leader. Its prestige during their leadership reached a high point. It continued to develop until it reached a total of sixty instruments and was widely sought for as a feature on public occasions and for entertainment throughout the eastern states. Vast crowds gathered to hear it play on the various band stands at the World's Fair in Chicago. At Buffalo it was employed and paid by the fair authorities for a month and at every performance attracted a multitude of listeners and much favorable notice. The development of musical ability illustrated by the success of the band fully established the inherent possession by the Indian of a high musical quality. The school had for many years a most excellent choir which sang in all the school's meetings. Many very sweet voices among the girls and fine strong voices among the boys were found and trained so as to give great satisfaction at every public entertainment.

Another feature in the development of the aesthetic qualities of the Indian was the art of drawing and painting. The Indian's native drawings on his Buffalo robes and tepees, and his picture letters, although crude, indicated the possession of this art quality in no small degree. Mechanical drawing was introduced in the later years of the school and every student placed under regular instruction for certain periods each week. The more talented, as developed by this system, were given special training and their qualities enlarged and trained to include form, perspective and color and it was found that in this as well as every other feature the Indian possessed in a fair degree the refining qualities we Anglo-Saxons take pride in possessing.

Agricultural training was carried on at first on a rented farm adjoining the school, then, through the purchase by friends of the school of a farm near Middlesex, three miles away, and later two farms were purchased by the government.

The twenty-seven acres of the original Carlisle barracks property appears by the history to have been occupied first about 1750 as a rude fort to which the surrounding population might flee in case of attack by the Indians. The colonial authorities erected some buildings, and in 1783, when Dickinson College was established, these buildings were occupied for some time by the college, and there was a preliminary agreement to purchase the place and buildings for the college for \$20,000. The college management finally selected other pro-

perty on the west side of the town and the military feature remained. In 1801 the general government purchased from the Penn estate the original site of twenty-seven acres for the sum of \$600.00, to which congress added for the school in 1892 the Parker farm adjoining of one hundred and nine acres, and in 1898 the Kuntz farm of one hundred and sixty-seven acres, making a total area for school uses of three hundred and three acres.

In the first and critical years of the school much needed help came from outside sources through pecuniary aid and great personal influence of strong friends at critical periods.

While with the prisoners in Florida in the winter of '75-'78 there came into the old fort a noble man whose keen, wide-awake interest in the Indians made us friends at once. He asked many questions, looked on as the teachers taught the prisoners in their classes, inquired into all I was trying to do and wanted to know all about the Indians, where they came from and their condition in their homes, and then remarked:

"You are doing a blessed work, captain."

When he was about to leave the fort he offered me a \$20.00 gold piece to help the schools. I told him there was no need, the teachers gave their time free and the rude benches and limited supply of books, blackboards and equipment were all that was really necessary. He insisted, however, and I then told him he might give it to the lady teachers to use in connection with their classes and he then gave it to one. Not long after he wrote me from his home in New York and I then found our visitor was Dr. Cornelius R. Agnew. He continued an earnest friend and correspondent until his death, and the amount of encouragement and pecuniary help he gave to Carlisle as well as securing for the school the friendship of many others is beyond all computation. His home in New York became the home of my wife and I on many visits to the city. He was one of the trustees for the contributions to the school and on his death Mrs. Agnew took his place.

Another whose unswerving friendship to the school began in Florida was Mrs. Joseph Larocque of New York. During our last winter in Florida she was there with her children. She and the children soon became greatly interested in the prisoners. The Indians made beautiful bows and arrows for sale and by that means gained much money. Mrs. Larocque bought bows for her children and then hired one of the young Indians to teach them how to shoot, coming to the fort daily. This was imitated by others and originated a general system of archery, which brought the Indians additional money. When Mrs. Larocque went north she held a fair in her own home to raise money for any purpose in connection with what I was doing. She, her children and friends made articles and placed them on sale, realizing something over \$700.00. When she informed me what she had done and asked me what to do with the money, I advised her to put it in the bank for future use. She did this, and when, a year later, I was lobbying for a law to establish Carlisle, that money took members of the house and

senate and officers of the government to Hampton to help them to understand something of what was proposed by the establishment of Carlisle, and when well under way at Carlisle and a piano was needed for assembly purposes, the balance of the money was used for that. Mrs. Larocque also became a trustee and a perpetual help to the school.

A few days after the first party of children had reached Carlisle a Quaker lady, Miss Susan Longstreth of Philadelphia, who, with her sister, Mary Anna, for fifty years managed a young ladies' school in that city, came into my office accompanied by one of her former pupils, Miss Mary H. Brown. I gave them a guide and they went all around the school grounds. When they came back to the office they asked what I needed, advising I should remember that I would need many things and "if thee would receive, thee must ask." They insisted on my making a list of the things then most necessary. I made a list of tools and material for industrial training amounting to several hundred dollars, beginning it with a set of tinner's tools, machines and some material, stating under, "This is the only professorship in this institution I feel competent to fill." I had learned before the war, by an apprenticeship of four years, the trade of tinner, coppersmith and plumber. I then added carpenters', blacksmiths' and shoemakers' tools, a small printing press and some type, etc. They took the list and went off to a window, and I heard them saying, "I will take that," and "I will take that," and they told me to purchase all I had placed on the list and they would send the money to pay for it. This was the beginning of the industries of the school. From that time both these ladies were a constant help in every time of need.

Within a few months after the beginning of the school I concluded to turn the old cavalry stables into shops. The department at Washington was asked for \$1,500 for this purpose. The school was then supported by what was called the "Civilization Fund," which was not an appropriation by congress, but a fund that had been secured through the sale of Osage lands in Kansas which, by the treaty agreements, had been set aside for any general use of the bureau in civilizing the Indians. It amounted to several hundred thousand dollars. As not only Carlisle but the schools at Forest Grove and Hampton were supported in the beginning from this fund, and congress had not yet been asked to give the money, the department saw these resources disappearing rapidly and the commissioner felt he could not spare the \$1,500 for the shops. Dr. Agnew, being familiar with the matter, urged me to come to New York and stay with him and he would give me letters to various benevolent persons in that city and I could make appeals and get the money. I had written to others in and about Philadelphia. I went to New York and stayed a week in Dr. Agnew's family and daily went out with letters he gave me. It was my first experience in soliciting funds and I early discovered I had little faculty along that line, for in a week's canvassing I secured only about \$400.00. Feeling my want of adaptation and that I could not longer be absent from the school I concluded to return and get on with

such help as the government gave. When I reached Carlisle, a Presbyterian minister, Rev. W. H. Miller, living at Bryn Mawr, who had become a friend of the school and was particularly interested in some of the boys, got off the car with me and we rode out to the school together. On the way I told him of my lack of success and my intention to quit begging. I had written him some time before my desire for the shops and my failure to get the money from the government. He said he had written me he was coming to Carlisle to get some letters of introduction to different people at Indian agencies, that he wanted to go West and see the Indians in their homes, and that he was on his way West then. After getting located in his room he said he would go out and hunt up Henry Kendall, a young Pueblo Indian, in whom he was interested. As soon as he had gone Mrs. Pratt called me into the parlor and handing me a letter from him, said:

"I saw by your face you knew nothing of this."

I opened the letter and there was a check for \$2,000 from this minister whose salary was only \$1,200 a year. The letter said: "When father died he left my share of the estate in Tennessee state bonds. The debt was repudiated by the state at that time and I have waited for years to come into possession of my own. Recently the state decided to pay fifty cents on the dollar and I have received a part of what belongs to me. I now want to re-invest it at once where it will bring me one thousand per cent. interest. I therefore send you the enclosed to fix up your shops."

The foregoing incidents are only samples of many others and are especially noted because this great interest led to congressional confidence and appropriations, and it is important to history that the quality of it be recorded. I could give the names of scores of other good people in this country, Canada and England, and the amounts they contributed, and many other equally interesting experiences.

One regret in connection with this brief history is the fact that it would consume much more space than the whole paper ought to cover to speak of acts of generous friends, of able assistants and of the gracious sympathy and help of many of my superiors in the government service, both administrative and legislative.

In the course of the years about \$150,000 was contributed, outside of government, adding to the value of the government property in the purchase of land, erection of buildings, putting in of steam heat, electric light, help to meritorious students to gain a higher education, and in the various public demonstrations to increase the interest and in making our commencement occasions a success.

As long as they were in office President Hayes, Secretary McCrary, and Secretary Schurz were all most helpful in every way. Conferences with President Hayes and the two secretaries stimulated me constantly to the highest exertion in carrying out the work they had entrusted to my care. When President Garfield came in I felt great confidence because I had known and served with him in the Army of the Cumberland, and some correspondence I had with him expos-

ing post tradership abuses which occurred during his congressional career had placed me on a good footing. I called upon him soon after he was inaugurated to pay my respects and he immediately declared his purpose to visit Carlisle and bring a number of the members of his cabinet. His controversies with some senators held him in Washington until the fatal shot. President Garfield had interest in the Indians because he had been officially connected with the settlement of some of their affairs, and this added to his being distinctively an educational man made his loss to what I was attempting to do the more deplorable. When the administration of President Arthur came in and I called on him to pay my respects, I found him exceedingly gracious, because he had been made acquainted with my work by his and my good friend, Dr. Agnew. When he appointed as his secretary of the interior Mr. Teller of Colorado, a western man, I felt apprehensive, but this disappeared immediately when I learned to know Mr. Teller. Mr. Teller visited Carlisle early during his secretaryship and was several times a guest of the school. His kindly talks to the students and counsel to the superintendent were invaluable.

In his 1882 report Mr. Teller proposed a system for the general education of Indian youth by taking them from their reservation homes and putting them in contact with our own people through industrial schools already established and creating others in our best communities. He stated:

“With liberal appropriations it is quite possible to provide for the education of ten thousand Indian youth in manual labor schools during the fiscal year 1884, and at least twice that number during the fiscal year 1885.

The care, support and education of ten thousand Indian youths during the fiscal year 1884 ought not to exceed \$2,500,000, and with the increased number of children there ought to be a reduction in the cost, and the expenses of twenty thousand children ought not to exceed \$4,000,000 per annum. To the twenty thousand costing annually \$4,000,000 ought each year to be added not less than one-fourth that number, which at the same expense per capita will necessitate an additional appropriation of \$1,000,000 and the account will stand thus:

10,000	fiscal year 1884, computing the cost at \$200 each. . . .	\$2,000,000
20,000	children fiscal year 1885 at \$200 each.	4,000,000
25,000	children fiscal year 1886 at \$200 each.	5,000,000
30,000	children fiscal year 1887 at \$200 each.	6,000,000
25,000	children fiscal year 1888 at \$200 each.	5,000,000

“The per capita allowance is greater than the cost at the agency boarding schools, but these schools are not kept up more than nine or ten months, while this estimate is for attendance for the full calendar year.

“At the close of the fiscal year 1887 ten thousand children, having completed their school course, can be discharged, leaving with the five thousand to be added for the fiscal year 1888 twenty-five thousand. Ten thousand of these may be discharged at the end of the fiscal year

1888 leaving, with the addition of five thousand, twenty thousand for the fiscal year 1889; and every year thereafter one-fourth of the whole number may be discharged and a like number added. Thus, at the end of the fiscal year 1890 there will have been discharged twenty thousand children who will be able to take care of and support themselves; and the total expense of the education of this number with those remaining in school will not exceed \$22,500,000, or about two-thirds of the amount of money expended for the suppression of Indian hostilities during the years 1865 and 1866.

"Since 1872, a period of ten years, the cost of Indian hostilities and military protection against the Indian is estimated by the military authorities at \$223,801,254.50, or an annual expenditure of \$22,369,126.45. To this must be added the yearly appropriation for subsistence, which averages about five millions a year. To this must be added the loss of life and the horrors of an Indian war, only to be understood by those who have had the misfortune to be participants or witnesses of them. This cannot be computed in dollars, but ought to be considered in determining the policy of the government in its dealings with the Indians."

Mr. Teller's proposition was discussed for three days in the senate and was championed by some of the most influential senators. Senator Hoar led the list, but the grip of organized greed, the narrowness of ethnologists and some organizations which had been puttering away for a couple of centuries was too strong for such a statesmanlike proposition. The Indians have always suffered greatly from self-constituted friends. This plan recognized the fact that his civilization and citizenship could be easily accomplished and made these, as they ought always to have been, the paramount feature in the Indian problem. The opponents of it were those who, for their own uses, wanted to keep the Indian as he was, and whose occupations depended on tribal cohesion, also those who made the land of the Indian and its manipulation the greatest feature of the problem. The fight for lands in severalty then on was alleged to be "emancipation" for the Indians, and in vain did those of us who contended for Mr. Teller's ideas call attention to the fact that ownership of land did not civilize, that giving lands in severalty added absolutely nothing to the equipment of the Indian in civilization or for his citizenship and that having lands given him there was all the more need for his education.

The "cart before the horse" principle of giving the Indians lands before we have equipped them with the skill to use and the ability and the good sense to hold the same is now apparent all over the Indian field. Lands in severalty and the leasing of his lands by the Indian agents have perpetuated some of the earlier treaty provisions of giving food without labor, which cultivates worthlessness and opened the way for continued graft.

When Mr. Teller was secretary I was receiving large donations of money to help along the Carlisle work. I stated to Mr. Teller that I did not like the responsibility in connection with it, and wished that

I might in some way be relieved or protected and asked him to advise what to do. He suggested that as I had bought a farm with some of the gifts I execute a deed of trust in favor of a board of trustees. General R. M. Henderson, always our wise counsellor, friend and nearest and most valuable neighbor at Carlisle, drew up such a deed. The first trustees were C. R. Agnew and A. S. Larocque of New York City; Joseph C. McCammon, of Washington, D. C.; Miss Susan Longstreth, Daniel M. Fox, James E. Rhoads and William McMichael, of Philadelphia; Albert K. Smiley, of New Paltz, N. Y.; M. C. Thaw, of Pittsburg; Wistar Morris, of Overbrook, Pa.; Robert M. Henderson, J. A. McCauley and R. H. Pratt, of Carlisle. These trustees elected as a local executive committee, Judge Henderson, Dr. McCauley and myself, who had immediate charge and audited the charity accounts. When Dr. McCauley died the Rev. Dr. Norcross of Carlisle, was elected to fill his place and for years we three attended to the details of the trusteeship. Substantial help came from all these trustees and their successors.

Hon. H. L. Dawes, senator from Massachusetts, was chairman of the Indian committee in the senate, and early in 1881 wrote showing great interest in the school and in Indian education generally. We corresponded freely during all the years thereafter, until after his retirement from the senate. His committee room was my headquarters whenever I was in the capitol. He was constantly seeking information and making suggestions. Accompanied by his wife and daughter he often visited the school, especially on commencement occasions. He was in a position to help the school and many times in the senate he defended it, advanced its interests and increased its appropriation. While there were others in both house and senate exceedingly friendly and helpful, no legislator in all the years took a more lively interest and gave stronger help than Mr. Dawes. Were it practicable in this limited paper to do so it would afford me great pleasure to introduce some of his letters in my possession.

Dr. M. B. Anderson, the great president of Rochester University, visited Saint Augustine in the winter of '77-8 and frequently came to the old fort to see the Indians, the daily school, and to talk about them and their interests with the officer. The officer urged that the Indians only needed education in the English language, and training in our industries, which could be easily given, and then they would be able to quit their tribal life and cope with us in our affairs and become a very part of our people. This had been the talk of the officer for years and to emphasize it he usually illustrated it by citing that every year we took in a good many more low grade foreign emigrants than we had Indians and welcomed them as a very part of our population, and having this welcome they passed out among us and were absorbed. The blacks, numbering more than thirty times as many as the Indians, and a lower race, had been brought from the torrid zone, and by being distributed among us had forgotten their languages and habits and acquired ours. The officer constantly urged that the real disaster to

the Indian was the bureau management; that a like bureau control for the negro or any one of the several races of foreigners coming to America and the segregation which successful bureau management compels would retard and keep in perpetual race and foreign conditions the people so bureauized.

Soon after this the officer went to Washington to see about the release of the prisoners, and Dr. Anderson gave him letters to General John Eaton, United States Commissioner of Education, and President Seelye of Amherst College, who was then a member of the house of representatives. These letters made both of these eminent men firm friends of the officer during the remainder of their lives. President Seelye, when he returned to Amherst College, was especially interested in the Carlisle method of student government and by his careful inquiries and approval of it, and his subsequent establishment of what he called "The Congress," which was student government for Amherst, indicated that he had adopted to some extent the Carlisle method for that great institution.

General Eaton, from his high national position as commissioner of education, noted the Carlisle work favorably in his reports and became one of the most useful and welcome visitors at every commencement season at Carlisle for twenty years. On these occasions he always took prominent part in showing and explaining the work of the school to visitors. Standing on a chair or table with a room full of people in the schoolroom, sloyd department, or in the shops, from his thorough knowledge of all lines of practical education, he made plain to bodies of visitors what was being done. He several times addressed the school, delivered the diplomas at graduation, and the officer never ceased to feel grateful to Dr. Anderson for bringing him into such helpful relations with two such grand men.

The opponents of the Carlisle school finally became prolific in Sunday newspapers with stories of its alleged graduates, which were false in every particular, the names, locations and acts being without any foundation in fact.

In 1897 the Indian Bureau, guided by unusual fairness and common sense, required all Indian agents and the reservation school people to report upon the conduct and usefulness of every student returned from a non-reservation school. This report showed that 76 per cent. were doing well. In 1901 a still more exacting investigation by the bureau showed that 86 per cent. of such returned students were demonstrating that the non-reservation system was a success. This information is the more significant because gathered by reservation officials not friendly to the outside schools. These facts and full details can be found in the Indian commissioner's reports for 1898 and 1902.

There has been a proportion of failures, but a careful investigation shows as fair success as ought to be anticipated. The most significant feature of adverse criticism has been the entire absence of any allegation that reservation graduates and graduates of schools near the Indians turned out as well. A valuable and pertinent official inquiry would be

one to discover what becomes of the home school products and then an unbiased comparison.

There are many other features, persons and incidents that call for mention, but already this paper is too long and I must leave them for the larger space of a proposed book. I cannot close, however, without giving a few general personal statements and an expression of some views born of these experiences. It has long been a question in my mind as to whether eleemosynary institutions were really cures or builders of the conditions they are established to remedy. Are poor houses corrective? Established at considerable expense, they must be kept filled in order to justify that expense and the employment of the necessary keepers. Are not their privileges too often greatly abused? Would it not be better for them if the inmates had to struggle on as parts of the masses instead of being separated and saved from the struggle? Does a system of taking children out of the body politic and putting them in reformatories really reform? Are soldiers' orphan schools a real beneficence? Does separating them from the activities of our general life and putting them into institutions where they are educated and trained separate and apart from all other children at the expense of the state really give them the best help? Do not these contrivances of our civilization too often put the stamp of dependence and the stigma of class upon the individuals? And do they not tend to cultivate in them the idea that the state owes them a living?

There were no poor houses or other such institutions, except a few hospitals, in Japan that I could hear of when I was there nineteen years ago, but the energy of the people was in evidence everywhere, and it seemed impossible to find a rickshaw man or a coolie who could not read and write. The public school and the home did the educating and the manly independence and happiness of the lower classes seemed a good example to our great America. Even the blind were taught to take care of themselves. Often we heard their doleful whistle and saw a blind man or woman feeling their way along the streets. Inquiry developed that they were trained masseurs and as they passed along and signaled their presence by their whistle they were called into homes to drive away aches and pains and help the sick. I took treatment of one and found a skill and knowledge of nerves and muscles and fine manipulation scarcely equalled by the best masseurs of our own race. The blind were at home with the people everywhere, and their affliction did not operate to set them aside as among us.

Our Indian Bureau system has for a long time appeared to me a contrivance designed and operated to keep the Indians perpetually apart from real opportunities and hindered from becoming a real part of our industries and population. Because the original inhabitants they were surely entitled to nobler treatment. Having such poor house supervision, so to speak, it was a natural result that every influence of the supervision itself should accentuate its own importance and perpetuity. Remoteness and hindrance to development are the prime

factors in such control; therefore all influences contributing to this control are conserved.

Experience shows that the very best contrivances of our civilization may be easily utilized to perpetuate great wrong. Religion and education, the crowning forces of our civilization and progress, are easily perverted into engines of hindering and wronging peoples, classes and races.

In the days of the Pilgrim Fathers there was then, as now, both broadness and narrowness towards the Indians. The broadness was in the people themselves, illustrated in 1672 by the following act:

"For settling the Indian title to lands in this jurisdiction it is desired and ordered by the court, and authority thereof, that what lands any of the Indians in this jurisdiction have possessed and improved by subduing the same, they have a just right unto, according to that in Genesis 1,26 and Chapter IX, 1, Psalms CXV, 16. And for the further encouragement of the hopeful work amongst them for the civilizing and helping them forward to Christianity, if any of the Indians shall be brought to civility, and shall come amongst the English to inhabit in any of their plantations, and shall there live civilly and orderly, that such Indians shall have allotments among the English, according to the customs of the English in like case."

This was an Indian platform which meant unity and abolished difference. It was America and Christianity without discount. The discount came at the hands of the church, which insisted that the Indians should be in communities by themselves. John Eliot, working in opposition and not knowing the fact that the Indians could learn to read and understand English just as quickly as their own language, translated the Bible into the language of one of the tribes of Massachusetts which nobody now can read, and established missions to hold them together remote from the colonists, and thus he discouraged association and any unity of interest. "You may have our Christianity, but you are not to be with us and of us," has been much of, but not always, the spirit and method of the church among the Indians of America from that day to this.

It was not to be wondered at then that Carlisle school early in the day found large feeling and effort against its ideas and purposes among the church workers in Indian communities. A prominent missionary within a few weeks after the establishment of Carlisle wrote a long dissertation to our greatest educational journal in which he advanced his reasons why Carlisle was not a proper movement for the elevation of the Indians. The gist of his argument was that they were only to be lifted up in tribal masses; therefore, the missionary methods are the only proper ones. The Carlisle argument against this was that man is the unit and all development throughout the history of the world has been and must continue an individual process.

Another influence against Carlisle and its principles was the ethnologists. The then chief of the United States Bureau of Ethnology soon attacked the purposes of Carlisle, but at once gave away the weak-

ness of his own and proved the truth of Carlisle's position. He alleged that it was of the greatest importance that the origin, history, old life, habits, languages and customs of the Indian tribes should be gathered and recorded by his bureau before they were forgotten by the Indians and that if the Carlisle schools and their purposes were successful, his object, which would take many years, could not be brought to a successful accomplishment. The answer of the superintendent of Carlisle to that was John Adams' view in a letter to Thomas Jefferson on the 28th of June, 1812:

"Whether serpents' teeth were sown here and sprung up men; whether men and women dropped from the clouds upon this Atlantic island; whether the Almighty created them here, or whether they emigrated from Europe, are questions of no moment to the present or future happiness of man. Neither agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, science, literature, taste, religion, morals or any other good will be promoted, or any evil averted, by any discoveries that can be made in answer to these questions."

At one time while the ethnologists were endeavoring to hinder the non-reservation school idea it was discovered and published that nine sons of government officials, including the then commissioner of Indian affairs and members of congress, were employed by that bureau in alleged ethnological research among the Indians of the West at a genial season of the year and at the cost for expense and good salaries to the government appropriation for that bureau. This, however, was before the days of civil service.

Among the other assertions of its enemies against Carlisle to discredit the school with the public and also to alarm the Indians have been rather persistent allegations that it was unhealthy and suffered particularly from tuberculosis. The map illustrating the density of tubercular areas throughout the United States printed in the last census report shows the Cumberland Valley is one of the districts most free from that disease in this country. If proper records have been kept and are available at agencies and schools the truth of this census showing will be established so far as the Indians are concerned by comparing Carlisle's record with that of the agencies and most favorably located schools. That there is danger in the change of climate and altitude as alleged is a myth.

In 1879 the number of Indian children attending school one month or more during the year was 7,193. All Indian schools, with the exception of a very small number under the care of different churches, were boarding schools on reservations, and on no reservation was there anything but a moiety of accommodation necessary for the total number of children. Intelligent and earnest agents, therefore, welcomed the additional school privileges offered by Carlisle, Chemawa, Haskell and other non-reservation schools. Some agents were exceptionally urgent and friendly to their young people going away. Foremost among these was John D. Miles, in charge of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who at once sent to Carlisle a large company of his best

children by Okahaton, the former Florida prisoner whom I sent after the first party, and Agent Hayworth of the Kiowas and Comanches also sent children promptly by Etahdleuh. Both these agents belonged to the Society of Friends, who have always been foremost in wise help to the race. Others could be named, but these were the very first.

Among the first pupils from the extreme West was a party of Pueblos and Apaches brought by Dr. Sheldon Jackson, then in charge of the Presbyterian missions in the West. For many years since he has had charge of government educational work in Alaska and many of the Carlisle pupils from there came through his influence.

The non-reservation schools increased in numbers and grew in importance, and the intelligence of their pupils soon began to interfere with the long established system of dealing with the Indians through interpreters. Young Indians who had gone to these schools and learned to understand and speak English well were present at councils and occasions of importance between their people and the government officials, and sometimes interposed to give their people the true understanding where the old, domineering interpreter had construed to suit his purposes or some interest which he served. These incidents and results were not always welcome. Acts of such capable students that could be criticized were utilized to disparage such wider education for Indians. On one occasion the superintendent of Carlisle was in Washington and called upon the secretary of the interior. It so happened the chiefs of two different tribes had brought suit against the government of the United States for violation of treaty agreements, and the suit was pending in the government court for such cases in Washington. The chiefs had brought two Carlisle graduates to Washington to act as interpreters. The presence of these educated Indians was perfectly legitimate in every way and certainly creditable to their developed capacity. The secretary did not see it in that way and he indulged in unreasonable abuse of the school and its superintendent, because the school turned out ability of that sort. The facts were, the Indian chiefs were either right or wrong in their contention, and as they had perfect right and had submitted their discontent to the duly constituted court for determination, they were entitled to praise instead of censure. And so in a greater or less degree it went on all over the field. It was plain to be seen that the whole bureau and Indian system was finding out it could only maintain its domination and supervision through keeping the Indian ignorant and inexperienced. This it could do in part by hindering those schools which gave Indian youth the best education, ideas and experience in civilization and citizenship, and urging that the home school, especially the day school, which gave the least education and least experience, was the best for the Indians. The argument was in part the same as that of the church, that the Indians must become civilized in tribal masses, and also that separation of children from parents was cruel. The answer of Carlisle to these assertions was that civilization and citizenship are in either and every case wholly individual and purely the result of environment and training and the quality of

the environment and training fixes the quality of the result and that the real cruelty was in keeping them ignorant and an encumbrance on the body politic.

It can be seen the whole purpose of the Carlisle school from the beginning was to make its pupils equal as individual parts of our civilization. This has always seemed to me the one great duty of the government towards them. Indian schools, as I have always contended, should be temporary, but the schools which hold them together as tribes and separate as a people are obstructive and, therefore, the least necessary and should be dispensed with first. Unquestionably the great object to be aimed at should be to have all Indian youth in schools and eventually no purely Indian schools; then and then only is the problem of their proper education really solved.

In 1892 *Public Opinion* asked me for a pronouncement on Indian education. My sentiments at that time are a suitable close for this paper:

"The kind of education that will end the Indian problem, by saving the Indian to material usefulness and good citizenship, is made up of four separate and distinct parts, in their order of value as follows:

"First: Usable knowledge of the language of the country.

"Second: Skill in some civilized industry that will enable successful competition.

"Third: Courage of civilization which will enable abandonment of the tribe and successful living among civilized people.

"Fourth: Knowledge of books, or education so-called.

"In justice to itself the government can have but one aim in all it may do for the Indians, and that is to transform them into worthy, productive American citizens. The vital question is, can the material be made to yield the desired product?

"The Indian is a man like other men. He has no innate or inherent qualities that condemn him to separation from other men or to generations of slow development. He can acquire all the above qualities in about the same time that other men acquire them, and is hindered or facilitated in acquiring them only by systems and environment that would equally hinder or facilitate other men in acquiring the same qualities. If the Indian has not had a chance to acquire these qualities he is not to be blamed for not having them. If he is not now acquiring them as rapidly as he might and ought, it is because he is hindered by the contrivances we have forced upon him.

"Take the first quality, that of a 'usable knowledge of the language of the country.' How is a usable knowledge of any language to be best and most quickly learned? Manifestly, by associating with those who use it. All people learn their own mother tongue in that way. Neither books nor special teachers are necessary. Simply such association as will place the person to be taught where he can hear the language constantly in use. Wise American parents desiring their children to become proficient in the German or French languages send them to Germany or France to live in a German or French family.

Why not then contrive that the Indian have this same opportunity to learn the almost universal language of the country in which he lives and which he must learn in order to be at one with the great body of the people.

"In doing this service for the Indian in this really necessary way we come to the second and equally important quality to be acquired: 'Skill in some civilized industry that will enable successful competition.' How is this to be gained? The answer is practically the same. The best agricultural school is the agriculturalist himself on his own farm. If we want a boy to become a farmer we put him on a farm where the daily pressure of necessity to get the work done bears upon him, and where a living and something more hinges upon skill, industry and intelligent management. In the same way, if we want a boy to become a blacksmith or a carpenter, a blacksmith shop or a carpenter shop with a competent head and surrounded by competent workmen is the place. Working with the farmer and mechanic the boy learns what a real day's work is and becomes in every way a very part of the situation. The same course is needed if the boy has the ability and is to succeed in professional life. To be a lawyer he must associate and contend with lawyers.

"If the way to the acquirement of the first two qualities necessary in the education of the Indian is properly indicated above, then the way to get the third and most vital quality solves itself.

"The courage of civilization, like the courage for battle or any other phase of life, is best and only to be acquired by experience.

"For the Indian, then, the language of civilization is quickest and best gained, the industry and skill of civilization is quickest and best gained, and the courage of civilization is quickest and best gained by his being immersed in these influences. But the Indian must become individual. The tribes and all tribalizers and tribalizing influences are enemies of the individual, for immersed in the tribe how is the individual to take on successfully anything foreign to the tribe?

"Book-education logically comes last. If a man speaks the language of the country, is skilled in some industry of the country, has the courage of the country, and practices these qualities, he is a useful citizen without a knowledge of books. The first are the foundation qualities. Book-education enlarges and embellishes language power, industrial power and courage power. These three qualities being requisite to accomplish the transit of the Indian from tribal to national allegiance, the door of education must open wide the way to full chance of enlarging these qualities that no slavish restraint on manhood opens and discourage the ambition to compete and rise.

In the school, its aim and location now assume importance as factors in the language, industry and courage of civilization needed can be obtained in the environment of civilization in which the subject is to be learned, where shall the book-education be given? There is only one answer, and that is, let all the qualities grow together in the common school in the environment of civilization; but bet-

ter still, put him in civilization's schools. 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 and annihilate the problem."

All this an Indian Bureau, willing to die that it may live as the benefactor of the race, can easily and quickly do for all our Indian youth whenever its accomplishment is inflexibly determined and directed by administration and congress.

Denver, Col., Feb. 27, 1908.