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Rebranding the Native:

Selling the 'Ideal' Indigenous Worker at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918

By

Luke Prior

HIS 490 History Honor Thesis

Department of History and Classics

Providence College

Spring 2022

For Papa, Paul Francis Coveney, for making me the man I am today.

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INTRODUCTION

"We're here to see the Carlisle School," a group of four college students said to the guards at the United States Army War College on a Thursday afternoon in early July 2021. Four friends came together for a road trip to a small but historic town situated roughly halfway between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh because I had to conduct thesis research. After passing government background checks, we journeyed through the inspection gate and found ourselves on an Army base. We faced a supermarket after the thirty-minute self-guided walking 'tour' of what remained of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Tucked behind construction vehicles, storage containers, shopping carts, and loading bays stood a large tree surrounded by graves. The cemetery was fenced in, as if to separate what was Native from what was American. The cemetery was in an unused section of the barracks, pushed aside like the story of Carlisle. After all, the graveyard that is present today moved from its original site in 1927 because it was in a position that blocked expansion of the base.

Walking to the graveyard, the energy began to change. The supermarket and parking lot faded into the background, the passing cars on the nearby main road grew quiet. A hush fell upon our group, just as it fell upon the world around us. The dozens of tiny graves, only some of which had correct markings, brought what happened at Carlisle into perspective. The tombstones were cramped together, just as students were at the school. Fresh flowers accompanied the graves, marking the memory and pain still felt by the relatives and ancestors of those who perished at the school. Over two hundred graves lined this small patch of grass. A sign next to the cemetery acknowledged that it was "recognized by Native Americans as a sacred site," and I felt that energy in the air when in the presence of the buried students. The school buried the side effects of the government-sponsored assimilation program, effectively hiding a key component of American and

Indigenous relations from the general public until a new national interest in Indigenous boarding schools arose due to press coverage in 2021.

Captain Richard Henry Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879, with the goal of bringing Natives into 'civilization' and removing them from the reservation. This process was not only educational, but it was also cultural as the school stripped Native students of their values, beliefs, customs, clothes, hairstyles, and names. The school replaced indigenous systems of value with those of white America in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. The Carlisle School aimed to produce Native American graduates who could compete with whites and become full citizens. The route that Pratt took to reach that goal, however, was less than ideal. The goal was overall unsuccessful because the Carlisle School failed to equip the majority of its students for successful independence in life. At the same time, many students died at the school, preventing them from becoming Carlisle's 'ideal' graduates. Even if they survived the school, students still faced difficulties as the rest of America was not devoid of discrimination and racism.

After its founding by Pratt in 1879, the Carlisle School continued the centuries of battles between Americans and Natives. By the time Carlisle opened, much of the warfare of the frontier had died down as the US Army herded the Indigenous population onto reservations. However, the ideological battle waged on through the classroom. Carlisle became a mold from which the Federal Boarding School Program directed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs was cast. The United States government built over twenty-five similar boarding schools off the Carlisle model, all of which sought to eliminate the Native American culturally and complete the conquest of America. Located off-reservation, the boarding schools required students to leave their families and tribes. Housing students far away from the reservation aided assimilation and acculturation because it prevented students from being influenced by their families and friends. Pratt's belief that the United States

needed to "Get the Indian away from the reservation into civilization, and when you get him there, keep him," served as the foundation for the Carlisle school.[1] He thought that the benefits of American society, such as technology, 'better' customs, and education, would entice students to remain among whites. Instead, the assimilationist program smothered the students during their time at Carlisle. As more and more federal Indian boarding schools opened across the country by the turn of the twentieth century, historian Anne Ruggles Gere contends, "educational assimilation [soon] supplanted battlefield genocide."[2] After all, Indigenous education experts Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Eder attest that "schoolmasters were cheaper than fortresses and wars."[3] The battles of the frontier truly transformed to battles in the classroom.

Despite his desire to strip students of their identities, Pratt was a novel thinker of the late-1800s who believed in the capabilities of Natives. He did not think Indigenous Americans were truly equal to whites, however. He explained, "the Indian like the Anglo-Saxon and the African was only hampered by the circumstances and opportunities of his surroundings and that he [the Indian] responded to his privileges as quickly and successfully as either of the others."[4] The belief was that Native Americans could find success in American society if provided the same opportunities and education as whites. Pratt continued, "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

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[1] G. E. E. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States; an Intimate Study* (George H. Doran company, 1923), https://archive.org/details/redmaninunitedst00lind, 40.

[2] Anne Ruggles Gere, "Indian Heart/White Man's Head: Native-American Teachers in Indian Schools, 1880-1930." *History of Education Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2005), http://www.jstor.org/stable/20461923, 40.

[3] Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 31.

[4] Richard Henry Pratt to Hon. William E. Miller, February 11, 1908, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, 5.

civilization."[5] Pratt's philosophy that the Indian could eventually progress and join American society was the foundation of the Carlisle school.

Although much of Pratt's rhetoric was very progressive for the time, and appears to be well-intentioned, its inherent racism is hard to overlook. Many years after he first shared his idea of 'civilizing' Indians by bringing them into American society, he said something very similar: "My plan has long been voiced in this --to civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. *Then keep him there and increase his usefulness*" [my emphasis].[6] What once appeared to be a genuine desire to welcome Natives as equal members of society changed into something more appalling. Pratt's highlighting of the necessity for Native Americans' "usefulness" speaks to his intentions in their schooling. The common belief at the time was that Natives were unemployed and lazily living off government rations. However, they could become "useful" to American society if they found a place in the American economy. Pratt turned ideology into action through the creation of the Carlisle school which promoted the 'ideal' Indian worker in the form of graduates.

Pratt's ideology was largely influenced by his service with the United States Army, where he served under General Philip Sheridan. Sheridan played a pivotal role in the formation of Pratt's ideology and set him on the path towards establishing the Carlisle School. Sheridan is infamous for his strong stance towards the Indigenous. He harshly declared, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."[7] Due to Pratt's close contact with his superior, Sheridan, it is no wonder that they held

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[5] Pratt to Miller, 59.

[6] Richard Henry Pratt, *Indian Schools: An Exposure*, 1915, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/indian-schools-exposure-richard-h-pratt, 20.

[7] Wolfgang Mieder, "'The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian': History and Meaning of a Proverbial Stereotype," in *The Journal of American Folklore* 106, no. 419 (1993), https://doi.org/10.2307/541345, abstract.

similar positions. However, Pratt's was a bit more nuanced. In what has become his most famous speech, Pratt created his own version of Sheridan's axiom: "Kill the Indian in him, save the man."[8] He believed that the Natives should not be exterminated outright. Rather, their culture should be erased and replaced with the dominant American culture. Historian Jennifer Bass sums up her analysis of Pratt well: "While he was open-minded for his day in his belief that indigenous peoples were inferior because of nurture, not nature, Pratt's mission at Carlisle was based on the 'annihilation of the Indian and his salvation as an American citizen,' the former being a prerequisite of the latter."[9] Ultimately, Pratt deserves *some* credit for his understanding and accepting point of view in comparison to his contemporaries, but he is not worthy of being hailed as a champion nor savior of the Indian.

Pratt experimented with Indian education prior to the founding of the Carlisle School in 1879. Carlisle School expert Robert Brunshouse explains that in 1874, Sheridan "rounded up the most troublesome individuals and selected seventy-two who were believed to be the ringleaders."[10] After doing so, he instructed Pratt to escort them to Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida. The Army kept the Natives as prisoners, but Pratt put his beliefs about their capabilities into practice and established an education program for inmates. The experiment inspired and motivated him to

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[8] Richard Henry Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, June 23-29, 1892, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-resources/CIS-Resources_1892-PrattSpeech.pdf, 46.

[9] Jennifer Bess, "Casting a Spell: Acts of Cultural Continuity in Carlisle Indian Industrial School's the *Red Man and Helper*," in *Wicazo Sa Review* 26, no. 2 (2011) doi:10.5749/wicazosareview.26.2.0013, 15.

[10] Robert Brunhouse, *The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School*, in *Pennsylvania History* (April 1939), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/Founding%20of%20the%20Carlisle%20Indian%20School_Robert-Brunhouse.pdf, 3.

establish Carlisle as many of the rules and regulations found at Fort Marion were replicated at the Carlisle School.

Once Pratt received approval from the government to start the Carlisle School, he journeyed across the country to acquire students from the reservations. Specifically, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E. A. Hayt, ordered Pratt to "select seventy [students] from various Sioux tribes and thirty from Kiowas, Comanche, Cheyenne + Arrapahoe."[11] The orders to acquire students from these tribes were intentional, because the United States Federal Government wanted to end the Indigenous resistance to westward expansion. The memory of the Sioux and Cheyenne involvement in the Great Sioux War and the Battle of Little Big Horn, both of which occurred three years earlier in 1876, was fresh in the minds of the officials, evidenced by the way these tribes were targeted first to acquire hostages for the Carlisle School. It was especially important for Pratt to acquire recruits from the children of tribal leaders, according to Brunhouse, because "if the hostage system was to be effective, it was necessary to obtain the children of the tribal chiefs and headmen."[12] Others believed Pratt's argument that the education of their children was necessary for the good of the tribe because teaching the children to speak, read, and write English would prevent white swindlers from taking advantage of the Natives.[13] Persuasion ultimately proved enough to score Pratt his first set of ninety-four students from the Pine Ridge

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[11] "Order to recruit Sioux, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Students," August 22, 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/order-recruit-sioux-kiowa-comanche-cheyenne-and-arapaho-students.

[12] Brunhouse, "THE FOUNDING OF THE CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL," 80.

[13] Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 223.

and Rosebud reservations.[14] The students represented various bands of the Sioux and Lakota tribes, demonstrating the intentions of the school in controlling the tribes that the government deemed 'unruly.'

After Pratt established his first cohort of pupils at Carlisle, additional methods of persuasion and coercion drew students to the school. One of the most prominent methods of coercing parents to send their students to Carlisle was to withhold rations from the whole family.[15] This forced many parents to choose between letting their children starve or sending them hundreds or thousands of miles away to be stripped of their culture. It is unsurprising that the school took this even taken further in 1891, as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, TJ Morgan, noted in his annual report of Indian Affairs' Annual Report:

> Special pains have been taken to familiarize the Indians with the idea that it is now the settled policy of the Government to educate their children, and they have been told that they are expected to voluntarily avail themselves of the munificent provisions made for this purpose, and that if they do not do this the Government will use such force as is necessary to compel it.[16]

The fact that the government used "such force as is necessary" to convince parents to send their students to boarding schools like Carlisle shows the harsh reality of the Federal Boarding School Program that Pratt and his contemporaries shied away from addressing when promoting their schools to the American public.

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[14] Richard Henry Pratt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. H. Hayt, Nov 13, 1879, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_79_b571_1879_P1182_0.pdf, 7-11.

[15] Philip Joseph Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, Kansas: Univ. Press of Kansas, 2004), 17.

[16] United States Office of Indian Affairs, "Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1891" (Washington, D.C.: 1891), http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep91p1, 67.

Pratt made sure to document his trips to acquire the new students through his memoir and letters, in which he stressed the joyous occasion of the opportunity to attend Carlisle. This was the beginning of his crafting a positive narrative about Carlisle. He highlighted that prior to the departure of children from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud agencies, there was a gift giving ceremony in which parents gave away possessions such as horses to those in need in the community.[17] Pratt claimed that everyone was happy and celebrating at the children's departure. Carlisle graduate and poster boy turned critic of the school, Luther Standing Bear, challenged Pratt's assessment of the situation: "the parents of the children stood lined up on the shore and began crying. Then all the children on the boat also started to cry. It was a very sad scene."[18] Pratt failed to mention the sorrow and coercion used to acquire the students in his memoir and reports. Just as he combatted Pratt's narrative about the joy of those leaving for Carlisle, Standing Bear also exposed Pratt for his means of acquiring students. Specifically, Standing Bear wrote, "When they saw us peeping in at the window, they motioned for us to come inside. But we hesitated. Then they held out some sticks of candy… They had offered us candy — and that was a big temptation."[19] Not only did Pratt go after parents, but he also targeted the children. In the end, Pratt was successful in the acquisition of student-hostages for the school. Likewise, he controlled the narrative about these events for decades to come until Luther Standing Bear published his work in 1928, two decades after Pratt released his own account.

The first promise that the Carlisle School and Pratt administration broke was the conditions of the school when it first opened, as the school did not match the story Pratt told. The students

[17] Pratt to Miller, 17.

[18] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux* (University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 127.

[19] Ibid, 123.

arrived in Carlisle at "one o'clock in the morning on the 6th of October, 1879," met by hundreds of townspeople.[20] What the students found at Carlisle was not the advancements of civilization that Pratt sold them. Instead, they were met by an incomplete, undersupplied, and ill prepared Carlisle School. Luther Standing Bear explained his disappointment upon his arrival: "But the first room was empty...We ran through all the rooms, but they were all the same — no fire, no beds."[21] The school was not even ready for classes to begin at first, as the students had "nothing to do" and, "there were no school regulations, no rules of order or anything of that sort. We just ran all over the school grounds and did as we pleased."[22] Although the administration under Pratt put much thought into the creation of the school and its objectives, it had a disappointing beginning. The poor conditions at the school during its early days speaks to the importance of securing Indigenous children as hostages more than the education of students. It was not until November 1, 1879, that the school was officially ready to open, meaning that the first batch of students were housed at Carlisle for nearly a month before receiving instruction.[23] In the end, Carlisle became an educational institution due to the line of thought similar to Senator Hoar of Massachusetts:

> As a mere matter of dollars and cents, if the Indian children in our schools were nothing but hostages for the good behavior of their fathers and brothers, it would be cheaper for us to spend fivefold the amount of money appropriated in this bill for their education than to leave them in their barbarism and in their tribes.[24]

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[20] Pratt to Miller, 19.

[21] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 133.

[22] Ibid, 135.

[23] Pratt to Miller, 20.

[24] *The Morning Star*, Vol IV, No 11, June, 1884, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/MorningStar_v04n11_0.pdf, 4.

With this belief, the school emphasized the education of the hostages to serve as a means of dismantling Indigenous cultures.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School is representative of the larger Federal Boarding School Program for Native American education in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, both of which strove for the complete assimilation of Native Americans. From renaming students to athletics, from arts and crafts to language, from industrial education to changing students' physical appearance, nearly every aspect of boarding school life stripped Natives of their identities and forced white culture upon them. Various historians have devoted thousands of hours of research to this field, but there is still much to explore.[25] Due to the sheer size and complexity of these systems, the perspectives of multiple historians are necessary to understand the true depth of the assimilationist program that the school marketed as education.

This thesis addresses multiple components of other historian's works, while focusing on the narrative promoted by the Carlisle School and the Indigenous reaction to it. Whereas some works such as *The Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (2016) by Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, and *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (1995) by David Wallace

[25] Jacqueline Emery's *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press* (2017) discusses the control that the school newspaper editors had over students' writings, all in an effort to control the narrative about Carlisle. Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Eder track a general history of American efforts to educate the indigenous in their *American Indian Education: A History* (2006). Kevin Slivka explains the various ways that assimilation permeated the arts at Carlisle in his "Art, Craft and Assimilation: Curriculum for Native Students during the Boarding School Era" (2011). John R. Gram examines the effects of the Carlisle Theatre Department on students in "Acting out Assimilation: Playing Indian and Becoming American in the Federal Indian Boarding Schools" (2016). Finally, Sarah Klotz' "Impossible Rhetorics of Survivance at the Carlisle School, 1879-1883" (2017) examines how students such as Ernest White Thunder and Charles Kihega resisted and fought against the Carlisle School, while briefly describing Zitkala-Ša resistance. All these sources informed my research and the conclusions I draw about the crafting of the narrative of the 'ideal' Indian worker at Carlisle, and the Indigenous response.

Adams discuss all aspects of the school and address the Federal Boarding School Program at large, this thesis will solely focus on how Pratt and the Carlisle school created a mythological 'ideal' indigenous worker through their education program, propaganda, and public displays that aided the creation of the Carlisle narrative. Juxtaposed with the written experience and actions of a select minority of those who spent time at Carlisle, the rebellion of students proves that Native Americans did not unanimously accept assimilation.

Chapter 1 addresses the inner workings of the education program at Carlisle from English Language Acquisition to industrial training. Students entered Carlisle with little experience with the English language, which led to misunderstandings and was an obstacle to their education. The classroom-based curriculum at Carlisle sought to prepare students for the industrial training that followed. In the creation of the 'ideal' Indigenous worker, the school devoted half the day to industrial training. The education program at Carlisle created the 'ideal' Indian worker, which the school then sought to share publicly.

Chapter 2 examines how the Carlisle School promoted its 'ideal' worker on the national stage. With the use of photographs, commencement exercises, and its football team, Carlisle became a recognizable name. Legendary football players like Jim Thorpe and coach Pop Warner catapulted the school into newspaper headlines across the country as the Carlisle Indians battled against teams from well-known universities. The team courted the favor of the press who touted the 'civilized' qualities for the athletes. The success of the Carlisle football players helped spread the word of Carlisle's 'ideal' Indian worker.

Chapter 3 juxtaposes the narrative that Carlisle disseminated, through the rebellious written works and actions of former students and a teacher. Indigenous people lacked opportunities for individual expression while at Carlisle, but once they left the school, they could think

independently. Luther Standing Bear and Zitkala-Ša used the skills that they learned in their education to write critiques and exposés on the school. Plenty Horses got revenge for those who died at Wounded Knee and convinced his tribe of his loyalties when he killed Lieutenant Edward Casey in 1876. Finally, Edgar Rogers bought into the American ideals that Carlisle sold students, until he had a shift in belief and became the chief of the Chippewa Indians. From there, he used the skills he learned at Carlisle and the universities he attended to fight against the mistreatment of his people. Chapter 3 demonstrates that Native Americans did not unanimously accept Americanization willingly, rather, some publicly resisted the school's efforts.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School's Americanization program permeated all aspects of a student's life in the hopes of presenting Natives to the American public as 'ideal' workers: ones who were obedient, disciplined, and experienced. To accomplish this goal, the school stripped the Indigenous students of their heritage, identities, and cultures, turning them into imitations of white Americans. The Carlisle School promised families that the education it offered students would open new doors and provide them access to a new world of thought. In reality, the Carlisle education program stunted their intellectual growth and limited their post-graduation opportunities in the name of creating this 'ideal' worker. Despite the intellectual restraints and harsh discipline forced upon students, an extreme minority of those who spent time at Carlisle emerged from under the yoke of the school and used the skills that they learned to rebel against its assimilationist mission, proving that the propaganda that the Carlisle School spread was not reality and that Native Americans did not uniformly submit to cultural genocide.

CHAPTER 1: Creating the 'Ideal' Worker: Carlisle's Educational Curriculum

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School sought to enhance the education of Native Americans and assist in the assimilationist agenda of the government. Hailed as the "first distinctively Government Indian School" by G. E. E. Lindquist, a Protestant minister to Native Americans and historian, the institution took over the responsibility that many missionary schools fulfilled since first contact in the 'New World.'[1] Although missionary efforts continued alongside the Carlisle School, the government took unprecedented action in the education of Native Americans starting in 1879. Richard Henry Pratt's tenacity enabled him to overcome the governmental bureaucracy and establish his school in Carlisle, PA. Approximately 10,500 students, passed through the walls of the Carlisle School while it was in operation.[2] Although the first year housed under a hundred students, the school consistently enrolled roughly one thousand students yearly. According to the National Park Service, students "came from over 142 Indian nations," most of which were "Sioux, Chippewa, Cherokee, Cheyenne, Menominee, and Alaska Native."[3] The Carlisle School used over 10,000 students to enact their assimilationist agenda in the hopes of creating an 'ideal' Indigenous worker.

The education program of the school consisted of three primary parts: classroom-based instruction, industrial training, and the outing program, all of which served the end goal of

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[1] G. E. E. Lindquist, *The Red Man in the United States; an Intimate Study* (George H. Doran company, 1923) https://archive.org/details/redmaninunitedst00lind, 40.

[2] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), muse.jhu.edu/book/47567, 2.

[3] National Park Service, "The Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Assimilation with Education after the Indian Wars (Teaching with Historic Places)," April 28, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-carlisle-indian-industrial-school-assimilation-with-education-after-the-indian-wars-teaching-with-historic-places.htm#:~:text=Over%20ten%20thousand%20children%20attended,%2C%20Menominee%2C%20and%20Alaskan%20Native.

integrating the Native into American society. According to the 1969 "Kennedy Report" Congressional investigation into the history of Indian boarding schools funded by the United States government, the purpose of schools like Carlisle was to replace indigenous cultures with an American one. Specifically, Carlisle was "'advisable' as the cheapest and safest way of subduing Indians," and helped "the whites acquire desirable land."[4] According to the same report, "Education was a weapon by which these goals were to be accomplished."[5] Through the three pillars of the education program, the Carlisle School imposed white ideals on students while marking a new front in the war between Natives and American civilization.

Classroom Curriculum

Classroom-based instruction at the Carlisle School served the purpose of destroying Native Americans' identities and replacing them with American values and beliefs, using English over indigenous languages, and the preparation of students for industrial training. The education program sought to instill a sense of patriotism in students and removed all indigenous influences from the students' lives. The Carlisle administration banned the use of indigenous languages at the school in favor of English. At the same time, the day was divided into two halves, in which "a system of a half day work and half day school with an evening study hour for all was established."[6] It is rather bizarre that the founder of a school placed such limited emphasis on classroom-based instruction. Limiting classroom education to half the day curtailed the ability for students to develop academically. With this system, the Carlisle School worked towards its goal of the "all-

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[4] Edward Kennedy and Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge* (Kennedy Report), Kennedy Report; Education Resources, National Indian Law Library (NILL) (September 1969), https://narf.org/nill/resources/education/reports/kennedy/toc.html, 142.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Prat to Miller, 22.

around development" of students, where students received "academic education and industrial education of a high order."[7] It was more valuable for the Carlisle School to educate students in the industries than classroom education. Historian Christina Stanciu contends that the education program at Carlisle was "primarily to make Indian people into self-supporting individuals."[8] This objective aligns itself with Carlisle's rebranding of Natives as 'ideal' workers.

The Carlisle School expressly prohibited the use of Indigenous languages, which disconnected students from their heritage, took away from their education, and added to miscommunication in the classroom. The policy was meant to promote English acquisition, but it made things more complicated for students. Rather than draw upon knowledge from their languages, students had to learn English with little to no frame of reference. After all, it is much easier to translate a word from one language to another than it is to learn a completely foreign concept. Carlisle alum, Luther Standing Bear, commented:

> The Indian children should have been taught how to translate the Sioux tongue into English properly; but the English teachers only taught them the English language, like a bunch of parrots. While they could read all the words placed before them, they did not know the proper use of them; their meaning was a puzzle.[9]

Luther emphasized the struggle for students to do more than simply repeat what they heard. Another Carlisle Student, Howard Gansworth, commented on an altercation between a student and Pratt during a lesson: "She repeated the words with no better success. The Captain [Pratt] shouted them. I suppose they were her own [words]. Later I found they were not. They were the Captain's.

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[7] *The Red Man* (Vol IV, No 9) May, 1912, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedMan_v04n09c.pdf, 364.

[8] Cristina Stanciu, "'That Is Why I Sent You to Carlisle:' Carlisle Poetry and the Demands of Americanization Poetics and Politics," in *American Indian Quarterly* 37, no. 1-2 (2013), accessed August 28, 2021, doi:10.5250/amerindiquar.37.1-2.0034, 46.

[9] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 239.

Martha Napawat was only repeating what she had learned just as she might an appropriate Scripture passage."[10] Due to her lack of command over the English language, Martha failed to appease Pratt. Truly like a parrot, as Standing Bear claimed, the student could not articulate herself in a time of necessity. Similar misunderstandings and miscommunications were prevalent between students and staff due to the language barrier, especially with students who were new to learning English. Gertrude Bonin, a member of the Yankton Sioux and a former Carlisle teacher, explained, "During the first two or three seasons [at the school] misunderstandings…frequently took place, bringing unjustifiable frights and punishments into our little lives."[11] Since the school prevented students from speaking in their Native languages, the teachers experienced unnecessary and preventable challenges in their instruction and interaction with students, and students lost connections to their heritage.

Classroom-based education at Carlisle provided students with an American-centric history of the United States as viewable through the curriculum and books. Pratt explained that there were four "essential parts of Indian Education," which consisted of English language acquisition, industrial training, abandoning the tribe and living among civilization, and the "knowledge of books" or general education.[12] He claimed that "Book-education logically comes last" to "the first

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[10] Howard Gansworth Papers, C69-I. Series I: Subject Files, Box 1, Folder 8, in "MY FIRST DAYS AT THE CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL BY HOWARD GANSWORTH AN ANNOTATED MANUSCRIPT," ed. Todd Leahy and Nathan Wilson, in *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 71, no. 4 (2004), http://www.jstor.org/stable/27778639, 491.

[11] Zitkala-Ša, *The School Days of an Indian Girl ; an Indian Teacher among Indians* (United Kingdom: Dodo Press, 2009), 8.

[12] Pratt to Miller, 60.

three are foundation qualities."[13] Although books were of lowest priority, they still had an impact on the formation of Carlisle's students.

Pratt released his "Scheme of Grading," in 1895, where he defined the curriculum for each grade level. He first emphasized the acquisition of English. He commanded, "Special attention should be given to language, articulation, enunciation, and purity of English of pupils in every grade. As soon as a pupil falls behind his grade because of imperfect English he should receive special drill."[14] Command of English was essential to the success of students at Carlisle and in American society, so it is no wonder that Pratt required that students receive English instruction at all grade levels. He continued and explained the way to teach the core subjects: from an American perspective. Starting in the fifth grade, students learned of "The period of Discovery and Colonization."[15] It is rather crass that the school taught students that American history began with "discovery," which nullified the indigenous histories that many students learned prior to attending Carlisle. Similarly, in 8th grade history lessons, teachers taught "lessons of good citizenship and patriotism," so that the pupil "learns to sympathize with what is great and good; learns to hate what is base."[16] The paradox of teaching students "good citizenship," while they could not become American citizens speaks to the cognitive dissonance that pupils faced at the Carlisle School. Similarly, teaching students to hate what is "base" or immoral likely meant instructing them to hate their own culture and heritage. Educational researchers Paul Brady and Anne-Claire Fisher

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[13] Ibid, 62.

[14] Carlisle Indian Industrial School, "Scheme of Grading," Aug 26, 1896, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_91_b1347_32836.pdf, 3.

[15] Ibid, 13.

[16] Ibid, 15.

appraise the Carlisle school as "a striking example of how education was used in the past as part of a deliberate, government-supported effort to assimilate and control a minority group."[17] In the end, the curriculum added to the school's assimilationist mission which impacted thousands of students. However, a select few turned the skills they learned against the Carlisle School.[18]

The books that teachers used to accomplish the goals of the education program were largely biased towards American interests, which added to the ideological war wars within the students' head. Students struggled between the identities and ideals that they had grown up with and those that the school imposed on them. One of the texts used was Edward Eggleston's *A History of the United States and its People* (1888).[19] Eggleston described the Native Americans in the early years of American history as savage aggressors, always ready for a fight. For instance, he wrote:

> The Indians did not show any resentment at his death at first and said they'd maintain the peace. But on the 22nd of March, 1622, while the men of the colony were in the fields, the Indians suddenly fell on the settlements, killing the white people mostly with their own axes, hatchets, and hoes. Three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children were killed in a single day.[20]

Discussing the Jamestown Massacre, Eggleston portrayed the Natives as tricksters and liars who went against their original promise of peace. The negative portrayals of Indians continued in his assessment of "Indian stratagems," as "the Indian did not hesitate to resort to treachery to entrap his foes. He would profess friendship in order to disarm an enemy. He glorified in ingenious tricks."[21] He characterized the Natives as deceivers who did anything to get an advantage on the

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[17] Paul Brawdy and Anne-Claire Fisher, "Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Projects for Teaching," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, ed. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), muse.jhu.edu/book/47567, 296.

[18] See Chapter 3.

[19] Carlisle Indian Industrial School, "Scheme of Grading," 25.

[20] Edward Eggleston, *A History of the United States and its People: For the Use of Schools*, 1888, Indiana University Library, http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/inauthors/view?docId=VAA2336&brand=ia-books, 32.

[21] Ibid, 87.

enemy. Eggleston admitted that "the white people learned to practice" the same tricks, but he emphasized that they "learned" the tactics. He highlighted a key difference between the races: that the Indian was an innate trickster while the white man was a learned one.[22] Although it is impossible to tell what students specifically read in the classroom, it is likely that students came across Eggleston's characterization of Indians due to the curriculum assigned at Carlisle and the frequency of the negative portrayal of Natives in his textbook. Instruction replaced what students learned on the reservation with an American interpretation of history and culture.

At the same time that classroom-based education attacked indigenous cultures and limited students' advancement in study, it also helped prepare students for industrial education. In her 1908 visit to the school, Superintendent of Indian Schools Estelle Reel attested that the education was "closely correlated with the industrial work."[23] The surviving student work from the Carlisle School, consisting of writings and drawings that work directly together to prepare students for industrial training, speaks to this same motivation. For instance, a First-Grade student's vocabulary list consisted of various items relating to industry: soap, clothes, driers, starch, etc.[24] All of these items related to the laundry, which was one of the industries that school taught students. Even lessons in math related to industrial training. For example, student Peter Mora had to calculate the weight and cost of bars of soap.[25] Rather than interact with something that he was familiar with,

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Estelle Reel to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Francis Leupp), May 16, 1908, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/inspection-report-estelle-reel-may-1908, 1.

[24] Evarice Paul, item number PI_4-2-1, "Student Work," Cumberland Country Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/resources/school-work/.

[25] Peter Mora, item number PI_4-2-5, "Student work," Cumberland Country Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/resources/school-work/.

like feathers, he calculated math with items useful to industry. Finally, other students wrote about the step-by-step process of how to make items in the industries, like tin smithing. Esiah Gallashoff, a sixth grader, described in detail how a student formed a metal cup from a piece of tin.[26] Carlisle's classroom-based instruction prioritized the acquisition of words relating to industry over general English acquisition. This relationship demonstrates how the school favored creating the 'ideal' Indian worker over legitimately teaching students the English language. It is clear how closely related the classroom-based educational program was with the industrial training of the Carlisle School, especially since the school later taught the students these industries.

The classroom-based education program at Carlisle fulfilled its purpose of instructing students in English and industrial training, while stripping them of their Native heritage. All aspects of the classroom sought to mold the student into the perfect fit for American society in which Indians dismissed their cultures and adopted the dominant one, while learning a skill to become a productive member of the economy. The school sought to further prepare students for work after graduation through its industrial training program.

Industrial Training

Industrial training was essential to the Carlisle mission simply because Native Americans could not sufficiently assimilate into American society without the adoption of American styles of work. After all, if they were unable to learn trades and skills that were economical, they would still live off government support. Pupils produced goods which proved their usefulness to society by demonstrating their capacity to complete tasks successfully. Along these same lines, one of the topics taught at the Carlisle School, Sloyd, was looked down upon by outside observers because it

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[26] Esiah Gallashoff, item number PI_4-7-3, "Student work," Cumberland Country Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/resources/school-work/.

did not "turn out fancy cabinets, tables, stands, chairs, miniature houses and barns all at once."[27] However, Sloyd taught students the essentials of woodworking and using tools, and it was the foundational course from which industrial training built upon. Sloyd was a Swedish manner of woodworking, introduced to the school by teacher Jenny Ericson. Carlisle's industrial training ensured that students left the school sufficiently skilled for employment, but not enough that they took away from the success and opportunities of whites. Students received a level of training that meant that they were slightly more skilled than the average worker, but only in one industry. They were also not as skilled as the experts in their field. This meant that the vast majority of students emerged from the Carlisle School prepared for manual labor, rather than continue their studies or enter the highly skilled trades.

The labor of students was essential for the Carlisle School to function, which begs the question: was the industrial training for the preparation of students or simply to operate the school on a lower budget? Pratt explained, "the industries taught would, so far as could be done in a school, enable the young Indians to go out and work at what they had learned."[28] While Pratt touted the message that the students learned much in their industrial training, he also took pride in the fact that "the mechanical work of the school, even to the erection of buildings was done by the students under the direction of their instructors."[29] Just about every aspect of the school's operation had some student labor involved, whether that be cleaning and dusting, laundry, yard work, farming for the food that fed the school, tailoring, or making pots and pans, to name a few. The

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[27] Indian Helper (Vol XI, No 1), October 4, 1895, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/IndianHelper_v11n1_0.pdf, 4.

[28] Pratt to Miller, 20-21.

[29] Ibid, 22.

Superintendent of Indian Schools, Estelle Reel, commented in 1908, "A new hospital and several buildings for employees had been completed, all the work being done by student labor. The doors, stairs, etc., were made in the school shops, and this gave the boys practical training in construction work."[30] The school used student labor in every aspect of the creation of these buildings. Whether called student labor or 'industrial training,' it was essential to the operation of the Carlisle School throughout its existence.

At the same time that industrial training was free labor for the school, it also reinforced the American values that pressured students into a set of gender roles different than the ones they grew up with. Historian Tsianina Lomawaima explains, "For female students that meant training for domesticity; for male students, it meant instruction in semiskilled trades and agriculture."[31] In his 1910 *The Indian and His Problem*, commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis Leupp, discussed the training that students received:

> We can tell pretty well what to do with a boy: give him the opportunity to become a farmer, a mechanic, a stockman, a laborer, and then throw him upon his own resources with a reasonable assurance that he will get along somehow…Domestic service, including nursing; art or clerical work; or some strictly feminine mercantile calling like dressmaking or millinery, seem to offer her the only outlet for her energy.[32]

Thus, the opportunities for students were clearly defined upon gender lines. The school reserved much of the manual and physical labor for male students, while instructing female students in caring for the homestead. The occupations available to students reinforced the American value system through the gender norms that arose through industrial training.

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[30] Reel to Leupp, 1.

[31] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," in *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993), http://www.jstor.org/stable/645643, 229.

[32] Francis Ellington Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem* (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1910), https://archive.org/details/indianhisproblom00leuprich/page/n7/mode/2up, 302.

The Carlisle School taught multiple industries to train students for a place in the American economy, while overlooking the fact that there were not many opportunities for students to continue their trade after graduation. The Carlisle School taught over twenty-one industries in 1902 (see Table 1).[33] To focus on one trade, the printing shop's mission was "to train Indian students of Carlisle so that they will become competent workmen for the several departments of the printing business; workmen who will have a substantial theoretical and practical knowledge of the mechanical side of the business."[34] All industries at the school had similar goals for students after graduation.

Table 1

Trades Taught at Carlisle, 1902	
Athletics	Painting
Blacksmithing	Physical Culture
Breadmaking	Printing
Carpentry	Sewing
Dairying	Shoe Making
Domestic	Steam-Heating
Science	Plant
Farming	Tailoring
Harnessmaking	Tinsmithing
Hospital	Wagonmaking
Laundry Work	

Source: *Data from Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, PA, 1902, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 107-111.*

Although the printing shop wanted students to have this success after Carlisle, this was not very likely. The "Meriam Report" (1928), the deepest and most thorough study into the federal system of education for Native Americans, found that many students were "not far enough

[34] F. H. Abbott to Moses Friedman, August 2, 1911, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_CCF_b002_f30_63452.pdf, 5.

advanced to follow their trade in a white community in competition with white workers without a period of apprenticeship."[35] Because the students learned something completely new and at an older age than their competition, they could not match the skillset of white workers. At the same time, the school did not have advanced instruction in the trades. Even Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Leupp admitted that students who emerged from federal boarding schools like Carlisle had little opportunities and many business owners overlooked students for jobs in favor of a white applicant. He wrote, "however much good raw material there was in his race, the time was not yet ripe for its utilization in certain fields."[36] Many hiring managers were not willing to hire indigenous workers, no matter their level of skill. At the same time, the "Meriam Report" found that "Several of the industries taught may be called vanishing trades."[37] For instance, farming was one of the largest industries taught at Carlisle, but it did not provide much to the student. The report similarly found that by 1928, "the Department of Agriculture ha[d] recently issued warnings to the effect that there are already too many persons engaged in certain kinds of agriculture; but in Indian schools institutional needs for farm products are so immediately pressing that production becomes almost the only aim."[38] Training students in farming and similar industries only went so far because the skills that students acquired did not transfer well to reservation life as much of the land in the Plans and Southwest reservations were poor for agriculture.

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[35] Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, February 21, 1928, accessed electronically via National Indian Law Library, https://narf.org/nill/resources/meriam.html, 14.

[36] Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem*, 117.

[37] Institute for Government Research, "The Problem of Indian Administration," 14.

[38] Ibid, 384-385.

Although students left the school with newly acquired skills, they had little opportunity to use them. In conversation with a group of Indian school graduates, Commissioner Leupp discovered that "Three-fourths of them, embracing both boys and girls, had no definite expectations or ambitions."[39] He also commented that he wondered, "whether any [in a group of alumni he spoke to] will ever amount to anything."[40] Leupp saw the faults in the education program at Carlisle, which led to animosity between him and Pratt. The Carlisle School, and other similar federal Indian boarding schools, worked to 'better' the lives of students through their industrial training programs, yet they accomplished little.[41] In the end, the schools caused white America to see Natives as "capable of doing only unskilled work that no one else wants to do."[42] The Carlisle School prided itself on its industrial program because it successfully demonstrated the civilization of its Indigenous students and promoted the 'ideal' Indian worker, but for the vast majority of students, it did little to provide them with economic independence.

The Outing Program

The third pillar of the education program at the Carlisle School was the outing program, which arguably sits next to the football team and the before-and-after photos of students as the school's primary claims to fame. The outing program was an essential aspect of the acculturation that took place at Carlisle because it furthered the goals of the school. It took surrounding the Native with 'civilization' to the next level, pairing the Native pupil with a host family. The student lived with hosts for a period of time ranging from a summer to a few years. The outing program

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[39] Leupp, *The Indian and His Problem*, 118.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Kevin Slivka, "Art, Craft, and Assimilation: Curriculum for Native Students during the Boarding School Era," in Studies *in Art Education* 52, no. 3 (2011), http://www.jstor.org/stable/41407931, 226.

[42] Institute for Government Research, "The Problem of Indian Administration," 640.

was the “right arm” of the Carlisle School, and Pratt called it the “supreme Americanizer.”[43] It proved to be the most successful acculturation device at the school’s disposal because students who returned from the outing adopted American ways of living, familial roles, and more. Soon, other federal Indian boarding schools across the country followed Carlisle’s outing system to different levels of success in Americanizing students.

The outing required a host family that was willing to take in an Indian, which posed a problem as much of America thought they were lazy savages. After all, a lazy Indian was just another mouth to feed rather than a helpful hand around the house. At first Pratt turned to the local community in Pennsylvania to take in pupils from Carlisle, particularly the Quakers.[44] He also vetted the host families to ensure that they would have a positive impact on the students and would not think of pupils as servant. Specifically, historian Robert Trennert explains the process: Pratt “subjected his patrons to a close scrutiny and required them to assume the entire financial responsibility of supporting their wards, including paying them a fair wage.”[45] Outing officers paid random visits to the host families to ensure that the hosts treaded students well and cared for them. This did not mean it was a perfect system, however. After the first year of the outing in 1881, Pratt noted that “Nearly half of the young people failed to stick to their work throughout the summer and had to be brought or were sent back to the school.”[46] Some students ran away from their hosts if the area was too familiar. Soon, the host families expanded to other groups who were concerned

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[43] Robert A. Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930," in *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983), accessed July 22, 2021, doi:10.2307/3639003, 275.

[44] Richard Henry Pratt and Robert Marshall Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 314.

[45] Tennert, “From Carlisle to Phoenix,” 273.

[46] Pratt to Miller, 26.

with the ‘betterment’ of Natives, because the Quakers were too close to the school geographically. Once the outing sites moved outside the towns immediately surrounding Carlisle, the unique experiences of the outing program began to accomplish the school’s goal of assimilation.

The outing program bridged the two races, the white and the Indian, but separating students from Carlisle by hundreds of miles led to unforeseen consequences. Pratt wrote, “Both the American citizen and the noncitizen Indian must learn that Indians quickly gain this quality [of adopting white ideals] when permitted participating experiences.”[47] He thought that putting the two races in close contact would show both sides their similarities, while highlighting the Native’s capacity for citizenship. There were three typical types of outings at Carlisle: a summer outing, a one- or two-year long outing, or the urban outing starting in the 1890s.[48] The summer outing was especially effective according to Fear-Segal and Rose because it kept students from returning home to the ‘temptation’ to “return to their traditional lifestyles or, as it was described, ‘go back to the blanket.’”[49] To “return to the blanket” meant that the student returned to their indigenous customs instead of adopting white society’s values. The phrase focuses on the blanket because it was a Native American manner of dress at the time. Students who spent more than the summer months on the outing attended public schools in the host families’ towns, which was another force of Americanization. In the process of the outing program, many of the students felt isolated and lonely due to their separation from friends and families. Historian Sarah Klotz explains that some students on outings “wrote letters, but rather than writing to parents and grandparents, they shifted the focus

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[47] Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 312.

[48] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2020) 157.

[49] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), muse.jhu.edu/book/47567, 108.

of their texts to the Carlisle administration and staff."[50] The conditions of the outing program were so undesirable for many students that they began to miss the Carlisle School. However, each student had a unique experience on the outing because of the differences in location, host family, jobs, and time away from Carlisle. Some loved it, many disliked it, and some were traumatized by it. For instance, one student named Kesetta returned to school pregnant from her outing in Baltimore in 1902.[51] In the end, the outing program sponsored by the Carlisle School had lofty goals of furthering the assimilation of the Native by surrounding him by 'civilization,' but it left students isolated and in a vulnerable position where they could easily be taken advantage of.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School set the standard for the outing program that several other federal boarding schools soon emulated. Carlisle was more successful in its efforts than the other schools, as their outings were blatantly used for the inexpensive labor they provided. This was particularly a problem at the Phoenix Indian School, where students participated in outings that were solely concerned with the labor that students provided.[52] In the end, the Carlisle School had an impact on the way American society viewed the Indian worker, as Commissioner Leupp admitted that it led many whites to believe that the Indians were "capable of doing only unskilled work that no one else wants to do."[53] The outing program was essential to education and Americanization at Carlisle, while having a generally negative effect on students.

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[50] Sarah Klotz, "Impossible Rhetorics of Survivance at the Carlisle School, 1879–1883," in *College Composition and Communication* 69, no. 2 (2017), http://www.jstor.org/stable/44783613, 222.

[51] Fear-Segal, 214.

[52] Slivka, "From Carlisle to Phoenix."

[53] Institute for Government Research, "The Problem of Indian Administration," 640.

White Ideals

While classroom-based instruction, industrial training, and the outing program molded the Carlisle student into an 'ideal' worker, the school also attempted to instill white America's values in pupils. The school ultimately had limited success in this as some students assimilated more than others, but the vast majority retained to their cultural identities once they returned home. Carlisle was not the sole institution that followed these practices; according to educational policy historian Joel Spring, the Federal Boarding School Program as a whole caused "many Native Americans [to] feel a strong hostility towards schools because of the deculturation programs they experienced in government-operated boarding schools."[54] But the Carlisle School was unique because it separated students from family and tribe members upon arrival, stripped them of their Indigenous clothing and hairstyles, forced them to change their names, and taught patriotism, all of which had a detrimental effect on students' abilities to maintain their heritage and culture.

Students underwent the assimilation process the moment they stepped foot on the Carlisle campus. The Carlisle administration separated siblings who arrived at the school because it did not want the familial ties to interfere with the acculturation process. One student, Howard Gansworth, remembered, "No two of us could room together--not even brothers. The school rule required that each of the three occupants of a room be of a different tribe."[55] This policy ensured that none of the students' shared cultures remained, and instead, forced pupils to adopt a new common identity at the Carlisle School. Part of this new identity was looking and behaving more 'civilized.' School administrators forced students to wear uniforms and cut their hair to reach this end. Cutting

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[54] Joel H. Spring, *American Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2014), 156.

[55] Howard Gansworth Papers, 484.

students' hair was very damaging because hair held symbolic meaning in their cultures. To the white observer, however, it marked them as savages. Some students submitted to the haircutting, while others were more defiant and resisted as long as possible. Zitkala-Ša recalled yelling, "No, I will not submit! I will struggle first!" at the time of the haircutting.[56] This process made it much easier for the school to show its 'civilizing' force because the students drastically changed in appearance from when they first arrived. Some students did not buy into the alleged transformation, however. Luther Standing Bear wrote, "Now, after having my hair cut, a new thought came into my head. I felt that I was no more Indian, but would be an imitation of a white man. And we are still imitations of white men, and the white men are imitations of Americans."[57] Luther Standing Bear felt nothing changed but his outward appearance. At the same time, he attacked the people he was expected to imitate. He saw Native Americans as the true "Americans," while whites were imitations of them. In doing so, Luther Standing Bear flipped the script on white America. Similarly, an Indian school teacher questioned if there was some justification for the cutting of student hair beyond the fact that long hair was not the customary style that white boys wore. He concluded, "It is right, it is our duty to break up, root out these customs even to the smallest. By persuasion and example, if possible, but by force, if necessary. And let this reason suffice, that we do so because they are deep rooted Indian customs, held sacred because they are Indian, because they differ from the white man's ways."[58] The theory was that for the students to be civilized, they had to be rid of their customs. It was impossible for complete assimilation to

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[56] Zitkala-Ša, *The School Days of an Indian Girl ; an Indian Teacher among Indians*, 5.

[57] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 141.

[58] *The Red Man* (Vol XIV, No 8), January 1898, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedMan_v14n08_1.pdf, 3.

occur if students still held on to their identities. Students had to look the part of white children if they were to be accepted into American society.

Perhaps as damaging as the cutting of hair, each student underwent the renaming process at Carlisle which stripped them of their Indigenous name and its symbolic significance. The school administration renamed students because it was difficult for their teachers to address them with their Indigenous titles. This was easier for them than it was to learn about their Indigenous students' cultures. Historian Daniel F. Littlefield contends, "Since Indian names were difficult for the white man to pronounce and remember, Christian names were given for the white man's convenience, and the Indian's name could be 'arbitrarily shortened' because it was 'unusually long and difficult' to the white man."[59] Luther Standing Bear explained that his teacher wrote a bunch of words on the board, and the students pointed to the one that they wanted. While this may sound humane and even possibly good because it gave students agency in choosing how they were identified, the students did not know the significance of their actions. Luther Standing Bear wrote, "None of the names were read or explained to us, so of course we did not know the sound or meaning of any of them."[60] It was simply impossible for a student to understand the situation they were in because they could not read English. If they could not read the words before them and not understand the entirety of the instructions given to them, students could not comprehend the actions they took. So, many students simply mimicked the actions of the teacher and their peers. Luther described picking a name, "When my turn came, I took the pointer and acted as if I were

[59] Littlefield, "Renaming the American Indian," 35.

[60] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 137.

about to touch an enemy."[61] Renaming the Indian furthered the Americanization process as it severed one of the strongest ties indigenous students had to their cultures, tribes, and families.

Conclusion

The interworking pillars of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School make it difficult to track all the ways in which the school presented itself as a champion of empowerment, while leaving a wake of destruction in the lives of students. The three pillars of education at Carlisle combined to mold the student into the perfect vessel for American society, in the form of an 'ideal' worker. Classroom-based instruction taught students to communicate in English, while preparing students for industrial training. The skills learned through the industries aimed to prepare students to enter the workforce after leaving Carlisle, while the outing program ensured a complete immersion in American society. Students entered the Carlisle School as traditional Natives in touch with their heritages and identities, yet left closer to the 'ideal' Native that American society sought. In the end, the acculturation program at Carlisle permeated all aspects of students' lives. The acculturation efforts at the Carlisle School were the foundation from which the 'ideal' Indian worker was presented to American society.

[61] Ibid.

CHAPTER 2: Public Displays to Control the Narrative and Native

Introduction

Richard Henry Pratt and the United States Government founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School on the idea that Native Americans were worthy of a place in American society once they assimilated and joined the trained labor force. While the school established these principles, those outside of Carlisle's walls crafted their own perceptions. As football made Carlisle a household name through exposure in newspapers across the country, numerous journalists ascribed their own understandings to the school and to the nature of Indians in their writings. To combat this, the Carlisle School employed multiple media to disseminate its own messages. For those who could visit the school, they could attend plays directed by the theatre department and the commencement activities during graduation week. At the same time, the school placed great importance on photography to promote its message because many were unable to journey to visit the school in person. The football program at the Carlisle School became the driving force behind the assimilationist mission and the focal point of national attention. Eventually, the school responded to the media in an attempt to control the narrative. Through these means, the Carlisle School sought to eliminate the stereotypical characteristics of the Native, whether that be savagery or laziness. In the process of controlling this narrative, the school subjected its students to additional forms of assimilation in commencement, photography and football, all of which sought to convince students of the righteousness of religious and cultural conversion.

The Theatre Department

Although they appeared harmless, the plays at Carlisle required students to act out the assimilation narrative for audiences of students, teachers, and white members of the community. This added to the creation of the 'ideal' Native as the audience saw students play the roles of white members of society on stage. Plays like *The Captain of Plymouth* and *The Continental Congress: A Patriotic Performance* became a means of acculturation of Native American students at the Carlisle School as they celebrated whites in the stories they told, put students on public display, and taught them the value of American society and culture. The plays were commonplace during commencement week but were also two of the most frequent productions at Carlisle in the twentieth century.

Plays at Carlisle had assimilationist underpinnings that served to promote the Americanization lessons taught in other aspects of the school. After all, historian John R. Gram contends, "Plays amounted to nothing less than interactive lessons in Anglo-American civilization."[1] The subject matter of the performances originated from stories depicting the history of westward expansion and Natives succumbing to the 'superior' forces and culture of whites. For example, Carlisle's *The Captain of Plymouth* was derived from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Courtship of Miles Standish." The source material for Carlisle's play is riddled with anti-native imagery and rhetoric. The play not only highlighted combat with Natives, but it also characterized Captain Miles Standish as being sent by God on a crusade to rid the country of Natives. The play contained the line: "He [God] preserved you [Standish], to be our shield and our weapon!"[2] Standish cheated death to fulfill his destiny in the New World. Longfellow made this

[1] John R. Gram, "Acting Out Assimilation: Playing Indian and Becoming American in the Federal Indian Boarding Schools," in *American Indian Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2016), https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.40.3.0251, 257.

[2] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "The Courtship of Miles Standish" (Maine Historical Society, 1858), https://www.hwlongfellow.org/poems_poem.php?pid=186, Part I.

connection even stronger when he compared the colonial soldiers fighting the Natives to "the mighty men of King David; / Giants in heart they were, who believed in God and the Bible,-- / Ay, who believed in the smiting of Midianites and Philistines."[3] Not only were the soldiers going to fight the Natives, but they were going to smite them and return them to the hell where they supposedly belonged. The students were taught that their way of life was wrong from the American perspective, and that they were inherently evil in the eyes of the God that Carlisle instructed them to believe in. This furthered the school's assimilationist agenda as students sought to eliminate their Indigenous ties to satisfy God. Like the colonists that Wordsworth described, the educators and administration at Carlisle considered themselves pious in their assimilationist efforts.

The Captain of Plymouth was a key component of school life at Carlisle and served as a means of demonstrating assimilation to the white audience. A review of the play was published in independent newspapers like the *Carlisle Sentinel*, and was written in the back of a printed play, reading "Never in Carlisle, by Indians or whites, was there a prettier nor more charming and artistic production than 'The Captain of Plymouth.'"[4] The play was an integral part of the school as it ran for at least three years and it was the "principal feature of commencement week at the United States Indian school at Carlisle, Pa." in 1910.[5] Another review published by *Musical American* highlighted that the "chorus, composed of sixty aboriginal braves and maidens, exhibited a perfect

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[3] Ibid, Part V.

[4] Seymour Selden Tibbals, *A Letter from Home: A Thanksgiving Play* (Eldridge Entertainment House, 1912), accessed via Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=7IEpIXQVa4AC&dq=the%2Bcaptain%2Bof%2Bplymouth%2Bcarlisle%2Bschool&source=gbs_navlinks_s, 9.

[5] *The Carlisle Arrow* (Volume VI, Number 42), June 24, 1910, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CarlisleArrow_v06n42.pdf, 3.

ensemble."[6] There was an eighty-four member cast according to the 1909 program. Of these eighty-four casted roles, sixty were Indigenous characters.[7] What remains are twenty-four white characters played by the Native American students. The *Musical American* only praised sixty of the eighty-four-member cast, as if to say the Natives did well acting as Indigenous characters, but did not do well portraying whites. This suggests that although the school used the plays as a vehicle of assimilation, some audiences were not accepting of the Carlisle rendition that contained the portrayal of white colonists by Indigenous students.

The Captain of Plymouth play at Carlisle was a means of teaching both students and audience members from the outside community about the assimilationist goals of the school. It ran for a total of three nights during the 1909 commencement week. The first show was for students only, but the latter two were for the "general public."[8] The public performances were key because they were symbolic demonstrations of what Indians could look like in society once they adopted American ideals. Likewise, the interaction between the white audience and actors was important according to historian John R. Gram, since "the applause of the white audience…confirmed for the students that they could play the part of a white person and that they would be accepted if they did."[9] Thus, the end result of performances and the acting process reinforced the acculturation at Carlisle. Gram continues to explain that the performances taught students "traditional Indian life

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[6] Ibid, 3.

[7] "Program for 'The Captain of Plymouth,' 1909," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College: Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/CIS-I-0070.pdf, 3.

[8] Ibid.

[9] John R. Gram, "Acting Out Assimilation: Playing Indian and Becoming American in the Federal Indian Boarding Schools," in *American Indian Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2016), accessed August 12, 2021, doi:10.5250/amerindiquar.40.3.0251, 258.

could only bring tragedy and perhaps even hold danger," and "It was only by fully integrating into the larger American nation that students could find purpose and blessing."[10] If schooling was not enough to force students into a new lifestyle and value system, additional instruction on the stage was intended to further convince them. Ultimately, the school used plays to build upon the pressure for students adopt American culture. Alongside the rest of the Americanization program at Carlisle, the plays convinced some students to assimilate, but did not convince all to abandon their heritage.

Not only did students act out this message of assimilation, but they also dressed the part. Photos of the cast and play are striking. The nine male students of the "Citizen's Chorus" posed for the camera, with hands on hips, chest puffed out, and chins up (see fig. 1).[11] Dressed in colonial garb, and looking rather pale, the students fit the part of white settlers. The posture students held while posing suggests a sense of superiority. Whether teachers instructed students to pose that way, they were satirizing whites, or they felt a new sense of pride in being white men is unclear, but the photos are telling, nevertheless. At the same time, labeling these men as the "Citizen's Chorus," while identifying natives as "Piquot Indians" emphasized the difference between Natives and Americans: citizenship status. The idea that citizenship could only be acquired by stripping oneself of Indigenous connections, features, and values is troubling. It is no wonder that historian Philip Deloria characterized Native Americans as "extra-constitutional" due to the government's requirement that Native Americans had to relinquish their tribal ties prior to gaining American

[10] Ibid, 265.

[11] "Male students as the 'Citizens' Chorus' in 'The Captain of Plymouth', 1909," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/male-students-citizens-chorus-captain-plymouth-1909.

citizenship during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.[12] The photographs of the play also had the students dress in traditional attire to highlight these alleged racial differences.

Figure 1. "Male students as the 'Citizens' Chorus' in 'The Captain of Plymouth,' 1909"[13]

Figure 2. Female students as "Indian Squaws" in "The Captain of Plymouth"[14]

[12] Philip J. Deloria, "AMERICAN MASTER NARRATIVES AND THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN CITIZENSHIP IN THE GILDED AGE AND PROGRESSIVE ERA," in The *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14, no. 1 (2015), http://www.jstor.org/stable/43903054, 8.

[13] "Male students as the 'Citizens' Chorus' in 'The Captain of Plymouth,' 1909," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/male-students-citizens-chorus-captain-plymouth-1909.

Just as *The Captain of Plymouth* was a staple of the theatre department at the Carlisle School, so, too, was *The Continental Congress: A Patriotic Presentation*, which worked to instill a sense of American nationalism in students as the mainstage production of the 1917 Commencement. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School adopted the play written by Jasper Leonidas McBrien in his *America First: Patriotic Readings* (1916). The content of this play was the Continental Congress and the passage of the Declaration of Independence. The tableaus of *The Continental Congress* built upon the opportunity for Indigenous students to play 'white,' which reinforced the idea that Natives had to become white to be fully accepted in society. The original play only consisted of one tableau, titled the "Tableau of 1776," but the Carlisle production added another: the "Tableau of 1917."[15] Like a still life painting, a tableau in theatre has all the actors stay still in front of a background. According to Dennis Kennedy, editor for Oxford Reference, "The 'living picture' was usually created by arranging a person or group of persons to represent a scene from a painting or sculpture."[16] The "Tableau of 1776" sought to recreate the easily recognizable *Yankee Doodle 1776* by A.M. Willard, which he painted in commemoration of the centennial of the passage of the Declaration of Independence.[17] The painting depicts three patriots, two who play drums and one a fife, leading the troops into battle. It is reminiscent of the renowned *Liberty Leading the People*, by Eugène Delacroix nearly forty years prior. Reenacting this famous

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[14] "Female students as 'Indian Squaws' in 'The Captain of Plymouth' [pose 1], 1909," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/female-students-indian-squaws-captain-plymouth-pose-1-1909.

[15] "1917 Commencement Program, The Continental Congress," May 23, 1917, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/CIS-I-0075.pdf, 2.

[16] "tableau vivant," in *The Companion to Theatre and Performance* (Oxford University Press, 2010), https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199574193.001.0001/acref-9780199574193-e-3837.

[17] Archibald M. Willard, "Yankee Doodle 1776" (The Library of Congress, 1776), https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673466/. See Appendix.

painting by Willard, students had to embody the paintings' images. Students physically entered the American ethos, part of the history and culture. They became the personification of what the painting represents: patriotism. The tableaus worked hand in hand with the applause students received on stage to reinforce in the minds of students that they could only fit in American society after catering and adjusting to its ideals and expectations. In the moment, students transmuted from their Indigenous selves to the poster boys of American nationalism.

The "Tableau of 1917" was something unique to the Carlisle performances because it was not part of the original play script, yet it likewise tapped into sentiments of American nationalism. Based on the widely circulated poster urging the public to join the war effort and enlist in the Marines, the tableau evoked patriotic imagery and emotions.[18] By 1917, the American public was in a World War I frenzy as the sinking of the Lusitania and the Zimmerman Telegram brought American into the war on an unprecedented scale. In response to the start of World War I, the posted called upon the patriotism of the American public. The poster depicts four US Marines charging into battle: two with guns at the ready and two holding flags. Just like the "Spirit of 1776," these standard bearers marched off to war fearlessly and patriotically. This image, this tableau, was the last thing the audience saw at the conclusion of the play. The recreation of the famous poster through Native American children argued for the Indigenous' place in American society, showing their capacity to be patriotic and heroic. However, it once again showed the students that they had to adopt the ideals of the American public; they had to put their lives on the line for acceptance in American society. Students likely received a round of applause, maybe even a standing ovation, at the time of their posing for the "Tableau of 1917." This surely reinforced in

[18] United States Marine Corps, "Spirit of 1917" (The Library of Congress, 1917), https://www.loc.gov/item/2002698563/. See Appendix.

their minds the idea that they could only fit in society if they were to adopt the culture, norms, and occupations of whites, rather than their own heritage. At the same time, it created a messy juxtaposition between the American and Native soldiers, as society praised the American for heroism and patriotism, but demonized and depicted the Native as barbaric. Praising and reenacting the "Spirit of 1917" in the form of a tableau at the end of *The Continental Congress* served as another means to push the students towards adopting American values while relinquishing their heritage and cutting ties with their families.

In the end, the theatre program at Carlisle functioned in a manner similar to all the other departments at the school: to pursue the goal of student Americanization.

Commencement Programs at Carlisle

Commencement is often a time of celebration of accomplishments, moving onward, an end, and a new beginning. At the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, however, Commencement became another of many means to demonstrate the school's 'success' at Americanizing its student population and molding them into 'ideal' workers. From the diploma itself to the festivities in the week leading up to Commencement, and finally the speeches at the ceremony, Commencement at Carlisle put the Native on display for a public audience and promoted the students' capacity to enter the workforce.

The Carlisle administration hijacked the diplomas to promote its Americanization agenda instead of celebrating the accomplishments of its students. The one surviving diploma that is widely accessible, bestowed upon Sadie Metoxen in 1918, is full of assimilationist imagery (see fig. 3). At the center of the top of the diploma is a series of intricate and connected images, and a label that explains that Carlisle was the "Department of the Interior['s] United States Indian

School."[19] More important are the images that surround these words. The central image of the bald eagle served as an embodiment of American values that the school instilled in its students, as the bird has been a symbol of freedom as far back as the late-eighteenth century.[20] Flanking either side of the eagle are two small images of women in the home.[21] They depict women working inside sewing and cooking. This was the 'ideal' that Americans saw for the indigenous female: falling into the subservient position in relationships and caring for the home. These values were in stark contrast to what many indigenous women experienced with prominent roles in their tribes. The school at large, and even the diploma, intended to force American values upon their students, one of them being the Anglo-Saxon gender roles found in society at the time. After all, Hon. Philip C. Garrett defined expectations for graduates at the 1893 commencement addresses, "The young man ought to understand farming and carpentering, and his wife housework and other industries, to make it [the household] a success."[22] The expectations for female students juxtaposed what was considered the 'ideal' occupation of the male Native: working on a farm, either with cattle or agriculture. The single drawing of a man on the diploma showed him tilling his field. What was absent from this diploma was a depiction of Natives studying or working as a doctor, teacher, or some other highly educated profession. Instead, they were industrial workers, and nothing more. This reflects both the intentional restrictiveness of the education program at Carlisle, in addition

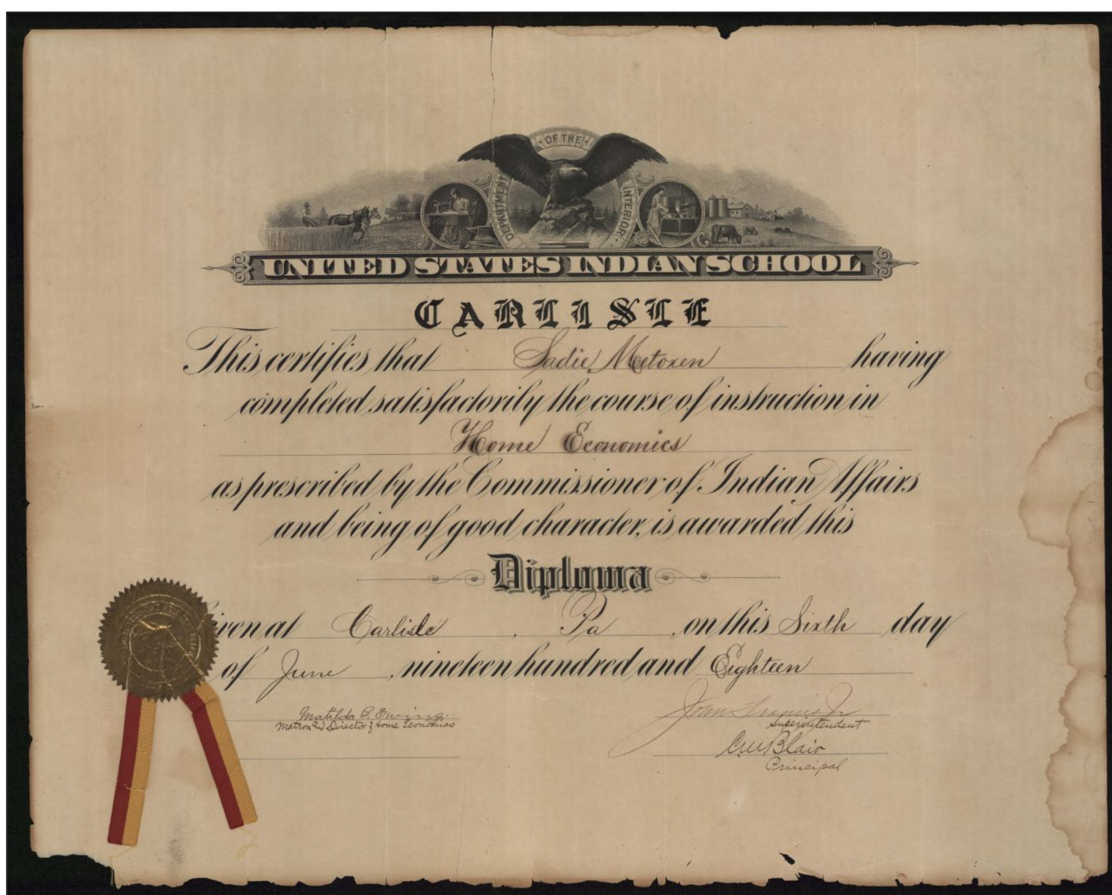
[19] "Diploma of Sadie Metoxen," June 6, 1918, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/CIS-O-0026.pdf.

[20] The Department of Veteran Affairs, "The American Bald Eagle," Celebrating America's Freedoms, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, https://www.va.gov/opa/publications/celebrate/eagle.pdf.

[21] "Diploma of Sadie Metoxen."

[22] *The Red Man* (Vol. XI, No. 11), March & April, 1895, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedMan_v11n11_1.pdf, 4.

to the lack of opportunity that students faced post-graduation. At the same time, it highlights the purpose of the Carlisle School: to educate the Native sufficiently to be useful to American society (through industrial labor) and no longer rely on the government, while not educating the students enough to steal white peoples' jobs. Although it is just some artwork to accent the written aspects of the diploma, the imagery reinforced and perpetuated the Americanization narrative while reminding students of their place in society every time they looked at it.


DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

UNITED STATES INDIAN SCHOOL

CARLISLE

This certifies that Sadie Metoxen having completed satisfactorily the course of instruction in Home Economics as prescribed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and being of good character, is awarded this

Diploma

Given at Carlisle, Pa, on this Sixth day of June, nineteen hundred and Eighteen

Matron & Director of Home Economics

Superintendent

Principal

Figure 3. "Diploma of Sadie Metoxen"[23]

[23] "Diploma of Sadie Metoxen," June 6, 1918, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/CIS-O-0026.pdf.

Like the diplomas given to students, Commencement at Carlisle demonstrated the civilization and 'progress' of the students, by promoting their capacity for industrial labor. Commencement took different forms over the years, but it followed the same pattern of putting students on display each year. By the early 1910s, Commencement had become such a spectacle that onlookers came "from nearly every State where Indians reside[d]," and there was nationwide attention and "interest in its Commencement exercises."[24] In his Baccalaureate Address to the class of 1913, Dr. Nehemiah Boynton told the students, "I do not suppose there is a company of young people graduating from any American institution to-day whom there is a more genuine interest throughout the country than in yourselves."[25] Boynton explained that it was because of the hundreds of years of interaction between Natives and Americans that society was so interested in the school and its Commencement. The exercises were a unique opportunity for the school as Carlisle set the favorable conditions and promoted its positive narrative about the working capacity of Natives.

Activities during commencement took on a variety of forms, all of which aimed to promote the 'ideal' qualities of the Native. For instance, the 1910 commencement included multiple festivities, ranging from plays to songs, and a series of "Exercises in [the] Gymnasium" that were open to the public.[26] According to the "1905 Commencement Program," the display in the gymnasium included an array of activities: military drill, "small boy's extension and pyramid

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[24] *The Red Man* (Vol. 5, No. 9), May, 1913, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedMan_v05n09c.pdf, 359.

[25] Ibid, 382.

[26] "1910 Commencement Program," March 27-31, 1910, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_1349C_b001_1910commencement.pdf, 5-9.

drill," "boys' and girls' Indian club drill," "girls' bar bell drill," and "boys' sabre drill."[27] All of these physical activities showed strength, coordination, and obedience in students. The skills that students displayed showed the audience that Natives were no longer savages. Rather, they could have a place in society, where they obediently followed orders. The band likewise drew a crowd according to the *Red Man*, as in 1912, "Every seat was occupied and several thousand applications for tickets of admission had to be refused on account of lack of space."[28] Graduation week at the Carlisle School became a spectacle that thousands attended to see how Natives might fit in American society.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School made sure to show visitors at Commencement the industrial talents of its students to reinforce the assimilationist agenda of the school while presenting the 'ideal' Indigenous worker to the public. Starting in 1912, the school put on living displays of their different industries, with students acting out the part. Two photos of the displays remain today: one of blacksmithing and one of the laundry. Just as the diploma indicated, the girls in "Laundry" followed the Anglo ideals of the woman's place in society through their laundry work. The display had female students ironing and washing clothes, while one of their peers talked to the audience.[29] At the same time, at another location on campus, the boys practiced blacksmithing and made horseshoes and iron to an "audience of 3500 visitors."[30] These displays

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[27] Ibid, 7.

[28] *The Red Man* (Vol 5, No 9), 365.

[29] "Carlisle Indian School Commencement Exercises – Laundry Work," 1912, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/carlisle-indian-school-commencement-exercises-laundry-work. See Appendix.

[30] "Carlisle Indian School Commencement Exercises – Blacksmith," 1912, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/carlisle-indian-school-commencement-exercises-blacksmith. See Appendix.

attracted a large gathering of onlookers, as thousands saw students working in action. They served their purpose in putting Indigenous students on display and defining their places in society. The exhibits were open for two days during the commencement week, because "a large amount of interest has been aroused in the method of presenting vocational education among the Indians at this institution [Carlisle]."[31] These displays highlighted the students' capabilities for work in real-world industries.

Commencement speeches, addresses and orations informed students of their place in American society. A 1912 edition of *The Red Man* noted, "Each year there has been present at these exercises a prominent man to deliver an address on some practical subject connected with character building and Christian service."[32] Those who gave speeches at the ceremony each spoke of different things, but they almost always returned to the place of Indians in American society. Ranging from members of Congress and upper members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to successful alumni, the Commencement speeches contained assimilationist messages as far back as 1892.[33] The school used speeches to reinforce the idea that the Carlisle graduate was the 'ideal' worker.

An example of one of these speeches is Philip C. Garrett, who spoke during the presentation of diplomas in the 1893 commencement. Hon. Philip C. Garett, president of the Indian Rights Association, directly highlighted the differences between the races and argued that the Indigenous were less civilized. He used this basis to attest that the Native deserved a lesser position in society.

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[31] *The Red Man* (Vol IV, No. 9), 367.

[32] *Ibid,* 363.

[33] Richard Henry Pratt to T.J. Morgan, February 8, 1892, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_91_b0823_05053.pdf, 2-3.

In the beginning words of his speech, Garrett addressed the history of Indigenous and American interaction by saying that American culture was brought to the Natives "by the Providence of God in the pathway of a mighty and resistless tide of civilization, flowing Westward around you. So mighty is its flood, that resistance is fruitless, and the only choice is between submission and destruction on the one hand, or joining the flood and loathing it, on the other."[34] Garrett directly told the students that they must submit to the tide of civilization. If this message was not clear enough in the education program at Carlisle, it was known in the Commencement exercises. Garrett did not stop there, however, as he added that the students were "in the midst of an advanced civilization," and that the British of the day were "more advanced [than the Native American] a thousand years ago."[35] However, there was some 'hope' provided in this message from Garrett. He emphasized that the Indigenous could "compete with Europeans" and lessen the "gap of civilization between the civilization," if they were diligent in their studies at Carlisle and adopted American values.[36] Whereas Garrett and the Carlisle administration thought this was a good and positive message, it was harmful to the students because it reinforced the notion of differences between the two races and the requirement for students to submit to the pressures of acculturation. Garett's speech simply confirmed for the students what they saw happen to their peoples for years, that the expansion of Americans would not cease until they gained all of the Indigenous' land. Finally, Garett shared with the students that they would have a "fair chance" to succeed like the rest of society, while overlooking the numerous difficulties that Natives faced, namely racism. He added, "As for those who go among civilized people, I would not counsel them to aim at great

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[34] *The Red Man* (Vol XI, No 11), 4.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

things…Great wealth is actually undesirable and seldom is good."[37] It is paradoxical how the school told students that they would have infinite successes, but at the same time told them to not aspire too greatly. Which one was it: did students have a real chance at high levels of success, or did they not have any opportunities available to them? Carlisle boasted about the 'successes' of the school and its students, yet it did not want them to achieve too highly. This makes sense after all, as limited student success was ideal because they would no longer be reliant on the United States government for assistance, which required taxpayer dollars, and they wouldn't steal jobs or take away from the success of the whites. The messages promoted in the Commencement speeches and addresses at Carlisle were just as damaging as the educational program in terms of trying to convince the students of the benefits and necessity of assimilation.

Commencement at Carlisle, from the events leading up to the exercises to graduation day itself, contained countless assimilationist messages that served as a final lesson to the students before graduation. The week became an opportunity to demonstrate the students' civilization, and to promote the narrative of the 'ideal' Native worker. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School transformed the celebratory nature of graduation into another means of acculturation.

Photography at Carlisle

For those who could not make it to the commencement at Carlisle, photography communicated the assimilationist message and its 'successes' nationwide. After all, perhaps the most well-known part of the Carlisle School today are the before-and-after photos of Tom Torlino. Even if someone doesn't know Torlino's name, or the school itself, the striking contrast of the images surely leaves an imprint in the mind of the viewer. Historian Tsianina Lomawaima credits

[37] Ibid.

the school's before-and-after pictures to be as "much a part of American iconography as the images of Custer's Last Stand."[38] Photography was an essential part of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School as it was an easy means of disseminating the 'successes' of the school in civilizing the Native American students and showcasing the working capabilities of pupils.

Figure 4 Tom Torlino, Before & After[39]

Pratt started the practice of photography at Carlisle, which was another cog in the Carlisle Americanization machine. Prior to Carlisle, Pratt spent time at the Hampton Institute, where he worked alongside Samuel Armstrong. There, the two decided to use photographs to "illustrate the

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[38] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," in *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993), http://www.jstor.org/stable/645643, 229.

[39] John N. Choate, "Tom Torlino, Navajo, before and after," Photograph from the Richard Henry Pratt Papers (Yale University: 1882), https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tom_Torlino_Navajo_before_and_after_circa_1882.jpg.

conditions of Indians both 'before' and 'after' their institutionalization."[40] While working at Hampton, Armstrong instructed Pratt to secure more students for the school. Part of his mission, as Armstrong reminded him, was to take photographs of the new students and to "be sure and have them bring their wild barbarous things. This will show whence we started."[41] Pratt and Armstrong knew the power these photos had in juxtaposing Native life with school life. The photos served as a form of propaganda, which Pratt perfected during his time at the helm of the Carlisle School.

Pratt and Armstrong staged the before-and-after photos to add to their dramatic effect in showing the changes underwent at the schools. Both Hampton and Carlisle depicted students in their traditional attire for their 'before' pictures, and in the school uniform with cut hair for the 'after' pictures. This was enough of a sharp contrast, but it was taken even further at Carlisle. Carlisle photographer John N. Choate used front lighting and white powder to add to the "whitening process" seen in the Natives' new dress and hairstyles.[42] Pratt employed Choate for twenty-three years to photograph students, and his photography soon became one of the most impactful demonstrations of the school's effects on students. Not only was the whitening of the students possible through Americanization in Carlisle's educational program, but also through the physical appearance of students. Art historian Kevin Slivka explains that "the before-and-after images exemplify an imposed conformity masked by the process of education, philanthropy, and controlled propaganda while displaying an actual power dynamic that unfolds as processes implied through the photographic image."[43] The Carlisle School said it educated the Native population and

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[40] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 47.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Slivka, "Art, Craft, and Assimilation," 228.

[43] Ibid, 229.

'saved' them from their savage existence, but in reality, it was a method of stripping students of their Indigenous culture and replacing it with the dominant American culture of the time. The before-and-after images of students present the acculturation at the school to the viewer, while also sharing the true nature Carlisle and the federal boarding school program.

Photography was an integral part to Pratt's efforts, who devoted a whole chapter of his autobiography *Battlefield & Classroom* to visual propaganda. Pratt used photographs to demonstrate the 'successes' of the school, with the goal of securing funding for Carlisle and the establishment of similar boarding schools. In combination with letters, the photos served as a means of evidence to support Pratt's claims that the students had adapted to the school, like in his letter to Hon. T. C. Pound.[44] The juxtaposition between the before-and-after photos was striking enough that the photos alone were likely sufficient to court the favor of officials in Washington, D.C.. Pratt needed to justify the existence of the Carlisle School to politicians in the Capital, and photography proved the most effective and cost-efficient means of demonstrating the 'civilization' of the Indigenous students. The photos proved effective to "convince people that the school's philosophy and politics were successful in acclimating Indians to the white man's culture."[45] Just like writing at Carlisle, photography demonstrated the process of Americanization at the school.

The school spread its message through photographs in limited-run publications such as *Souvenir of the Carlisle Indian School* (1902) and *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School Carlisle, PA* (1902), which demonstrated the prioritization of industrial education at Carlisle through the organization of these images. Both sources open with written descriptions of the

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[44] Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 248.

[45] Richard. L. Tritt, "Notes on the Indian School Photographs and Photographers," in *The Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918* (Cumberland Country Historical Society, Carlisle, PA: 2002), 113.

school's history and goals, followed by a collection of pictures. It is difficult to ascertain their original purposes, but they were likely used to inform the masses of Carlisle's mission and purpose. With the written explanations and visual representations of what occurred at Carlisle, readers could learn about the school without having to travel to it. Thus, this form of photography was propaganda to sell the 'ideal' Indigenous worker and the Carlisle idea to the public. The *Souvenir* provides the reader with "a contrast between the past and present" as the enclosed photos consist of various examples of the before-and-after images.[46] The school designed this work with the sole intention of demonstrating its 'civilizing' efforts and 'progress.' Similarly, the *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School* provided a broad history of the school and a detailed look into the lives of students through over fifty photos (see Appendix Images 6-11). The first images show students in their indigenous dress and the school grounds, but photos of the industrial program soon follow. They range from students working in the boiler room to the printing office, repairing an old fence to painting a carriage, sewing to doing laundry, and more.[47] After this are photos of students studying and participating in extracurriculars. It was not until more than halfway through the collection of photos that there was an image of a normal classroom.[48] More photos of industrial work follow those of the classroom. The images of industrial education greatly outnumber those of classroom-based education. The order and number of photos demonstrates the school's prioritization of industrial over classroom education. Students personified this 'ideal' Indigenous

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[46] John N. Choate, "Souvenir of the Carlisle Indian School," 1902, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0039.pdf, 3.

[47] *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902* (Jamestown, NY: 1902), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 22-58.

[48] Ibid, 74.

worker through photos of them working, which demonstrated their ability to find a place within the economic and industrial systems of American society.

Photography at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was propaganda and promoted the 'civilizing' effects of the school. Before-and-after photographs served as the staple medium of demonstrating the 'success' of the school, and images of students doing manual labor suggested what their place in society might be. Ultimately, the Carlisle School's photography was representative of its belief in the value of industrial education and acculturation in providing Natives with a place in the American economy.

Football

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School became a household name through its football team, which also spread its message about Carlisle students as 'ideal workers.' Football proved a method of Americanizing students, and aided in "civilizing the Redmen," whether that be from the hands of the Carlisle administration, the football coaching staff, or the opponents that the students shared the field with.[49] Throughout its existence, the school fielded a football team that competed with universities throughout the country. Independent newspapers closely watched and covered the teams' matches. The school used the attention of the press to its advantage to rebrand the Native on a national scale.

Football was the perfect medium for Pratt to present the 'new' Native to America. The team faced big name universities in the northeast like Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Cornell, which

[49] "Special to The New York Times: PRINCETON BEATS CARLISLE, 6 TO 0: REDMEN SHOW UNEXPECTED STRENGTH IN A MUDDY BATTLE. SPARKS STARS FOR TIGERS HIS TERRIFIC LINE PLUNGING ENABLES PRINCETON TO CARRY THE BALL OVER FOR ONLY SCORE. PRINCETON BEATS CARLISLE, 6 TO 0," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*, Oct 23, 1910, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/princeton-beats-carlisle-6-0/docview/97053807/se-2?accountid=13320.

ensured that nearly every part of the country heard about the school. The football team also played against other universities across the country such as USC, Denver University, Northwestern, Army, Navy, and the University of Utah. Pratt saw football as a way to kill two birds with one stone. First, "football was a powerful tool for acculturating Indians to the American value system. From football Indians would learn the value of precision, teamwork, order, discipline, obedience, efficiency, and how all these interconnected in the business of 'winning.'"[50] Pratt argued that the sport taught American values to students that they wouldn't learn elsewhere. Many of these ideals, like "order, discipline, obedience," and "efficiency," spoke to the goal of the creation of the perfect worker. Second, Pratt admitted, "Nothing has helped us into public notice so much as football."[51] The press coverage that came with the football games brought the school's assimilationist mission into the homes of America. Through the values that Pratt expressed and Pop Warner's coaching, students became obedient followers who did not think for themselves. Along the same lines, Walter H. Eckersall of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote in 1907:

> When the coach tells an Indian player to do anything he never brings life, limb, or impossibility into question. He does it...The Indian player never replies to his coach, and even if he is not sure he never asks a question. He does his best, and, if corrected, plays close attention and gets it right next time.[52]

The students were good soldiers because they did not think to question their coach, nor did they deviate from the goal of winning games in favor of individual priorities such as preventing personal injury. Football instilled these characteristics in players that were essential to the school's Americanization efforts by showing the country that Indians could enter the workforce and follow orders. After all, according to leading Carlisle historian David Wallace Adams, "For Pratt, winning

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[50] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 185.

[51] David Wallace Adams, "More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917," in *The Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (2001), accessed August 27, 2021, doi:10.2307/3650836, 48.

[52] Walter H. Eckersall, "Football, the Indian Game," *Chicago Tribune* (November 12, 1907), 12.

football games was not an end in itself but a means to a larger objective: winning support for the idea that Indians, if given the opportunity, were capable of competing with whites not only on the football field but in society as well."[53] The football team became an extension for the Americanization program that Carlisle started in the classroom and industrial education.

The press analyzed every aspect of the athletes' public interactions, which served as a constant reminder of the students' 'civilization.' Athletes practically became celebrities as journalists covered their arrival, activities, clothing, and "civilized demeanor" prior to and after games.[54] For instance, in an article printed in a 1911 issue of *The New York Times*, the journalist wrote of the students' behavior:

> In all their games this year, and in their travels from place to place, the gentlemanly bearing and clean playing of the Indians has created a great deal of favorable comment from hotel people, opposing players, and officials, and these characteristics have aided Carlisle greatly in securing games with the leading colleges and universities of the country.[55]

Pratt trained his athletes well, and along with their success on the gridiron came "journalistic pronouncements that the old racial stereotypes were outdated and wrongheaded."[56] Historian David Wallace Adams attests that even the general public supported the Indians: "One thing is clear. White football fans loved to cheer for the Indians. Indeed, when Carlisle played on neutral ground, crowd support was almost always on their side."[57] Ultimately, the football team

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[53] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 184.

[54] Adams, "More than a Game," 37.

[55] "Special to The New York Times. 1911. FEW INDIANS HURT ON FOOTBALL FIELD: REDSKINS, WITH FEW OPPORTUNITIES IN SPORTS, PROGRESS RAPIDLY AT CARLISLE," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*, Dec 10, 1911, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/few-indians-hurt-on-football-field/docview/97156920/se-2?accountid=13320.

[56] Adams, "More than a Game," 36.

[57] Ibid, 38.

demonstrated the civilization of the Indian, potentially moving society away from the racist stereotypes of the previous generation.

At the center of these demonstrations of civilization were the actions of the football team on the field. As the media scrutinized the football players' actions, they paid particular attention to the Carlisle style of play. The team's efforts on the field demonstrated the Indian's sportsmanship and capacity to be a trustworthy worker. Pratt's first condition for the team was that his players did not slug their opponents, even in retaliation. His fear was that any physical attack on another player outside of the rulebook would cause the audience and nation to stereotype all Natives as violent cheaters. If white players did this, however, it was not a representation of their character like it was for Indian athletes. This double standard frequently questioned the morality and civilization of the Natives, while seemingly never critiquing whites. Sports historian Matthew Bentley argues, "the opposing white players were allowed to slug without comment; they were white and so did not have to supply proof of their civilized nature. No matter what their behavior, their race and civilization was beyond question."[58] Whites benefited from their 'civilized' status, which saw aggression on the field as the desire to win and tenacity. On the other hand, if the indigenous players retaliated, the crowd immediately labeled them as uncivilized. However, as early as 1897, Pratt's insistence on sportsmanship in his players was successful in courting the favor of journalists, as the New York Times printed, "Unlike his treacherous ancestry, the Indian fought man to man with a fierceness which perhaps he has never before shown on the gridiron."[59]

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[58] Matthew Bentley, "Playing White Men: American Football and Manhood at the Carlisle Indian School, 1893–1904," in *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3, no. 2 (2010), 189.

[59] "COLLEGE FOOTBALL GAMES: THE TIGERS AND THE INDIANS FROM CARLISLE STRUGGLE FIERCELY, THE TIGERS WINNING. YALE'S PLAY DISAPPOINTING THE HARVARD TEAM ALSO WEAK -- PENNSYLVANIA KEEPS UP THE HABIT OF BIG SCORES -- BROWN'S GOOD WORK -- RESULTS OF OTHER GAMES. 1897. New York Times (1857-1922), Oct 17, 1897, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/college-football-games/docview/95523154/se-2?accountid=13320.

The connection to the past was still present, yet Indians had left their alleged trickery behind and supposedly felt motivated by a new fervor that pushed them to fight on the field harder than any prior Indian resistance to white advance. The media and public began to move away from the stereotypes of the 'savage,' towards a new idea of the Native American. What Pratt failed to address, however, was the expectation for Natives to strive to become the very people that killed their relatives, stripped them of their land, and robbed and cheated them.

Pratt kept this shift in public attitude towards Native Americans in mind when he prioritized control of the media's narrative about the athletes over the well-being of his students in the Carlisle-Yale game. One of the most publicized games, the 1896 game against Yale saw Carlisle keep neck and neck with the collegiate team until a referee incorrectly called back Carlisle's go-ahead touchdown. The referee called a play dead prematurely when he thought that the Carlisle running back had been downed by the Yale men.[60] He wanted to correct his mistake once he realized it, but he did not because, "Murphy, the Yale Captain, objected, claiming that the whistle had been blown and the ball was down."[61] The Carlisle players thought they had been cheated by the referee, and many saw it as an intentional attempt to prevent the Indians from beating the white team. The players nearly left the field in protest but continued the game after deliberation. According to his autobiography, Pratt ran down to the field from the stands and rallied his troops: "The umpire's decision will not take it [the touchdown] from us. Go back and do your

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[60] "YALE HAD A CLOSE CALL: DEFEATS CARLISLE INDIANS BY 12 POINTS TO 6 REFEREE HICKOK'S WRONG DECISION IN THE SECOND HALF BOBBED TLIE INDIANS OF A TOUCHDOWN--YALE MEN PLAYED A DESPERATE GAME, BUT THE CARLISLE LINE WAS TOO STRONG--CAYOU MADE THE FIRST TOUCHDOWN WITHIN FIVE MINUTES," 1896, *New York Times* (1857-1922), Oct 25, 1896, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/yale-had-close-call/docview/1016166776/se-2?accountid=13320.

[61] Ibid.

best and wait for tomorrow morning's papers, and you will find that you are a bigger man because the touchdown was denied than you would be if it had been allowed."[62] *The New York Times*, however, asserted that the official in question "had a long talk with the Indians, and finally induced them to continue the game, which they did."[63] Although Pratt was likely not the sole reason that the players continued the game like his memoir suggests, his words were still impactful. More important to Pratt was the impression of the school in the eyes of the media than the feelings of his players. He correctly foresaw how the press would react, as an article attested, "They [Yale] won the football game, according to the official score, but there was very little glory in the victory for the Yale boys, and if W. O. Hickok, the referee, had not made a wrong decision, the score would have been a tie."[64] The press followed Pratt's prediction to a T. In addressing this event, historian Matthew Bentley writes, "However, this [Pratt's speech] portrayed them [the football players] as uncivilized by limiting their personal agency. It is doubtful that any player would have defied Pratt's instruction to continue the game. Hence, the players were not fully in control of their actions. They were essentially treated like children."[65] Just as every other part of Carlisle directed and limited student thought and actions, Pratt came sweeping in to 'correct' the situation. Surely a strong protest of the officiating would have been a demonstration of the race's ability to be 'civilized,' as they did not resort to violence. However, students did not receive the opportunity to express agency, and were instead forced to follow Pratt's orders to return to the game. Protesting athletes could draw parallels to protesting workers, which did not fit the 'ideal' worker that Pratt

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[62] Pratt, *Battlefield & Classroom*, 319.

[63] "YALE HAD A CLOSE CALL," in *New York Times*, October 25, 1896.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Bentley, "Playing White Men," 198.

sought to create. Football transformed from a pastime to another means of assimilation through the American values it instilled in students as the press covered games between the Carlisle Indians and universities across the country. The press drew connections between the battling of Indians and whites on the football field to the frontier conflict of the previous century, and created a "New Frontier" as the threat of Native attack faded into the distance and the American people grew almost nostalgic towards the foe of the past.

Over a decade after the Carlisle-Yale game, Pratt still emphasized restraint in his players, but this did not prove successful. The Carlisle players "were sportsmanlike, yet only resorted to necessary violence in the game during play."[66] The ability to curb their alleged vicious instincts and to employ them only during the games was what the media found particularly noteworthy about the team. However, despite all of Pratt's and the school's efforts, the athletes were not always able to restrain themselves. Although a unique example, the events of 1909 Carlisle vs. University of Pennsylvania game were certainly noteworthy because the press coverage that resulted from the event starkly contrasted the positive and favorable headlines that Carlisle received until that point. The day after the contest, the *New York Times* ran the headline: "Carlisle Redskin Slugs New York's Street Commissioner in Football Game."[67] This was just the media attention that Pratt feared when he decided to allow students to participate in games against white collegiate opponents. The Carlisle team thought that the officials had been unfairly calling the game in favor of Pennsylvania, which led to raised emotions. After being ejected, one Carlisle athlete, Wasueka,

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[66] Bentley, "Playing White Men," 196.

[67] "INDIAN STRIKES 'BILL' EDWARDS: CARLISLE REDSKIN SLUGS NEW YORK'S STREET COMMISSIONER IN FOOTBALL GAME. COACH WARNER IN THE FRAY WASEUKA ENRAGED BECAUSE HE BELIEVED HIS TEAM WAS GETTING THE WORST OF THE DECISIONS," 1909, in *New York Times* (1857-1922), Oct 31, 1909, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/indian-strikes-bill-edwards/docview/96941320/se-2?accountid=13320.

was “enraged at Umpire Bill Edward’s action,” and he “attacked the official and stuck him a hard blow on the jaw.”[68] Wasueka did not hold back, nor he did not restrain his ‘Indianness.’ He broke the cardinal rule of sports in his assault of an official. It was bad enough to attack a referee, but it was even worse that an Indian did it. The *New York Times* article continued to explain, “For the first time in the history of that famous athletic field an official was physically attacked by a player, and a policeman was called upon to escort the offending man and the coach of the Carlisle team behind the lines.”[69] For all the effort that Pratt and Warner put into ensuring the players played with sportsmanship and restraint, they were unsuccessful in curbing all of their athletes’ behavior. The press that had been sympathetic to Carlisle quickly shifted and attacked the character of the school’s athletes and students due to this event.

It is no wonder that this sentiment towards fighting the Natives was in football, as battling Indians became a part of American culture. Even children joined in by playing “Cowboys and Indians,” reenacting the battles for the frontier. Arthur Martin, like many others, took this even further. He explained that as children, he went to “fight Indians” with his friends:

> Somebody would say "Let's go fight Indians,” so we'd troop out to what was known as the freight tracks in those days…which was the back of the Indian School, and start throwing balls over the fence into the grounds. Well that didn't take long for the Indian boys to notice that and they came and threw them back. So we had a nice stone battle until the railroad cops, police, would come along and stop us.[70]

Battling Natives was so ingrained in American culture that the use of imagery of the frontier in describing the Carlisle football games was a natural result.

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Arthur Martin, “Oral Histories,” December 17, 1980. Cumberland Country Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, 1.

The press' "New Frontier," emerged as a sense of something similar to nostalgia seemed to be present in the rhetoric of the media at the time, as if the football matches were a revival of the forgotten battles for the frontier. It was not just one or two journalists, rather, "press accounts of Indian-white football contests were filled with allusions to frontier conflict."[71] Numerous newspapers ran headlines with this imagery. In an issue printed on October 17, 1897, the *New York Times* wrote, "The Indian and the Anglo-Saxon met in battle on the gridiron to-day, and the noble red men were trampled in the sod which was once their own by the giants who wear the moleskins and jerseys of old Nassau."[72] Tying into old beliefs, the author made it clear that the football game between Princeton was much more than just that, and came to represent the centuries of conflict between whites and Indians. This rhetoric was taken even further in the description of the Harvard vs. Carlisle game of 1896, which occurred a week after the Yale incident:

> Over 500 years of education were represented by the young palefaces in crimson, while centuries of fire and sun worship, medicine man incantations, ghost dances and mound building were flooded before the inner vision by the appearance of the young men from Carlisle. Every glance at their swarthy faces and crow-black hair wafted the mind back to the days of Pontiac, King Philip, Samoset, to the time of Hannah Dustin's escape, to Lovewell's war and Marquette's trips of discovery in a fabric of birch bark.[73]

Thus, the games between Carlisle and white rivals were much more than isolated occurrences. Rather, they were the next generation's participation in the long history of Indian and white conflict which had been a staple of American society for hundreds of years.

At the same time that newspapers pushed the narrative that the football games were the "New Frontier" of battles between Natives and whites, they highlighted characteristics and

[71] Adams *Education for Extinction*, 186.

[72] "COLLEGE FOOTBALL GAMES," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*, Oct 17, 1897.

[73] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 186.

imagery of Indianness to strengthen the story. The most common image that authors clung to was scalping. After a loss to Brown University, an article read, "The old struggle of the pale face against the redskin was waged in all fierceness at the polo grounds yesterday and an Indian scalp now hangs at the belt of the Brown University boys who humbled the Carlisle school aborigines in a most conclusive battle on the gridiron."[74] Through the image of the scalp, the connection between historical conflicts and contemporary athletic matchers was clear. An even earlier allusion likely inspired this imagery: "Yale's football players walked off Manhattan Field yesterday with the scalps of the Carlisle Indians dangling from their belts."[75] Even a small newspaper, *The Biloxi Daily Herald*, picked up on the connection and ran the headline: "Glen Warner, Head Coach, Is the Man Behind the Scalp Lifters."[76] The *Duluth News-Tribune* likewise included the imagery of scalping in the defeat of the Carlisle Indians in 1914 with the headline, "All-Stars Scalp Carlisle Reds."[77] Ranging from *The New York Times* to smaller, more regional newspapers, the sentiments of dealing the Indians the same punishment they dealt whites upon defeat in the battles of the frontier speaks to an almost vengeful sentiment in the eyes of the authors and audience. It is almost as if the white athletes were able to prove their superiority in victory and punish the Carlisle Natives for their heritage, for their being Indians. Ultimately, imagery strengthened the connection

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[74] "INDIAN FOOTBALL WARRIORS CRUSHED BY BROWN ATTACKS: CARLISLE ELEVEN FORCED TO YIELD SUPREMACY TO PROVIDENCE COLLEGIANS AFTER HARD ONSLAUGHTS IN SECOND HALF," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*, Nov 21, 1909, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/indian-football-warriors-crushed-brown-attacks/docview/96915062/se-2?accountid=13320.

[75] "YALE HAD A CLOSE CALL."

[76] "THE INDIAN ELEVEN. The Carlisle Gridiron Warriors have Sensational Schedule. PLAY FIVE LEADING TEAMS," November 1907. in *The Biloxi Daily Herald* (Biloxi, Mississippi: November 1907), 7.

[77] "All-Stars Scalp Carlisle Reds Old-Time Football Players from Eastern School Break into Game," in *The Sunday News Tribune* (Duluth, Minnesota: November 29, 1914).

between the past and present, to add more meaning to the conflicts on the football field and the "New Frontier."

Although the football program at Carlisle brought many positives to the school, it was not perfect. The school was harmed in two ways by the program: scandals relating to the fielding of professional players and finances. Newspapers across the country picked up the story and printed allegations against the school. One claimed, "the Carlisle Indian School has degenerated into a school of professional athletics."[78] Still another added, "a price was offered to induce better playing: a goal, a touchdown, blocked kick, etc.., having a regular value to the player making them."[79] The media cast a blot in the resume of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School's football team and its legacy, which harmed the promotion of the Carlisle School's narrative of the 'ideal' Indigenous worker.

The school took in so much revenue from football, that there was an investigation into its use. Carlisle Superintendent William A. Mercer explained that the school did not look to profit from football, rather the money was "dropped into our [the school's] laps as it were."[80] He added that it was "embarrassing to have more money than we really need," and tried to shift the blame to the universities who organized the sale of tickets and sent checks to Carlisle.[81] Mercer was quite defensive about what the school did with funds, because the football team primarily received

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[78] "Accusations of Professionalism on the Carlisle Football Team," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_CCF_b006_f16_98512.pdf, 6.

[79] Ibid, 7.

[80] "Accusations of Professionalism on the Carlisle Football Team," 4.

[81] Ibid.

positive attention prior to when the school was investigated in 1907. After maintaining that the school did not need the money generated from football competition, he wrote:

> It may be of interest to our competitors to know that any surplus receipts over and above the sums necessary to maintain athletics at the school which come into the hands of the Athletic Associations are used entirely for the mental, moral, and physical welfare of the school in necessary ways that are not provided by the government appropriation.[82]

Mercer argued that the money was necessary to pay for what was not covered by government funding, which was a valid point because the federal funding was often insufficient. For instance, Pratt put the school on the Army ration because the quality of the food provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs was so poor.[83] At the same time, however, Mercer also said that the school did not need additional funding. His contradictory response certainly adds to the concerns of misuse of the money gained from football. Mercer sought to limit the bad press and spin it in Carlisle's favor.

Another major football team scandal occurred in 1907 when the school was accused of fielding professional players, which took away from Carlisle's ability to promote its message of the 'ideal' Indian worker and instead left much of American society with the idea that Natives were con artists. American professional football had not started yet, so the collegiate game was the zenith of competition. Collegiate teams could not employ professional players for their games; instead, the athletes had to be students of the institution they represented. Newspapers swept the country containing striking headlines and damning evidence. The *Tribune* wrote, "Carlisle's Indian football eleven is, according to government officials formerly in the Indian services, largely a professional team, paid for its services; many of the players are graduates from two to four year's

[82] Ibid, 18.

[83] Brunhouse, "THE FOUNDING OF THE CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL," 81.

standing."[84] The article argued that the school hung on to students after their date of graduation for the purpose of bolstering their football squad. Likewise, some of the staff of the school participated in the games. The most damning testimony came from the Carlisle School's former physician, Dr. Carlos Montezuma. He charged that in 1907:

> For the first time in the history of Carlisle athletics, the majority of the football team were Indians not connected with the Carlisle school as students, but were picked up by the school management from different parts of the country because of their ability as players; so that in the 1907 team there probably were not more than one-third of the members who were in actual attendance at the school as students.[85]

Montezuma was strong in his critique of the school, as he saw that the football team had deviated from its purpose in fielding students and had instead brought Indians to the school specifically for the purpose of athletics. Montezuma wanted the school to present its true students, not a very athletic group of professionals to the world. Although the school received good press due to its success, Montezuma was concerned that the use of these professionals distracted from the message of the Indian worker. The public eye was on this group of students, and they became the faces of the Carlisle School. The press created a stereotype of Indian athleticism, which was not representative of the Carlisle student body. Montezuma worried that the press' and Carlisle's mythological Indians could not mutually coexist. Likewise, fielding professionals was a violation of rules, which connected Native Americans to trickery, instead of raising them up for their sportsmanship. This directly contrasted the message that the school sought to promote.

In an effort to combat the negative press, the Carlisle School chose Coach Pop Warner as their representative on the matter, and he spoke to numerous newspapers and provided a decent

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[84] Ibid, 6.

[85] Carlos Montezuma, "CARLISLE'S ATHLETIC POLICY CRITICISED BY DR. MONTEZUMA: INDIAN PHYSICIAN OF THIS CITY SAYS THE FOOTBALL PLAYERS ARE NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL. OTHER FOOTBALL RESULTS," in *Chicago Daily Tribune* (1872-1922), November 24, 1907, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/carlisles-athletic-policy-criticised-dr-montezuma/docview/173358100/se-2?accountid=13320.

counter to the accusation of the use of professionals in football at Carlisle. In 1907, Carlisle was at the height of its success on the gridiron. Warner latched onto this in his denial of the accusations and said, "these knocks against the Carlisle team came from soreheads and hard losers…there seems to be no general understanding of the conditions here at Carlisle, and so many false or misleading stories have been published."[86] Warner hoped to dismiss all the accusations against the team. Rather than outright dismiss the criticism against Carlisle, Warner decided to dismantle each part of his opponents' arguments. First, he addressed the eligibility of players, as the school did not need to follow the same rules as colleges. Warner admitted, "The only real criticism that can be made of Carlisle football methods is the fact that men have played on the team in some instances more than four years…Many come to Carlisle without any education whatever, and some even without knowing the English language, and it is not uncommon in such cases for students to remain here six or seven years." Allowing players to participate in the team for more than four years was not necessarily a bad thing, as they could still be legitimate students at the school due to the differences between the educational program at Carlisle and that found at the traditional university. Montezuma agreed, "Carlisle is in a peculiar position, athletically. The students attending the school are nearly grown to maturity, though they are still in the grammar grades of school work."[87] It was reasonable that some Carlisle students took more than four years to graduate. Warner effectively addressed the criticisms against the school by highlighting the difference between Carlisle and the universities that it faced on the football field.

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[86] "Special to The New York Times: WARNER DEFENDS CARLISLE ELEVEN: INDIAN'S FAMOUS COACH ANSWERS CRITICS OF SUCCESSFUL FOOTBALL TEAM. CONDITIONS AT SCHOOL NO ELIGIBILITY RULES REQUIRED AT GOVERNMENT INSTITUTION -- MEN PLAY UNTIL THEY ARE GRADUATED," in *New York Times* (1857-1922), Dec 07, 1907, https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/warner-defends-carlisle-eleven/docview/96726947/se-2?accountid=13320.

[87] "Accusations of Professionalism on the Carlisle Football Team," 7.

The other main criticism that Warner addressed was that students played under false names. Specifically, Warner explained that a student, Hauser, was "accused of being 32 years old, married and having children," when he was actually "22 years old, unmarried and a bona fide student."[88] He clarified that students often had two names: one English and one Indian. In effect, Warner addressed how the athletes and students at Carlisle had dual identities in their indigenous heritage and what they adopted through Americanization. Just as the football team battled against whites on the field, the indigenous and white sides of students' identities fought for supremacy. Warner stated that the students chose between their English and Indian name to put in the lineup, and that "no deception whatever has ever been intended."[89] It was reasonable that there was confusion about the athletes due to the naming practices at the school. Although Warner did well to dismantle some of the critics' claims, the school ultimately decided to make changes to the football program. Following the 1907 football season, the school's Athletic Association "decided not to allow any students to represent Carlisle in football more than four years, and, also, the players must be regular enrolled students, and not employees of the school."[90] Football ultimately had a net positive on the Carlisle School as it brought much success and notoriety, but the negative attention that came with it stained its legacy.

Conclusion

The football team is an effective case study of the practices at the Carlisle school in setting the narrative for the Indian as the 'ideal' worker. What started in the photographs, commencement

[88] "Coach Warner Answers Charges Against Indian," in *The Sunday News Tribune* (Duluth, Minnesota), December 15, 1907, 4.

[89] "Coach Warner Answers Charges Against Indians," 4.

[90] "Accusations of Professionalism on the Carlisle Football Team," 9.

exercises, and theatre was taken to the extreme in athletics. Thus, Philip Deloria is accurate in his claim: "Ironically, this extracurricular activity [football] contributed as much to the integrating of Indian and American culture as the rudimentary book learning and obsolete manual-labor training on which the school prided itself."[91] The football team had a huge impact on the school and life at Carlisle, as it transformed the public sentiments towards Natives from the stereotypes of the previous century towards acknowledgement of Native Americans' potential for fitting into American society by showcasing the school to the national stage. This athletic success, however, came at the expense of education, and with "fundamental pain and destruction created by assimilation policies."[92] It is easy when discussing football at the Carlisle School to praise the successes and accomplishments of the program, while overlooking its effects and purpose of furthering the Americanization process at Carlisle. While the Carlisle School promoted its students as 'ideal' Indigenous workers, a select group of those involved with Carlisle fought against its assimilationist mission and made it known that they did not fit into this archetype.

[91] Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* 125.

[92] Bloom, "The Imperial Gridiron," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and* Reclamations, ed. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (University of Nebraska Press: 2016), muse.jhu.edu/book/47567, 124.

Chapter 3: Rebelling Against Carlisle

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School did everything within its power to control the narrative about Native Americans and to identify them as a source of labor for the economy at the turn of the nineteenth century. The school portrayed Natives as 'ideal' workers, rather than the stereotypical lazy and useless Indians of the early twentieth century. Although the Carlisle School sought this end for its graduates, many deviated from this path. A group of students emerged in a self-guided and independent rebellion against what occurred at Carlisle and the assimilationist goals of the United States government and American society. These students arose to directly combat the narrative that Carlisle promoted about Native Americans and to expose the reality of the school. Carlisle was so concerned with keeping the image of the Native as the perfect worker that it tried to discredit some of the accounts of former students, and even authorized a white employee to write her own memoir as if she were a student at the school under the penname of "Embe." Ranging from alumni to Carlisle dropouts and employees to star athletes, students shared their experience once they were free from the yoke that held them on the assimilationist path. Some of these Native Americans waited until after the school closed in 1918 to publicly critique the school.

Perhaps two of the more well-known Carlisle and missionary school graduates due to their writing skills, Luther Standing Bear and Zitkala-Ša used what they acquired in school to rewrite the Carlisle narrative. In place of gratitude and appreciation for what occurred at Carlisle, both authors discovered their true feelings for the school later in life: hatred for its mission and what occurred there. On the other hand, some students chose to express their rebellion through actions. For example, Edgar L. Rogers was a star football player at Carlisle who wholeheartedly bought into the assimilation program at Carlisle, only to "return to the blanket" later in life. For another

example, Plenty Horses spent a number of years at Carlisle, yet he returned home and killed Army Lieutenant Edward W. Casey on January 7, 1891. The school tried to distance itself from this group of rebels because all four of them turned their backs on the Carlisle School and fought against its archetype of the perfect Indian graduate. This group of Native Americans stood strong against the Carlisle School by directly combating the narrative it spread through its propaganda, and they serve as a reminder that Native Americans were not passive in their experience with assimilation.

Plenty Horses

Plenty Horses was a student at Carlisle from 1883 to 1888, but never graduated, unlike Standing Bear and Rogers. Plenty Horses never supported what happened at Carlisle, and he never bought into the assimilationist program like many of the other students. However, he did pay much attention to the training he received at Carlisle. Plenty Horses was more similar to the traditional Carlisle student than Standing Bear, Zitkala-Ša, and Rogers, because he "went back to the blanket."[1] However, simply because he followed a similar pattern to the majority of students who left Carlisle, it does not mean that his life was ordinary. He was a Carlisle dropout who returned to the reservation and developed a hatred for white Americans. Plenty Horses murdered a US Army officer in 1891 specifically to cast off what he learned at Carlisle, and to prove that the school had not changed his allegiances.

When Plenty Horses returned to the Rosebud Reservation, he did not have many options or opportunities. He found that "the training that he had received at Carlisle—mostly vocational

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[1] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 126.

and mostly out-of-date in an industrial economy—proved particularly useless."[2] Similarly, he no longer felt at home among his people because of his own juggling of identities and ideals, and because of how they treated him. After all, historian Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz explains that "due to his absence and Euro-American influence, he was suspect among his own people."[3] The isolation he felt caused him to be desperate for the acceptance of his people. After being home for roughly two years, the Wounded Knee Massacre occurred on December 29, 1890, where the United States Army killed over two hundred Lakota at the Pine Ridge Reservation. Like Luther Standing Bear, this enraged Plenty Horses, who took up arms. Experts in Indian education John Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Eder contended that "Plenty Horses killed Lt. Edward Casey to cleanse himself of the effects of attending Carlisle."[4] He wanted to regain the trust and to be accepted by his people. Plenty Horses shot an unsuspecting Casey, who was under the impression that he was negotiating peace. According to Robert N. Getty, a First Lieutenant and Regional Quartermaster in the United States Army, "Lieut. Casey started out with the intention of penetrating the hostile camp to have a talk with the principal chief, and thought he could accomplish this object by boldness."[5] Plenty Horses shot Casey while Casey was distracted and talking to someone else.[6] Once brought to trial, the popular consensus at the time was that "all the facts in the case clearly show[ed] that the killing

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[2] Ibid, 28.

[3] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous People's History of the United States* (Beacon Press, Boston MA: 2014) https://www.panafricanperspective.com/An%20Indigenous%20Peoples%20History%20of%20the%20United%20States%20Ortiz.pdf, 157.

[4] Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 148.

[5] United States, "Wounded Knee Massacre: Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-Fourth Congress, Second Session, on s. 1147 and S…," HathiTrust (US Government Print Office, 1976), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/pur1.32754062033208, 320.

[6] Ibid.

was without provocation, premeditated, and deliberate."[7] All things seemingly pointed to an easy conviction.

The trial of Plenty Horses from February 5-6, 1876, had major ramifications as the court's ruling in his case could directly impact and implicate the American soldiers who participated in the Wounded Knee Massacre. If the court found Plenty Horses guilty of an unprovoked killing of a U.S. soldier, then the same sentencing had to follow for the soldiers at Wounded Knee. However, Plenty Horses walked free with a 'not guilty' verdict for the murder of Lt. Casey because the judge determined that the killing occurred during a "state of war." Specifically, this "state of war" existed "between his tribe and the United States," and the killing was "an incident of the war and not murder under the law."[8] Ultimately, Plenty Horses made clear that he sided with Native Americans, not American society.

The connection between Plenty Horses' actions and his rebellion against Carlisle were explicit during his trial. On the stand, he said:

> Five years I attended Carlisle and was educated in the ways of the white man. When I returned to my people, I was an outcast among them. I was no longer an Indian. I was not a white man. I was lonely. I shot the lieutenant so I might make a place for myself among my people. I am now one of them. I shall be hung, and the Indians will bury me as a warrior.[9]

Plenty Horses directly blamed Carlisle for his actions, which threatened to shatter the image that the school sought to promote. This was the strongest rebellion against the school as it occurred in a court of law, but also because someone died in the process. The Carlisle School produced a student that actively rebelled against the United States government, while returning to Indigenous life. Not only did Plenty Horses reject the teachings of the school, but he also effectively severed

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[7] Ibid, 330.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Robert M. Utley, "The Ordeal of Plenty Horses," in *American Heritage* 26 (December 1974), 16.

any ties to the school. Plenty Horses was an important member of American history, but the Carlisle School did not see it this way. The school did an effective job of erasing his record of attendance and distanced itself from him. With thousands of scans of primary source files from the Carlisle School easily accessible today, there is seemingly no mention of Plenty Horses having attended the school. The main and strongest source connecting Plenty Horses to Carlisle was his testimony at his trial. Without this, it would prove difficult to connect the two entities.

Plenty Horses certainly took the most extreme actions out of these Carlisle graduates in rebellion against what was taught at the school. He resorted to violence while his peers chose to use their words or use positive actions to make their feelings and rebellion known. The school responded strongly to Plenty Horses. Although it did not publicly discredit him, it did separate itself from him and practically ease all evidence of his attending Carlisle. In the end, Plenty Horses took revenge into his own hands and his actions cause him to live on in American History.

Zitkala-Ša, or Gertrude Bonin

Zitkala-Ša, a student at White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute, had a very different experience than Plenty Horses at Carlisle. While in school, she was provided with an English name, Gertrude Simmons. Zitkala-Ša later married and acquired the last name Bonin, which she is more widely known by today. Unlike Plenty Horses, she became the poster child for the education of Native Americans as she excelled as a student. Zitkala-Ša was an 'ideal' Native that the Carlisle School used as a trophy to advocate for Indian education because of her education, oratory skills, and musical ability. With these abilities, she secured a job as a teacher at Carlisle in 1897. While there, she felt many of the pressures that Plenty Horses experienced as a student, and Pratt controlled her speech and writings. Once free of Carlisle in 1900, however, Zitkala-Ša used her writing to attack the hypocrisy of the school.

Zitkala-Ša's excellence in the classroom and her skilled ability at the violin gained her notoriety and attracted the attention of Richard Henry Pratt, who recruited her as an instructor at Carlisle. Specifically, she was an "exemplarily educated Indian—civilized, English speaking, and articulate." As early as 1897, Zitkala-Ša traveled to the Yankton territory to recruit students for the school.[10] Zitkala-Ša had a very close relationship with Pratt during her time as an employee at Carlisle, and she received considerable support from him. Pratt even vouched for her in an application to the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. He wrote a letter in 1899 that advocated for Zitkala-Ša's acceptance into the program, for her to receive funding from the BIA, and attested to her character and skillset. In this letter, he wrote of Zitkala-Ša:

> I will say for Miss Simmons [Zitkala-Ša] that she is a full blood Yankton Sioux; that she has unusual ability in the directions of music and elocution; that she has shown great perseverance so far in her career, and if enabled to follow out her idea of a three years course where she is now, I think she would stand well to the front in her professions as all who have had to do with her give uniform testimony to her ability.[11]

Pratt's praise for Zitkala-Ša in 1899 greatly contrasts his words towards her just a year later, because he was a harsh critic of her works published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. In these writings, Zitkala-Ša wrote of her experience at the White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute, and her time as an employee at Carlisle. Zitkala-Ša left the Carlisle School in 1898 following disagreements with Pratt about the education of Native Americans. Once free, she shared her experiences publicly.

In February 1900, Zitkala-Ša published three autobiographical essays in the *Atlantic Monthly* titled "Impressions of an Indian Childhood," "The School Days of an Indian Girl," and "An Indian Teacher among Indians," all of which spoke to her experience and the juggling of her

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[10] "Descriptive Statement of Pupils from Yankton Agency, 1897," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_91_b1452_36246_0.pdf, 2.

[11] Richard Henry Pratt to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs (William A. Jones), January 27, 1899, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_91_b1621_4824.pdf, 1-2.

indigenous identity with the ideals of white America. Zitkala-Ša likely had to confront her own experiences in boarding schools now that she was on the other side of the equation as an educator. Filling the shoes of her oppressors surely made her question her own pedagogical philosophy and her experiences in childhood. These stories enraged Pratt and similar figures in the sphere of Indian education because they highlighted the evils and negatives that occurred at the schools like Carlisle. For instance, in "The School Days of an Indian Girl," Zitkala-Ša described her arrival at the missionary school: "My body trembled more from fear than from the snow I trod upon."[12] This experience paralleled that of students who went to Carlisle, as seen in the works of Luther Standing Bear. Zitkala-Ša's fear was taken further as she explained that:

> My only safety seemed to be in keeping next to the wall. As I was wondering in which direction to escape from all this confusion, two warm hands grasped me firmly, and in the same momentum I was tossed high in midair. A rosy-cheeked paleface woman caught me in her arms. I was both frightened and insulted by such trifling. I stared into her eyes, wishing her to let me stand on my own feet, but she jumped me up and down with increasing enthusiasm. My mother had never made a plaything out of her wee daughter. Remembering this I began to cry aloud.[13]

Perhaps the most damning piece of the work, Zitkala-Ša shared the true fear she felt as a child at her the inability to escape. At the same time, she highlighted the differences between this new supposedly motherly figure at her school and her actual mother. Not only does this highlight the differences in culture between the two groups, but it also speaks to the attitude that many in the education of Indians had towards their students. There was a lack of respect for the student as she was more a plaything to the matron than a human. The students became objectified and seen as something other than human, just as Native Americans were dehumanized in the battles of the frontier.

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[12] Zitkala-Ša, *The School Days of an Indian Girl ; an Indian Teacher among Indians*, 2.

[13] Ibid.

In "The School Days of an Indian Girl" (February 1900), Zitkala-Ša powerfully described her loss of spirit at the White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute and the attacks on her culture and her humanity. With the strict regimentation of the school, she commented that the incessant ringing of bells and routine resulted in the tiring of her spirit, where although it was "struggling for its lost freedom, all was useless."[14] Like Luther Standing Bear, Zitkala-Ša felt that she was a prisoner at this school and progressively lost her will to fight. She was very outspoken and rebellious in the beginning. At the prospect of having her hair cut, she ran away and said, "No, I will not submit! I will struggle first!"[15] Reflecting on her time at the school, she realized, "since the day I was taken from my mother I had suffered extreme indignities. People had stared at me. I had been tossed about in the air like a wooden puppet. And now my long hair was shingled like a coward's!"[16] Despite her best efforts, Zitkala-Ša could not escape the fate of what happened at these schools: the acculturation of students and stripping of their heritage. The day-to-day of the school wore her resistance down over time, and she prioritized survival and submitted to the acculturation at her missionary school. Over the next few years, Zitkala-Ša became a model student and excelled. She even chose to continue her education at Earlham College in Richmond, Virginia, starting in 1895. The College was founded by Quakers, who were open to educating Native Americans. After all, the early hosts of Carlisle's outing program were Quakers in Pennsylvania. Once there, however, she felt even more isolated and alone surrounded by white students than she did at her missionary school. She reflected, "Often I wept in secret, wishing I had gone West, to be nourished by my mother's love, instead of remaining among a cold race whose hearts were frozen hard with

[14] Ibid, 4.

[15] Ibid, 6.

[16] Ibid.

prejudice."[17] Similar to the school's broken promise of employment for Plenty Horses after returning home, so too did the school fail to fulfill its promises of equality and respect once Zitkala-Ša entered white civilization.

The racism and discrimination that Zitkala-Ša faced was worst when she represented her school at the state capital for an oration contest. When she was competing, someone held a sign that depicted a "forlorn Indian girl," labeled "Squaw."[18] To make it that far in the oration contest, she was deemed the best orator at her school, but she still faced racism and prejudice at the contest. Soon, the pressure became too much for Zitkala-Ša, and she dropped out of college in 1897 due to illness.

The next article that Zitkala-Ša published, "An Indian Teacher Among Indians" (March 1900), spoke of her experience teaching at Carlisle and contained a strong critique of the lack of opportunities for graduates and the hypocrisy of those who served at the school. Just as she felt like a prisoner at the missionary school, Zitkala-Ša felt the same way while employed at Carlisle as a teacher. She felt as though there was always someone watching her: "Though I had gone to and fro, from my room to the office, in an unhappy silence, I was watched by those around me."[19] The surveillance at Carlisle was something that all students experienced, so it is not too surprising that an Indian teacher faced the same treatment. Zitkala-Ša expanded upon her unhappiness by writing, "fortunately, my inheritance of a marvelous endurance enabled me to bend without

[17] Ibid, 18.

[18] Ibid, 20.

[19] Ibid, 25.

breaking."[20] Zitkala-Ša spoke the truth as she turned her negative experience into something positive through her writings and advocacy for Native American rights later in life.

Zitkala-Ša strongly attacked the hypocrisy of the teaching staff at Carlisle that was supposed to serve the best interest of students, but instead prioritized its own interests. She explained, "I slowly comprehended that the large army of white teachers in Indian schools had a larger missionary creed than I had suspected. It was one which included self-preservation quite as much as Indian education."[21] This was a serious accusation to make, and it burned many bridges and created many enemies for her. She continued, "When I saw an opium-eater holding a position as a teacher of Indians, I did not understand what good was expected, until a Christian in power replied that this pumpkin-colored creature had a feeble mother to support."[22] Zitkala-Ša highlighted the hypocrisy of prioritizing the needs of someone who did drugs over the needs of the students that they had a "Christian mission" to support. Likewise, she emphasized the tendency for the vast majority of teachers to limit the potential of students: "I find it hard to count that white man a teacher who tortured an ambitious Indian youth by frequently reminding the brave changeling that he was nothing but a 'government pauper.'"[23] This limitation harkens back to the idea that the Carlisle School provided students with a select range of opportunities, with very few students reaching higher education or employment that paid better than manual labor. Recounting a visit to her mother's, Zitkala-Ša quotes her saying, "the Great Father at Washington sent a white son to take your brother's pen from him…Since then Dawee has not been able to make use of the

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid, 32.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

education the Eastern school has given him."[24] In writing of her visit to her mother's, Zitkala-Ša made it clear that she was an outlier to those who graduated from Indian boarding schools. She knew that very few graduates of Carlisle attended higher education and even less lived their lives independent of the government aid on reservations. The school claimed to work in the best interests of the student, but this did not fool Zitkala-Ša.

Next, Zitkala-Ša attacked the doctor and rest of the Carlisle employees for lack of professionalism and for their failure to fulfill their 'mission.' In critique of the doctor, she wrote, "An inebriate paleface sat stupid in the doctor's chair, while Indian patients carried their ailments to untimely graves, because his fair wife was dependent upon him for her daily food."[25] With another strong criticism, Zitkala-Ša accused the school of employing an unqualified doctor, leading to the death of many students. Allegedly, the school did this because it cared more about a white family than protecting students. This was a very strong claim due to the high death rate at Carlisle. She even included the inspector sent by the Bureau of Indian affairs in her critique, as the school put on a good show for him, and Zitkala-Ša was "nettled by this sly cunning of the workmen who hoodwinked the Indian's pale Father at Washington."[26] As for employees of the Indian education system in general, she had a few choice words. Calling back to her time in the mission school, where the woman thought she was doing a great job but instead made Zitkala-Ša feel like a "plaything," she exposed the hypocrisy of many of the workers. She finished her "An Indian Teacher among Indians" with the following words:

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[24] Ibid, 28.

[25] Ibid, 32.

[26] Ibid.

> In this fashion many have passed idly through the Indian schools during the last decade, afterward to boast of their charity to the North American Indian. But few there are who have paused to question whether real life or long-lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization.[27]

Zitkala-Ša forced the workers to question if they actually did a service to the Native Americans through their education or if they harmed them in the long run. Many of the workers went through their time at the school without thinking about the actions they took. Zitkala-Ša challenged them to do better by criticizing their wrongdoing publicly, and sought a better education program for Native Americans, one that did not require the death of the students' heritage. In the end, the harsh criticisms of Native American education at large, and the Carlisle School in particular, showed the power of Zitkala-Ša's writing ability and the emotions that she expressed once she was no longer under control of White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

Zitkala-Ša left her position at Carlisle in 1898 due to disagreements with Pratt about the education of Native Americans, and it is clear that these disagreements compounded in the public publishing of her works. Following her articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a rift formed between the school and Zitkala-Ša. First, in reference to her, it addressed Bonin as '"Zitkala Sa,'" in quotations, as if to suggest that she used a made-up pen name, rather than her preferred name that was part of her heritage.[28] Other newspapers at the time, like *The Brooklyn Times*, did not include such quotations in addressing her.[29] Likewise, *The Red Man*, a Carlisle School publication printed to promote the work of the school and its students, directly attacked and sought to discredit her work. According to historian Jennifer Bess, Pratt and his staff had considerable control over the Carlisle

[27] Ibid, 34.

[28] *The Red Man* (Vol. XV., No. 11), February 1900, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedMan_v15n11_0.pdf, 8.

[29] *The Red Man* (Vol. XVI, No 1), April, 1900, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/RedMan_v16n01_0.pdf, 8.

publications, which had the sole purpose of affirming "Carlisle's successes so that it might become the national model for Indian education."[30] Thus, Pratt likely had a say in the school's official response to her writing. Although the newspaper recognized that the work had "literary quality," and that she had "a striking gift of characterization," the piece was quick to pick apart her writings.[31] The newspaper asserted:

> We regret that she did not once call to mind the happier side of those long school days, or even hint at all the friends who did so much to break down for her the barriers of language and custom, and to lead her from poverty and insignificance into the comparatively full and rich existence that she enjoys today.[32]

The animosity in this piece in *The Red Man* aligns itself with Pratt's attitude towards Zitkala-Ša, and the efforts of the school to control her even after she left her position as an employee. The Carlisle School so sought to control the narrative of the Native Americans that it even went as far as to attack one of its stars to prevent alternative ways of thinking about indigenous education. This was an especially strong reaction because the article *The Red Man* responded to, "The School Days of an Indian Girl," was not a direct attack on Carlisle. Instead, Zitkala-Ša critiqued Indian schools led by missionaries. Suggesting that Zitkala-Ša would lead an 'insignificant' life if it not for her education and assimilation into American society certainly speaks to the ruthlessness of the author and self-righteousness of those involved at Carlisle in the education of Natives. Ultimately, the newspaper concluded that "the underlying bitterness of her story will cause readers unfamiliar with Indian schools to inform entirely wrong conclusions. Her pictures are not, perhaps, untrue in themselves, but, taken by themselves, they are sadly misleading."[33] While *The Red Man* wanted

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[30] Bess, "Casting a Spell," 16.

[31] *The Red Man* (Vol. XV, No 11), 8.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

to discredit Zitkala-Ša's writing, it couldn't outright deny her experience as there was truth in it. Instead, the claim that her words were misleading enabled the school to hold its stance against the writing, while not jeopardizing the paper's perceived credibility.

Although the school sought to destroy her name and silence her, Zitkala-Ša continued her writing in defiance of those who were once her colleagues. Specifically, she wrote a response a couple of months after the school published its attack in *The Red Man*, to explain her reasoning for her writings:

> I give outright the varying moods of my own evolution; those growing pains which knew not reason while active. To stir up views and earnest comparison of theories was one of the ways in which I hoped it would work a benefit to my people. No one can dispute my own impressions and bitterness! Perhaps a reason may be assigned to them— that I have left to my friends to do.[34]

Just as Zitkala-Ša used the skills against the schooling system that taught them to her, she used the words from *The Red Man* to inform her response to its criticism. Zitkala-Ša spun the word "bitterness" to her advantage and asserted that she had a right to be bitter: to provide a truthful criticism of the Native American education program in the United States. In her response, Zitkala-Ša explained that she did not write for attention, but to better the education of her people and to present a truthful account of the wrestling with emotions that many Indigenous students felt while in similar positions. The newspaper hid Zitkala-Ša's response to the Carlisle School in the last page of an edition of *The Red Man* and only allotted her one paragraph in response.[35] Although the school gave her an opportunity to defend herself, it did not give her response nearly as much

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[34] Zitkala-Ša, "Letter to the *Red Man*," 1900, in *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press,* ed. Jacqueline Emery (University of Nebraska Press, 2017), https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/2037751, 258.

[35] *The Red Man* (Vol. XVI., No. 1), 8.

attention as the attack on her. In the end, the school tried to shift the narrative away from what Zitkala-Ša advocated.

Pratt first invited Zitkala-Ša to return as a guest performer with the Carlisle School band in 1900 to control her free expression against the school. Pratt wrote, in a letter to a colleague, "I believe in capturing her [Zitkala-Ša] and keeping her on our side."[36] By employing her once again, Pratt kept a close eye on her actions and tried to court her favor in her writings. Pratt hoped to silence Zitkala-Ša through his work with *The Red Man*, and by employing her as a musician, but both means ultimately failed as Zitkala-Ša turned the opportunities to her advantage and used them to strengthen her credibility, while she continued to speak her mind through publications such as *Old Indian Legends* (1901), *The Soft-hearted Sioux* (1901), and *American Indian Stories* (1921).

Following his failed attempt to control Zitkala-Ša while she was a member of the band, Pratt wrote public criticisms of her work in the summer of 1900. Specifically, Pratt wrote, "I have to respectively advise you that Miss Simmons while quite an able person does not possess the qualities that a Principal Teacher should have. Her morals ideas are too loose."[37] Pratt sought to discredit Zitkala-Ša's words and qualifications because they were in stark contrast to the narrative that he and the Carlisle School sought to promote about Native Americans. Specifically, Pratt attacked her writings as "her articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* are not credible to her heart and in quite a number of her statements impugn her veracity."[38] Clearly, Pratt took offense to the works

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[36] Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University, New Haven, CT), in "Zitkala-Ša, The Song of Hiawatha, and the Carlisle Indian School Band: A Captivity Tale," ed. Ruth Spack, in *Legacy* 25, no. 2 (2008), http://www.jstor.org/stable/25679655, 213.

[37] Richard Henry Pratt to The Commissioner of Indian Affairs (William A. Jones), July 28, 1900, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-documents/NARA_RG75_91_b1813_36951.pdf, 1. Zitkala-Ša was referred to as Miss Simmons at this point because she had not acquired her married name of Bonin yet.

[38] Ibid, 2.

that Zitkala-Ša produced and sought to rewrite the narrative. In the end, the employee he once praised and advocated for became the greatest opponent to the mission of the Carlisle School.

Once again free from Carlisle's oversight and no longer an employee as an educator or musician, Zitkala-Ša published numerous other works which advocated for Indigenous rights, sought to preserve the oral tradition of her people, and hoped to inform white America of her indigenous heritage. As early as 1902, she published a "Protest Against the Abolition of the Indian Dance," which advocated for the lawfulness of practicing the Ghost Dance. A good summary of her work that followed, she wrote, "Here a pony is ready, and soon a gallop over the level lands shall restore to me the sweet sense that God has allotted a place in his vast universe for each of his creatures, both great and small— just as they are."[39] Zitkala-Ša had a vision for an America where Native Americans and white society could harmoniously coexist, and where there was no need for the elimination of Natives. This served as the foundation for her publications in the coming years and her platform for indigenous advocacy. She continued her writing, and moved to Washington, D.C. with her husband, where she became more involved in politics. This culminated in her call in 1922 that "Indians must organize and work together in one powerful unit."[40] From here, she was a key player in the pan-Indian movement and was the co-founder of the National Council of American Indians in 1926, where she served as president until her death. Zitkala-Ša is a powerful example of the strength of words as she used the skills she learned through Indian education to expose and critique the system that helped educate her. Historian Sarah Klotz attests to her powerful prose: "Zitkala-Ša has entered our literary canon because she was exceptional - a strong,

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[39] Zitkala-Ša, "A Protest Against the Abolition of the Indian Dance," 1902, in *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press*, https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/2037752, 263.

[40] Zitkala-Ša, "Heart to Heart Talk," 1922, in *Zitkala-Ša: American Indian Stories, Legends, and Other Writings* ed. Cathy N. Davidson, and Ada Norris (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2003), 263.

clear, and resistant voice in print."[41] Although once controlled by the Carlisle School, Zitkala-Ša emerged a confident and accomplished author who exposed the realities of the Native American experience at the turn of the twentieth century.

Edgar L. Rogers

Whereas Zitkala-Ša expressed her rebellion through their writing, Edgar L. Rogers rebelled against Carlisle in his actions. Rogers was a loyal supporter of the Carlisle school, but as he aged, he turned against his alma mater. Rogers was a student at Carlisle from November 1890 to 1897, where he was renamed from his Chippewa name of Enwwayiedung. Rogers graduated in 1897 after serving as the Carlisle football team captain in 1900. However, he did not leave the school grounds until June of 1901.[42]

Rogers was an ideal student for the Carlisle School as he stood out as a leader on the football field and excelled in the classroom. Following his graduation from Carlisle, he spent two years at Dickinson Preparatory School and one year at Dickinson College. He then graduated from the University of Minnesota Law School in 1904. Rogers served as the ideal success story that the school promoted to show what could be achieved with a Carlisle education. He owned a two-story house on Leech Lake with nine rooms, various investments, over 120 acres of land, and a sizable amount of money in the bank.[43] Rogers truly bought into the Americanization that was present at

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[41] Klotz, "Impossible Rhetorics," 227.

[42] Rogers likely stayed on Carlisle's campus while he attended Dickinson College, in Carlisle, PA.

[43] "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 5-6.

Carlisle, and he adopted many of the values and ideals it taught, like American styles of living. Instead of returning to the reservation, he got a prestigious job and made a name for himself.

Rogers completed the Carlisle alumni survey, which asked, “Have you done anything for the betterment of your people?”[44] This question provided the graduate with the most lines to write an answer than any of the other questions. In response, Rogers wrote, “NO” in large letters, underlined it, and crossed out part of the section. He severed all ties with his past life, including his connections to his heritage. The only thing that remained of his past life was Carlisle. By 1910, he was “the Village Recorder, on the health board, Deputy Country Attorney, Deputy County Coroner, and ha[d] been appointed special census enumerator for the Leech Lake Indian Reservation.”[45] Rogers sent this information back to Carlisle because the school wanted to publish a piece on him due to the success he reported in his alumni survey. They also interviewed other ‘successful’ alumni who contributed to the idea of the ‘ideal’ Carlisle graduate. In this interview, he made sure to point out that there were “no Indians living in this town.”[46] At this point in his life, Rogers surrounded himself with white society and bought into its culture unlike other Carlisle students. Many who went to Carlisle returned to the reservations, but he journeyed into American civilization, which furthered the school’s celebration of him.

Although Rogers cut ties with the rest of his heritage, he remained quite loyal to the Carlisle school. In a letter to Superintendent Friedman in 1909, Rogers attributed all his success to the school. He wrote, “What little degree of success I have attained I attribute entirely to my early

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[44] Ibid, 6.

[45] Edgar L. Rogers to Moses Friedman (Superintendent of the Carlisle School), March 24, 1910, in “Edgar L. Rogers Student File,” Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 9.

[46] Ibid.

training at Carlisle."[47] At the same time, he continued to explain that "to abolish non-reservation schools is a mistake and would be a serious detriment to the progress and welfare of the future young Indian."[48] Rogers was in clear support of the Carlisle School and was grateful for his time there. He adopted the ideals taught to him, but as time passed, they began to fade.

After Rogers sent his letter to the Carlisle School, it was quick to spread its praise of him, and independent newspapers printed similar writings. Superintendent Moses Friedman reached out to Rogers in 1910 for his support in creating an article for *The Red Man* that presented the Carlisle athletes well, which was then distributed to other newspapers for reprinting.[49] Friedman hoped to change the narrative at the time about the school and the football program, in the aftermath of the scandals that tainted the program and school such as the accusations of money laundering, the fielding of professional football players, and the exposés written by Zitkala-Ša. An independent newspaper, *The College Herald,* explained that "He [Rogers] is an excellent example of what education and training can do for any man, whether that man be an Indian or a white man."[50] The newspaper highlighted Rogers' achievements while it also praised Carlisle for its success in educating him. Similarly, the *Chicago Inter Ocean* printed an editorial which directly related Roger's success to the football program. It read, "the noteworthy fact is that the Indians who were

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[47] Edgar L. Rogers to Moses Friedman (Superintendent of the Carlisle School), January 18, 1909, in "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdfw, 12.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Moses Friedman to Edgar L. Rogers, March 21, 1910, in "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 13.

[50] *The College Herald,* September 1910, in "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 10.

best in athletics turned out the best citizens. Therefore, it must be conceded that the maximum of college athletics was helpful and not harmful to the Indian."[51] Friedman used Rogers' letter to boost the Carlisle School's image, and once again, to control the narrative about their school and about the Native American.

Rogers continued his work as the census enumerator, and by 1913, he reconnected with his Chippewa heritage and his people named him chief. This, however, came with some problems. In the Carlisle alumni survey, he explained that he was granted the position of "special census enumerator for the Leech Lake Indian Reservation." Although he lived in town with whites, his trips to Leech Lake caused him to frequently interact with a group of Chippewa Indians. This is likely how Rogers reconnected with his heritage as it was his only opportunity to interact with Natives since he had joined white American society. Between his letter to Friedman highlighting all his accomplishments and thanking the Carlisle School for its help and 1917, over seven years had passed where he could socialize with his people. This interaction soon led to issues for Rogers when a town citizen accused him of "misfeasance or non-feasance in office."[52] Specifically, he accused Rogers of "general incompetency, indifference to official duty, permitting another attorney to usurp his position as county attorney, and failing to properly defend the county against claims."[53] The strongest of the accusations was the violation of the corrupt practices act in "transporting Indian voters to the polls."[54] This accusation has some truth behind it because once

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[51] *Chicago Inter Ocean,* March 12, 1911, in "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 10.

[52] "E. L. Rogers' Scalp Sought by Voter," February 14, 1917, printed in *Saint Paul* (Minn.) *Dispatch*, accessed via "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 16.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

he reconnected with his heritage and people, Rogers used them to help maintain his office. As more time passed, Rogers further reconnected with his Chippewa heritage.

As chief, Rogers united the Chippewa under his leadership with the end goal of independence in mind. His people did not want to be under federal control on reservation-prisons that Luther Standing Bear would later describe in his writings, so they sought a chief that could protect them. Although Rogers was reluctant, they were confident in his abilities. The Chippewa chose Rogers as their chief because a new wave of thinkers saw the value he possessed in understanding American society which would help protect Indigenous interests.[55] Although he had largely cut himself off from his heritage and could not speak nor understand the Chippewa language well, his people still supported him.[56] While leading his people, Rogers wrestled with his contrasting identities of being a Native American and the ideals of American society. However, he began to use what he was taught at Carlisle, Dickinson, and law school against American society and its interests as he protected and advocated for the advancement of Indians. He hoped to get rid of the bureaucracy that controlled the reservation and to establish "home rule," where the tribe ruled itself.[57] Furthermore, Rogers stated that his goal was to "place the reds on the same footing as whites, making them self-supporting an[d] independent."[58] Rogers was no longer the ideal graduate for Carlisle because his attack against federal control over Indians also critiqued the

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] "The Chief of the Chippewas," in "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 19.

[58] "An Indian Football hero Now Chief of His Tribe," September 8, 1913, printed in the *Richmond* (Ind.) *Palladium*, accessed via "Edgar L. Rogers Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b136_f5331.pdf, 17.

federal control of Native American education, like the Federal Boarding School Program at Carlisle. Similarly, the controversy surrounding his employment in 1917 did not help the school's image. The Carlisle School never had the chance to rebuke Rogers, however, because it closed due to World War I in 1918.

Although Rogers was not as outspoken or direct in his rebellion against Carlisle, he still followed the same development as Zitkala-Ša. They were model students, successful graduates, and celebrated as the 'ideal' representations of the school. The Carlisle School celebrated Rogers due to his adoption of the American way of living, but he eventually returned to his heritage. Rogers used the skills he learned at Carlisle to further his education, become a practicing attorney, and eventually, to represent and advocate for the independence of his people. Not only did Rogers reconnect with his indigenous culture, but he also joined his people and fought against white society for their rights.

Luther Standing Bear

Luther Standing Bear was one of the first students to enter the Carlisle Indian Industrial School as a student from October 1879 to July 1885, yet he was one of the last ones to publicly critique the school. It took Standing Bear roughly forty years after his graduation from Carlisle to publicly critique the school, which was no longer able to control the narrative following its closure in 1918 due to World War II. Standing Bear is one of the more well-known graduates of Carlisle because his publications have entered the American literary canon. The son of a Lakota chief, he proved a valuable asset for the Carlisle School. Just like Zitkala-Ša, Luther was the poster boy of the ideal student, but began to turn away from Carlisle's values roughly twenty years later in his adult life and used the writing skills he learned there to expose the school's false promises and the harsh reality of life following graduation.

Standing Bear bought into the ideals that the school sold at Carlisle, although his first interaction with the school in 1879 was hostile. Because many of the battles between Natives and Americans had died down by the time of his childhood, Standing Bear saw attending Carlisle as an opportunity to earn a warrior's title by living with the enemy.[59] His father earned a new name on the battlefield, and so too, did Luther want such an honor. He thought that if he were to die at Carlisle, his family and tribe would honor him just as if he had died on the battlefield.[60] However, this hostility toward Carlisle dwindled as time passed. Standing Bear was diligent in his studies and worship at Carlisle, while serving as the bugle player at the school. He played the bugle call twice daily to ensure that all students adhered to the schedule and the strict regimentation at the school. Standing Bear made his acceptance of American ideas clear in a letter that he wrote home to his father while at school. In 1882, he implored his father to "give up the Indian way" and to "believe God, obey him and pray to Him. [Because] He will help you in the right path and He will give you what you want if you ask Him."[61] Not only did Standing Bear adopt the American value system, but he also underwent religious conversion.

The Carlisle School loved and celebrated Luther because of this full adoption of American values and his religious conversion. Various newspaper clippings hailed him as the first Carlisle graduate, and they celebrated him for his "ambition" in the journey to citizenship.[62] At the same time, Pratt granted him an exception on the Outing Program in 1885. Pratt typically ensured that

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[59] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 6.

[60] Ibid, 123-124.

[61] Luther Standing Bear to George Standing Bear, March 31, 1882, "Letter to Father" in *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press*, ed. Jacqueline Emery (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/2037626, 45.

[62] "Luther Standing Bear Student File," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-ephemera/NARA_1327_b060_f3019.pdf, 5.

the outing only took place in homes in the countryside, but he sent Luther to Philadelphia. Standing Bear's outing took place at Wanamaker's in Philadelphia, one of the most influential stores at the time. While there, he handled and labeled jewelry with price tags. This sounds like a great position, but the store set inhumane working conditions for Standing Bear. The Carlisle School wanted to put Standing Bear on display, and he practically became a living museum exhibit or a zoo animal to reach this purpose. Standing Bear wrote that as part of this job, he "was locked inside this little glass house," which drew a crowd of whites to watch him.[63] Because they were in the city and the majority of Natives were on reservations, many of the customers had never seen an Indian before. Thus, the product of the Carlisle School was put on display for shoppers to watch all day long. Despite the conditions, Standing Bear was glad to work there because it enabled him to correct the stereotype that whites had of the Native: that he stole "anything that he could get his hands on."[64] Standing Bear went about his work each day like a caged animal, yet his loyalty to the school remained strong for over two decades following his graduation.

It was not until the 1890s, twenty years after his time at Carlisle, that Standing Bear had a change in attitude towards the Carlisle School. This change in disposition can be seen in his *My People, the Sioux,* published in 1828, forty years after his time at Carlisle. Standing Bear deviated in his writings from his actions while in school at Carlisle. Whether or not Standing Bear was unaware of the actions of whites when he was growing up or not, his writing clearly shows a growing hatred of white Americans. In reference to the slaughter of buffalo due to westward expansion, he explained that Americans let the Natives' food source rot and "cared nothing for us, and it meant nothing to them to take our lives, even through starvation and cold. This was the

[63] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 184.

[64] Ibid.

beginning of our hatred for the white people. But still we did not kill them."[65] Standing Bear shared that the mass killing of buffalo drastically reduced their food supply, yet they still tried to reason with white Americans. He built upon his hatred towards whites in his description of the Wounded Knee Massacre:

> When I heard of this [Wounded Knee Massacre], it made my blood boil. I was ready myself to go and fight them. There I was, doing my best to teach my people to follow in the white men's road — even trying to get them to believe in their religion — and this was my reward for it all! The very people I was following — and getting my people to follow — had no respect for motherhood, old age, or babyhood. Where was all their civilized training?[66]

For Standing Bear, Wounded Knee served as a turning point alongside the false promises of the benefits of citizenship. Just as Wounded Knee sparked something in Plenty Horses, it did the same for Luther. Luther's work as a teacher of Native Americans and his belief in Carlisle's mission fell apart when he heard what occurred at Wounded Knee. He felt that those he had grown to accept and call friends had betrayed him. Soon, he chose his people over Carlisle, as he and two other graduates were "determined to stick by our race" in taking up arms to avenge their fallen relatives.[67] Standing Bear made his choice in putting his fellow Native Americans first over what he learned at Carlisle, and tin sharing the truth about the Indigenous just like he did at Wanamaker's. In response to the events of Wounded Knee, he left his position in education and soon spent several years traveling with Buffalo Bill Cody playing the part of the Indian savage until 1903. This was a stark contrast to the Carlisle poster boy that Luther once was and went directly against Pratt's wishes.

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[65] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 67.

[66] Ibid, 224.

[67] Ibid, 225.

A further shift in Standing Bear's attitude towards Carlisle began to arise in the 1910s when he acquired full citizenship for himself, yet he did not experience the same rights and treatment as white citizens. The Carlisle School always promised that it was the road to citizenship, which would ensure the rights of Native Americans. Although Standing Bear felt betrayed by the events of Wounded Knee, he still held out some hope for equality in citizenship. However, Luther Standing Bear experienced the reality of this promise. He fought long and hard for his citizenship and advocated for the citizenship of all students at Carlisle. In 1911, he wrote a letter to Superintendent Moses Friedman asking him to pass on the good news to the students that the government finally recognized him as a citizen, which he had been "crying for [for] the last thirty-two years."[68] In this letter, Standing Bear was optimistic for the future as he saw his citizenship as his finally obtaining the rights and respect he deserved. Standing Bear got a taste of show business and worked in Hollywood from roughly 1912 to the early 1930s. Although a full-fledged citizen now living in American society, Hollywood discriminated against Standing Bear for his heritage. He wrote, "in my motion-picture work I have come in contact with much of this discrimination. Always a white actor is given preference and no Indian girl is given a chance to lead, even in an Indian picture."[69] Standing Bear expected equal treatment in white society because he was equally an American citizen, but when he did not receive this fair treatment, he turned to writing to express his feelings and to expose the reality of life after Carlisle.

The most monumental broken promise was that of American citizenship and the reservation system. Luther explained in 1928, roughly forty years removed from Carlisle, that there

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[68] "Luther Standing Bear Student File," 6.

[69] Luther Standing Bear, *The Tragedy of the Sioux* accessed via Project Gutenberg Canada, November 1931. https://gutenberg.ca/ebooks/standingbearl-tragedyofthesioux/standingbearl-tragedyofthesioux-00-h.html, part 4.

were countless reservation agents who prevented Indians from becoming citizens and selling their land because "if all the Indians left the reservation, the agent would lose his job."[70] According to Standing Bear, the agents kept Indigenous peoples on reservations as prisoners. This idea is eerily similar to those of Pratt, who claimed:

> The permanent double-headed Bureau oligarchy has for all these years assiduously manipulated to keep the Indians from the opportunities and environment of civilized life, which would long ago have transformed them into useful citizens…Their fight to keep the Indians intact as tribes means preeminently Bureau perpetuation which can only be successfully maintained through keeping the Indians carefully laid away in the dark drawers of their tribal reservations.[71]

Clearly, Richard Henry Pratt had a large impact on Standing Bear's life and education. Standing Bear twisted the words of Pratt to serve his own end, effectively turning the words against the school itself. He wrote that when he finally became a citizen, he "walked out of the office feeling an exaltation I shall never be able to describe—feeling once more the sweet freedom of my youth."[72] While Standing Bear felt this newfound freedom, he was as restrained as his fellow people. Even after obtaining citizenship while living on the reservation, he was not truly free. As chief, he was still under the "iron hand of [John R.] Brennan, the Indian agent" at Rosebud Agency.[73] A single government employee controlled the most influential member of the tribe. At the same time, his people could not leave the reservation, and "Even free-born American citizens—the people who assist in making the laws of the land and pay taxes to keep petty officials in office—are under surveillance once they walk on the ground of this government prison [the reservation]."[74]

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[70] Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 279.

[71] Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 293.

[72] Luther Standing Bear, *The Tragedy of the Sioux*, part 3.

[73] Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, 282.

[74] Luther Standing Bear, *The Tragedy of the Sioux*, part 3.

The promise of equality under citizenship was simply another broken assurance in the long list of betrayals by the United States government to the Indigenous.

In the 1920s, Standing Bear returned to the reservation and put his life of acting behind him, where he found his people living in terrible conditions at the Pine Ridge Agency. Luther wrote:

> A few weeks ago I went back to my people for the first time in sixteen years. In the intervening time I have lived constantly in the society of white men, ostensibly one of them, but in spirit and sympathy still living with my people, working for them, listening to their entreaties, and trying to help them with their problems.[75]

He returned to a broken people, one who had lost hope and much of its possessions and resources. Standing Bear commented that the fence surrounding the reservation was no longer standing, that white cattlemen began infringing on their territory, and that these events caused the Indian herds to "cease to exist."[76] The reservation changed greatly in the time that Standing Bear was gone, so much so that he commented that his people had been "disinherited," and there was "*no* reservation" [my emphasis].[77] Just like the other promises made towards the Indian, white Americans broke the promise of protection for reservation lands. After all, said Standing Bear, "Since the Indian wars ended the white man has so busied himself wresting riches from the land that its people have been forgotten."[78] The trickery and greed of white men left Luther's people in a dire state. The sight of his people and the broken promises solidified the feelings that had been brewing for years. Standing Bear argued that the conditions his people faced left a void in their lives, which he claimed, "civilization cannot fill."[79] Seemingly an insignificant sentence, these words mark

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[75] Ibid, part 2.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid, part 3.

[79] Ibid.

Standing Bear's opposition to Americanization. This idea directly connected to and became a criticism by extension of Carlisle and similar federal boarding schools which aimed to 'civilize' Natives. Once a major proponent of the Carlisle School and the road towards citizenship, Standing Bear turned his attention to exposing the reality of the school's broken promises made towards students, their families, and American society.

Not only was the reservation in poor condition due to the incessant interference of whites, but there were also limited opportunities afforded to Natives following their time at Carlisle. Employment was another false promise surrounding the federal schools according to Standing Bear, as "most girls find their life's work in city kitchens and most boys who do not drift back to the reservation lose their identity in a shop."[80] The Carlisle School promised numerous opportunities for student employment with the various trades they were taught, but many lacked success in the workforce.

The dire situation of his people, the betrayal of white America, and the numerous false promises caused Luther Standing Bear to turn his back on the school he once loved and to use what he learned there to fight against it. Carlisle promised him many things, but in the end, it led him back to a reservation where white Americans took advantage of his people. What he once saw as an opportunity for the advancement of his people, he now saw as the cause for his people's ruin. Once Standing Bear experienced adulthood in white society for himself, he saw the reality of adopting American values instead of Indigenous ones. He attacked the assimilationist programs of the Carlisle School and the Federal Boarding School Program by saying, "The government school is changing everything and the young are losing their tribal ideals and manners."[81] Although he

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid, part 4.

went through the Americanization process at Carlisle, traveled across the country with Buffalo Bill, and acted in Hollywood for over fifteen years, Standing Bear ultimately wanted to preserve Native cultures. In the end, Luther Standing Bear learned to resent the school he once loved, and to reject the entirety of European-American civilization. He used the writing skills he learned at Carlisle to fight against the assimilationist mission of the school and to advocate for the appropriate treatment of Native Americans by the United States government.

Conclusion

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was very controlling of its students and Indigenous teachers while under the school's charge, and attempted to control the narrative about indigenous education and the role of the Native American in society. The school sought to present to American society an 'ideal' Native American in the form of a worker who was disciplined, diligent, obedient, and skilled. However, students like Luther Standing Bear and Zitkala-Ša produced their own accounts of what it was like at Carlisle and redefined the place of the Native American in society. In response to this, the school sought to discredit Zitkala-Ša's work and limit her audience. Even worse, recent research suggests that the school produced its own 'account' of what life was like at Carlisle in 1891. The Carlisle school published a work titled *Stiya, A Carlisle Indian Girl at Home; Founded on the Author's Actual Observations*, which appears to be an autobiographical account of a young girl's experience at Carlisle and her return home. However, according to two leading historians on the Carlisle School, Jaqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, "Published under the mysterious pen name of Embe, it was actually authored by Marianna Burgess, whose initials, MB, make clear the identity to those already in the know. Burgess was a white teacher who ran the print shop at the Carlisle Indian School. Thus, her book constituted part of the school's propaganda

campaign."[82] It was one thing to try to discredit the works of another author, but it was a completely different matter to create a false narrative about the school. Clearly, Carlisle sought to promote its mission at all costs.

In the end, none of these former Carlisle students and teachers are representative of the typical graduate from Carlisle. In fact, they represent a minuscule fraction of all those who walked through the halls of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Nevertheless, they are an important study in the history of Native American education because the schooling at Carlisle did not occur without resistance; students did not unanimous submit to its assimilationist program. Instead, many complied within the walls of Carlisle to survive, and once freed from the physical and intellectual shackles and surveillance of the school, actively rebelled against the school. The actions of Luther Plenty Horses, Zitkala-Ša, Earl L. Rogers, and Luther Standing Bear, although varying in intensity, all speak to the strength and spirit of these Native Americans under an oppressive and repressive regime at Carlisle. More research is necessary to uncover similar voices and students of action who rebelled against the Carlisle School but have been lost in the thousands of preserved documents from the school.

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[82] Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), https://muse-jhu-edu.providence.idm.oclc.org/chapter/1844006/pdf, 19.

CONCLUSION

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School closed its doors on September 1, 1918, when the United States Army reclaimed the school's land to establish a rehabilitation hospital for soldiers wounded in World War I. During its over forty years of operation, only 758 of over 10,500 Carlisle students graduated.[1] Clearly, the school was not very successful in completing its mission of uplifting the students from their position on the reservation to 'civilization.' Years after the school closed, the Army War College moved to Carlisle in 1951. Since then, the Carlisle Barracks has been the site of this institution. The Carlisle School left a stain on education as it sought to create an 'ideal' worker, which the school ultimately failed in as students, teachers, and graduates alike fought against the message it perpetuated.

Since 1910, many government officials and employees have investigated the Carlisle School and the Federal Boarding School Program as the United States Government began to assess its actions. Francis E. Leupp, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote of the boarding school program in 1910: "Its most ambitious exponent is the Carlisle Indian School, set in the modest of a thrifty farmy county. If any experiment in that line could hope to succeed, this one ought to have succeeded."[2] Even before the school's closing, it received harsh criticism as a failure. Furthermore, the government-sponsored 1928 "Meriam Report" spoke harshly of the Federal Boarding School Program. The report called for a "a change in point of view" in Native American Education, to turn away from the "conventional school system" in favor of one "with the understanding of human

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[1] Fear-Segal and Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, 2.

[2] Leupp, "The Indian and His Problem," https://archive.org/details/indianhisproblom00leuprich/page/n7/mode/2up, 129-130.

beings."[3] Meriam, like Leupp, was opposed to the separation of children from their families due to the anguish and hardships that arose. Likewise, Meriam charged that "the impression gained by many whites is that Indians are capable of doing only unskilled work that no one else wants to do."[4] In doing so, he attacked the message and narrative of Carlisle since it limited the opportunities for students and warped the public's perception of Natives. Instead of instilling in the public a sense of appreciation for the capabilities and intellect of Natives, the school ensured that students and graduates only had opportunities in manual labor. The Meriam Report addressed the problems of the U.S. Government's Native American education program and hoped for change.

However, as late as 1969, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge* saw little positive change in the system since the release of the Meriam Report over forty years prior. Headed by Edward Kennedy (after the death of Robert Kennedy), the government-funded commission admitted that, "Our failure to provide an effective education for the American Indian has condemned him to a life of poverty and despair."[5] Likewise, it called the government efforts in educating Native Americans "a national tragedy and a national disgrace," as "the 'first American' has become the 'last American' in terms of an opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and a chance for a full and rewarding life."[6] Although one of the first documents to truly address the failures of the United States government in the education of Native Americans,

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[3] Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, February 21, 1928, accessed electronically via National Indian Law Library, https://narf.org/nill/resources/meriam.html, 32.

[4] Ibid, 640.

[5] Edward Kennedy and Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge* (Kennedy Report), Kennedy Report; Education Resources, National Indian Law Library (NILL). National Indian Law Library, September 1969) https://narf.org/nill/resources/education/reports/kennedy/toc.html, X.

[6] Ibid.

the Kennedy Report is quite hard to find. The report is not easily accessible to the public or on an official government website. Instead, the main place to access it is through Native American advocacy organizations, such as the Native American Rights Fund. The fact that the document is so difficult to find and that it does not have a clear connection to the United States government today is telling of how the government kept the general public in the dark about this issue.

Roughly another fifty years passed before a resurgence of government interest in the Native American Federal Boarding School Program occurred during the Obama Presidency. In 2009, President Obama issued an apology to Native Americans for the history of mistreatment, but he did so in a roundabout way. On Dec 19, 2009, he "signed the Native American Apology Resolution into law, [but] it was closed to the media."[7] Although a step forward, the fact that it was not passed publicly is striking. After all, "in the years since, no president has ever presented that apology to tribal leaders or read its words aloud publicly. Few people are aware it was made."[8] While the act made an apology to Native Americans, it did little to make up for the years of mistreatment.

First Lady Michelle Obama gave a speech to the Santa Fe Indian School on May 26, 2016, during President Obama's second term, which was a momentous occasion. The First Lady addressed the elephant in the room to the audience: "As we all know, this school was founded as part of a deliberate, systemic effort to extinguish your culture; to literally annihilate who you were

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[7] Fear-Segal and Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, 14.

[8] Emily McFarlan Miller, "An Apology to Native Americans Was Buried in a 2010 Defense Bill. Now, Some Want the President to Say It Aloud," in *The Washington Post* (WP Company, July 30, 2021), https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/an-apology-to-native-americans-was-buried-in-a-2010-defense-bill-now-some-want-the-president-to-say-it-aloud/2021/07/30/2094d60a-f163-11eb-bf80-e3877d9c5f06_story.html, 1.

and what you believed in."[9] The fact that someone with such an important role in the United States government and society discussed the history that no one else was willing to address was monumental in the eyes of many Indigenous advocacy groups. Finally, the issues drew enough attention to enter the public eye. However, the issue of Native American boarding schools faded away from public interest in the subsequent years.

2021 marked another wave of interest in the Federal Boarding School Program and the Carlisle School as headlines declared that hundreds of unidentified bodies of indigenous children were found at the former sites of missionary boarding schools in Canada. This was one of the first instances in which the mainstream media addressed indigenous boarding schools. In response, the Secretary of the Interior, Deb Haaland, announced a "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative," which sought to establish "a comprehensive review of the troubled legacy of federal boarding school policies."[10] However, the initiative is key to address what occurred in the name of educating Native Americans and to help the Indigenous recover from its aftereffects.

A few months later, on Oct 11, 2021, Governor Tony Evers of Wisconsin, formally acknowledged and apologized for Wisconsin's involvement with Indigenous boarding schools. Specifically, he wrote, "We recognize the trauma inflicted on Native families and communities and the loss of language, culture, and identity and the intergenerational effects these facilities had and still have while honoring the resilience and contributions of Indigenous people to our state and

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[9] The Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, "National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition Applauds FLOTUS Statement Acknowledging Boarding School History, Encourages POTUS to Do Same," The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, June 2, 2016, https://boardingschoolhealing.org/national-native-american-boarding-school-healing-coalition-applauds-flotus-statement-acknowledging-boarding-school-history-encourages-potus-to-do-same/, 1.

[10] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Secretary Haaland Announces Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative," June 23, 2021, https://www.doi.gov/pressreleases/secretary-haaland-announces-federal-indian-boarding-school-initiative, 1. This report was not released prior to the completion of this thesis.

our country."[11] Another major event in Native American history, Governor Evers was the first active governor to publicly acknowledge and apologize for the heinous history of the Federal Boarding School Program.

Only weeks after Governor Evers' statement, Senator Elizabeth Warren presented the "Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act" to the Senate. Senator Warren of Massachusetts spearheaded the act, which she introduced on September 30, 2021. If passed, this act will change everything. It addresses the numerous human rights violations that occurred at the federal Native American boarding schools, in addition to the coercive measures used to send them there. Likewise, it contains a scathing assessment of the Federal Boarding School Program (including Carlisle):

> Indian boarding schools, and the policies that created, funded, and fueled their existence, were designed to assimilate American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian children into non-Native culture by stripping them of their cultural identities, often through physical, sexual, psychological, industrial, and spiritual abuse and neglect.[12]

The passage of this bill will accomplish much of what indigenous advocacy groups have been calling for since the atrocities occurred at the boarding schools. There is hope on the horizon for those invested in uncovering the truth and acknowledging the past, no matter how difficult.

As the government has taken a larger interest in the Federal Native American Boarding School Program, the Carlisle School has become a site of pilgrimage and reunion for many Indigenous communities. The cemetery that remains at the present-day U.S. Army War College

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[11] Logan Rude, "'We Share Responsibility for Acknowledging the Pain': Wisconsin Issues Apology for Role in Native American Boarding Schools," Channel3000.com, October 11, 2021, https://www.channel3000.com/we-share-responsibility-for-acknowledging-the-pain-wisconsin-issues-apology-for-role-in-native-american-boarding-schools/, 1.

[12] The Congress of the United States, "S.2907 - 117th Congress (2021-2022): Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act," September 30, 2021, https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/2907/text, Section 2-14.

houses roughly two hundred bodies of Indigenous students. Dating back to 2000, Indigenous peoples have performed sacred Native American rites at the Carlisle Barracks in acknowledgment of those lost and buried there.[13] Specifically, in 2016, "at the request of a member of the Northern Arapaho, the U.S. Army began collaborating with tribes to repatriate the remains of those buried at Carlisle."[14] The bodies of students have been disinterred yearly since the first occasion, returning and reuniting the students with their familial and tribal descendants. The United States Army funds the project, costing roughly $500,000 yearly.[15] The disinterment process has provided considerable comfort to the Indigenous community. However, the process itself is not without hiccups, as each time a grave is incorrectly labeled or left unmarked, more pain is unearthed. For instance, since 2017, "four cemetery disinterments…have produced three unidentified remains."[16] Not only has disinterment added to the questions, it has also added to concerns about mistreatment and abuse at the school. Bone fragments, unidentifiable single bones, and the state of some of the

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[13] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, "The History and Reclamation of a Sacred Space: *The Indian School Cemetery*," in *The Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), muse.jhu.edu/book/47567, 174.

[14] Sam Yellowhorse Kesler, "Indian Boarding Schools' Traumatic Legacy, and the Fight to Get Native Ancestors Back," NPR (NPR, August 28, 2021), https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2021/08/28/1031398120/native-boarding-schools-repatriation-remains-carlisle, 17.

[15] The Associated Press, "Remains of 10 More Native American Kids to Be Disinterred," AP NEWS, Associated Press, June 20, 2021, https://apnews.com/article/sd-state-wire-pa-state-wire-ak-state-wire-native-americans-science-c206f1ea00ed87b3ce2c225bc6aef900, 5.

[16] Jeff Gammage, "Rosebud Sioux Youths Escort Remains of Carlisle Indian School Students Home to South Dakota," https://www.inquirer.com (The Philadelphia Inquirer, July 18, 2021), https://www.inquirer.com/news/rosebud-sioux-carlisle-indian-school-repatriation-boarding-school-army-cemetery-20210717.html, 10.

corpses have pointed to potential physical abuse at the school.[17] More research is required, however, for this to be proven.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School has left a lasting imprint on education and its harm is still felt in numerous Native American populations today. In 2013, attorneys for the Native American Rights Legal Fund asserted:

> Generations of these children became the legacy of the federal boarding school policy. They returned to their communities, not as the Christianized farmers that the boarding school policy envisioned, but as deeply scarred humans lacking the skills, community, parenting, extended family, language, and cultural practices of those raised in their cultural context.[18]

The Carlisle School did not prepare students for success after graduation. Instead, it started a cycle of suffering in Indigenous communities. Similarly, intergenerational trauma is still felt by the descendants of Carlisle students as many:

> [descendants of Carlisle students] have grown up with extremely low self- esteem manifesting in self- abuse, alcoholism, substance abuse, and suicide or suicidal thoughts. Self- inflicted injury is a high cause of death among indigenous peoples. Many have grown up feeling alone and not belonging either in an indigenous community or the dominant culture. Because of their past experiences, many express distrust of state sponsored education. This leads to poverty and economic, social, cultural, and political divides between intergenerational survivors and the rest of society, which is unable or unwilling to comprehend or learn the truth.[19]

Many descendants also suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder. Additionally, the Native American mortality rate is "400 percent higher than any other ethnic population in the United

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[17] Joseph Cress and Mark Scolforo, "Army to Disinter Remains of Six Carlisle Indian School Students in June," (*The Sentinel*, March 3, 2022), https://cumberlink.com/news/local/history/army-to-disinter-remains-of-six-carlisle-indian-school-students-in-june/article_efe8d79f-bab3-5e9e-90ec-be5a628f78f3.html#:~:text=The%20Department%20of%20the%20Army,post%20cemetery%20along%20Claremont%20Road.

[18] Fear-Segal, 11.

[19] Margo Tamez, "Necropolitics, Carlisle Indian School, and Nde Memory," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, ed. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (University of Nebraska Press, 2016, https://muse-jhu-edu.providence.idm.oclc.org/book/47567, 241.

States."[20] Native American students today struggle educationally due to the history of wrongdoings at the boarding schools.[21] Although the Carlisle School closed over one hundred years ago, it still has a powerful effect on indigenous communities today.

From the time that the Carlisle Indian Industrial School opened its doors, to the day that it closed forever, it stripped Natives of their identities, cultures, heritage, languages, and more, in an effort to establish a place for the Indigenous in the American economy. The school separated children from families, erased their past, and presented a hopeful future full of economic opportunities and a road to citizenship and equality. To reach these rewards, students had to abandon their heritage, adopt American ideals and culture, and accept a place in manual labor. Some students were able to escape this 'ideal' pupil and succeeded far beyond the restraints that the school placed on Indigenous achievements. Others chose to use the skills they gained at Carlisle to rebel against the system that sought to destroy everything Native American. Many more are left buried at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School cemetery, pawns of the new battlefield for the frontier.[22] The Carlisle School was damaging to all students, impacting future generations of Native Americans.

The struggles and the suffering of the Carlisle School are not over, and the education system today contains many anti-Indigenous policies. According to K. Tsianina Lomawaima,

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[20] Warren Petoskey, "Response to Visiting Carlisle: Experiencing Intergenerational Trauma," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, ed. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (University of Nebraska Press, 2016, https://muse-jhu-edu.providence.idm.oclc.org/book/47567, 334.

[21] Reyhner, "American Indian Cultures and School Success," 35.

[22] Jeff Gammage, "After More than a Century, Rosebud Sioux to Receive the Remains of Carlisle Indian School Students," https://www.inquirer.com (The Philadelphia Inquirer, June 26, 2021), https://www.inquirer.com/news/rosebud-sioux-claim-remains-their-children-who-died-former-carlisle-indian-school-20210626.html, paragraph 22.

"Assimilationist agendas are still with us, and so battles lie ahead, yet to be fought."[23] The Carlisle School is an example to be learned from, to improve the current education system and conditions for Native Americans, and as a reminder of the heinous history of mistreatment of Native Americans. For those students laying in the cemetery and the descendants of those who survived Carlisle, public acknowledgment and understanding of their histories will help begin the healing process. After all, the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition estimates that less than 10% of Americans know about the "US Boarding School Era."[24] Bringing this issue to light will help move this process forward, and the passage of the "Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act" will be an official acknowledgement of this history. Fully acknowledging this history, instead of casting it aside like historian Ronald Takaki explains has been done with Native Americans in the telling of American history, will aid in providing Natives with the equality that they were promised in citizenship.[25] This will not make up for the hundreds of years of tragedies and the over forty years of forced assimilation at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, but it is a step in the right direction. There is hope on the horizon for those who are still affected by the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, as its legacy shifts from the pioneer in Native American education to the spearhead of cultural genocide.

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[23] Bryan Brayboy, McKinley Jones, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Why Don't More Indians Do Better in School? The Battle between U.S. Schooling & American Indian/Alaska Native Education," in *Daedalus* 147, no. 2 (2018), https://www.jstor.org/stable/48563021, 92.

[24] The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, "Healing Voices Movement – Stories," https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/healing-voices-movement-stories/, 1.

[25] Ronald T. Takaki, *A Different Mirror: a History of Multicultural America*, Revised ed. (New York, NY: Back Bay Books, 2008), 4.

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APPENDIX: Images of the Carlisle School

Image 1: Male and Female Students in "The Captain of Plymouth"

Source: "Male and Female Students, the Principal Cast Members of 'The Captain of Plymouth,'" 1909, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/male-and-female-students-principal-cast-members-captain-plymouth-1909.

Image 2: 'Katonka' ready to kill 'Miles Standish' in "The Captain of Plymouth"

Source: Miller, "Indian School Students in a Theatrical Production," Item Number HM06-02, March 29, 1910, CIS Images, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.historicalsociety.com/images/miller-indian-school-students-in-a-theatrical-production/.

Image 3: “Yankee Doodle 1776” – Subject of the “Tableau of 1776” in “The Continental Congress”

Source: Archibald M. Willard, “Yankee Doodle 1776” (The Library of Congress, 1776), https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673466/.

Image 4: “Spirit of 1917” – Subject of the “Tableau of 1917” in “The Continental Congress”

Source: United States Marine Corps, “Spirit of 1917” (The Library of Congress, 1917), https://www.loc.gov/item/2002698563/.

Image 5: Eskimo Students: Before & After

Source: John N. Choate, "Souvenir of the Carlisle Indian School," 1902, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0039.pdf.

Image 6: Laundry Exhibit

Source: "Carlisle Indian School Commencement Exercises – Laundry Work," 1912, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/carlisle-indian-school-commencement-exercises-laundry-work.

Image 7: Blacksmithing Exhibit

Source: "Carlisle Indian School Commencement Exercises – Blacksmith," 1912, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/carlisle-indian-school-commencement-exercises-blacksmith.

Image 8: Students at work in the Boiler Room

BOILER HOUSE.

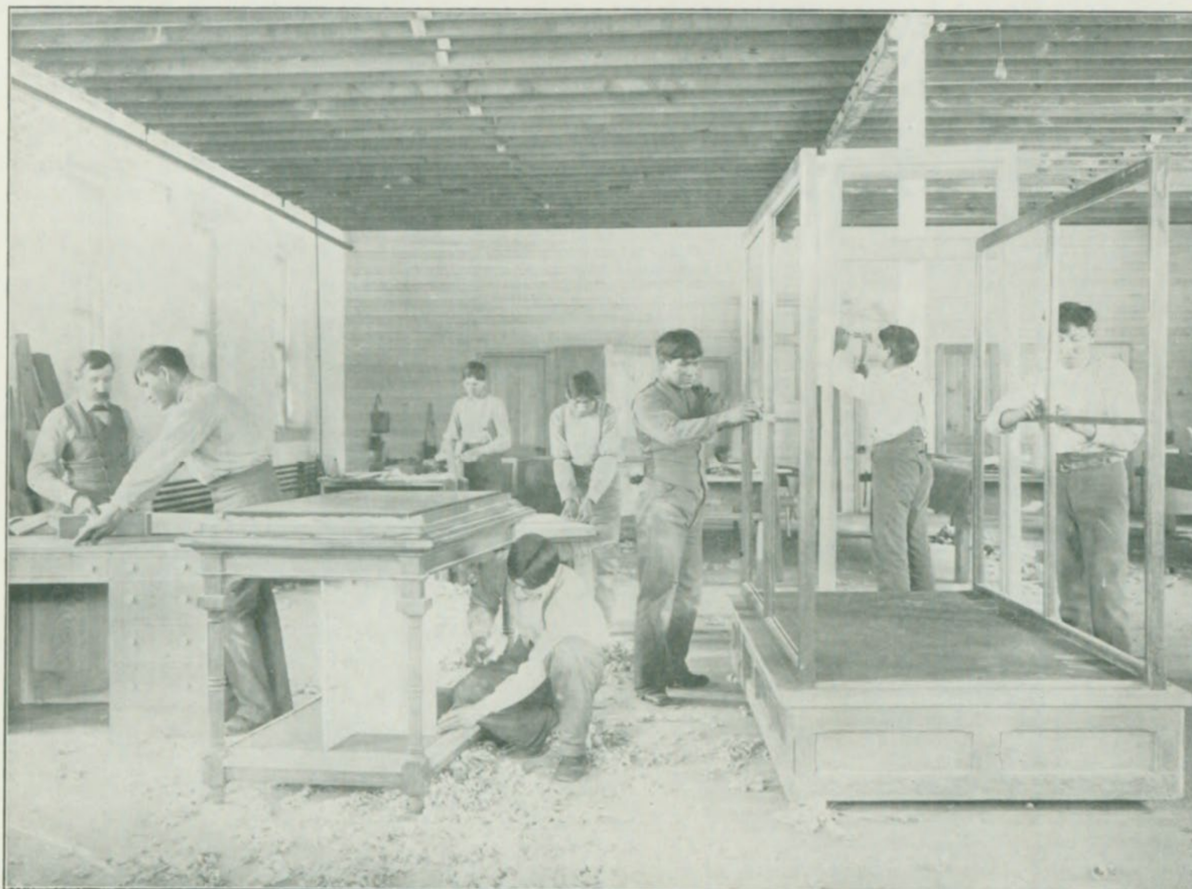
Source: *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902* (Jamestown, NY: 1902), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 22.

Image 9: Students in Cooking Class

COOKING CLASS.

Source: *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902* (Jamestown, NY: 1902), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 26.

Image 10: Students learning Carpentry



CARPENTER WORK—CABINET MAKING.

Source: *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902* (Jamestown, NY: 1902), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 36.

Image 11: Students in the Laundry Room

CORNER IN LAUNDRY.

Source: *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902* (Jamestown, NY: 1902), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 56.

Image 12: Students in the Classroom

NORMAL ROOM.

Source: *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902* (Jamestown, NY: 1902), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 74.

Image 13: Students in Sloyd Class

SLOYD CLASS, SMALLEST PUPILS.

Source: *Catalogue of the Indian Industrial School, 1902* (Jamestown, NY: 1902), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/sites/all/files/docs-publications/CIS-I-0040_0.pdf, 89.