

ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

—OF THE—

Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pa.

TO THE HONORABLE,
THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SIR:—

I have the honor to forward herewith my eleventh annual report of this school:

Historical Sketch.

Complying with that part of your instructions requiring an historical sketch of the school, I have to report that the Carlisle school had its origin in convictions that grew out of eight years' cavalry service (1867 to 1875) against the Indians in the Indian Territory.

My Regiment, the 10th, is one of the two regiments of colored cavalry. I found many of the men of the command most capable. Williams, since, the able historian of the colored race and American Minister to Hayti, was a 1st. Sergeant in one of the companies. I often commanded Indian scouts, took charge of Indian prisoners and performed other Indian duty which led me to consider the relative conditions of the two races. The negro, I argued, is from as low a state of savagery as the Indian, and in 200 years' association with Anglo-Saxons he has lost his language and gained theirs; has laid aside the characteristics of his former savage life, and, to a great extent, adopted those of the most advanced and highest civilized nation in the world, and has thus become fitted and accepted as a fellow citizen among them. This miracle of change came from association with the higher civilization. Then, I argued, it is not fair to denounce the Indian as an incorrigible savage until he has had at least equal privilege of association. If millions

of black savages can become so transformed and assimilated, and if, annually, hundreds of thousands of foreign emigrants from all lands can also become Anglicised, Americanized, assimilated and absorbed through association, there is but

One Plain Duty Resting Upon us

with regard to the Indians, and that is to relieve them of their savagery and other alien qualities by the same methods used to relieve the others. Assist them, too, to die as helpless tribes, and to rise up among us as strong and capable individual men and American citizens.

These views led me to recommend to General Sheridan in 1875, when sending to Florida the Indian prisoners then under my care at Fort Sill, that they should, while in such banishment, be educated and trained in civilized pursuits, and so far as practicable be brought into relations with our own people. Being detailed to conduct the prisoners to Florida and to remain in care of them, I established schools among them, and through letting them go out as laborers, which they very willingly did, and every other means that offered or I could contrive, I pressed upon them American life and civilization.

Unwilling That They Should Escape Tribal Thralldom.

The three years of their stay in Florida wrought wonderful changes among them. At one time they pleaded to have their wives and children sent to them and be allowed to remain East; but their exorable supervision and management the Agencies was unwilling that more should escape tribal thralldom even demanded the return of t

were away and had gained a desire to throw off its power.

How the Eastern Move Began.

In the spring of 1878 when these prisoners were released 22 of the young men were led to ask for more education and said they would stay East three years longer if they could go to school. Through the interest and sympathy for them which had grown up during their stay in Florida, the money was provided by friends, and these twenty-two were placed in school—seventeen at Hampton Institute Va., four near Utica, N. Y., and one at Tarrytown, N. Y. In the Fall of 1878 I was sent to Dakota and brought to Hampton 49 youth from the Fort Berthold, Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brule and Yankton Agencies, and was detailed by the War department to stay at Hampton until the new pupils "were accustomed to their new mode of life and interested in educational pursuits." After three months I reported to the Secretary of War that these conditions had been reached and that I might be sent to my regiment. I was advised by the Secretary, Mr. McCrary, that action would be taken later, and, as I found afterwards, a clause was placed in the Army Appropriation Bill for 1879 as follows:—

"Sect. 7. That the Secretary of War shall be authorized to detail an officer of the Army, not above the rank of Captain for special duty with reference to Indian education."

I was then informed by the Secretary that this law was made upon his request and that of Mr. Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, and was intended to cover my detail at Hampton.

Not Best to Unite the Problems.

The few months I had served at Hampton convinced me that there was no need, and that it was not for the best interests of the Indian, to unite his problem with that of the negro. That, hurtful to both, principles of raceism and exclusivism as well as the whites were thus fostered. While, in order to reach success, both the best of opportunities and the

environment, not of each other, but of the dominant race into which they are to become incorporated, their entry into full possession of American intelligence and fellowship would be from such radically different present conditions as to make the uniting of their cases in the public mind an unnecessary hindrance to the Indian's cause.

Carlisle Suggested

I, therefore, said to my superiors that I was not content to remain at Hampton, but that I would gladly undertake a separate work, and suggested an industrial school of 250 to 300 Indian youth in the old military Barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, which being in the midst of an industrious and intelligent community, would afford the best examples and be an excellent point from which to forward pupils into the public school and labor lines of the country. The suggestion was laid before Congress and secured at once the attention of the Indian Committees of both the House of Representatives and Senate; a bill was drawn and a very favorable report to Congress made by the House Indian Committee, but the bill was so far back on the Calendar it was not reached that session and did not become a law until July 31st, 1882. In the meantime, the favorable attitude of Congress led the Secretary of War to submit the project to General Sherman, Commanding the Army, and General Hancock, Commanding the Department of the Atlantic, in which the Barracks are. They both approved, and on the 6th of September, 1879, an order was issued turning over the Barracks to the Department of the Interior for an Indian school, pending the action of Congress on the Bill.

The Site for Carlisle Barracks.

as a military station was given free of rental to the Province and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by the Penn proprietors from 1755 to 1801, when it was purchased from the Penns by the United States.

The Barracks were first a rude block-house, as an out-post against Indians and a refuge for the neighboring settlers.

During the Revolutionary War, being remote from active operations, they were used by the colonist authorities as a recruiting station and a place for the detention of prisoners of war. Substantial buildings were erected by Hessian prisoners captured at Trenton, of which buildings only the present guard-house remains. In the wars with England in 1812, with the Seminoles in Florida, 1836 to 1842, with Mexico 1846 and '47, the Barracks became important rendezvous and a point of departure for the troops sent from this section. The buildings erected during the Revolution and subsequently, having become dilapidated were repaired and rebuilt in 1836. These buildings remained until 1863 when they were burned by the Confederates under Fitz. Hugh Lee, on the night of July 1st, just before the battle of Gettysburg. Rebuilt in 1865-'66 the Barracks were occupied as a cavalry school and depot until 1872, at which time the depot was transferred to St. Louis and the place was practically unoccupied until it was turned over to the Interior Department for this school.

Located in one of the best agricultural regions in the country, surrounded by a thrifty, industrious people, Carlisle Barracks merited the

Endorsement Given by General Hancock who in approving its transfer to the Interior Department for an Indian School said, "I know of no better place for the establishment of such an institution."

On September 6th, 1879, I was ordered by the War Department to report to the Secretary of the Interior for Indian educational duty. On the same date I was ordered by the Secretary of the Interior to establish this school, and to proceed to Dakota and the Indian Territory for pupils. By the end of October I had gathered 136 pupils from Rosebud and Pine Ridge Agencies in Dakota, and from the Cheyenne, Kiowa, Pawnee and Ponca Agencies in the Indian Territory. Hampton gave eleven of the former Florida prisoners and the school opened November 1st, 1879, with 147 pupils.

"THE CONTACT OF PEOPLES IS THE BEST OF ALL EDUCATION."

The aim of the school from the start has been to teach English and give a primary education and a knowledge of some common and practical industry and means of self-support among civilized people. To this end regular shops and a farm were provided where the principal mechanic arts and farming are taught the boys, and suitable rooms and appliances arranged and the girls taught cooking, sewing, laundry and house work.

During vacation, each year, all pupils of both sexes sufficiently advanced and who could be spared from necessary school work have been sent out into families and on farms as laborers, and thus they have

Learned to Apply Practically

the lessons, more or less theoretical, taught at the school, besides earning large pocket money. The first vacation (1880) we placed out six girls and eighteen boys, and the number has steadily increased to 520 the past year as shown in the table herewith. At the close of vacation, if satisfactory conditions existed, arrangements have been made and students encouraged to remain out through the winter and attend the public schools. Last winter an average of 190 were so out. Each out pupil when not attending school receives such pay as his or her ability is entitled to.

Their Aggregate Earnings

during the year were \$15,252.89, of which the boys earned \$12,556.15, and saved \$6,508.01, and the girls earned \$2,696.24, and saved \$1,096.81, a total savings of \$7,604.82. This added to the savings of previous years, gave them a total of \$13,131.24, to their credit, June 30th. One hundred and seventeen pupils returning home in July, 1889, carried with them \$2,115, that they had earned and saved.

More than 200 good places offered for them last year had to be refused because all the pupils sufficiently advanced and prepared were taken. These two facts show how they are appreciated as a labor element, and suggest that, through labor

and public school lines, the whole young Indian population can be brought into civilization and self-support.

Features Not Usually Found.

The Carlisle system of Industrial education presents some features not usually found in the Trade School. Our pupils generally have, as beginners, an imperfect knowledge of the English language and instruction by any course of lessons with explanation of process or methods is well nigh out of the question. Of necessity, therefore, they must acquire knowledge and skill by observation and practice. Education thus obtained is wholly practical. Shoe-making is taught by making shoes, tin-smithing by making tin-ware, carpentering by working with carpenters at whatever building operations are in progress, and so on through all the departments.

The lowest intellect derives satisfaction and encouragement from being able to produce a tin-cup, a pair of shoes, a horse-shoe or a table, etc., etc.

As a consequence, the pupil becomes at once productive. We make the shoes needed for the school; do the repairing; make our own clothing;—and for the Government quantities of tin-ware, harness and wagons; print two papers—a weekly with a circulation of 10,000, and a monthly of about 2,000 and a large quantity of miscellaneous school printing; do all the steam fitting, and pipe work of the premises; care for the steam boilers, and farm three hundred acres of land.

Half Day System the Best.

In carrying on this industrial training in connection with the school-room education we find that a half-day at school and a half-day at labor, with an evening study hour, give the best results. All school and work departments are organized with two sets of pupils,—alternating the sets between school and shop each half-day. By this plan, the instructors in all departments have smaller numbers under care at any one time and are better able to give individual attention.

Pupils Receive Pay.

As the students advance in industrial lines a small sum per diem is paid them. These payments are in a graduated scale. For the first four months there is no pay, then at the rate of four cents per each half day for the first year, six cents for the second and twelve cents for the third year and after; and in the heavy work of the farm in summer twenty four cents per day. This in the aggregate is not a large amount, but it wonderfully increases the desire of the students to learn a trade, and enables us to practically teach the value of money and economy in its uses, and also constitutes an important element of control.

All the boys have instruction in the work of a farm and vegetable garden either at the school or at country homes.

The Educational Department

of the school was enlarged at the beginning of the school year by the organization of two additional sections, making twelve, exclusive of the Normal Department. There arrived during the year new pupils as follows: In August, 127 Chippewas, Onedias and Pueblos from Michigan, Wisconsin and New Mexico. In September, 56 Chippewas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Sioux, from Minn., Mich. Indian Territory and Dak. In Oct. 17 Caddoes, Apaches and Kiowas from Kiowa and Comanche Agency, I. T. In November, 14 Piegans, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Creeks from Montana and Indian Territory. In December, 5 Chippewas from Michigan. In January and February, 13 Mandans and Rees from Fort Berthold, Dakota and Piegans from Montana. In March, 61 Piegans and Crows from Montana. In April, 65 Piegans and Blackfeet from Montana. In June, 1 Cherokee from Indian Territory. Total numbr 359. Approximately of these, one-half entered in and below the first reader grade. Two-thirds of the remainder, the second and third reader grades. The remaining one-third, the fourth and fifth reader grades, and two of the girls the graduating class.

The placing of these pupils caused unavoidable interruptions in the school

routine. In order to do the most regular and best work, it is very desirable that parties should come in between the first of June and the last of August each year. The system of grading which I introduced March 1st, 1889, has been tested and has proved, in the main, to be satisfactory. Now that a uniform course and plan of grading is established in all the schools, the work will be greatly facilitated here.

The prospect of promotion to a higher grade, and the diploma on completion of course, have proved a valuable incentive to the pupils.

A post graduate course was begun and will be put into more thorough operation during the coming year.

The Normal Department has been organized on a better basis than heretofore. There has been an average attendance of fifty of the smallest children, belonging to first and second grades. These were taught by eight pupil-teachers, six young women and two young men, under the superintendence of the teacher in charge. Five were members of the graduating class, and three from lower grades. In addition to their practice-work in teaching, these have received special normal instruction. The normal work is now an important factor in the school, and it is intended that pupils of proper degrees of advancement, who show aptitude, shall be taken as practice teachers elected as much as possible from different Agencies.

The annual examinations and second graduating exercises took place on May 14th. We were favored with the presence of many prominent officials of the Government, among them the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Chairman of the House Committee, and mem-

bers of the Indian Committees from both Houses of Congress, besides other friends of the Indian from Washington and elsewhere. The forenoon was given to the inspection of school and industrial departments and drills in gymnasium. In the afternoon, the invited guests assembled in the chapel to listen to essays and declamations by the graduating class. The diplomas were presented by the Honorable Commissioner, General Morgan, accompanied by words of good counsel and encouragement.

The graduation limit was fixed at the end of the Grammar School grade, because this point might be reached by an average pupil at the expiration of two terms of five years each. While we arrange to go beyond this with a post-graduate course, we urge that all should go out into the schools of the land and measure themselves with their white brothers and sisters, thus making ready to compete with them for the prizes in life. To this end, through the kindly co-operation of friends and the officers of the following schools, Carlisle has had as representatives during the last year, two girls in the Carlisle High School, and two at the Millersville Normal School, Penn. Two also at the Alma, Michigan, College and Normal Training School. Two young men have been at Marietta College, Ohio, and one at Rutgers College. The expenses of these, in part, and many other wants of the school have been met by the continued liberality of friends to the school who have given us without solicitation \$5,768.77 during the year.

One hundred and ninety-two of our pupils are members of the various Churches in the town of Carlisle.

The following table gives the population of the school during the year by tribes:

POPULATION.

Tribes.	Connected with school at date of last report.		New pupils received.		Total During Year	Returned to Agencies		Died.		Remaining at school.			On farms during year for longer or shorter periods.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.
1. Alaskan	2				2			1		1		1	1	
2. Apache	92	23			115	11	3	3	2	78	18	96	81	19
3. Arapahoe	14	4	7	11	36	6			1	15	14	29	14	7
4. Arickaree		1	1	3	5	1					4	4		2
5. Assinaboine			21	13	34					21	13	34		2
6. Blackfeet				1	1						1	1		
7. Cherokee				1	1						1	1		
8. Caddo			8	3	11	1				7	3	10	5	1
9. Cheyenne	18	7	13	5	43	5	3			26	9	35	25	2
10. Chippewa	2	1	41	26	70	10	3	1		32	24	56	15	13
11. Comanche	6	1	1		8	3				4	1	5	4	
12. Crow	22	6	10	9	47	4	1			28	14	42	22	4
13. Creek			2	2	4	1	2			1		1		
14. Gros Ventre	1		11	5	17					12	5	17		
15. Iowa	1				1	1							1	
16. Kaw	1				1					1		1	1	
17. Keechi	1				1					1		1	1	
18. Kiowa	9	4	1		14	3	1			7	3	10	2	1
19. Lipan		1			1						1	1		1
20. Menominee	1				1	1							1	
21. Miami	1	1		1	3		1			1	1	2		1
22. Mandan			1		1					1		1		
23. Modoc		1			1		1							
24. Navajo	4				4	1				3		3	3	
25. Omaha	12	2	2	2	18	3				11	4	15	10	2
26. Oneida	37	39	15	11	102	5	3			47	47	94	38	47
27. Onondaga	1	1			2		1			1		1	1	
28. Osage	6	1			7	4				2	1	3	2	1
29. Ottawa	6	5	20	14	45	5	1			21	18	39	8	7
30. Pawnee	7	6	1		14	1		1		6	6	12	6	6
31. Peoria	1			3	4	1	1				2	2	1	1
32. Piute		1			1						1	1		1
33. Ponca	1		1		2					2		2	1	
34. Pueblo	60	48	10	12	130	31	28	1	1	38	31	69	35	17
35. Piegan	1		30	16	47					31	16	47	13	1
36. Pottawattomie		2			2		1				1	1		1
37. Quapaw	2	1			3					2	1	3		1
38. Sac & Fox		1			1						1	1		1
39. Seminole	1	2			3					1	2	3		1
40. Seneca	2	1			3					2	1	3	1	2
41. Shoshone	2				2					2		2	2	
42. Shawnee		4			4						4	4		2
43. Sioux	53	23	12	10	98	13	3			52	30	82	38	23
44. Stockbridge		4	1		5					1	4	5	1	
45. Wichita	1				1					1		1	1	
46. Winnebago	15	7			22	2	1			13	6	19	10	2
47. Wyandotte	3	7		2	12	1	2			2	7	9	2	5
Total	386	205	209	150	950	114	56	7	4	474	295	769	346	174

Pandering to the Tribe

and its socialisms, as most of our Government and Mission plans do, is the principal reason why the Indians have not advanced more and are not now advancing as rapidly as they ought. We easily inculcate principles of American citizenship and self-support into the individual in the schools located where such examples and principles prevail. The misfortune is that the only future to which such youth are invited is that of the reservation where their new principles are not only most unpopular, but in many cases interdicted. It is a common experience of our returned students to have not only their savings carried home from the school taken from them at once, but to be unable to realize much of anything for themselves from any earnings they may make at the agencies. Their relations and friends come upon them with demands for a share of their earnings, and often before they receive their pay it is all promised in small sums to such relations and friends, who do not and will not work. In but few of the tribes have allotments been made, and markets are remote. There is, therefore, on the agricultural line at the agencies very little encouragement to the individual. No manufactories of any kind nor commercial interests, except the few Indian traderships, are allowed upon the reservations, and there is no opportunity, outside the very limited Agency needs, for them to obtain employment. They are consequently at a great disadvantage. The more these oppressive conditions become apparent to students somewhat advanced in education, and who have experienced the better conditions of civilized life, the more there is of

A Growing Disposition to Break Away

from the reservation and to strike out into the world where occupation and opportunity invite. In my judgment, it should be the duty of every Indian School, whether Governmental or Mission, Agency or remote from the Agency, as well as the duty of the Indian Agent, and other Indian service employes, to for-

ward Indian youth and worthy Indians of any age into civilized communities and the honorable employments of civilized life, and to constantly direct the attention of all Indians that way.

It has been urged against industrial training of this and other schools that the trades taught are of no practical value to them on their return to their Agencies. This presupposes that the Indians are to always remain as they are in an ignorant tribal condition. If we ever get the Indians to break up their tribal relations, and venture out into the world as successful individuals it must be done through training them to various industries, so that in different capacities they may individually feel able to cope with the whites. When the Government and the Indians' friends

Give up the Notion of Continued Herding

on reservations and offer opportunities and encourage their venturing into the industries of the country, the Indians will begin in earnest to become men and individuals and not before. By far the largest number of Indians who in this generation will be self-supporting will be so not by reason of their knowledge of fractions but by

Their Ability to do a Good Day's Work

in the office or field or at the bench.

Among those who have been at Carlisle and are now or have been successfully working among the whites, I can instance several blacksmiths in car shops, having one or two white men, as helpers and strikers; another in a machine shop; others as regular jour-carpenters; another a painter in a coach factory for several years; others as printers working regularly at the trade successfully; and many valued farmer helps, among them a Comanche who pays his taxes in New England, and a Cheyenne, who also pays his taxes in Pennsylvania, and has become an expert in dairy work and caring for fine stock cattle. After preparation in our school hospital three of our girls have gone into nurse schools and one of them has graduated and now earns \$15.00 per week nursing in white families; and all of these in

competition with whites. Very few of those who have returned to the reservations after three or more years with us but are able to support themselves by labor in any civilized community. If they do not do so on the reservations it is the

Fault of the Conditions

existing there. My inquiries show that our pupils returned to their reservations average quite as many successes as the pupils of any other school. But this is not an encouraging fact as bearing upon the progress of the tribes towards citizenship, for the reason that, even though all were successful, we reinforce the tribal plan by remanding them to the reservations, and so build up a separate class and race of people more out of harmony with the Government and general interest of the country because of the strength gained by education. No duty rests upon either the Government or charitable people to create so-called nations like the Cherokees, Creeks and others, where the freedom and rights of the individual are

Chained to Socialism and Crushed by Oligarchy.

Schools and training along tribal lines on tribal ground, aided by remote schools ministering to the tribal idea, have done that for these tribes and can be and are being made to do it for the Sioux and other tribes. Schools can be made the most powerful instruments to continue the Indians as Indians and tribes, or they can be made the most powerful instruments to speedily break up tribal slavery and bring about the freedom and American citizenship of the individual Indian. A special school system for each tribe, whether arranged after our State public school systems or along Church and Mission school lines, or both, will segregate and weld the tribes into separate and petty nations, as surely in the future as it has done in the past. On the contrary, if the youth of the tribes are sent into our already organized public school systems, and from these encouraged to associate and to join in their interests with the nation at large, tribal socialisms, with all

their perplexing clogs and expense to the Government will soon

Merge Into and Dissappear

in the body politic of the country.

Citizenship will be learned only by experience. Nearly as well expect to get the spirit of American citizenship into the Negroes in mass in Africa as to try to get it into the Indians in mass on the reservations under the influence of tribal surroundings. Government money, at least, ought to be used only to build Indians into the United States, not to build them out of it. The result of education ought to be citizenship and not be to remand citizenship to the future and render its consummation more difficult. One course of treatment leads 7,000,000 of the black race to universally demand American citizenship, and another course of treatment leads 260,000 of the red race to universally reject American citizenship. History will record that the driving back and reserving course pursued towards the red race far exceeded the other in gross inhumanity.

The argument used by some self-constituted friends of the Indians, which has been so potent in recalling Indian youth from the many opportunities of busy civilized surroundings to their homes and the tribes so barren of opportunities, that we are separating and breaking up families is in the light of conditions in America

Most Weak and Absurd.

No American family feels divided with its members scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and very few really progressive families but are so scattered.

If educated Indian youth must be continually returned to their tribes it would seem reasonable that the Government should open a way and apply such pressure upon them as shall cause the newly acquired ability to be used for their own support. Within the history of this school a vigorous Indian Agent did this successfully, and with the limited means at his command compelled the returned youth to earn their living. That they can become self-supporting here, and in large numbers, we have most fully dem-

onstrated and repeatedly reported. To fail in self-support destroys manhood.

In order to educate successfully the youth should enter school to remain until discharged by reason of graduation or other good causes. Five years at school, half of which is spent in literary training, the other half in industrial training, gives only two and a half years to each, which is too short a time to gain any proficiency in either the one or the other. In my report of last year I invited attention to the fact that our highest grade is two years below the ordinary high school grade of the public schools, and stated that we ought at least to carry our pupils to the High School grade. I also urged that there should be more stringent regulations in regard to holding Indian youth in school and stated that our period of five years, established with the consent of the Department, was antagonized by the fact that the Department consented to three years' course, and even less, at all the other schools, I also stated that the Government has from year to year entered into agreement with different Churches and institutions for the education of Indian youth without any system as to the length of time they should remain in school; that these Churches and institutions competing for pupils with the Government's own industrial and other schools used arguments and resorted to methods to fill their schools, calculated to confuse the Indians and render them averse to sending their children to the Government schools. These evils, though somewhat modified,

Still Exist.

If the duty of educating the Indians rests upon the Government, the duty also rests upon the Government to hold them to its systems of education until they are educated and equipped with sufficient ability to meet and compete with the average citizen. Unless this is done the very education given becomes weakness, for the opponents of Indian education will point at their inefficiency, and yell,—“Graduates of Carlisle University,” and it is again established that a “little learning

is a dangerous thing.” Ample evidence is provided in the official testimony of special allotment agents, inspectors, and of commissioners negotiating with the Indians, that even the partly educated youth and especially those who have enjoyed eastern advantages, are in favor of the progress of the tribes and the aims of the Government in its allotment and other-civilizing purposes.

The question of expense to the Government becomes more and more in favor of our system. We received an appropriation for the year of \$80,000 to be disbursed at a per capita cost of not exceeding \$167. On this appropriation we carried an average of 664 pupils, being a

Per Capita Cost

to the Government of a little more than \$120. During the sessions of the school we had present at the school an average of 474, which was six short of our appropriation number. At some expense to our appropriation, but at no expense to Government, the remaining 190 were out in families and in the public and other schools of the country, getting their lessons in civilization by every-day practical experience and observation, and at the same time testing their mental and physical powers in competition with the youth of the land, and receiving, as I have so often stated in former reports, more benefit than they could derive from any purely Indian school. Properly managed, there is no reason why, in the near future, thousands of Indian youth should not be so placed throughout the country, and thus the law of Congress providing for this system, which outside of Carlisle has been practically a dead letter for the last eight years, would become the most powerful, because the most common sense influence for civilizing and absorbing the Indian tribes. In order to do this successfully, influences that now insidiously oppose Indian youth going into the public schools, and antagonizing to the development of their independence and self-help will need to be removed or restrained.

Very respectfully,
Your Obedient Servant,
R. H. PRATT,
Capt. 10th Cav'y., Supt.

CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL.

ITS FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES, As Expounded in Its Annual Reports From 1881 to '90:

NO STEPS BACKWARD.

We deem it advisable at this time in connection with our Annual Report to gather into one place and present to our interested friends

The Purposes Which Have Guided us

through all the years, as explained to the Government in our Annual Reports. It will be seen that from first to last we have been governed by a well-defined purpose, and all the success we have had is on a line with and in the execution of that purpose.

FROM THE REPORT OF 1881.

"Carlisle school has in its keeping children from twenty-four different tribes. If the treaties of the United States Government with most of these tribes are in any degree binding their educational claims and neglects are matters of no little moment. The treaty clauses in favor of education, framed by the large and important commission of which General W. T. Sherman was chairman, and which are a part of each of the treaties ratified in 1868 with the Sioux, Navajoes, Apaches, Utes, Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows, Shoshones, Bannocks, and Pawnees, now our most troublesome tribes, are in words almost identical in each case, as follows: 'In order to insure the civilization of the tribes entering into this treaty the necessity of education is admitted, especially by such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided

and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.'

These tribes aggregate a population of about 70,000, of which 15,000 are children of school age. The complete fulfillment of these treaties would render necessary 500 school-houses, which at an average cost of say \$800 each—probably half the real cost at those remote points—would aggregate \$400,000; 500 teachers at \$600 per annum each for thirteen years would make \$3,900,000. Books and school material for 15,000 children at \$10 per year each for thirteen years would make \$1,950,000. Of course these children could not attend school without being clothed and fed; \$100 per year each would be a small sum for this purpose. This amount for 15,000 children for thirteen years would reach the sum of \$19,500,000. The grand total would be \$25,750,000. This is a small estimate of the sum actually due these Indians on account of failure to carry out the educational treaty agreements, which are the one thing the commission, the Congress, and the President declared would 'insure their civilization.' From this amount might be deducted the moiety that has been expended in this direction. Ten per cent. would be a large estimate of this, leaving an actual balance due the Indians for educational purposes of \$23,175,000. The tribes named have had as shown by the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1880, an average attendance in school of 1,400 children, or $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole. The 1,300 children of the Utes, Shoshones, Bannocks, and Northern Arapahoes have had no school whatever, while the Navajoes, with 3,000 children, have had an average attendance in school of ten children. The injury done by the United States Government to this large number of Indian boys and girls who have grown up during this period, by withholding this promised and valuable intelligence,

and the actual injury and loss to the country, from their having been an ignorant, pauper, peace-disturbing, life-destroying, impoverishing, instead of an intelligent, producing element, could not be stated in figures.

Whether it is good public policy to place upon them the grave duties of citizenship before the civilization, intelligence and ability of citizenship is educated and trained into them is very questionable.

No educational work for the Indians will be successful in any considerable degree until the numbers educated shall form a majority of the whole. A small minority will always occupy a forlorn position. Public opinion controls, and the majority controls that. A veneering of training and education which may be accomplished in a three years' course equally breeds failure. Theory must be ground in with practice. It is not the fear that we may educate the children away from sympathy with their former savagery that should prevail, but rather the fear that we may fall short of getting enough of education and training into the particular subject to enable him to stand and to compete in civilized life. If the one city of Philadelphia supports schools and gives education to 103,000 children, as it does, to maintain its civilization, it seems a criminality for the United States to promise and then neglect to give to its 50,000 Indian children the education which the government itself says will "insure their civilization." The great need is education for the whole. Whenever that shall be determined upon, the best where and how will be easily developed. If freedom and citizenship are to be their lot, then the surroundings of freedom and good citizenship during education would seem the best to equip them for that lot."

FROM REPORT OF 1882.

"Three years in school is not education, and judgments based upon the success or failure of those who have made this mere beginning can only be imperfect." *

"Ignorance of our language is the greatest obstacle to the assimilation of the Indian with our population. It will be better for all when tribal names, distinctions and languages are obliterated. The plan of exclusive schools for Germans was tried in the State of Pennsylvania and found to be foreign to the interests of the commonwealth in that it banded together a large mass of people to peculiar and special interests in each other rather than in the general welfare. Exclusively Indian schools will keep the Indians a separate and peculiar people forever by educating them entirely to race sympathies and limiting their ambitions and aspirations to mere tribal affairs. Without experience outside of the tribe they will never gain courage for other than tribal life. Theory fails, but experience does the work."

"We impress upon our students the importance of such labor knowledge as will enable them to earn a living among and in competition with white people. If they cannot succeed here where everything helps how can they succeed among their own people where everything hinders? But why should they be remanded to such trial and failure? Evidence is not wanting that if the avenues to civilized life are opened they will enter and take no mean part. Treated like other folks they act like them. In contact with civilized life they speedily become civilized. The Indian question is broad as the country. Each State is to blame. Why should there be east or west in its settlement? Why should not every State have schools and these schools be made introductory to civilized contact and so in time all Indian children grow into a knowledge of and a desire for American citizenship."

FROM REPORT OF 1883.

"During the winter we had out in families, attending the public schools, 33 boys and 19 girls. At the end of June, 1883, we had placed out 99 boys and 43 girls. Our pupils come to us now for 5 years, 2 years of which we shall endeavor to place them under this family training. My reports

for 1881 and 1882 give a fair expression of the continued esteem these placed-out students receive, and my remarks in those two reports in regard to its advantages are reaffirmed. In my judgment it opens up a practicable course to accomplish the destruction of race prejudices and to bring our Indian population into useful, productive life. Two years in our school will generally give to previously uneducated and untrained Indian boys and girls a sufficient knowledge of English and enough skill and industry to make them acceptable helps in farm and other industrial civilized pursuits. After three years' trial I can see nothing to prevent a very great expansion of this system, so that it may be made to bear upon thousands instead of a few score. But some encouragement and influence should grow up looking to the enlargement of their sphere of life and usefulness beyond reservation lines after the expiration of their school periods."

FROM REPORT OF 1884.

"Of this number I placed out on farms and in families during the year, for longer or shorter periods, 44 girls and 173 boys, and have arranged for keeping out about 110 the ensuing winter, to attend the public schools where they are located, or to receive private instruction in the families. This is by far the most important feature of our work, and, to my mind, points the way to a practical solution of the difficulties and antagonisms separating our Indian from our other peoples convincing both races of the true character and capacity of the other. Of the 217 placed out last year, 90 were reported as excellent in conduct, 63 as good, 46 as fair, and only 18 as bad; 84 are reported as excellent workers, 83 as good, 41 as fair, and 9 as lazy.

I established a regulation that all who went out from the school should do so entirely at the expense of their patrons, and should receive pay according to their ability. The results have been most satisfactory. The absence from the school has been in nearly every case a clear saving to the Government of their support

during such period of absence, and many of the boys and girls, besides supplying themselves with clothing, have earned and saved considerable sums of money which, I find, has a most excellent influence. An Indian boy who has earned and saved \$25 or \$50 is, in every way, more manly and more to be relied upon than one who has nothing; whereas, had he received the same sum as a gratuity the reverse would be the case. Necessarily we have to send out the most advanced and best students. Those returned to their homes, added to the accessions made to the school during the year, unfortunately limited the number competent to be placed out. Two years of school training and discipline are necessary to fit a new pupil for this outing. The rapid progress in English speaking, the skill in hand and head work, the independence in thought and action pupils so placed gain, all prove that this method of preparing and dispersing Indian youth is an invaluable means of giving them the courage and capacity for civilized self-support. An Indian boy, placed in a family remote from his home (and it is better distant from the school), surrounded on all sides by hard-working, industrious people, feels at once a stronger desire to do something for himself than he can be made to feel under any collective system, or in the best Indian training school that can be established. His self-respect asserts itself; he goes to work, behaves himself, and tries in every way to compete with those about him. For the time he in a measure forgets the things that are behind and pushes on towards a better life.

There is, however, one drawback to the success of this or any other method that may be established which applies to those belonging to ration and annuity tribes. We find from the course of thought among those belonging to such tribes that there is constantly before them the inevitable future of a return to their homes, and to food without labor. So long as they return to their tribes to be fed, or are forced to fall back into homes of filth and degradation to be ruled by blind, ignorant, and

superstitious parents, the Government by such methods, to some extent destroys that which it builds. It is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when the reservation for every Indian within the United States shall only be bounded by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, British America, and Gulf of Mexico, and when the system of maintaining tribes and separate peoples will be abandoned, and the Indian, no less than the negro, shall be an unrestricted citizen. The boy learns to swim by going into the water; the Indian will become civilized by mixing with civilization. There can, certainly, be no duty resting on the General Government to educate these people to tribal life and perpetuate petty nationalities. It seems plain to me, that every educational effort of the Government should urge these people into association and competition with the other people of the country, and teach them that it is more honorable to be an American citizen than to remain a Comanche or a Sioux. From our experience there is no great difficulty in preparing young Indians to live among and become a part of civilized people; but the system of educating in tribes and tribal schools leaves the Onondagas, Onondagas still, notwithstanding their reservation has been for more than a century in the heart of our greatest State."

FROM REPORT OF 1885.

"From the beginning of America until this present the example overshadowing all other examples of ours to the Indian has been that of murder and murderous intent.

For every man of us the Indian sees quietly following the pursuits of industry and peace we place before him ten armed men. We spasmodically dole out to him homœopathic doses of the peaceful and industrious elements of our civilization, but keep him continuously saturated with Thompsonian doses of our savage elements. That the homœopathic doses have little effect, or that the patient sickens and dies under the irritating process is a natural sequence.

If example has any force the Indian is instigated and inspired by us to be and continue just what he is. His inherent qualities and his heredity are not near as potent as the ever-present, grinding, debasing systems and examples to which we subject him.

Instead of receiving recognition as a man and a brother, and being surely placed under some continuous uplifting policy, he has always been and is still the shuttlecock for every community, territory and State organization within whose limits he falls.

The driving out policy has been the only popular one since the landing of the pilgrim fathers; and thus driven away from every substance and shadow even, of encouragement to escape from his old savage life, we hold him to-day under far more degrading influences than those in which he was held by his untutored savage state before we came and assumed moral, physical and intellectual responsibility over him.

Many thousands of the failures, discontents, paupers and criminals of all nations under God's bright sun annually arrive among us on invitation and find open doors, open arms and the rights and homes of freedom and freemen any where and everywhere. In two hundred and fifty years, black, exotic savages are transplanted and increase to seven millions in this land. They grow out of barbarism and barbaric languages into the knowledge, benefits and abilities we possess because of and through no other reason than that they were forced into the open doors of experience.

The Indian, only two hundred and sixty thousand strong, constantly driven away from experience and back upon himself remains his old self or grows worse under the aggravations and losses of the helps to his old active life.

Any policy which invites the Indian to become an individual and brings him into the honest activities of civilization and especially into the atmosphere of our agricultural, commercial, industrial exam-

ples, assures to him mental, moral and physical development into independent manhood.

Any policy which prolongs the massing, inactive herding systems continues to lead to destruction and death. It is folly to hope for substantial cure except there be radical change in the treatment.

FROM REPORT OF 1886.

"An average of about ninety of our students were out in families attending public school with white children during the winter—one, two, or three in a place. No evidences came to me but that the utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed between our Indian pupils thus placed and their fellow pupils, and most of their teachers spoke in praise of their Indian pupils.

With these facts in view, I again, and for the seventh time, make use of my annual report to urge that the lines of Indian civilization and progress are to be found in opening the ways into civilization, and in encouraging the Indian to enter; and are not to be found in continuing the systems which segregate them from civilizing principles and opportunities. As slavery could only be possible and a success through keeping the negro ignorant and denying him all experiences and knowledge outside of the system of slavery, so Indian life, with its ignorance, degradation, and savagery, together with its engrafted pauperizing reservation life and systems, is only possible by continuing the Indian in that life or remanding him inexorably to it. The Indian is not to be blamed for remaining an Indian when all the systems and practices, not only of his tribe, but of the Government, persist in Indianizing him in his education and experiences, any more than the young Anglo-Saxon deserves blame for growing to be a drunkard and gambler if he is born of drunken and gambling parents and raised only in such atmosphere; nor would the State and society relieve itself of responsibility by taking the young Anglo-Saxon from his drunken and gambling surroundings for a period

of three or five years and placing him in an elevating, educating, and moral atmosphere until he had imbibed desires and capacity for a better and useful life, and then, through any sentiment whatsoever, consign him without recourse or escape back to the atmosphere of drunkards and gamblers. So far as I can see there is no good reason why the Indians should remain Indians and tribes, pensioners and disturbers of the public peace, blocking the way of civilization and commerce, any longer. No other people in the United States, nor who come to it, are driven back upon themselves or are compelled to remain foreigners and aliens in the land. Why should the Indians continue an exception?

General Sherman said, "The Indians are the enemies of civilization." General Sherman, and every other general, would seek to overcome an enemy by making him prolong his lines, scatter his forces, and then take him in detail. The poor generalship of civilization, in its attacks upon savagery, is shown in its methods of forcing its enemy to concentrate, and that prolongs the fight.

I have little hope of much success in elevating the Indians until the Indian is made an individual and worked upon as such with a view of incorporating him on our side. Nothing is more important in the work just now than a general system which shall bring into school, for education in English and civilized industries, every young Indian. But the school system will not be a success in Americanizing the young Indian, except it quickly brings the Indian youth out into the school systems of the country; and even this last, if accomplished fully, would fail if the Indian is not made a citizen and encouraged to be an independent individual man among us."

FROM REPORT OF 1887.

"The clause in the Indian Appropriation Bill of 1885-'86 and renewed in that of 1886-'87, virtually prohibiting any pressure upon Indian parents to send their children to school, is directly at war with the sev-

eral school clauses in the treaties of 1868 with the Sioux, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Navajo and other large nomadic tribes. These treaty clauses emphatically provide for compulsory education, and, so far as these particular tribes are concerned, consistency would seem to require that the clause in the Appropriation Bill antagonizing the treaties should be omitted. Indian parents are not, by any means, as competent judges of what is best for their children, as the lowest classes of white parents. The State determines that white parents must educate their children and provides the ways and means. If Indian education is to be accomplished at all, why should the State take any weaker position with reference to them?

I have this year been at some pains to discover the condition of our returned pupils, and while I can find much to commend, I find very much more to deplore. Many returned students are doing well under circumstances and surroundings that would swamp Anglo-Saxon youth of the same ages and of far greater attainments and experience. The prominence of our school has made our returned pupils conspicuous. It would be well that equal range of observation and criticism reached all systems of Indian schools. The Government is not attempting by means of its schools to prepare Indian youth to live in the midst of barbarism. Attempts in that direction have never been a success and probably never will be. The various recent enactments of Congress in reference to Indians, together with the course of the Department management, indicate an intention to close out barbarism in this country, and substitute civilization, therefore, the direction of all Indian educational work should be towards preparing Indians to live in civilization. To this end an apprenticeship to civilization is absolutely requisite, and only a full and thorough apprenticeship will bring success.

The action of Congress in giving lands in severalty to Indians has occupied the attention of our older students not a little, and gives them encouragement to

hope for the fruits of independent life and labor in the near future. Many inquiries have been made directly, and some letters written by them to the Department on the subject."

FROM REPORT OF 1888.

"It is fortunate that this school is so situated, that its capacity for agricultural instruction is not limited to the three hundred acres of school land. Its facilities in this direction might at once be extended to cover the best of training for one thousand boys. The system of placing pupils in families and on farms during vacation, and leaving a limited number of these remain through the winter to attend the public schools, has widened and its results have been more satisfactory. Three hundred and four boys and one hundred and forty-three girls have had these privileges for longer or shorter periods during the year.

Out-pupils are visited and careful inquiry made covering the homes in which they live and their treatment while there, also their own personal conduct and habits, and the schools they attend are examined, and reports covering all these points become a part of our permanent record. Teachers having the care of our Indian pupils in the district schools universally speak well of them. It is a gratifying feature of this out-experience, that those patrons, who were the first to take hold of the system, have been so well suited, that they still continue to employ our students and prefer them to any other help. Their general testimony is: "They are pleasant to have about the house;" "Are good to my children;" "So respectful to the ladies;" etc. etc. Of the whole number out during the year, only four failed to give satisfaction, and no case of criminal viciousness occurred.

In regard to the conduct of students returned to Agencies reports are conflicting; in many cases they are creditable, but in others quite the reverse. In order to measure success by these apparent rules, a very thorough knowledge of the adverse circumstances to which they re-

turn and in which they are compelled to live is needed. Enough comes to us to satisfy that the work of Carlisle is an ever increasing factor for good in Indian matters, and that by means of this and other schools of like character, the great body of Indians may yet be brought into thought and touch with the outer world more rapidly than by any other means so far inaugurated. The government can only hope to do away with our distinct Indian population and assimilate it through some organized plan having that purpose in view. The massing and herding on reservations separated from the intelligence and industry of the country, is the reverse of every such purpose."

FROM REPORT OF 1889.

"We make it a point to give every capable student who desires it, and most of them do, the advantage of an outing. During the year four hundred and sixty two have enjoyed this privilege; a number of them during vacation only. The demand for our students steadily increases. We made no effort whatever to secure places for them, yet we had requests for double the number we could spare. If we had the pupils, and this feature of our work were pushed there would be no trouble in placing five hun-

dred in families, on farms, and in the public schools. We would thus accomplish for them far more than any Indian school could.

I again invite special attention to the advantages of this system and trust it may receive from the Government the notice it deserves. The pupils are thus brought into daily contact with the best of our self-supporting citizens and placed in a position to acquire such a knowledge of our civilized life and institutions as will fit them to become part of our body politic. This knowledge they can acquire in no other way. Could every one of our two hundred and fifty thousand Indians be placed from three to five years in such surroundings, tribal and reservation life would be entirely destroyed. Indian languages would cease to exist, the Indians themselves would become English speaking and capable of performing the duties and assuming the responsibilities of citizenship. To an Indian so placed every individual of the family and neighborhood becomes a teacher.

The reports from our out-students are almost invariably good and their standing in the schools ranks favorably with that of white children."