

Lift the Red, Stay in the Black: The Public and Private Economies of Race Ideas at the Carlisle Indian School, 1879-1904

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the intersection of finance and race at the Carlisle Indian School (1879-1918), the first and largest of the former U.S. off-reservation boarding schools for Native American students. Carlisle, founded and led by Superintendent Richard Henry Pratt and supported by a nearly all-white staff, was the first of what would become 25 off-reservation institutions that defined U.S. efforts to assimilate Native Americans through education during this period, which I study through Pratt's retirement in 1904.

The Carlisle administration's professed ideas of what race meant were grounded in its constant incentives to obtain maximum funding and political support for the school from both public and private sources. Three of these race ideas were that Indian people could rise towards the status of white Americans, colonized groups such as Puerto Ricans were comparable to Native Americans, and American blacks could never become white. This thesis reveals the campus newspaper, *The Red Man*, as a fundraising instrument that promoted Carlisle to donors by repeating these race ideas, and Pratt as a man who prioritized the financial viability of the school over internal consistency in Carlisle's assimilationist mission. Some Carlisle students accepted or elaborated upon administrators' racial ideas, while government increasingly turned to U.S. public schools as instruments for its ongoing, futile quest to assimilate Native students.

Introduction: Pratt and Porto Ricans [sic]

In 1898, the Carlisle Indian School enrolled the first member of what would become a cadre of 60 non-indigenous Puerto Rican students. The unsuspecting students were part of the administration's master plan to secure Carlisle's short-run finances by officially presenting colonized people as Native.¹ Government funding was the school's primary source of revenue, and its dollar appropriation from Congress was based on the number of enrolled students. Enrollment had stagnated,

which therefore placed the school in dire financial straits.² So, Carlisle needed more students, which it could only acquire in bad faith. A plethora of "negative publicity" was assailing the school, and its Native American students were running away from Carlisle in droves.³ The administration's plan to circumvent these problems, which never materialized, was to double the school's student body by adding 1,000 "Porto Ricans [sic] or Cubans" on scholarships paid for by the U.S. government. Of course, the Carlisle administration preferred to spin the school's financial predicament as a vanguard program that the Puerto Ricans had solicited. As A.J. Standing, a senior Carlisle administrator, remarked at the school's 1901 Commencement ceremony,

Within the last year or so there has grown a new interest. It is small at present, but we do not know what it may grow to—that is the presence with us of some people from Porto Rico [sic]...I want to say further that this school on the annual appropriation of \$150,000 carries a thousand pupils, and let the same amount of money carry a thousand Porto Ricans [sic] or Cubans, or, if we wish to be liberal, let it be \$200,000.⁴

Much of the extant scholarship on Carlisle has focused on how the school's nearly all-white leadership conceived of race in a period of American imperialism and state-sanctioned violence against persons of color. This essay addresses that question by revealing how most of the administration's publicly professed race ideas were constructed around what Carlisle's predominantly white public and private benefactors considered acceptable. The administration's attempt to realize its theory that colonized Puerto Ricans were the same as Native Ameri-

1 The Puerto Rican students did not believe that they were Native. On official registration forms where the students were asked to list their tribal affiliations, they invariably crossed out the section and wrote "Puerto Rican." Pablo Navarro-Rivera, "Acculturation Under Duress: The Puerto Rican Experience at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School 1898-1918," <http://home.epix.net/~landis/navarro.html>, last accessed 17 February 2016.

2 Stein Appendix A.

3 Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation*, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 223 and Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*, (Camp Hill, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1993), 51.

4 Navarro-Rivera notes that both BIA officials and Carlisle administrators refused to acknowledge that the first Puerto Ricans arrived at Carlisle in 1898, not 1900, as Standing implied. The reasons behind this institutional lie are unclear, and the existence of Puerto Ricans at Carlisle prior to 1900 was not acknowledged in *The Red Man*. Navarro-Rivera, "Acculturation Under Duress: The Puerto Rican Experience at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1898-1918" and "Commencement Exercises," *The Red Man*, 22 March, 1901, 1.

cans was just one example. Conversely, the school's superintendent, Richard Henry Pratt, denied admittance to indigenous students perceived as "too dark," for fear that he could lose the support of those same benefactors by being associated with the Hampton Institute, a school with a predominantly black student body.⁵ At Carlisle, race was a function of money.

In his introduction to *Battlefield and Classroom*, Robert M. Utley asks a contemporary readership to accept that Carlisle was a milestone in U.S. attempts at Native education.⁶ For Utley, Carlisle was justifiably progressive because Pratt, the central figure of any story about the school, did not assume that indigenous people were racially inferior to white Americans.⁷ Utley argues that Pratt—a portly white man who was Carlisle's head educator, newspaperman, fundraiser, and disciplinarian—was unlike his countrymen for believing that "different skin color and different cultural background did not automatically produce an inferior being."⁸ Utley also tells us that Pratt developed his worldview on race in America while at his previous post as a Captain of the U.S. 10th Cavalry Regiment. The 10th were the "Buffalo Soldiers"—black American troops commanded by white officers, who fought against Native people in a number of conflicts during this period.

In response to Utley, Linda Witmer further theorizes that Pratt's Army experiences made race "a meaningless abstraction" in his mind.⁹ Both scholars' claims that race was irrelevant to Pratt are false, and work to superimpose a modern definition of what race meant to an era in which it did not apply. Race was far from meaningless to Pratt—rather, it was *the* guiding concept behind his crucial decisions on who to admit to the school and how to appeal to potential donors to Carlisle through the campus newspaper, *The Red Man*.¹⁰ It was also the intersection

of race and fundraising efforts that led him to publicly profess three theories: that Native people could approach equal status with white American citizens, black Americans could never become white, and Puerto Ricans and other colonized groups were nearly identical to Native Americans. These three theories belie Carlisle's place as a site of indigenous identity production that also revealed its administrators' attempts to financially exploit the ambiguous racial discourses of the era. Through an original analysis of Carlisle finances that draws from annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Superintendent of Indian Schools, this thesis argues that Carlisle administrators constructed these racial positions in rational pursuit of maximum revenue for the school. However, Pratt and his staff ultimately failed to prevent Carlisle from closing when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) deemed both it and Pratt as political liabilities that were expensive in dollar terms. Carlisle opened as a privately funded enterprise, but, over the course of Pratt's tenure, it drew an increasing share of its revenue from the federal government. As the student body at Carlisle grew steadily between 1879 and 1900, government funding doubled.¹¹

In this period of study, there was also no national consensus on which ethnic groups in the U.S. were considered white, or on the criteria by which groups would become incorporated as white in the future.¹² American blacks constituted the one clear exception to this system of racial ambiguity; by the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, they were clearly and legally defined as separate from the white American public, irrespective of blood quantum.¹³ How mainstream publics perceived the relative closeness of a given group to the ostensible white American ideal was communicated by euphemism. A group was said to be either rising or falling, which was a synonymous parallel to civilization and degradation.¹⁴ Carlisle, located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, enrolled Native American students from communities across North America. The administration and the federal government believed that its brand of Western-style education would alter the race of its students

5 I use "black" to refer to persons whom mainstream late nineteenth-century U.S. society would have considered to be black, as defined by either skin tone or the one-drop standard in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The Hampton Institute is now Hampton University, a historically black college in Hampton, Virginia. "Pratt's determination to protect his experiment from accusations of racial taint is evidenced on the student cards of a group of youths belonging to the Shinnecock nation, who arrived at Carlisle on September 4, 1882. On their Carlisle report cards the reason for discharge was given as 'too much Negro,'" Andrea Smith, "Better Dead than Pregnant," in *Policing the National Body: Sex, Race, and Criminalization*, (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002) and Fear-Segal 163.

6 Utley's book is Pratt's edited autobiography. Richard Henry Pratt, ed. R.M. Utley, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964).

7 In this essay, I will alternate between Native and indigenous to refer to Native peoples in a U.S. context. I use mainstream to refer to non-indigenous institutions. While Carlisle administrators referred to students as Indians, and they referred to each other as such, I only use Indian to describe the early twentieth-century racial idea that with Western education, Indians could both approach status as white Americans and become U.S. citizens.

8 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, xvii.

9 Witmer 3.

10 Published from the beginning to the end of Carlisle's existence, the newspaper published by the school administration changed its title

several times. Pratt originally named it *Eadle Keatab Toh* (Lakota for "Big Morning Star"), which was succeeded by *Morning Star*, *The Red Man and Helper*, and, finally, *The Red Man*. I refer to all issues as *The Red Man* for the sake of consistency, except when discussing the implications of the Lakota etymology of *Eadle Keatab Toh*.

11 Stein Appendix A.

12 Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

13 "Plessy v. Ferguson," *Legal Information Institute: Cornell University Law School*, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/163/537>, last accessed 12 March 2016.

14 The ostensible white American ideal was primarily a rhetorical tool used to distinguish American blacks, and, to a lesser but significant degree, Native Americans from the mainstream polity. Therefore, Native historian Vine Deloria Jr. states that "it stands for the white superman who never existed. The peddler's grandson who conquered the unknown by inheriting a department store—such is the basic American religion unmasked," Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969), 190-191.

by preparing them for American citizenship through compulsory training in English language and Protestant religion. As Thomas Jefferson “T.J.” Morgan, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said of Carlisle and the 25 other off-reservation schools in 1892,

[Off-reservation] schools are instrumental in moulding [*sic*] the character of the entire rising [Native] generation of those who to-day are regarded by multitudes as incapable of civilization, snatching them from the degradation of the camp and the base habits and superstitions of the tribe, and lifting them on to the high plane of American citizenship.¹⁵

The assimilationist ideal supported by these educators, which compared Native tribalism to the status of immigrants or other urban minorities who were purportedly supposed to blend into an American polity, conveniently ignored the fact that sovereign indigenous nations had a right to exist that was guaranteed by U.S. law.¹⁶ The comparison of indigenous people to immigrants also disregarded the possibility that Native individuals might not have wanted to acquire the citizenship of, or to otherwise identify with, a nation that explicitly sought to subvert their cultural identities in an assimilation project.¹⁷

Furthermore, race in the U.S. was tied to conceptions of jurisdiction, land, and self-determination for a supposedly homogenous people that constituted a nation-state. Racial self-determination undergirded both the paternalistic images of American colonial subjects from former Spanish territories as emasculated children, and, later, the neo-colonial post World War I mandate system.¹⁸ Notably, the language employed by the 22nd Article of the Covenant of the League of Nations—used to describe the purpose of the mandate system in 1918—was identical to the way that T.J. Morgan characterized Native education in 1892. As it read,

Those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which

are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation [*sic*] and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.¹⁹

Just as the mandates entrusted nation-states that possessed “civilisation” [*sic*] to assist “peoples not yet able to stand by themselves in the modern world,” until, presumably, they achieved sovereignty, white American educators thought that exposing indigenous children to their conception of civilization—through English language training—would forge independent Native American citizens.

While the United States did not accept a mandate in 1918, it colonized the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and other territories that it absorbed in the Spanish-American War two decades earlier. Pratt clearly understood the parallel between the paternalism of “civilized” colonial rule and the premise that Carlisle and schools like it could raise Native children into citizens. He believed it was an American duty to protect Native people from their own inadequacies as “undeveloped races” that had not achieved “moral manhood.” For example, he argued that Native and colonized people ought to be denied alcohol, as:

It is a disgrace to our civilization that it should be said in Manila that there never was the amount of drinking under Spanish rule that there is under the American flag. We must recognize in our treatment of the Indian and of all undeveloped races, that they have not reached moral manhood, and we must keep away from them, as far as possible, temptations which will lead to their ruin...In Alaska so strong is the desire for liquor among the natives that if they cannot get it, they will buy cologne or Jamaica ginger and get drunk on these. It will be a work of generations to cultivate such a degree of self-reliance as shall enable these undeveloped races to withstand the temptations which accompany our civilization.²⁰

The self-reliance to which Pratt referred was a mainstream American idea of work and capital, which presumed that individual property ownership would lead to economic development and to the racial metamorphosis of reservation Indians into U.S. citizens. Furthermore, Federal policy towards Native people codified this principle in law. The General Allotment Act of 1887, commonly known as the Dawes Act, divided tribal land into 160-acre parcels that were distributed among indi-

15 “Proceedings of the First Conference of Government Indian School Workers, Held at Lawrence, Kansas, December 23 and 24, ’91 [*sic*],” *The Red Man*, February, 1892, 2.

16 “Educators ignored the ways in which Indian people were not the same—historically, culturally, socially, politically, and legally. Thus they failed to recognize the need for a different approach to helping them,” Julie L. Davis, *Survival Schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 74.

17 Assimilation was a catchall term for boarding administrators’ belief that forcing indigenous students to speak English and relocating them thousands of miles from family members would provide the best possible immersion in [white] American civilization, which, in turn, would lead them to become economically productive American citizens. Davis 51.

18 Servando D. Halili, Jr., *Iconography of the New Empire: Race and Gender Images in the American Colonization of the Philippines*, (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2006).

19 “The Covenant of the League of Nations,” *The Avalon Project: Yale Law School*, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp#art22, last accessed 12 March 2016.

20 “It is a Duty,” *The Red Man*, 02 November, 1900, 3.

vidual tribal members in a failed attempt to encourage indigenous people to assimilate and to take up agricultural work.²¹ In *The Red Man*, Pratt framed the legal status of colonial subjects as similar to that of Native Americans through his eccentric third-person editorial voice as “the man on the bandstand.” He compared the Dawes Act to U.S. land reform on the island of Guam, as initiated by its military governor, Richard P. Leary.²²

It is said that [Leary’s] policy for governing the few thousand inhabitants there was characterised [*sic*] by sound practical common-sense and the man-on-the-bandstand thought that as he read the account that some of the methods reminded him of some of the methods tried sometimes upon our Indians on the reservations.²³

Pratt viewed inhabitants of American colonies as both racially and politically similar to Native Americans, but is not readily apparent why he extended the effort to do so. In fact, his repeated comparisons between the two groups served as propaganda for a fundraising campaign that aimed to save the school from insolvency. Carlisle administrators preferred to explain the situation by articulating that the school needed to take its rightful place as an extension of American colonial efforts. In a nod to the rising cost of off-reservation schools, they noted that colonization via education would be less expensive to the U.S. government than military rule.²⁴

The Carlisle administration’s attempt to enroll Puerto Ricans at a Native American boarding school, which will subsequently be discussed in greater detail, was just one episode of the longer history of administrative race ideas in *The Red Man* that aimed to obtain financial and political support from both government and private sources. In the previous two decades, Pratt undertook fundraising projects aimed at regional white private interests in Pennsylvania and New York. Focusing on fundraising shows that Carlisle was not a strictly federal experiment, and highlights the underemphasized necessity of local and regional white publics to its funding.²⁵ In effect, Pratt was

selling private donors a stake in a campaign of cultural genocide couched as civilization.²⁶

Assimilation and its Friends

In the midsummer of 1901, the predominantly non-Native readership of *The Red Man* read its editorial page, on which Pratt described the mission of the off-reservation boarding schools. He casually described a shared mission among peer institutions that contemporary historians have widely regarded as cultural genocide—or, in a specifically educational context, the “assimilationist imperative.”²⁷ For Pratt, it was unacceptable for Native youth to choose anything other than Western and middle-class Protestant definitions of educational success, or to shun American citizenship. He viewed both as necessary conditions for Native racial assimilation and economic advancement.²⁸ Whether indigenous families “opposed the specific kind of education” that their children received was irrelevant to him, as:

These schools deserve the congratulations as well as the practical help of their friends in the effort thus to set forth the work and its claims, by means of the

founded with strong government financing. Other off-reservation schools, such as the Haskell Institute, in Lawrence, KS, which was founded via a federal construction grant in 1884, may be more aptly referred to as “government schools” in this regard. Even so, I resist the moniker “federal schools” to refer to these institutions, as it is arguably ahistorical. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1884*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), <http://digioll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?id=History. AnnRep84>, last accessed 5 March 2016.

26 By cultural genocide, I specifically refer to Carlisle’s attempt to prohibit students from speaking indigenous languages, which was enforced by ritualized public shaming. Human Rights scholar David Nersessian describes cultural genocide as “attacks upon the physical and/or biological elements of a group [that seek] to eliminate its wider institutions... Elements of cultural genocide are manifested when artistic, literary, and cultural activities are restricted or outlawed,” David Nersessian, “Rethinking Cultural Genocide Under International Law,” *Carnegie Council for International Affairs*, https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/archive/dialogue/2_12/section_1/5139.html/pf_printable, last accessed 13 March 2016 and Fear-Segal 223.

27 Davis 92.

28 Pratt’s justification for the assimilationist imperative was grounded in what he considered to be constitutional law. He argued that the reservation system and individual tribes’ status as separate nations was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, as it denied indigenous people the “opportunities to develop, become equal, and [compete] as citizens in all the opportunities in our American life.” Stuart Banner’s recent legal history of Native dispossession actually vindicates Pratt from allegations of improper reasoning, but certainly not ethical failure, on this point. Whereas colonial Britain had *de jure* respected Native ownership rights to all land its subjects had not purchased, the post-Revolutionary American government summarily declared jurisdiction over *all* indigenous land in North America, including that not yet bought or conquered. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 7, and Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007).

21 Leonard A. Carlson, “The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming,” *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 1, (1978): 274-276.

22 Jacqueline Fear-Segal has noted that the school bandstand was a gazebo-like structure on the Carlisle campus that had a sightline to every other school building. By announcing his position as the ruler of the bandstand in *The Red Man*, she argues, Pratt aimed to project power and control over the student body. Fear-Segal 206-230 and “Richard P. Leary Papers, 1860-1957,” Nimitz Library, United States Naval Academy, <http://cdm16099.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16099coll5/id/2233>, last accessed 13 March 2016.

23 “How the Indolent People of Guam Became No Longer a Burden,” *The Red Man*, 29 March, 1902, 4.

24 “In three years we would have expended for the education of these young people, the sum of \$1,200,000 or about one fourth the cost of a battleship [*sic*]” “Commencement Exercises,” *The Red Man*, 22 March, 1901, 1.

25 For example, Davis refers to “the federal Indian schools” without qualification. Carlisle was exceptional in the sense that it was not

printed page. Some of these days, whoever may live to see it, these distinctions will be lost forever and all will be Americans without a qualifying title.²⁹

Pratt's editorial first appears as a blasé statement about how the school and its supporters aimed to eliminate racial distinctions in the United States, which is a half truth that must be interpreted correctly. One must probe and see the coded euphemisms that are often at the center of any genocidal campaign.³⁰ Pratt was actually arguing that *The Red Man* was a vehicle for fundraising from both public and private donors, who were the school's "friends."³¹ The "work" was cultural genocide, and the central "claim" was that any violence used to accomplish it was justified.³² Finally, Pratt implied that the "distinctions" between racial groups in the United States would always be preserved between American blacks and other Americans, who were presumed to be white. Pratt adopted this and other positions on race in the pages of *The Red Man* to secure Carlisle's finances. He then acted on his racial theories by selectively admitting or refusing students to Carlisle based upon their racialized appearances.

The off-reservation boarding schools were fundamentally different than previous U.S. attempts to educate indigenous persons.³³ In contrast to on-reservation and missionary schools, boarding schools aimed to mold Native students into white Americans by physically removing them from both indigenous institutions and their own families. The off-reservation schools proceeded to become the centerpiece of federal efforts and funding to educate Native Americans in the late nineteenth century.³⁴ However, the rise of the off-reservation schools did not represent a change in government philosophy regarding Indian education. They fit squarely within the continuum of the assimilationist imperative embedded in U.S. attempts at Native education that both preceded and followed Carlisle.

Carlisle was operational between 1879 and 1918, and Pratt

acted in the capacity of Superintendent from its founding until 1904, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) effectively fired him in a forced retirement.³⁵ Evaluating the school's legacy on Native American education, family and community cohesion, and relations with other minority groups is difficult. An explicit mission of indigenous cultural destruction means that very few accounts of daily school life survive, except in Pratt's memoirs and the pages of *The Red Man*. A few direct consequences of Carlisle's existence were the divergence of government-sponsored educational projects for Native and black Americans and continued U.S. attempts to assimilate Native students, albeit in forms other than boarding schools.³⁶ Only in 1972, nearly 100 years after Pratt founded Carlisle, would activists with the American Indian Movement (AIM) found their own schools for indigenous children that refused to conform to mainstream ideas of educational success.³⁷ Conversely, Carlisle is often portrayed as an early generator of Native American political activism based on shared identities. The school brought together young people from tribes that never would have interacted otherwise—sometimes it did so forcibly—and ultimately failed in its quest to assimilate them.³⁸ This thesis centers on the financial and political forces that made the existence of the Carlisle School possible, and which Pratt and other contributors to *The Red Man*—including Carlisle students and indigenous supporters of the school—appealed to through their published stances on race. However, both federal and private funding eventually proved insufficient to save the institution from the BIA's early-twentieth century shift from supporting off-reservation schools to sponsoring Native students to attend U.S. public schools.

29 "Indian Exchanges," *The Red Man*, 20 September 1901, NP, reprinted from *Reformatory Record*, Huntington, PA, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86083446/>, last accessed 22 February 2016, Davis 96.

30 For an illustrative example of government and civilian use of euphemistic language in the Argentine "Dirty War," see Marguerite Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

31 Several prominent donors to the school were Quakers, which suggests an additional meaning to "friend."

32 "If students were caught [attempting to escape Carlisle] and brought back, they were punished by being locked in the guardhouse," Fear-Segal 224.

33 For the longer history of on-reservation schools operated by both missionaries and governments in North America, see Fear-Segal 67-100.

34 By "indigenous institutions," I refer to Native languages, tribal governments and political leadership, and religious practices such as the Sweat Lodge ceremony, among other expressions of cultural identity. While Carlisle and its peers were occasionally referred to in BIA reports as "Training" or "Industrial Training" schools, the curriculum was primarily based on English language instruction and manual or domestic labor. *Annual Report of the Indian School Superintendent to the Secretary of the Interior*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1882).

35 Historians dispute the "root cause" of Pratt's firing. The official reason, supplied in a letter addressed to Pratt which was later printed in the *Red Man*, was that he had referred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a "barnacle" that should be removed, as it sought to preserve the reservation system against his wishes. Another possible cause was a personal feud with Theodore Roosevelt. In my analysis, I find it most believable that he was fired because the BIA had, for several years, planned to phase out off-reservation boarding schools because of the necessary expense of transporting students to the schools. Starting in 1895, the BIA intended to expand Native education in U.S. public schools. The white community of the town of Carlisle and across Pennsylvania, particularly large business owners, regretted that he had been fired, as I discuss later in this study. Witmer 51.

36 After Carlisle, the U.S. government moved to push indigenous students *en masse* into U.S. public schools, where personnel were often unwilling or unable to teach them. By 1930, 53 percent of Native children were enrolled in public schools. My analysis shows that this process started on a very small scale in 1895, which has not been addressed by scholarship on Native education. Davis 92 and Stein Appendix A.

37 In 1972, AIM established the Heart of the Earth Survival School (H.O.T.E.S.S.) in Minneapolis and Red School House in St. Paul. I will discuss the structure and curriculum of both schools later in this thesis.

38 Native scholar Renya Ramirez uses the term transnationalism in place of the more commonly applied Pan-Indianism, as a measure of respect for non-Federally recognized Native persons and tribes, and to refute suggestions that "ties to reservation communities were exchanged for a Pan-Indian ethnic identity." I agree, and use that term here. Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 98-99.

Notably, Carlisle was originally a privately funded enterprise that later became *primus inter pares* of its group of off-reservation, government-supported peer institutions.³⁹ Pratt's ambition to expand his vision of Indian education, as well as his own egocentric behavior as an administrator and newspaper editor, was enabled by his ambitious program of multilateral fundraising for the school. He began fundraising before Carlisle was inaugurated in 1879, and fundraising remained a priority over the course of Pratt's 25 years as Superintendent. The school even established a volunteer Board of Trustees to oversee charitable donations. While many of the Trustees are not recognizable as contemporary names in American philanthropy, extant scholarship has largely ignored that Pratt was supported by government interests as powerful as the Board of Indian Commissioners, private interests as renowned as the Thaw family of Pittsburgh, and higher education leaders such as the President of Dickinson College, a mainstream institution in the surrounding town of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.⁴⁰ While charitable donations to Carlisle decreased sharply after 1887, Pratt remained dependent on the political support of the surrounding white community in Carlisle and across Pennsylvania, particularly to find host families for his Outing program.⁴¹

After Pratt initially established Carlisle on private funding, the U.S. government then zealously supported Carlisle and the off-reservation model with both political overtures and a boon

of funding. From 1879 to 1904, total government support for Indian Schools increased over 47 times—from \$75,000 to \$3.5 million! And from that burgeoning pie of government appropriations, off-reservation schools commanded a continuously increasing slice through the turn of the twentieth century. In 1886, the off-reservation schools accepted 20 percent of government funding for all BIA-supported schools; by 1904, this figure was over 34 percent. This point was not lost on Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who remarked in 1891 that the off-reservation schools were the “best schools in the entire system,” as they purportedly assimilated Native students into the American public. However, he said, they operated at significant cost to the government:

I regard with special favor the non-reservation schools because they draw the pupils away from reservations and bring them into contact with civilized life, and advance the time when their pupils will be absorbed into our national life. I think it wise to give special prominence to them...they ought [to] be in every respect the best schools in the entire system. It is not practicable owing to the vast cost of such institutions to develop all Indian schools into technical industrial schools, but it is possible to develop a few of them... At present, large sums are being expended on these non-reservation schools, and I hope that this expenditure shall be continued in the near future, until they shall all of them be well-established.⁴²

While the BIA supported the off-reservation model as the future of Native education as of 1891, this would be less true fourteen years later, when the agency allocated funding for the first Native students to attend U.S. public schools. This was a significantly less expensive solution than boarding schools to mainstream America's erroneous perception of an Indian Problem.⁴³ The funding arrangement for the off-reservation schools naturally created irreconcilable tension between the egocentric Pratt, who founded and operated Carlisle from 1879 through 1881 primarily through private fundraising, and the BIA, which increasingly viewed the off-reservation schools as a federal project. However, Pratt was not immune from political consequences for opposing BIA policy, as he was a federal employee from the start, and this is one of the reasons why the BIA fired him in 1904. While Pratt was justified to some

39 I have selected Carlisle rather than any of its peer institutions for this study for the following reasons: first, Carlisle was the first off-reservation school. Second, it was unique in the sense that it was founded as a predominantly private enterprise. Third, Pratt was an outside personality who exuded a great deal of influence on curriculum and practice at the other schools, particularly through his invention of the “Outing” program, which will be discussed later in context of Pratt's political relationship with private Carlisle supporters. Fourth, *The Red Man* is simply more detailed than other boarding school newspapers of the period, such as the Haskell Institute *Indian Leader*, which is available on microfilm at The Library of Congress. *The Red Man*, despite all of its warts of blatant censorship and half-truths, is the best primary source for understanding administrative motives at any of the early boarding schools.

40 The Board of Indian Commissioners was a special commission established by Congress that advised the U.S. government on policy related to Native peoples. The President appointed its members. The Thaw family operated transportation and banking interests throughout Pennsylvania. Today, the Thaws are most remembered for the sensational 1907 trial of Henry “Harry” K. Thaw for murder. Harry was the eldest son of the donors referred to above. Susan Gillman, “‘Dementia Americana’: ‘Mark Twain,’ ‘Wapping Alice,’ and the Harry K. Thaw Trial,” *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 2, (1988): 296-314.

and Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 333.

41 Outing was an externship program invented by Pratt in which students would work as either tradesmen, or, in the case of female students, as domestic workers for white families. Reports from the white families were addressed to Pratt, and he re-printed them in *The Red Man*. Later in this study, they will be treated as evidence that Carlisle was politically tied to local white publics through 1904, when the BIA fired Pratt. For more on “Outing” at Carlisle and other boarding schools, see Robert Tennert, “From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System,” *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3, (1983): 267-291.

42 “Proceedings of the First Conference of Government Indian School Workers, Held at Lawrence, Kansas, December 23 and 24, '91 [sic],” *The Red Man*, February, 1892, 2.

43 The Indian Problem, a term that frequently appears in *The Red Man* and other mainstream publications regarding Native Americans during this era, ought to be understood in this context as resistance to the “assimilationist imperative” that Davis describes. Pratt believed that the Problem was that individual tribes' status as separate nations prevented their assimilation into American life, which also perpetuated their racial degradation. Ray A. Brown, “The Indian Problem and the Law,” *The Yale Law Journal* 39, no. 3, (1930): 307-331.

degree in publicly declaring that he was the founder of Carlisle and of the off-reservation model, actual fiscal support for Carlisle over this period increasingly depended on the federal government. In 20 years, the shares of private and public funding as components of Carlisle's budget completely inverted, from nearly 100% private to 100% federal money.⁴⁴

Over the past fifteen years, historians also appear to have reached a dangerously inaccurate consensus that Carlisle was a crime perpetrated *exclusively* by the federal government and its employees against Native communities, and that, as Jennifer Bess suggests, Carlisle students managed to maintain "cultural continuity" in its multilaterally oppressive learning environment.⁴⁵ Acts of identity preservation that Bess terms "cultural continuity" were evident in students' overt resistance to school rules, such as their attempts to run away.⁴⁶ Cultural continuity was also evident in student poetry published in *The Red Man* that subverted Pratt's English-only policy. An anonymous Carlisle student submitted a list of Native words and their definitions, which was accepted for publication in 1901. The etymology of the list borrows from Massachusetts, Lakota and Dakota Sioux, and Narragansett, which further supports the thesis that Carlisle students built intertribal connections within the "shared traumatic experience" of an oppressive boarding school environment.⁴⁷ As the student wrote,

Other [words] less familiar are: Musquash, meaning muskrat; quahog an edible clam; samp, maize broken or crushed for food; sannop, a brave, and tautog, a species of fish. Still other[s] will cause most of us to make extended inquires before we discover their meaning, such as mohonk, mousilaug, netop, nunkomb, pe-equaw, torchent and wastchu.⁴⁸

Recognizing resistance to assimilation, such as the poem above, acknowledges the personhood of the former students. Doing so is particularly important, because histories on Carlisle prior to Pratt's edited autobiography repeated the dubious administrative viewpoint that Native students were appropriately *schooled*, instead of functioning as people who were capable of resistance.⁴⁹ However, cultural continuity is an incomplete perspective on Carlisle's assimilationist mission, as its students also sometimes accepted or elaborated on the worst racial theories that were popular during the era—particularly regarding

American blacks. Moreover, these student racial ideas were enabled by an administration that was financially incentivized to condemn the Hampton Institute. Pratt feared that the continued existence of the program that he founded in 1878, which enrolled Native Americans at Hampton, was both a competitor for government money and a potential public relations disaster for Carlisle donors who may have been anti-black. The school's institutional racial ideology was evidenced by Pratt's contradictory enrollment practices of aggressively recruiting students who could pass as Indian and refusing to admit others deemed "too dark." Such policies were likely based on both government and private financial incentives. In 1878, Pratt administered the first 17 Native students at Hampton. After Pratt left one year later, Hampton continued to co-educate a cadre of Native students alongside its majority black population from 1878 to 1923. Pratt saw the program, which expanded considerably until 1888, as a potential threat to Carlisle's funding base.⁵⁰

Historians have not yet mentioned that Carlisle, which was originally supported by private donors, became a public enterprise that was in direct competition for federal money with Hampton's Native education program starting in 1882. In that year, both schools received a special Congressional appropriation for their efforts at Native education. This produced a strong incentive for Pratt to argue that blacks and indigenous people were of different racial groups, and that unlike indigenous people, blacks could never fully assimilate into American social life. From 1879 through 1881, Carlisle was an untested education venture that the BIA and Congress only invested in materially when its growth appeared imminent. In those three years, Pratt solicited \$150,000 from private donors, and received a small, unspecified amount of money from The Civilization Fund, a Congressional slush fund for education projects related to indigenous people.⁵¹ Both programs received their first major appropriation of government funding in 1882 through the Congressional appropriation, which provided for 284 students to attend Carlisle and 84 to Hampton.⁵²

After the first round of government money, federal support for Carlisle soared. By 1900, government funding, adjusted for inflation, had more than doubled, and enrollment more than tripled, to 950 students. Meanwhile, the Hampton program, which Pratt had founded as a significantly smaller enterprise

44 Stein Appendix A.

45 Jennifer Bess, "Casting a Spell: Acts of Cultural Continuity in Carlisle Indian Industrial School's *The Red Man and Helper*," *Wicazo Sa Review* 26, no. 2, (2011): 13-38.

46 "One of the school's most serious and persistent problems, runaways, went almost unmentioned [in *The Red Man*]," Fear-Segal 223.

47 Andrea "Dréa" Jenkins, lecture, University of Chicago, 11 February 2016.

48 "Indian Words," *The Red Man*, 16 October 1903, NP, excerpted from Bess, "Casting a Spell."

49 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*.

50 Stein Appendix A.

51 Congress obtained the monies for the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 through the 1809 Treaty of Fort Clark, in which the Osage Nation ceded territory to the United States. For the \$150,000 figure, Witmer cites Pratt's memoirs—Richard Henry Pratt, *The Indian Industrial School Carlisle, Pennsylvania [sic]*, (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1908, 1979). However, this estimate does not appear in the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for this period, and I express my reservations about accepting any of Pratt's statements as true. As of this writing, the author could not be reached for further comment on the sourcing for this figure. Witmer 38 and Stein Appendix A.

52 The Congressional appropriation, which would be renewed and increased in future years, effectively replaced the Civilization Fund as the source of government money for Carlisle.

than Carlisle, was funded from the beginning more as a charity and government partnership.⁵³ It, in turn, completely stagnated in terms of enrollment and government funding after 1888, when its government appropriation peaked at funding for 150 students.⁵⁴ By 1923, the program ceased to exist, after several years of under-enrollment relative to the appropriation. However, the slow death of the Native program at Hampton did not mean that the federal government withdrew from black education—rather, it indicated that black and Native education programs would never again intersect during this period. By the time the BIA forced Pratt to retire and Carlisle had reached its peak nominal enrollment, black education was flourishing separately from Hampton’s Indian program, particularly at Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute.⁵⁵ Pratt, like Washington, had his beginnings in education administration at Hampton, a fact that he later worked diligently to conceal. But to establish Carlisle, Pratt needed more than money and propaganda, though he would prove to be diligent at acquiring the first and disseminating the latter. He needed Native families to send their children to him from locales as distant as Alaska, so that he could teach them the moral and educational values of mainstream society in a completely unregulated environment.

In order to measure the political influence of Carlisle’s private donors and the economic relationship between the school and the federal government, as well as how those relationships were articulated in the language of race, it is necessary to turn to the pages of *The Red Man*. From Carlisle’s inception in 1879, Pratt was primarily concerned with the fiscal sustainability of the institution, and he solicited private donations both from the surrounding mainstream communities in Carlisle, PA, Philadelphia, and New York, as well as from a variety of religious institutions and business interests. Two prominent donors were the “two elderly Quaker ladies” who surface repeatedly in Pratt’s memoirs: Mary Anna and Susan M. Longstreth of Philadelphia.⁵⁶ The Longstreths and other private donors paid nearly all of the school’s expenses for its first three years, and, significantly, continued to support approximately 10% of Carlisle’s total budget through 1886.⁵⁷ This includes the period in which the school realized its most rapid percentage growth in enrollment, which peaked at approximately 1000 students in 1900.⁵⁸ By that year, private donations had dwindled to just \$238.91, but the Carlisle administration still depended on

private sources for political support and as employers for the Outing program. Over the previous two decades, Pratt sought increases in the annual federal appropriation to Carlisle, which rapidly became the school’s predominant form of income.

Government dollars earmarked for Carlisle were determined based on the number of enrolled students, and Pratt’s lobbying could do little to change the dollar amount allotted to Carlisle “per capita,” which stayed flat at just under \$200 throughout his tenure. Rather, this funding structure simply incentivized the administration to enroll as many students as possible, which led to the chronic overcrowding that Myriam Vuckovic has directly connected with epidemic disease at the Haskell Institute, another off-reservation boarding school.⁵⁹ Beyond anecdotal accounts that remain on the historical record of Pratt and his junior administrators working tirelessly to recruit Native children from reservations, editorials in *The Red Man* aimed to recruit Puerto Rican students to attend the school. They did so, although not in the numbers Carlisle administrators had hoped for. Other *Red Man* articles suggest that the school wanted to enroll students from other newly acquired U.S. territories, particularly Hawaii and Guam, but these plans were never realized. Fundamentally, Pratt wanted to enroll as many students as he could, provided his financial backers did not confuse them for American blacks.

Especially after 1882, when the school was firmly backed financially by the federal government, Pratt feared that if black and Native education was conflated in the minds of any mass audience, he stood to lose private money and political support. Another possible explanation for Pratt’s anti-black bias is that Carlisle’s Quaker donors, often implicitly referred to in Pratt’s reports to the BIA and *Battlefield and Classroom* as “Friends of the School,” had qualms about supporting black education. While Quakers are usually associated with the abolition movement, recent scholarship has suggested that Quaker support for abolition was economically motivated, and that “anti-slavery was not always the same as pro-black.”⁶⁰

The Carlisle Appeal, for Families and Indigenous Leaders

As shown in the previous section, Carlisle explicitly proposed to educate through forcing assimilation, imparting Anglo-American concepts of civilization, and destroying Native tribalism. The destructive intergenerational consequences of the school, including students’ removal from tribal rites that “rendered them without knowledge of how to rear children,” are incalculable. However, at the time of Carlisle’s existence, indigenous leaders that were also prominent in mainstream

53 Stein Appendix A.

54 Ibid.

55 Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, (Garden City, NJ: The Country Life Press, 1901) and Allen W. Jones, “The Role of Tuskegee Institute in the Education of Black Farmers,” *The Journal of Negro History* 60, no. 2 (1975): 252-267.

56 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 331.

57 Stein Appendix A.

58 Mary Anna, Susan’s mother, had founded a prominent all-girls preparatory school in Philadelphia, which Susan administered at the time that she met Pratt. After she died, Susan continued to give to the school philanthropically. Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 333 and Stein Appendix A.

59 Myriam Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds: 1884-1928*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 179-210.

60 Emma J. Lapansky, “New Eyes for The ‘Invisibles’ in Quaker/Minority Relations,” *Quaker History* 90, no. 1 (2001): 1-7 and Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014)

political circles supported the idea of off-reservation boarding schools. When Carlisle's enrollment peaked around 1900, prominent alumni and Native activists, such as Chauncey Yellow Robe and Dr. Carlos Montezuma, strongly and publicly supported Carlisle. Yellow Robe was a member of the Sioux nation and a Carlisle alumnus. Montezuma, a Yavapai, was a personal friend of Pratt's, and had worked as Carlisle's physician through its first decade of existence.⁶¹ Both men would later serve as founding members of the Society of American Indians (SAI, 1911-1923), the first Native American political activist group that advocated for Pan-Indian ethnic identity.⁶²

Yellow Robe and Montezuma lauded Carlisle's potential to remove Native children from reservation communities that failed to provide marketable skills in an increasingly white-dominated economic landscape. Moreover, American conceptions of what white racial identity meant were not definable during this period by the staid Caucasian identity that a contemporary audience understands. What a Progressive-era American saw as white wrangled with the then-ambiguous racial status of recent immigrants from Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe. Status as white was also often interrelated with class and geographic location.⁶³ As the Carlisle School's photography department literally retouched photos to make students seem lighter, the prospect that schooling might lead to the incorporation of students as white was certainly weighing on Yellow Robe's thoughts.⁶⁴ In the language of the time, rising into civilization for Native people was an act of eschewing the condition of an Indian, and approaching equal status with white Americans. In an 1893 editorial, Yellow Robe therefore asked his readers:

Why is it, that foreigners rise so rapidly and the Indian remains ever the same?...You would consider it a dangerous system, if all the Germans, speaking one dialect, were compelled to locate in one small district by themselves; all the Swedes in another district by themselves; all the Poles in another, and the Italians in another. Very soon we would find within our borders, a German empire, a Swedish kingdom, a Polish principality, and an Italian monarchy, each speaking its own language...how are we to be led into the paths of civilization, if our ankles remain bound by the chains of United States law to the reservation system?⁶⁵

61 Fear-Segal 166-169.

62 Chadwick Allen, "Introduction: Locating the Society of American Indians," *American Indian Quarterly*, 37, no. 3 (2013): 3-22.

63 Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

64 Witmer notes that Pratt also sent these photographs to white publics that he wanted to impress as potential benefactors, such as Congress. In 1880, Pratt wrote to a member of the House of Representatives: "I send you today a few stereo views of the Indian youth here. You will note that they came mostly as blanket Indians," Witmer 24-25.

65 "Speech by Chauncey Yellow Robe, Before the Congress of Nations at

Native leaders such as Yellow Robe were not alone in this calculus, which fundamentally placed faith in the idea that a system of compulsory English language comprehension far away from home would spare Native children from poverty, as tribal holdings were rapidly deteriorating. The General Allotment Act of 1887 was on the legislative horizon, and would further compound the dispossession of Native persons brought on by centuries of exposure to endemic disease and treaty-breaking by the U.S. government.⁶⁶ By 1900, white farmers and speculators had alternately purchased or stolen an estimated 70% of Native landholdings circa 1870.⁶⁷ For parents, the choice to send students to Carlisle was somewhere between coerced and voluntary, in a way that closely mirrored the origins of most U.S. treaties with indigenous people.⁶⁸ Although documentation of the methods used to advertise the school to Native families is incomplete, it also appears as though Carlisle agents simply kidnapped some children from reservations. Successful kidnappings contributed to increases in the school's annual Congressional funding appropriation by boosting Carlisle's total enrollment in an ethically bankrupt manner.⁶⁹

Initially, Native parents also had incomplete information about both the school's assimilationist mission and what they were consenting to by sending their children to Pratt. Particularly in 1879, parents and their children could not have known anything about conditions at the school. Certainly, it was only upon arriving in Carlisle that many students would fully understand the horrors that characterized life in a physical Panopticon that sought to re-orient their personal economic aspirations, religious beliefs, and behavior to white middle-class standards through extreme regimentation.⁷⁰ In addition to endemic tuberculosis and trachoma, the latter of which was often reported euphemistically as "sore eyes," the students were placed under a monotonous daily work schedule, which entailed waking at five in the morning and retiring at nine-thirty at night.⁷¹ The curriculum was based on English language

Chicago," *The Red Man*, May and June, 1893, 1-2.

66 In *Native Hubs*, Ramirez has also extensively chronicled the illegal displacement of Native Californians in the antebellum period, which has hindered contemporary efforts for unrecognized tribes seeking recognition and separate nation status from the BIA.

67 Carlson, "The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming."

68 Fear-Segal 48-66. For an example of the liminal space between voluntary and coerced treaties, again see Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land*.

69 At the Fort Belknap Reservation in Montana, Pratt and his agents worked aggressively to "recruit" students to enroll at Carlisle. As noted by George P. Capture Horse Sr., "[Pratt] searched the country-side for Indian students and in 1890 his representatives arrived here to 'collect' the young people slated to attend this school. This push was to augment the enrollment at Carlisle, and he wanted to increase the participants from each of Montana's reservations from 40 students to about 175 from every agency," Witmer, "Introduction," xiv.

70 "The 'inhabited' bandstand was perfectly equipped for both visual and auditory surveillance...although supposedly living on the bandstand in the center of the school, [Pratt] also trumpeted his ability to step down from his home to spy on the children wherever they might be," Fear-Segal 217.

71 Pratt re-printed the written reports submitted to him by white

instruction and indoctrinating students with civilization, the umbrella term for mainstream, middle-class notions of work ethic and gender roles. Male students were groomed for positions as semiskilled laborers, while female students were trained as housewives and domestic workers.

Some indigenous people who were connected to the boarding schools found it difficult to reconcile their identities as Natives and as Americans in this period of coerced assimilation, and perceived that their status in one community came at the expense of acceptance in the other. Contemporary authors such as Renya Ramirez have argued that this generalization is an unjust reduction of indigenous identity. She claims that Native people who moved away from reservations have always maintained ties with indigenous communities, including tribes, through hubs—physical or virtual shared experiences and ceremonies, which work to reinforce their identities. Ramirez also emphasizes indigenous transnational status in order to respect the individual personhood of Native people who, for example, reject U.S. notions of citizenship and view themselves as residents of sovereign indigenous nations.⁷² But in context of the Carlisle school and early Native activism, Ramirez's optimistic claims of an undamaged Native identity appear ahistorical. Carlos Montezuma, for one, articulated that his stances against the reservation system and for Western education had cost him acceptance in what was implied as his home in the Yavapai community. Yet, he was unrepentant. As he said,

I have been among the Indians since I received my education and they have made me understand that I was different from them, and their explanation was this: that something supernatural has jumped into me and made me different. I am called a white person by some of the Indians and they sometimes feel that I am their enemy, because it is my principle to work to elevate them instead of degrading myself to their condition.⁷³

Those who lived through the boarding school period therefore sometimes developed a sense of self that *was* in limbo between two communities—reservation Indians and the Native people who left reservations and searched for employment elsewhere. Fear-Segal also attributes a sense of fractured identity to Charles Eastman, another Native political leader prominent in mainstream circles.⁷⁴ Some contemporary Native historians

employers who hired Carlisle students for the Outing program. The reports, titled "Outing Reports," were published in detail, reveal Pratt's attempts to please the surrounding white communities in Carlisle and across Pennsylvania. In one section, the employers described student health as "good except sore eyes; not good; quite good; he is very good except for a little bilious attack." "Outing Reports," *The Red Man*, June, 1895, 2.

72 Ramirez, *Native Hubs*.

73 "Our School Physician Gives a Parlor Talk in Philadelphia," *The Red Man*, April, 1895, 2.

74 "Eastman's openly voiced misgivings about civilization, spoken so softly in his writing, were to boom ever louder in his life. In his final years, he found himself unable to live fully with either Indians or whites," Fear-

even go so far as to separate the groups as Urban Indians and Reservation Indians in the context of larger scale and federally sponsored mid-twentieth century Native migrations to U.S. cities.⁷⁵

Throughout this entire period of study, Pratt and his institution were in direct financial competition for federal money with the missionary and on-reservation schools that also received government appropriations, particularly in the American Southwest.⁷⁶ However, Pratt was more than capable of variously pleading, bullying, and orating support from both government and private hands to build his vision of an Indian School. Before establishing Carlisle, he had practiced thoroughly.

The Beginnings of Richard Henry Pratt

Not least because of his many roles as the founder of the first off-reservation boarding school, as well as its chief fundraiser, newspaper editor, and disciplinarian, it is impossible to tell any story about Carlisle without mention of Pratt's early life. A single mother raised Pratt in Indiana from his birth in 1840, and his childhood was characterized by autodidacticism and various jobs in manual labor to support his family.⁷⁷ Before founding Carlisle, he also previously held posts as an infantryman and cavalry captain in the U.S. Army. His military background simultaneously led him to believe that he could undertake a project in indigenous education, exposed him to methods of lobbying and population control that he translated into newspaper propaganda and the physical layout of the Carlisle campus, and forged connections that would later allow him to build his Indian School at the Carlisle barracks. The barracks were a dilapidated and unused government property that was, nonetheless, a strategic geographic location for a campaign of cultural genocide.⁷⁸ Carlisle was at least a thousand miles away from reservation communities on the plains and in the Southwest, which disincentivized students' families and relatives from visiting the school and discovering its horrid

Segal 139.

75 Donald L. Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).

76 Fear-Segal 67-100.

77 "At the age of thirteen [Pratt's] education was cut short after his father was murdered returning from the California gold fields. As a youth, Pratt helped to support his mother and two younger brothers by printing, tinsmithing, and splitting rails," Witmer 1-2.

78 "Founded in 1757, the 'Old Barracks' had a distinguished military history. Indian fighting tactics had been taught there by Colonel Henry Bouquet; General George Washington personally assembled in Carlisle the largest force ever under his command to quell the 'Whiskey Rebellion' of 1794; and there on the evening of July 1, 1863 the Confederate Cavalry, commanded by J.E.B. Stewart and Fitzhugh Lee, applied torches to the buildings of the Carlisle Barracks before marching to Gettysburg...the historic site with its glamorous history appealed to Pratt and fit well into his master plan...while removing the children as far away as possible from their traditional culture in the West he would also be moving them closer to civilization in the East," Witmer 11-12.

conditions. Conversely, it was just over a hundred miles from the Carlisle campus to Washington, DC or to Philadelphia, which placed Pratt within striking distance of potential public and private donors to his school.

Pratt's military career began when he enlisted and served as an infantryman in the Union Army in the Civil War, and was only briefly interrupted by a postwar attempt at opening a hardware store.⁷⁹ In 1867, he re-enlisted, and was commissioned as a Captain with the Buffalo Soldiers. For the next eight years, Pratt and the 10th Regiment battled the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes in a multitude of conflicts, including the Washita Campaign (1868-9) in Oklahoma and the Red River War (1874-5) across a broad swath of the Great Plains. In April 1875, Pratt was assigned to guard 72 indigenous prisoners of war from the Red River War at Fort Marion, a former Spanish fortress in St. Augustine, Florida.⁸⁰

While stationed at Fort Marion, Pratt undertook several experiments in discipline and education with the prisoners that would become bases for his attempt to assimilate Carlisle students and his obsession with imparting Western conceptions of economic productivity on Native people. With the knowledge that the fortress exit could not be seen from the inside, Pratt unshackled the prisoners, outfitted them in surplus Army uniforms, and dismissed the camp guards so that the prisoners could guard themselves in what remained a highly controlled environment.⁸¹ This was, however, a blatant breach of his orders from the Army.⁸² He then encouraged the prisoners to earn money while in captivity by producing a variety of saleable items and services to the mainstream community in St. Augustine. The prison labor program was a sensation with both government and private citizens, and, crucially, the War Department seems to have accepted Pratt's initiative as a form of Native "education."⁸³ In 1878, the War Department released the prisoners and relieved Pratt of his guard duty. However, the prisoners chose to not return home.⁸⁴ Pratt, again acting outside the purview of his orders, wrote to mainstream colleges,

asking if they might accept the former prisoners as students. He was rebuffed—but not one to surrender responsibility, Pratt wrote General Samuel Armstrong, Principal of the Hampton Institute, with the same request. Armstrong acquiesced, and, in 1878, allowed Pratt to pilot the Native education program at Hampton, with an inaugural class of 17 ex-prisoners-of-war.

Pratt's involvement with Hampton lasted for one year. At the time, he feared public outrage at a program that co-educated blacks and indigenous people, so he recommended that the 17 students be segregated from the black student body.⁸⁵ Although the program "was attracting favorable attention and optimism," the mainstream public still feared the prospect of alliances or intermarriage between these minority groups.⁸⁶ Publicly, Pratt then professed that the education problems of blacks and Native Americans were not the same, and that Indian education required a larger scale immersion in *white* culture in order to remove students from indigenous institutions. Witmer argues that Pratt was "convinced" of these positions, and therefore decided to pursue another independent project—founding Carlisle.⁸⁷ Other scholars, such as Donal Lindsey, are more skeptical of Pratt's ostensible conviction that Native and black education had to be conducted separately, irrespective of public opinion. Linsey suggests that Pratt's decision to leave Hampton in pursuit of a superintendency of his own was evidence of his strong egotism and desire for power.⁸⁸ I support his view on the basis that the physical layout of Carlisle and the content of *The Red Man* are just two examples of Pratt's later attempts to consolidate power in what he believed was 'his' school.

His intentions aside, in early 1879 Pratt successfully applied to Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, for license to establish the Carlisle school, his own project in indigenous education. Armstrong opposed Pratt's departure from Hampton, but did not act in any way to obstruct his plans for developing Carlisle once he left.⁸⁹ Pratt received permissions from the War Department to use the Carlisle barracks as the site for the school, and to recruit the first Carlisle class from reservations in Dakota Territory. He was a skilled recruiter, so all of the necessary condi-

79 Witmer 2.

80 Ibid.

81 Fear-Segal argues that the spatial environment of Fort Marion inspired the layout of Carlisle, in which it was impossible to see the single entrance and exit from inside. Additionally, the aforementioned school bandstand, located on the center of campus, provided Pratt with a perch that had a sightline to every major school building. Both, Fear-Segal says, were subtle efforts at population control. Fear-Segal 206 and Witmer 4-5.

82 Witmer 6.

83 In Pratt's prison labor initiative, one sees the likely origins of Carlisle's Outing program. "Government officials, writers, artists, and northern vacationers all came for a closer view of the notorious 'hostiles.' Pratt used every advantage he could 'to bring the Indians into the best understanding and relations with people,'" Ibid. 8.

84 "[The War Department gave] them the choice of continuing their education in the East or returning home...now dependent on the government for the necessities of life, the tribes had lost their ability to resist failing programs concocted for their welfare. The home they had left no longer existed," Ibid. 9.

85 Ibid. 11. While it is certain that the Native students *were* segregated, Witmer's claim that Pratt supported the segregation is disputed. Donal Lindsey, for example, argues that "Pratt believed that the degree of separation between blacks and Indians on school grounds was counterproductive," Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 38.

86 Ibid. 9-11.

87 Ibid.

88 "Pratt's quest for an undisputed arena to work out his particular racial convictions ultimately made it impossible for him to maintain a cooperative venture with Armstrong. Although it is uncertain how sharply Pratt had defined his own goals for Indian education while at Hampton, he could not have reconciled its program with the one he developed later at Carlisle, as a way station for Indians into public education...Armstrong never publicly criticized Pratt and apparently valued their relationship, but while at Hampton the Captain chafed at losing control of what he considered to be 'his' Indians," Ibid. 38-39

89 Ibid. 38-39

tions for establishing a school were easily met, except for one: money.

Reading *The Red Man*

As an organ of the Carlisle administration that was heavily censored by Pratt and his assistants, *The Red Man* is particularly difficult to use as a scholarly primary source if one's objective is to understand the lived experience of the student body.⁹⁰ Linda Witmer has noted that a large share of the monthly content was repetitive propaganda.⁹¹ However, Witmer overlooks the purpose of the propaganda: a targeted strategy for balancing the school budget and ensuring the continued existence of Carlisle. There was no better tool to observe Pratt's capacity to disseminate pro-Carlisle messages over two decades of attempts to raise political and financial support from various white publics.⁹²

The paper, which had a continuous circulation between 2,000 and 10,000, was intended for a primarily white audience—most likely the aforementioned large donors in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and New York.⁹³ Pratt's attempt to solicit from a white donor base is evident from the promotional campaign that the newspaper operated between October 1887 and December 1891, in which subscribers could buy photographs of Native students working on the presses that printed *The Red Man*.⁹⁴ The promotion ran as follows:

Standing offer: For ONE new subscribed [to *The Red Man*], we will give the person sending it a photographic group of the 13 Carlisle Indian printer boys, on a card 4 ½ X 6 ½ inches, worth 20 cents sold by itself. Name and tribe of each boy given.⁹⁵

By using the students' tribal affiliations as a selling point, Pratt seems to have again conveniently ignored the position that he tirelessly advocated in his editorial columns—that the purpose of Carlisle was to incorporate Native students into the

American body politic by destroying their tribal affiliations. The fact that Pratt was willing to refer to his pupils as Indians is important. It shows that he was more concerned with fundraising than in maintaining the consistent promise that a Carlisle education would allow Indians to rise from racial degradation to equal status with white Americans. Jennifer Bess communicates the same point by noting that the original Lakota title of the newspaper, *Eadle Keatab Tob*, disregarded the school's English-only policy, which aimed to assimilate Carlisle students into American life.⁹⁶

Pratt also directly admitted, in public, that the function of *The Red Man* was to publish an embellished perspective of the Carlisle school for public consumption. At a BIA-sponsored conference on Native education in 1891, Pratt responded to the question of whether all of the other off-reservation schools should print a newspaper similar to *The Red Man*. He suggested that it was only worthwhile if the editor could avoid "saying things that ought not be said."⁹⁷ He continued to explain his method of giving basic promotional material to students in order to sell the school to their friends and parents on reservations, as well as to Carlisle's donor base, which was largely white.

In starting [printing] at Carlisle, we thought we would print a little paper for the instruction of our pupils and send that paper to their parents, which would be a letter to them to be read by somebody who could give them the contents of it; we would also send it to the 'out' students. These were the three objects that led us to start printing at Carlisle. Our circulation outside the school grew so rapidly that we soon commenced to start printing [*The Red Man*] to impress upon the public our opinion in regard to what ought be done for the Indians.⁹⁸

Despite all of these confusing admissions for the modern reader—such as the newspaper's ready declaration that it was censored—*The Red Man* is worth reading precisely because most of the content prioritized what Pratt thought his largely white readership and donor base wanted to know. In any given issue of the newspaper, one would find Pratt's editorial page, a bulletin list of school news, reprinted editorials and feature articles on federal Indian policy from mainstream newspapers, and, particularly after 1900, coverage of Carlisle's famed football team. While Carlisle's "friends" may have viewed the success and regimentation of the football team as evidence that Pratt's campaign of civilization through education was working, students used the appearance of an assimilated team for collective resistance to mainstream institutions through a phys-

90 "Certainly, [some] contributions such as this one to [*The Red Man*]... 'ventriloquized the social evolutionism and assimilationism of Carlisle's founder and first superintendent, Richard Henry Pratt,'" Bess, "Casting a Spell."

91 "The paper featured news about students, visitors, teachers and the school itself. It also heavily proselytized Pratt's concept of education with articles on the comparisons of reservation and non-reservation schools. The paper's content, also comprised of school news and editorials, also promoted sobriety, encouraged using the English language and enforced good habits," Witmer 40.

92 For example, Fear-Segal has described in depth how Pratt would evade the subject of deaths at the school by either not acknowledging them or by saying that the students were ill in advance of coming to Carlisle. The existence of the school cemetery was never mentioned in *The Red Man*. Fear-Segal 221.

93 Witmer 41-42.

94 "10,000 Subscribers Wanted," *The Red Man*, October, 1887, 4 and *The Red Man*, December, 1891, NP.

95 Ibid.

96 Bess, "Casting a Spell."

97 "Proceedings of the First Conference of Government Indian School Workers, Held at Lawrence, Kansas, December 23 and 24, '91 [*sic*]," *The Red Man*, February, 1892, 2.

98 Ibid.

ical contest.⁹⁹ Sports were another manifestation of cultural continuity at Carlisle.

As much as Pratt was writing and editing for a white public, he also felt beholden to them. He faithfully published the Outing Reports of the employers that hired Carlisle students, to a seemingly excessive degree of detail. For example, Pratt would publish all of the employers' answers to mandatory questionnaires that he sent them regarding students' work performance, behavior, and health. *The Red Man* categorically explained away the existence of students who endured severe health complications from disease or overwork on Outing. Therefore, the historical record shows the existence of a student who suffered from a "little bilious attack."¹⁰⁰ Conversely, white Pennsylvania publics loved Pratt. At the time of his 1904 firing, letters of support flowed in from across the Northeast.

Over the span of Pratt's 25 years, he used *The Red Man* as a forum for columns and reprinting news articles from national mainstream newspapers covering Native affairs. These articles reveal the personal insecurities of an administrator who thought that public opinion might associate his school with Hampton; he feared that this association would doom Carlisle's fiscal future. Pratt's fear was not entirely irrational, as he had founded the Native education program at Hampton. Furthermore, he was soliciting money from donors who believed in his specious message of racial uplift, and who were likely anti-black.

Images of Blacks and Hampton as Racial Other

Other, predominantly white contributors to *The Red Man* used different premises, but invariably reached the same conclusion—that blacks were separate from the mainstream American race, which they understood to be white. Some Native students appear to have genuinely agreed with the major tenets of Pratt's racial philosophy, in the sense that they viewed blacks as an "other" that either was not yet or could never become part of the American race. But, unlike the administration, the students did not develop their racial theories in tandem with economic incentives. I argue that one long-run consequence of the Native students' racial theories on black Americans was the further separation of future Native and black students in oppressive U.S. education projects.

Several Carlisle scholars, particularly Bess and Fear-Segal, have turned to the pages of *The Red Man* for evidence that student contributors were able to evade Pratt's censoring hand in the paper. For example, Bess cites student resistance through the coded language of poetry.¹⁰¹ But the student debates in *The Red Man* also respond to the ahistorical implication that all of the ideas that the students professed, apart from what they were instructed to do and say, were acceptable in a modern context. Some Native students expressed opinions regarding

other racial groups, particularly of American blacks, that were internally inconsistent and anti-intellectual. If assimilation and cultural continuity may be understood as a two-pronged survival strategy for Carlisle students, it may also be read for the students' acceptance of or elaboration on problematic racial ideas. This discouraging truth undermines the misconception that oppressed groups have historically acted in solidarity with other oppressed groups in the way that contemporary middle-class white people might expect them to have done. Conflict between Native and black as separate races was most often present in debates between Carlisle students, which were then recorded in the pages of *The Red Man*.

Like *The Red Man* itself, the student debate clubs at Carlisle went by different names throughout the history of the school, including The Invincibles, The Standard Debating Club, and the Susan Longstreth Literary Society—the latter, which was named after the aforementioned white, Quaker donor to the school, accepted only female students. This was likely either a stipulation Mrs. Longstreth attached to her charitable donations, or another manifestation of Carlisle's gender segregation. Student debates were often focused on BIA policy initiatives, including the merits of the Dawes Act at the time when Congress voted on it, the political effects of allotment, and the prospect of U.S. citizenship and voting rights for Native people. As would be expected, some student commentary strongly suggested that the speakers advocated for arguments that they thought the administration would like to hear. In an 1890 debate on the resolution "That the Signing of the Dawes Bill was the Emancipation of the Indians," Stacy Matlack, a Pawnee, proclaimed "you will live to see the day when Senator Dawes' name will be adored and beloved by the Indians, even more so than Abraham Lincoln's name is worshipped by the colored race."¹⁰² While this statement seems profoundly affected, it also reiterated the separation of blacks from the American polity as a distinct race, and compared reservation Indians to liberated slaves. Others, such as Sioux student Henry Standing Bear, made startlingly accurate claims about the long-run effects of allotment policy, such as the political fragmentation of reservation communities and the dispossession of over 70 percent of Native landholdings to white hands, which took contemporary historians nearly a hundred years to verify.¹⁰³ Standing Bear thanked Dawes for his kind "intentions to do good to my people," but argued that allotment was destroying tribes by fragmenting limited quantities of arable land.¹⁰⁴ As a result, he argued, individual ownership of government-allotted 160 acre plots simply exacerbated Native poverty. Standing Bear caustically stated that "the Dawes Bill offers freedom to the dead Indians," and that "the Dawes Bill is simply starvation to

99 John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

100 "Outing Reports," *The Red Man*, June 1895, 2.

101 Bess, "Casting a Spell."

102 "The Dawes Bill Discussed by Our Pupils," *The Red Man*, January and February, 1890, NP.

103 Carlson, "Land Allotment and the Decline of American Indian Farming."

104 "The Dawes Bill Discussed by Our Pupils," *The Red Man*, January and February, 1890, NP.

many tribes, for much of the land is so poor either for agriculture or grazing purposes that an industrious white man could hardly make a living from it.”¹⁰⁵ He concluded with the suggestion that “Franchise Day”—an annual commemoration of the passage of the Dawes Act that was celebrated at Carlisle until 1900—was a rather hollow celebration.¹⁰⁶

However, most of the Carlisle students quoted in *The Red Man* were neither as contrary to BIA policy as Standing Bear nor as obsequious as Matlack. Rather, they hinted at their simultaneous assimilation to boarding school culture, maintenance of cultural continuity, and absorption of the idea that Native people should become integrated with white American economic mores, which both Pratt and some of his students believed were opposed to the reservation system. Students’ acceptance of such culturally destructive ideas was possible because of the massive scale of dispossession that afflicted Native Americans during this period of study, as well as the absence of schools that they perceived as viable alternatives to Carlisle. These tensions were laid bare in an 1894 graduation speech by Martha Napawat, a Kiowa student. She implicitly resisted what she perceived to be mainstream public’s unreasonable expectations for Carlisle students, in which cases of “fail[ed]” students, presumably those who did not find employment or ran away, were too heavily publicized. As Napawat said,

You, the people of the East...cannot expect all the [Carlisle] graduates to become something great...take for example the graduates of the colleges and universities of this country, do they all become famous and accomplish great and wonderful things [*sic*]? No! Many have failed.¹⁰⁷

Napawat simultaneously assimilated to the Carlisle environment by agreeing with Pratt’s message that reservations were full of “[moral] temptations” and “hardships.”¹⁰⁸ For Pratt, the reservation was an ostensible disincentive for Natives to work, which let them remain degraded as Indians. He made this point abundantly clear when he asked the President of the Standard Debating Club to give an impromptu speech on the “Darwinian Theory of the Human Species.”¹⁰⁹ The student responded with a hierarchy that placed “white” at the top, and “red” as the closest equal. The syncretism between Pratt’s acceptance of Jim Crow politics in favor of lobbying for Carlisle and recorded student positions of what race meant was also apparent during the Standards vs. Susan Longsteth Literary Society debate, fea-

tured in the January and February 1894 issue of the *Red Man*. The topic of the debate was the resolution “Resolved: That the Negro is Superior to the Indian.”¹¹⁰

Without exception, the Carlisle student debaters believed that American blacks were a race apart from whites; the main point of contention was how close the relative civilization gap was between the two groups. They also debated whether Native peoples were more or less Americanized, as compared to the white mainstream ideal, than both reservation Indians and Native students at Carlisle’s peer boarding schools. The students also conflated black identity with Africa as a national origin, irrespective of where the ancestors of the black Americans in question might have come from.

Florence Wells, an Alaskan student, opened the argument in favor of black superiority relative to Native people, on the basis that in spite of their separateness from the white American race, blacks were not inherently intellectually inferior, as evidenced by the historical existence of African empires. From her perspective, that “eighteen of the rulers” in the “cradle of civilization” were black provided evidence that racial superiority was relative to time and place.¹¹¹ The American “negro” was not socially equal to whites, but this inequality would not have dated back to classical society.

Wells began by stating that the American definition of blackness was arbitrary but immutable, as “the poor Negro [was] created black for reasons known to Almighty God alone.”¹¹² She absolved white responsibility for slavery by suggesting “his color as well as physical features combined with his ignorance has given the handsomer race the courage to tread him as low as man can possibly sink.”¹¹³ She continued to conflate American blacks with Africans, for “the colored people are originally from a continent known as darkest Africa...[from] common sense little is expected intellectually, from a people who live under the vertical rays of the sun.”¹¹⁴ For Wells, however, American blacks had risen from African degradation by adopting Western education, speaking English, and eschewing both the reservation system and government aid that *Red Man* contributors—and its editor—often cited as the source of the Indian Problem. Given that Pratt often criticized the reservation system as the government’s “perpetual bribe” for Indians to avoid assimilating, it is not surprising that Wells supported his viewpoint.¹¹⁵

The Native students at Hampton, said Wells, were Indians that were “put through by their ever present help in trouble, Uncle Sam.”¹¹⁶ In comparison, she said, “the colored young men and

105 *The Red Man*, January and February, 1890, NP.

106 “Something more must be done for the Indians than to give them a Franchise Day as proposed by the Dawes Bill,” *Ibid*.

107 *The Red Man*, January and February, 1894, 2.

108 *Ibid*.

109 “Robert was stalled. He said that he did not know the meaning of the first word, but when the subject was explained gave a number of laughable hits. He seemed to think we sprang from the dust. Then became stone, then the tree, then the animal, cow, dog, monkey, negro, red man, and finally the white man,” *Ibid*.

110 *Ibid*.

111 “Resolved, That the Negro is Superior to the Indian: Interesting Points on Both Sides of the Question Made by Indian Students at a Public Debate Between the Susan Longsteth Literary Society and the Standard Debating Club,” *The Red Man*, January and February, 1894, 4-6.

112 *Ibid*.

113 *Ibid*.

114 *Ibid*.

115 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 271.

116 “Resolved, That the Negro is Superior to the Indian: Interesting Points on Both Sides of the Question Made by Indian Students at a Public

women work their way through.”¹¹⁷ As shown through analysis of federal appropriations to Hampton in Appendix A, Wells’s statement was a mischaracterization of the funding structures for both schools. It ignored that Carlisle was almost exclusively government funded at this time. Furthermore, Wells’s comparison was a fairly accurate representation of the stigma of alleged welfare dependence that Pratt and others attached to the reservation system, and which continues to plague both Native reservation and urban communities.¹¹⁸ The racialization of welfare has also continued to affect black communities, particularly through the image of the “Welfare Queen.”¹¹⁹

Other students, such as Phillip Lavatta, a Shoshone, were far more blatantly anti-black on the specious grounds that slavery had been an opportunity for blacks to acquire white American customs and civilization, but they had failed in that regard in the years following emancipation. Of note was his suggestion that the black race was mutable during the antebellum era, and that blacks could have been incorporated as white through the chattel system. But having foregone this “opportunity,” he thought, it was no longer possible that blacks could achieve social parity with whites. As he said:

We find in 1619 the Negro was brought to this country and placed into slavery—but slavery of body only. What a blessing that was to be brought from the depths of degradation, and be placed thousands of miles away from their early influences and former modes of life—placed, I say, into that situation of life which meant their advancement physically, mentally, morally, and spiritually—which meant that they would soon as become of a different race.¹²⁰

Debate Between the Susan Longstreth Literary Society and the Standard Debating Club,” *The Red Man*, January and February, 1894, 4-6.

117 Ibid.

118 “Welfare is based upon the norm set up by the Puritans long ago. A man is defined as a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant, healthy, ambitious, earnest, and honest, a man whom the Lord smiles upon by increasing the fruits of his labor. Welfare is designed to compensate people insofar as they deviate from that norm...Often when discussing treaty rights with whites, Indians find themselves being told that ‘We gave you the land and you haven’t done anything with it.’ Or some commentator opposed to the welfare state remarks, ‘We gave the Indians a small piece of land and then put them on the dole and they are unable to take care of themselves.’ The truth is that practically the only thing the white men have ever given the Indian was disease and poverty,” Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, 35, 190.

119 For more on the development of the “welfare queen” stereotype in twentieth-century Chicago, and the mainstream vilification of black women as welfare recipients, see Julilly Kohler-Hausmann, “‘The Crime of Survival’: Fraud Persecutions, Community Surveillance, and the Original ‘Welfare Queen,’” *Journal of Social History* 41, (2007): 329-354.

120 “Resolved, That the Negro is Superior to the Indian: Interesting Points on Both Sides of the Question Made by Indian Students at a Public Debate Between the Susan Longstreth Literary Society and the Standard Debating Club,” *The Red Man*, January and February, 1894, 6.

Ironically, Lavatta was the only speaker to acknowledge Jim Crow-era violence against blacks in the American South. Regrettably, he argued that it was justified, as “we see in the daily papers that the people of the South are trying to elevate the Negro. How? By placing him on the gallows and hanging him three or four every day.”¹²¹ Lavatta’s statement was probably sarcastic, but that does not exonerate its content.

The idea of blackness as an immutable identity permeated the intermarriage metaphor that Pratt was so fond of using as a stand-in for Native assimilation to white culture. The same theory was apparent in Carlisle students’ own recorded opinions regarding blacks. From both administrative and student perspectives, the American black was a racial other that was separate from Native identity. The administration had financial incentives for presenting this viewpoint in public, and, in particular, for delineating the separation between Carlisle and Hampton. But the students were simply arguing, and at much lower stakes. While it is possible that some of the comments contained therein were throwaway remarks or simple pandering to Pratt, it is also clear that the students identified with an American racial hierarchy that distinguished between blacks, degraded Indians, off-reservation Natives, and whites. Native students’ positionality with respect to most of those groups is not quite clear, but the Carlisle students in this debate definitely did not identify with American blacks on the basis of shared discrimination at the hands of the U.S. government. They preferred to conceive of blacks in terms of their own relationship with government. In debate, Carlisle students attributed the same “dependence” stereotype to American blacks that both they and mainstream publics attributed to reservation Indians.

By 1900, even the ever-paranoid Pratt realized that the Native education program at Hampton was far less of a competitive threat to Carlisle’s funding base than it had been two decades earlier, and the *Battlefield and Classroom* author needed a new frontier on which to fight for the financial security of his institution. He did so by enrolling Puerto Rican students at Carlisle starting in 1898, immediately after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War.

This ostensibly bizarre episode in Carlisle’s history provides an example of the indeterminate status of Native race at Carlisle, the connections that Pratt maintained with Army officials, and the lengths to which Carlisle extended itself in fundraising efforts.¹²² Thus, from the philosophically compatible projects of assimilationist education for indigenous persons and the expansionist colonialism of the early twentieth-century U.S., Pratt found avenues for obtaining government funding. The Carlisle administration believed that white, colonizing U.S. publics would not question the obvious cultural differences between Native persons and Puerto Ricans when it grouped them in the same racial category, which proved true. But this financially-driven racial idea failed to produce the quantity of government income that Pratt desired. That is the broader significance

121 Ibid.

122 Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “Acculturation Under Duress.”

of this episode in Carlisle history, which Pablo Navarro-Rivera, its one chronicler, has regrettably missed. The administrative attempt to enroll Puerto Ricans fits into this study as the administration's abortive last attempt to obtain government grants, just as the BIA's philosophical focus increasingly shifted towards placing Native students in U.S. public schools.¹²³

Puerto Ricans and Colonized Peoples as Native, and Vice Versa

According to Navarro-Rivera, Carlisle enrolled approximately 60 Puerto Rican students from 1898 to 1913, although the vast majority of those students arrived in Pennsylvania between 1900 and 1901.¹²⁴ The Puerto Rican students were mostly supported by scholarships from the U.S. government, which also made similar appropriations during the same period for Cuban and Puerto Rican students and teachers to study at Cornell and Harvard Universities, under the auspices of "acculturat[ing] a conquered people to the U.S. education system."¹²⁵ Navarro argues that the Puerto Rican families that sent their children to Pratt originally had no idea that Carlisle was a Native American boarding school, as a mixture of Carlisle agents and government officials in Puerto Rico falsely advertised the school.¹²⁶ Like indigenous parents, Puerto Rican families were not told that their children would be enrolled in a militarized enclosure of Anglo-American "civilization." Only by 1901, when students wrote home, pleading that "the instruction at the Indian School was abysmal...and the food was atrocious," did Luis Muñoz Rivera, the Editor of San Juan's largest newspaper, the *Puerto Rico Daily Herald*, visit Carlisle in-person in to investigate the school program.¹²⁷

Rivera's negative opinion of Carlisle, which he re-printed in the *Herald*, seems to have dissuaded more students from enrolling in the school. By 1903, when Carlisle posed 40 Puerto Rican students for the camera on "Porto Rican Day [*sic*],"

123 However, it must be stated that the first appropriations for Native students to attend public schools, in 1895, were a very small share of the overall Indian School budget—about .16 percent—and would stay as such for the rest of the decade. Between 1895 and 1905, missions of various Christian denominations operated these public schools. Congress first made an appropriation for Native students to study at non-denominational U.S. public schools in 1905.

124 "In order to set up an initial teaching corps appropriate to the new colonial order, the United States government sent 1,600 Cuban teachers to Harvard University in the summer of 1900 and more than 400 Puerto Rican teachers to Harvard and Cornell Universities in 1904," Pablo Navarro-Rivera, "Acculturation Under Duress."

125 Ibid.

126 "Both students and parents alleged that in Puerto Rico they had been told that they could study medicine, law, and architecture at Carlisle... it is clear from the documents encountered so far that at least until the middle of 1901 neither the young people nor their parents or guardians had much information at all about the institution to which the government was sending them. In their view, Carlisle was simply one of the schools in the United States for which the colonial government had approved scholarships," Ibid.

127 Ibid.

nearly ten percent of the enrolled Puerto Ricans had somehow managed to escape the school and return to Puerto Rico, and only five more would enroll for the rest of Carlisle's existence as an institution.¹²⁸ While Navarro-Rivera is careful to note "the dearth of information available makes it difficult to reconstruct the Puerto Rican experience at Carlisle with a degree of historical accuracy," the inverse relationship is not readily apparent—why did Carlisle want to enroll Puerto Ricans? From pronouncements that top Carlisle administrators made in the pages of *The Red Man*, it is clear that the school wanted to secure government grants by enrolling as many Puerto Ricans as possible. The administration likely thought this strategy necessary because the school was, by this time, operating on a stagnant budget that was dominated by government funding relative to private donations.¹²⁹ The first five Puerto Rican students who arrived at Carlisle in 1898 were not supported by government dollars, but Pratt soon took advantage of a burgeoning federal initiative to change that fact. He was able to obtain much more government funding in the school's early years when the continued existence of Carlisle was a *fait accompli*, and Pratt likely believed that he could do the same by accepting "four girls and one boy from Ponce, Porto Rico [*sic*]," one year in advance of the Congressional scholarship program.¹³⁰ He likely did this in order to convince Congress that Carlisle was a logical destination for participants in the program, and, as with other government appropriations to the school, Pratt was paid for each Puerto Rican enrolled under the program. Navarro states that the government scholarship program began in 1899, although the specific dollar appropriation for this purpose does not appear in the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports from the period.¹³¹ Pratt explained the connection between school finances and the Puerto Rican students clearly in his annual report to William A. Jones, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He re-printed his report to Jones in the September 13, 1901 issue of *The Red Man*. In the manner of casual conversation, the superintendent described his means and reasoning for enrolling Puerto Ricans and, he hoped, other recently colonized peoples.

With your sanction, I received as students of this school, under the same rules and conditions governing in the case of Indian pupils...four girls and one boy from Ponce, Porto Rico [*sic*]. A few months previous to this, and upon the urgency of those who brought them and with your approval, I had received four boys, who came with our returning Pennsylvania

128 Ibid., Figure A

129 For comparative purposes, private donations constituted near 100% of the Carlisle budget between 1879 and 1881, and just under 11% in 1886, five years after the school received its first appropriation from Congress. By 1900, Carlisle reported just \$238.91, or about .16% of the total school budget, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as charitable income.

130 *The Red Man*, 13 September, 1901, 1.

131 Stein Appendix A and *The Red Man*, 31 July, 1903, NP.

volunteers...very soon as a result of their letters home many requests poured in from parents and friends in Porto Rico [*sic*] urging us to accept others. I heard this matter before you and suggested that I be allowed to increase the number to forty, which you authorized in view of the fact that we are carrying quite a good many Indian youths over and above our appropriation number, and these could be counted as a portion of the excess.¹³²

This report suggested that accepting Puerto Rican students made sense, because of its implicit argument that the aims of civilization as practiced at Carlisle were the same principles that undergirded American colonialism. In this excerpt, Pratt's economic motives and race ideas regarding Puerto Ricans, as well as those of surrounding white publics, were also laid bare. Unlike Cornell and Harvard, the administration needed to negotiate with the BIA in order to receive funding through the Congressional scholarship program.

While Pratt was obviously misguided in believing that non-Native Puerto Ricans were the same people as Native Americans, state and public institutions abetted his erroneous belief. A complicit Army with a local connection to Pratt [the Pennsylvania regiment] brought the first students to Carlisle, and beyond Pratt's superficial, paternalistic distinction between the Puerto Rican "boys" and Indians, he asked Commissioner Jones for funding on the grounds that the racial groups could be educated in a similar manner. Jones agreed, believing that the money Pratt received for the Puerto Ricans could help balance Carlisle's budget.

A.J. Standing, a Quaker and Carlisle's Assistant Superintendent, further explained the connection between Carlisle, government contracts, and American imperialism through a speech for at the school's 1901 Commencement. Standing preached his vision of Carlisle's short-term, ultimately far-fetched enrollment plan, in which the number of Puerto Rican students would hypothetically have grown to equal the number of Natives at Carlisle. To accomplish this, Standing thought, simply required Congressional approval. He continued by suggesting a similarity between colonial possessions and indigenous assimilation, in the sense that the U.S. could more cheaply export middle-class white and Protestant culture through education projects than by military force. He pictured that the continuation of American colonial rule could be accomplished by sending a thousand indigenous and a thousand Puerto Rican Carlisle graduates, all of whom had become "Americanized," to go out and teach civilization to the inhabitants of America's new Caribbean possessions.

In three years we would have expended for the educa-

tion of these young people, the sum of \$1,200,000 or about one fourth the cost of a battleship. We might expect there would be two thousand teachers going back to those islands perfectly conversant with our manner of life, our language, our customs and our plan of education, and I don't think anyone can appreciate the vast amount of influence those two thousand teachers would have.¹³³

In spite of Standing's bombast, Navarro-Rivera's source material proves that the Puerto Rican students were never duped into believing that they were Native Americans.¹³⁴ However, just as the 1894 Carlisle student debate demonstrated students' acceptance and elaboration of the administration's racial ideas about American blacks, the same phenomenon occurred in Carlisle's contact with Puerto Rico.

A column in *The Red Man* suggests that at least one indigenous, non-Puerto Rican Carlisle student believed in the administration's conflation of Native Americans and Puerto Ricans. A curious Letter to the Editor from Emanuel Powlas, a member of the Oneida tribe and a Carlisle graduate who was stationed in Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American war, reflects the author's acceptance of the administrative position.¹³⁵ The editorialized header of the letter, "Carlisle Colony is Porta Rica [*sic*]," clearly shows that the Carlisle administration believed it was in step with American foreign policy. But Powlas believed that his own indigenous racial identity was mutable based on what language he spoke. If he could learn Spanish, he thought, he could "change into a Porto Rican [*sic*]," because, ostensibly, even Puerto Ricans would not be able to tell that he was indigenous. In part, Powlas' letter read:

I am studying Spanish and getting along well. I can go to town now and transact my business, using the Spanish language. I am trying hard to learn, and some tell me that I will change into a Porto Rican...I would not have to change anything else, and they could not tell but I was Porto Rican [*sic*].¹³⁶

Powlas' testimony therefore shows that at least one Carlisle Native student internalized and expanded the administration's associations between U.S. colonial projects at home

133 "Commencement Exercises," *The Red Man*, 22 March, 1901, 1-2.

134 "It is interesting to note that Puerto Rican students invariably crossed off the terms "Indian" and "Tribe," replacing them with "Puerto Rico" or "Puerto Rican." Pablo Navarro-Rivera, "Acculturation Under Duress."

135 As with all Letters to the Editor printed in *The Red Man*, it is impossible to ascertain whether its content was modified or censored by the Carlisle administration. However, Powlas was a documented Oneida student at Carlisle, so it is unlikely to be a complete forgery. "Soldier Boy Emanuel Powlas—Carlisle Colony is Porta Rica [*sic*]," *The Red Man*, September, 1900, 2 and "Powlas, Emanuel," *Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center*, Dickinson College, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/people/powlas-emanuel>, last accessed 18 February 2016.

136 *The Red Man*, September, 1900, 2.

132 Residents of other territories that the U.S. had recently colonized, such as Hawaiians and Filipinos, never enrolled at Carlisle. *The Red Man* also made no mention of the few Puerto Rican students that enrolled at Carlisle in 1898 and 1899. *Ibid.*

and abroad. But instead of precipitating the grand enrollment boom envisioned by Pratt and Standing in *The Red Man*, my analysis of Carlisle's finances strongly suggests that the Puerto Rican experiment was the school administration's final and futile struggle for political relevance. Congressional interest and funding turned increasingly to reservation boarding and day schools, and, ultimately, to placing indigenous students in U.S. public schools. Both of these options were substantially less expensive than off-reservation institutions, because there was little or no cost to transport Native children to school. Pratt's persistent advocacy for other colonized groups to send their children to Carlisle also failed to attract a single student. Later, attempts to assimilate indigenous students in public schools would continue on a much larger scale than had begun in 1895.¹³⁷

It is clear from the financial record that Carlisle hit its zenith of government support in 1900, and slowly lost funding from that year forward. Consequently, the BIA's dismissal of Pratt in 1904 from his post as Superintendent was irrelevant to Carlisle's future, as the institution could not have significantly expanded enrollment unless the plan to enroll one thousand Puerto Rican students with government support had worked. However, before the BIA forced Pratt out, he used *The Red Man* to broadcast the sentiments of the people whom he believed were still loyal to him—the white, religious, business-owning “friends” of the school. While their monetary donations to the school declined to an insignificant fraction of school revenues after 1893, Pratt still needed them to provide places of employment for the Outing program. By the turn of the century, Carlisle had become financially dependent on the BIA. For the Bureau, Pratt's institution had become too expensive for the superintendent to publicly criticize its policies without political consequences, and Pratt's misunderstanding of whom he could not afford to anger was precisely what precipitated his forced retirement.

The Firing of Pratt and the Decline of Carlisle

In May 1904, Pratt lectured on behalf of Carlisle at a ministers' conference at Lake Mohonk, New York.¹³⁸ There, he lamented that federal policy toward indigenous people had shifted since the Dawes Act, and that Congress no longer sought

137 In 1895, the BIA provided \$4,087.40 for indigenous students to study at the public schools operated by missions. This appropriation was renewed annually in smaller dollar amounts until 1905, when the government provided for 84 students to study at bona fide U.S. public schools. Stein Appendix A.

138 Lake Mohonk was also the site for the Mohonk Lake Conference, which was an annual gathering (1883-1916) of mainstream elites who were interested in social uplift for indigenous people and ridding the country of “foes to Indian civilization.” Notably, the conference is not known to have ever included a Native person in its ranks. Native participation in mainstream political debate on Native issues would only appear later, through the Society of American Indians (1911-1923). *Proceedings, Mohonk Lake Conference: October 12, 13, 14, 1886*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887).

to destroy the reservation system. This upset Pratt, as his publicly stated justification for founding an off-reservation school was that the reservation system perpetuated Indian racial inferiority. He also made the throwaway comment that “the [BIA] is a barnacle that should be knocked off sometime.”¹³⁹ The BIA moved swiftly to force Pratt to retire, and *The Red Man* made the announcement the next month. Before leaving office, Pratt published letters of support from his donors and “friends” of the Outing program. From their names, we see that local Protestant religious institutions, higher education leaders, and business-people were willing to stand with Pratt when his removal was a certainty—again highlighting Pratt's political relationship with many mainstream publics.¹⁴⁰ As one of the letters noted,

Your sudden removal without investigation or trial from your position as Superintendent of the Indian School after twenty-five years of conspicuous service to the country of which we have been the daily witnesses, offends the sense of justice in our entire community. As pastors of the Churches and ministers of the gospel we give you this unshaken confidence in you and the cause you represent.¹⁴¹

However, pastoral support did not enable Pratt to maintain his positions as Carlisle Superintendent and the “man-on-the-bandstand.” According to Witmer, Pratt's ill-conceived “defiance and hostile attacks toward his critics,” particularly the comment at Lake Mohonk, “brought about his own downfall.”¹⁴² This is a mischaracterization. Rather, Pratt's egotism was readily apparent from the beginning of his tenure, when he verbally scolded Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior, for appropriating “the shoddiest of shoddy clothing” for student use.¹⁴³ If arrogance and insubordination alone were why Pratt was fired, it would have happened much sooner.

The root causes of the Bureau's decision were, rather, issues of money and long run bureaucratic planning that signaled the beginning of the demise of the off-reservation schools, rather than simple personality conflicts. In 1879, Carlisle drew very few resources from the federal government, and Pratt's assimilationist mission fit well with the Congressional milieu that produced the Dawes Act eight years later. By 1904, the program to place indigenous students in public mission schools was nine years old, and the first BIA appropriations

139 Witmer 51.

140 “[Signed] R.M. Henderson, President Carlisle Deposit Bank...Edward Reed, President of Dickinson College...John Hayes, President of the Carlisle Gas and Water Company, President of the Manufacturing Company and Republican Presidential Elector 1904,” in “Why ‘Pratt’ Alone? The Following Correspondence Shows Indian Commissioner Jones has the Same Radical Notions that were the Alleged Cause of General Pratt's Removal,” *The Red Man*, 24 June and 1 July, 1904, NP.

141 Ibid.

142 Witmer 51.

143 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 230.

to fund Native students to study at U.S. public schools would follow in the next year. In 1907, Thomas Ellington Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, remarked on the Bureau's ultimate intention to send as many Native students as possible to U.S. public schools. As Leupp said, "whenever the doors of the district schools are opened by the State authorities to Indian children the opportunity is seized to give them the advantage of the same classes and under the same methods of instruction prevailing for white children."¹⁴⁴

The BIA's decision to fire Pratt over the "barnacle" comment was merely a pretext to get rid of a man who, rather than just being a power-seeking administrator, also represented a possible political challenge to the burgeoning public school program. Pratt felt strongly that Native students needed to learn English before entering U.S. public schools—a step that the federal government was increasingly unwilling to fund.¹⁴⁵ Pratt also made his opposition to the BIA's plan to place indigenous students in public schools clear to students on the Carlisle campus. He suggested that doing so would perpetuate their racial degradation.¹⁴⁶ But public schools, not an expansion of off or on-reservation schools, were the Bureau's long run, less expensive solution to the Indian Problem. As an intermediate step, the BIA increased appropriations for on-reservation boarding schools, but public schooling remained the end objective.¹⁴⁷ By 1930, 53 percent of all Native school-age children were enrolled in public schools, and, in 1934, Congress passed the Johnson-O'Malley Act, which provided additional appropriations to individual states to enroll indigenous children in public schools.¹⁴⁸ However, the broader BIA transition from boarding to public schools was also a tumultuous period for Carlisle, which experienced a near-complete turnover in teaching staff.

To replace Pratt, the BIA hired Captain William A. Mercer, a career soldier and reservation agent, likely because officials thought him less domineering and hostile to the reservation system.¹⁴⁹ Witmer notes, however, that Pratt's staff of teachers and assistant administrators soon deserted the school or transferred to other boarding schools *en masse*, and the school employed four different superintendents in the next 14 years.¹⁵⁰ Witmer's analysis of Mercer as an administrator is unfavorable, as he oversaw the "deterioration of the industrial and academic programs and an increased emphasis on

athletics," and voluntarily left the school three years later.¹⁵¹ Moses Friedman, a reform-minded administrator who was neither affiliated with the Army nor the BIA, replaced him. He proved extremely unpopular with students and faculty, and resigned in 1914 after he was acquitted in a Congressional investigation as to whether he misappropriated government funds for personal use.¹⁵² In 1918, after more than a decade of declining enrollment and government funding, the War Department, not the BIA, finally shuttered Carlisle on the pretense that the property was needed for wartime use.¹⁵³ Three decades of Indian education in central Pennsylvania drew to an unceremonious end.¹⁵⁴

Conclusion: After Assimilation

After the boarding school period, the assimilationist imperative for Native students to adopt mainstream economic mores and conceptions of educational success were just as present as they were at Carlisle. In reference to the Native experience at public schools in the Twin Cities, Davis writes that the "buzz-word" was now "integration," but "the objective was still assimilation."¹⁵⁵ In public schools, predominantly white instructors again taught indigenous students. While some teachers were sympathetic to the structural poverty of many Native communities, they were fundamentally uninterested in altering their curricula to accommodate students with a cultural background that was not mainstream America—but which had a right to exist.¹⁵⁶

Some Native parents wanted their children to receive educations that were primarily based in indigenous culture, and they were rightly disappointed when the "Open School" education model of student-centered learning developed in the 1960s did not meet those needs when practiced in public schools.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, the experience for Native students in public schools was marred by violent conflict with black students. Animosity "between Indians and blacks" was noted by

144 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907).

145 Pratt's claim was partially correct, but failed to escape the assimilationist imperative, i.e. the question of "why *must* Native children learn English?"

146 "[Pratt] repeatedly told his students that 'If I was sure you would fall into public schools, I would burn these buildings tonight,'" Witmer 50 and Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, 250-251.

147 Witmer 59.

148 Davis, *Survival Schools*, 91.

149 Witmer 59.

150 Ibid.

151 Witmer 73.

152 Ibid. 82.

153 Ibid. 90.

154 The BIA's policy shift from financially supporting off-reservation schools to supporting Native attendance at U.S. public schools was not complete when Carlisle closed. Most of Carlisle's peer institutions remained open as boarding schools through World War II; the Chilocco Indian School in Newkirk, OK, which remained open as a boarding school until 1980, had the greatest longevity of the group. The Haskell Institute, in Lawrence, KS, was reincorporated as a tribal college, Haskell Indian Nations University, in 1993. In 1928, the Meriam Report—a federally sponsored investigation of all of the boarding schools—curtailed some of the most blatant administrative abuses of indigenous students. Davis 57, Vuckovic 220, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prarie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*, (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

155 Davis 88.

156 Ibid. 80.

157 Ibid.

Minneapolis school authorities in 1969, and underscores the division between these two groups, despite the fact that mainstream authorities had “redlined” both into segregated housing, among other forms of oppression.¹⁵⁸ The racial thinking espoused seventy years earlier in *The Red Man* was not the genesis of conflict between Native Americans and American blacks, but could only have exacerbated the division.¹⁵⁹ In addition, federal Child Protective Services (CPS) was unsympathetic to indigenous students who refused to attend public schools, or to Native family structures that often did not resemble the mainstream Nuclear family.¹⁶⁰ In Minnesota, CPS placed Native children in foster care between 20 and 80 times more frequently than it did for white children, and was called upon when indigenous students committed petty infractions in school.¹⁶¹ Unlike Pratt’s probable kidnapping of Native students to increase Carlisle’s enrollment, this form of dismembering indigenous families was state-sanctioned and legal. For Native parents, the situation in public schools and with CPS was intolerable. In 1972, the American Indian Movement (AIM) chose the Twin Cities as the sites for the Heart of the Earth Survival School (H.O.T.E.S.S.) in Minneapolis and Red School House in St. Paul, the titular “survival schools” that Davis aptly refers to as sites of decolonization.¹⁶²

At the survival schools, educators believed that cultivating an interest in student learning was more important than conforming to Western standards of educational success. In lieu of grade levels, students were categorized by progress on learning modules, which they completed “at their own pace and in their own time.”¹⁶³ Furthermore, the instructors were often the students’ parents and relatives—a setup that directly opposed the dismemberment of Native families that was characteristic of boarding and public schools.¹⁶⁴ Bolstered by federal funding provided by the federal Indian Education Act of 1972, the two schools increased their enrollments through the 1970s. By 2008, both survival schools closed, but Davis correctly argues that their lasting significance was their presence as the first alternatives to the intergenerational assimilationist imperative that Native people faced in U.S. education projects.¹⁶⁵ As Davis concludes,

[Communities] of belief came together to ensure the survival of indigenous difference in American society. Thus they worked against settler colonialism’s persistent ‘logic of elimination’ and furthered decolonization in ways that have continued after Red School House and Oh Day Aki closed their doors.¹⁶⁶

By decolonization, Davis primarily refers to the survival schools’ structural opposition to the long-run dismemberment of Native families through U.S. education projects, their curricular emphasis on indigenous culture and history, and their philosophical disavowal of education as a pathway for economic success in mainstream circles. All of the above principles stood in stark contrast to the mission of the Carlisle Indian School, which sought to profit by literally presenting non-Native Puerto Rican children as Native Americans. Decolonization was not simply an educational theory in this context—it was a challenge to bad faith mainstream educational practice.

Robert Utley impels the readership of *Battlefield and Classroom* to remember Pratt, the skilled administrator and political opportunist, as a failed social progressive who founded Carlisle in pursuit of his vision of Native equality in American society, as:

Pratt’s true significance lies rather in his role as a determined, courageous, selfless worker in behalf of justice to a people suffering from four centuries of oppression by the dominant culture. He saw in the Indian another human being...he dramatized the plight of the red men as few others did, and he mobilized public opinion behind attempts, however misguided, to sweep aside the odious wreckage of more than a century of Federal mismanagement of the Indians...for this service, paradoxical as it may seem in view of his dedication to the extinction of Indian culture, Richard Henry Pratt is due the gratitude of all American Indians.¹⁶⁷

Utley’s attempt at provocative social commentary is itself “odious,” as it absolves Pratt from responsibility for cultural genocide. Other historians, such as Bess and Fear-Segal, have completed the critical task of reaction by highlighting Carlisle students as agents within a colonial institution that ultimately failed to assimilate them. As of this writing, however, three questions on this subject remain unaddressed by extant scholarship, which I sought to address through an investigation of Carlisle’s long-run school finances. The first is the extent to which Pratt was central to the continued existence of Carlisle, and, similarly, how powerful he was relative to the BIA throughout his tenure. The second is what, exactly, shaped Pratt’s worldview on race, as

158 Ibid. 69.

159 See Deloria Jr., *Custer Died For Your Sins*, 168-196.

160 “Many Indian families, even into the 1950s and 1960s, continued the traditional practice of leaving their children in the care of extended family members—grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, or other people in the community—on a daily basis or for an extended period of time. Many White [*sic*] social workers did not consider these acceptable childcare arrangements,” Davis 86.

161 Ibid. 84.

162 In 1999, H.O.T.E.S.S. changed its name to Oh Day Aki, which is “Heart of the Earth” in Ojibwe. Ibid. 187.

163 Ibid. 108.

164 Ibid. 212.

165 Red School House closed in 1995 amidst allegations that its leadership had misappropriated federal funds. H.O.T.E.S.S. closed in 2008 after Joel Pourier, its finance director, was convicted of embezzling \$1.38 million from the school. Ibid. 187.

166 Ibid. 198.

167 Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom*, “Introduction,” xvii.

expressed by his views in *The Red Man*. Thirdly, to what degree Carlisle students, as agents in oppressive physical and print environments, genuinely accept these administrative ideas of the value of assimilation, and the mutability of the Native race? Carlisle's early history of private fundraising, its fiscal competition with the Hampton Institute, the abortive attempt to enroll Puerto Rican students, and the institution's dependence on white publics for Outing shows that it was convenient for Pratt to adopt the racial positions he espoused in *The Red Man*. He believed that Native students could approach status as white Americans, American blacks could not become white, and non-indigenous Puerto Ricans were the same as Native Americans. Furthermore, students quoted in *The Red Man* articulated positions that agreed with Pratt's end objectives of othering blacks and the Hampton Institute, but deviated from Pratt's stances in the originality and depth of their biases. In effect, Carlisle students may have embraced anti-black bias as a form of indigenous identity production that preceded the first meeting of the Society of American Indians by two decades.

Some Carlisle students also considered themselves a race apart from American blacks, identified with colonized people such as Puerto Ricans, and aspired to mainstream ideas of economic productivity and education, though true authorial intent is impossible to determine. All of the students that I refer to are deceased, and Pratt's layered deceptions and half-truths permeate every issue of *The Red Man*. Pratt, the central figure of any narrative about Carlisle, ruled the school for 25 years as an authoritarian-yet-incomplete assimilationist. Referring to Carlisle students by their tribal affiliations and originally placing a Lakota title on the school newspaper, he even failed to maintain an English-only environment in forums that he ostensibly controlled.

Richard Henry Pratt was a skillful fundraiser and lobbyist in high mainstream political circles. He operated with the conceit of an egoist who believed that Carlisle was *his* school—not a BIA project that “instructed” him to hold any political positions.¹⁶⁸ As his tenure progressed, Pratt's projection of this reality in print was increasingly unsupported by economic fact, as Carlisle was wholly government funded by 1903. This shift in Carlisle's funding base, combined with long-running BIA plans to sponsor indigenous education in U.S. public schools, made Pratt politically expendable. Pratt does not deserve a legacy of credit for his racial positions—only for his creative and skillful fundraising efforts. Charity, government appropriations, and broad-based political support for Pratt ensured that Carlisle would endure as a particularly brutal symbol in a continuum of assimilation projects that were enabled by the complicity of U.S. publics. The school's existence and mission was also

palatable for indigenous people in a specific milieu of massive dispossession. Native families perceived few educational alternatives that would have enabled their children to survive in mainstream economies. Unfortunately, the rise of Carlisle—a Hobson's choice in Native education—also further inhibited Native and black Americans from effectively resisting educational colonization in shared struggle.

168 “‘Indian Civilization a Success,’ is the theme given to me by the directors of this assembly. I am not instructed to argue for or against,” in “Address of Capt. Pratt, Before the National Education Convention at Ocean Grove, N.J.,” *The Red Man*, August 11, 1883, NP.