

**Friend of the Indian: The Origins and Purpose of Native American Education**

Senior Thesis

by

Alejandro C. Mendoza

Submitted February 1, 2021

to Dr. Carol E. Wilson

## INTRODUCTION

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the United States embarked on a crusade to remove and disassociate American Indians from their land. As a result, many historians are quick to cite the brutal removal and slaughter of hundreds of indigenous tribes across the American continent as the sole method in which the federal government dominated over the native population. Although these aspects of history are important and worthy of significant attention and study, their solitary review limits the purview of U.S. Indian policy to only strongman figures such as Andrew Jackson and events such as the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Of course, in the broad historical sense, these subjects are controversial and must be given appropriate study and recognition; however, one of the most understudied chapters in Native American history, which is often overshadowed during this period, is the forced assimilation and education of Indian children through government sponsored boarding schools.

As mentioned earlier, one might be quick to assume that American education for Indians was established during the periods of forced indigenous exodus in the middle and late eighteenth centuries. However, the foundation that would eventually encourage education as the solution to the American “Indian problem” was firmly planted centuries prior. In the early years of the American Republic, the purposes of such undertaking were hard to pinpoint as institutions, churches, and governments attempted to educate both Indians and African slaves for a multitude of reasons. However, they typically shared a common rhetoric that perceived the Indian as barbaric, savage, ignorant, simple-minded, or lower than whites. This viewpoint of the indigenous population rendered a false narrative that separated so-called American civilization and the “backward” Indians.

From that point forward, education used the term “civilized” and “Americanized” as a method to separate themselves from the “other” that needed to be assimilated into society through discipline and education. The assimilation process that usually took place heavily focused on language and appearance, in which Indians were not only expected to read, write, and speak English, but replace their traditional indigenous clothing and traditions for garments and customs that appealed to Anglo culture. While this outwardly noble endeavor focused on either the education or preservation of the native population during the period of westward expansion, the broad majority of the historical community have agreed that the forceful education of the American Indian through boarding schools was nothing short of cultural genocide disguised as education.

As such, to solidify this belief, I will argue that the assimilation of the indigenous population started by missionary schools and then off-reservation boarding schools were used as a method to subdue and disassociate Indians from their land with little emphasis on actual educational benefit.

## **MISSIONARY SCHOOLS**

In the early decades of the eighteenth century the U.S. government was increasingly concerned with the issue of indigenous tribes that began to reclaim land from white settlers. Although this concern was nothing new, many high government officials demonstrated varying views regarding labeling Indians as aggressors or victims. On one side, they argued that the Indian contact with whites had to be regulated to protect Indians from moral corruption, exploitation, and extinction. On the other side, some asserted that their concern for the indigenous population provided an opportunity to “civilize” Indians. However, this belief was often linked to dubious schemes to remove native peoples from their land with little intention of

fully accepting them into the growing United States.<sup>1</sup> In a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Indiana Governor William Harrison in 1803, Jefferson mentioned his position on the issue:

In this way our settlements will gradually circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States or remove beyond the Mississippi [River]. The former is certainly the termination of their history most happy for themselves; but, in the whole course of this, it is essential to cultivate their love.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, Jefferson called on Congress that same year to enact strict federal regulation on trading posts that laid at the edge of several disputed boundaries. Jefferson strategized that Indians would be more inclined to abandon their lands if they shifted from fur trading to agricultural production and animal domestication west of the Mississippi River.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas McKenny, the Superintendent of Indian Trade in 1816 wanted to reform and improve Indian trading houses and the commonly practiced “factory system.” Like trading houses, the factory system, which allowed government sponsored “factors” to trade European and colonial goods to tribes, was used by several European countries during the late eighteenth century to sustain positive relationships between the white frontier settlements and the indigenous population. However, the War of 1812 restricted the number of European and American traders and limited the types of goods that could be sold to native groups. As a result, McKenny stood firmly against merchants and defended federally regulated trade with Indians as it served his personal and philanthropic interests.<sup>4</sup>

As Superintendent of Indian Trade, McKenny was regarded as a so-called “friend of the Indian” by government officials and promoted Jefferson’s plan to stimulate agriculture among

---

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ricento, *Ideology, Politics, and Language Policies* (John Benjamin’s Publishing Company, 2000) 75-76.

<sup>2</sup> University of Oregon, *President Thomas Jefferson to Governor William H. Harrison*.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *From Thomas Jefferson to the Senate and the House of Representatives, 1803*.

<sup>4</sup> Yumiko Nakano, “The Campaign for Civilization or Removal: Thomas L. McKenney and Federal Indian Affairs in the Formative Years.” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities* 48, (2013): 87-88.

Native Americans. He used his office to further his interests regarding the Christianization and civilization of Indians. In almost missionary fashion, McKenny declared that the U.S. was founded on pillars of mercy and that it should be run by men who “would joyfully administer to them [the Indians], the cup of consolation, nor withhold it because of the color which the Indian Sun has burned upon their brothers.” McKenny asserted that once Indians shifted from hunting and fur trading towards agriculture, it would stimulate their interest to own private property, provide stability, and provide the permanent settlement that was needed to build Christian communities within the tribes. To expedite this, he sent agricultural equipment and seeds to Native American tribes to encourage them to set up gardens and farms.<sup>5</sup>

In a letter to U.S. representative Matthew Lyon, he argued that “this [was] the way you will most effectually promote the great object of the government towards these unenlightened people” and stated that the federal government should:

Invite their attention to agriculture and arts, and help them, for they are helpless. Our object is not to keep these Indian hunters eternally. We want to make citizens of them, and they must be first anchored to the soil, else they will be flying about whilst there is any room for them in the wilderness or an animal to be trapped.<sup>6</sup>

Soon after, McKenny worked with missionaries to set up a system of schools on Indian land and lobbied Congress, especially chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs Henry Southard, to pass a bill that would expand the factory system and fund a national school system for Indians. McKenny successfully impelled religious associations to petition Congress. One of the most prominent examples was sent by the Kentucky Bracken Association of Baptists, which represented fourteen churches and eleven hundred members.<sup>7</sup> His efforts paid off as President

---

<sup>5</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians (Volume 1)*. (University of Nebraska Press, 1995) 149.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 149-150.

<sup>7</sup> Yumiko Nakano. “The Campaign for Civilization or Removal: Thomas L. McKenney and Federal Indian Affairs in the Formative Years.” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities* 48, (2013): 89.

James Monroe stated in his first State of the Union address in 1817 that: “it [was] our duty to make new effort for the preservation, improvement, and civilization of native inhabitants...and more particularly for their improvement in the arts of a civilized life.”<sup>8</sup> In committee, Southard urged congress to pass a bill that would expand the factory system and fund schools on Indian lands by citing the success of missionary societies in Africa and Asia.

## **FEDERAL POLICY FOR “CIVILIZATION”**

During this period, a considerable amount of interest emerged regarding the “civilization” and “advancement” of the Indian population in Washington as Congress passed the *Civilization Fund Act* in 1819 with the intent of developing their ideology into federal policy. The bill submitted by the committee to congress in 1819 proposed that profits from the factory system, along with an additional ten-thousand dollars annually, would allow the federal government to endow schools and assist missionaries to educate Native Americans on their land.<sup>9</sup> Yumiko Nakano in *The Campaign for Civilization or Removal* argued that the federal government’s support of civilization programs in the form of missionary schools provided insight into the American idea of savagism and civilization. While some who supported the bill saw a legitimate need to provide “against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes” by teaching them agriculture, Nakano asserted that it was difficult to distinguish the line between the “civilization” and Christianization of the Native American population as they were often seen as “flip sides of the same coin that formed a fundamental continuity in the federal Indian policy.”<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> University of California Santa Barbara, *The American Presidency Project: James Monroe, First Annual Message*.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians (Volume 1)*. (University of Nebraska Press, 1995) 150.

<sup>10</sup> Yumiko Nakano. “The Campaign for Civilization or Removal: Thomas L. McKenney and Federal Indian Affairs in the Formative Years.” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities* 48, (2013): 89.

However, David Wallace in *Fundamental Considerations: The Deep Meaning of Native American Schooling* added that in addition to the overtly religious indoctrination of Indians framed as “civilization,” one of the main goals of government sponsored Indian education in *The Civilization Act* was to disconnect the Native population from their land for the purpose of clearing the way for American westward expansion. This policy became clear when McKenny, in a letter to his superiors in 1827, illustrated the abysmal and “hopeless” endeavor to educate natives; in which he recommended Congress legislate an Indian Removal bill instead.<sup>11</sup> Irrespective of the missionary school’s ability to educate Indians, the current *Civilization Act* provided the opportunity for the federal government to disconnect the native population from their lands. In *Language policy in the United States: A history of cultural genocide*, Hernandez-Chaves argued that the Christianization and educational instruction in English were used as catalysts for the purification and cultural genocide of the indigenous population in North America. He further mentioned that Jefferson’s (then Monroe’s) plan to save the Indian from extinction was nothing short of a facade focused on disconnecting the native population from their land with little intent to induct them into white society.<sup>12</sup>

Regardless, many missionary groups seized the opportunity to get federal funding. Overall, the *Civilization Fund Act* successfully expanded the number of schools on or near Indian lands. In 1819, there were only four schools near Indian populations on the frontier. However, by 1824 there were thirty-two schools that educated nine-hundred and sixteen native children. That same year, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun established the Office of Indian

---

<sup>11</sup> David Wallace Adams. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. (University Press of Kansas, 1995) 3.

<sup>12</sup> Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez, “Language Policy in the United States: A History of Cultural Genocide.” (2010): 141-148.

Affairs (later called the Bureau of Indian Affairs) from funds in the War Department.<sup>13</sup> This strategy proved extremely effective as more Indian pupils were enrolled in schools.

One of the missionary groups that received federal funding was the *Kentucky Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen* for a boarding school for the Choctaw tribe. The organization was founded by Richard Mentor Johnson and several other Baptists who all had an interest in educating “savage” Indians. Johnson was a native Kentuckian who served in the state’s General Assembly, the U.S. House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate, then as Vice-President. Johnson’s military affairs as a senator linked him to McKenny at the capital. The superintendent spoke before the senate on multiple occasions and advocated his moral beliefs surrounding Indian education. McKenny influenced Johnson so much that he was made an honorary board member of the *Kentucky Baptist Society*.<sup>14</sup>

Soon, the Kentucky Baptist Society was given the opportunity to receive government funding to educate Choctaw pupils. However, prior to that, in 1824 the Choctaw were in disputes regarding the *Treaty of Doak’s Stand* of 1820, which required the Choctaw to cede over five million acres of land to the federal government in exchange for thirteen million acres in Indian territory. The treaty also stipulated that the federal government would sell fifty-four square miles of land for the purposes of establishing a school for Choctaw children east of the Mississippi River. Surprisingly however, the Choctaw wanted to send their children to attend school taught in English instead of a missionary school –where they were taught in their native language.

Unlike many tribes, the Choctaw viewed education as a form of resistance and wanted their

---

<sup>13</sup> Yumiko Nakano. “The Campaign for Civilization or Removal: Thomas L. McKenney and Federal Indian Affairs in the Formative Years.” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities* 48, (2013): 89.

<sup>14</sup> Ella Wells Drake, "Choctaw Academy: Richard M. Johnson and the Business of Indian Education," *The Resister of the Kentucky Historical Society* 91, no. 3 (1993): 263.



children to be taught in English so that they could advocate for their people. In response to this, the federal government saw an opportunity to leverage their Native American policy. Specifically, the government feared that Indians would never leave their indigenous traditions if they continued to be taught in their native language. Therefore, the two settled the deal and allowed Richard Johnson and the *Kentucky Baptist Society* to establish the first federal Indian boarding school in 1825.<sup>15</sup> Although the Choctaw tribe resided in Mississippi, the school was located on Johnson's plantation in Kentucky. For the federal government however, this was ideal since they wanted to "isolate [the] children from the customs and practices of their parents." The War Department sent inspectors to closely monitor the schools progress towards assimilation.<sup>16</sup>

## TREATIES

Over the next two decades, missionary schools, such as the *Choctaw Academy* operated by religious organizations were the dominant form of education among Indian children. While religious groups battled for "Indian souls" and lucrative government funding to support the Christianization of the native population, the federal government was more concerned with control over the Indian land than actual education as whites continued to move westward. Within the newly established territories near the Mississippi River, critics, who mainly opposed specific denominations from educating Indians were of little interest to the federal government as Indian schools were only given funding if they served a purpose to the Board of Indian Commissioners.

One notable example of this was the *Yellow River School* operated by Presbyterian Minister, Reverend David Lowry in Winnebago Iowa. Fluctuating enrollment speared

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 263-270.

<sup>16</sup> Ronald N. Satz, *Ideology, Politics, and Language Policy in the Jacksonian Era*. (University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) 250-251.

formidable local Catholic opposition along with fears from the federal government that the school's lack of control on native youths would interfere with Indian fur trading. This prevented the organization from receiving adequate funding for educational programs. Reports from Lowry about the day-to-day operations and specific instances of Indian student progress caused division about the success of Indian missionary education. In response to this, Iowa Territorial Governor John Chambers requested military agents investigate the matter and that Lowry submit a comprehensive report to the Board of Indian Commissioners regarding the state of Indian education in Winnebago. In his almost two-hundred-page report, Lowry detailed plans for "civilizing" the native population in Winnebago, including the possibility of sending Indian children to white schools with the intention of having them return to teach their own people.

He argued that: ...the obstacle [of education did not] lie in the nature of the work...or in the extraneous circumstances surrounding it...if we wage war against the red man, expend millions, conquer and drive them...why not tame them? Why not invade those gloomy and hateful legions of superstitions which [they inhabit] with the knowledge of letters and with the light of the gospel of Christ[?] This can be done. It must be done.

Lowry's attitude, although notably stronger than most of his white counterparts, revealed a prevailing white attitude about so-called "barbaric" Indian culture and the belief that white customs and values could be universally instilled among Indian youths. Notwithstanding, this type of grandiose religious redirect served little to remedy the worries of the federal government of the Indian school at Winnebago.<sup>17</sup>

Even with Reverend Lowry's plan in mind, the *Yellow River School* continued to struggle in educating Indian children as only fifty Indian pupils enrolled in the school's vocational curriculum in 1835. Lowry noted in his annual report to the Board of Indian Commissioners that

---

<sup>17</sup> Ronald Rayman. "The Winnebago Indian School Experiment in Iowa Territory 1834-1848." *The Annals of Iowa* 44, no. 5 (1978): 359-387.

while the agricultural training held significant value in the “civilization” of the Indian, their biggest problem was the lack of an adequate interpreter, which the Indian Office refused to provide. During this time, teachers relied on sign language as the primary method of communication until students were able to grasp English. However, this rarely happened as Indian students only remained in his vocational program for about three years and were unable to adequately grasp the English language, let alone the reading, writing and arithmetic that Lowry touted in his report years prior.<sup>18</sup>

However, by 1837 an increasing number of white settlers had encroached on the Winnebagos’ land with the intention of growing the fur trade with Indians and establishing whiskey distilleries along the Mississippi River. As a result, the federal government sought other alternatives in the region and abandoned funding for the missionary school at the Yellow River. That same year, they brokered a treaty with the Winnebago that removed native tribes and moved them several miles down to the Turkey River to make way for the white population nearby. In exchange for this, the federal government gave twenty-two thousand dollars in funding for the construction of the *Turkey River School* in 1841 that was to be constructed near the new Atkinson Army Fort. The fort and the school served to keep the native population in check and federal government’s vested interest in Indian trade and white migration into the west. In addition, the Indian Office took a more hands-on approach but kept Reverend Lowry as a subagent to report back to Washington. Even so, more than ninety pupils enrolled in classes in the first year, proving the viability of the treaty system.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 359-387.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 359-387.

Like the Choctaw and the Winnebago, many other tribes entered treaty obligations with the federal government. As time went on, congress began to include provisions that included compulsory school attendance for Indian children with the intention of disconnecting them from their native land. Between the years of 1858 to 1871, the U.S. Senate ratified ten treaties with Native American Tribes containing compulsory education provisions. After the Civil-War, these treaties compelled tribes to:

[Send] their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school...[and that] ~~that~~ the United States [agreed] that for every thirty children between said ages, who can be inducted or compelled to attend school...shall be provided...a teacher...to teach the elementary branches of an English education.<sup>20</sup>

Robert Laurence in *Indian Education: Federal Compulsory School Attendance Law*

*Applicable to American Indians* argued that compulsory education provisions in these treaties were placed by lawmakers to teach Indians to passively submit to lawful authority as part of the education process. Although the federal government placed these provisions within the treaties, there was no meaningful method of enforcing them. Therefore, it was more likely that these provisions were meant to incite fear and passivity among tribes.<sup>21</sup>

As such, these treaties did little to remedy the mistreatment of native tribes in the west. As U.S. troops were sent back east of the Mississippi river during the Civil War, Indians took advantage of the situation and sparked armed conflicts with white settlers that intruded on their lands. By the end of the Civil War, the federal government reaffirmed their efforts and focused their attention on ending the conflicts with Indians through the War Department instead of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1865, congress formed a Joint Special Committee on the Conduct of

---

<sup>20</sup> Robert Laurance. "Indian Education: Federal Compulsory School Attendance Law Applicable to American Indians: The Treaty-Making Period 1857-1871." *American Indian Law Review* 5, no. 2 (1977): 395-396.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 398.

Indian Tribes, which was headed by Wisconsin Senator James R. Doolittle. Doolittle reported that the rapid decline of the indigenous population in the west was due to “lawless whites” and not organized conflict. As a result, he recommended that the issue should be given jurisdiction to the Department of the Interior and tasked them to establish five separate districts to deal with Indian affairs. Opposite to these requests, congress established the Indian Peace Commission, headed by military Generals William T. Sherman, William S. Henry, John B. Sanborn, and Alfred H. Henry, to deal with resistant tribes in 1867.<sup>22</sup>

According to Francis Paul Prucha in *American Indian Treaties*, the main purpose of the *Peace Commission* was to take the business of Indian negotiation out the hands of the Indian Office (even though they were given jurisdiction by congress) and into the domain of military leaders. Hence the commission would have the authority to act on behalf of the federal government to reconcile hostility and negotiate treaties with the intention, as President Andrew Johnson stated, to “remove all just causes of complaint on their part, and at the same time, establish security for person and property [of white settlers] along the lines of the railroad...being constructed...and other thoroughfares...to travel to the western Territories, and such as will most likely insure civilization for Indians and peace and safety for whites.”<sup>23</sup> In short, this meant nothing more than a mass removal of the eastern Indian population to land west of the Mississippi.

---

<sup>22</sup> Jon Allen Reyher, Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder. *American Indian Education*. (University of Oklahoma Press, 2006) 60.

<sup>23</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, 1994. *American Indian Treaties*. (University of California Press, 1994) 280.

## PEACE POLICY TO PRATT

After Johnson, former general Ulysses S. Grant highlighted the need for American domination on the western frontier. In his first months as president, Grant began a “Peace Policy” modeled after the assimilation strategy of the former commission of the same name. In his inauguration address to congress in 1869, he argued that the “proper treatment of the original occupants of [the United States] –the Indians...[deserved] careful study...[and that he would]... favor any course towards them which trends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship.” That same year, Grant appointed former Brig. Gen. Ely S. Parker, a Seneca, to be the first Indian to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs and established the Board of Indian Commissioners to oversee the nomination and appointment of Indian agents (inspectors), teachers, farmers, and the allocation of funds among Indian reservations.<sup>24</sup>

However, the ineffectiveness of the on-reservation missionary schools cultivated benevolence among lawmakers with the common belief that the Indian could not be civilized. The general attitude that had been fostered by previous so-called “friends of the Indians” had backfired as empathy converted into hostility directed towards the native population. Even worse, some comments portrayed the Indian population, that had been placed onto reservations, as dangerous and useless. In 1851, historian Francis Parkman in *White on Red* argued that:

Nature has stamped the Indian with a hard and stern physiognomy...ambition, revenge, jealousy, are his ruling passions...with him revenge [was] an overpowering instinct. [Even with these traits, they] ...are overcast by much dark, cold, and sinister...jealously. They [could] not learn the arts of civilization, [therefore] he and his forest must perish together...we must look with deep interest on the fate of the irreclaimable son of the wilderness, the child who will not be weaned from the breast of this rugged mother.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Jon Allen Reyher, Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder. *American Indian Education*. (University of Oklahoma Press, 2006) 62.

<sup>25</sup> Francis Parkman. n.d. “The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada.” (1851): 43-49.

One person who did not wholly subscribe to this rhetoric was Gen. Richard Henry Pratt, who believed that Indians could become productive members of society if they were educated. However, Pratt argued that the missionary school neglected to educate the native population because they failed to remove them from their “barbaric” upbringing. He insisted that the only proper way to “whip” Indian pupils into white society was to educate them far from the reservation. In doing so, they would be uprooted from their old environment and language and encouraged to adopt white culture and English.<sup>26</sup>

Contrary to the current federal “Peace Policy” and the federal reservation system, Pratt believed that it was not necessary to forcefully uproot the native population from their land but disconnect them by educating and integrating them into white society. He was convinced by the past success of freed slaves in the south and their ability to be educated and separated from their African roots. He pointed specifically to key figures such as “Frederick Douglas [who] lifted up his race by escaping from it and going out into the midst of our...civilization. So, the Indian to stand alone...must escape from the slavery of the reservation life.” Thus, he identified several enemies to the Indian, namely the Office of Indian Affairs and the missionaries that they sponsored as the main hinderance towards their eventual “civilization” and “assimilation” into white Anglo culture.<sup>27</sup>

Like McKenny, Pratt developed a theology as a so-called “friend of the Indian” and developed his educational rhetoric while fighting them on the frontier. As thousands of white settlers migrated west, the federal government ignored previous peace agreements and pushed the native population onto reservations. As a result, the tribes continued to defend their land.

---

<sup>26</sup> Robert L. Brunhouse. “The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School.” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1939): 70-71.

<sup>27</sup>Donal F. Lindsey. *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*. (University of Illinois Press, 1995) 26.

Lieutenant Gen. Sheridan, who commanded the U.S. Army west of the Mississippi River, launched a feverish campaign against any tribes that revolted and forced them to come under the control of the military instead of the Board of Indian Commissioners. To halt any further outbreaks of violence, Sheridan rounded up seventy-two of the most “troublesome” individuals and commanded Pratt to relocate them to Fort Marison in St. Augustine, Florida in 1874.<sup>28</sup>

When Pratt and his prisoners arrived in Florida, he removed their shackles and put them to work in various occupations in the local town. While many of them worked directly within the fort, most of them were given vocational jobs servicing the tourist industry in St. Augustine. In one instance, under the guidance of a souvenir dealer, the Indian prisoners polished ten-thousand novelty sea beans, as souvenirs for tourists, while others made canoes and bow and arrows. Pratt reported that several of them learned how to make bread while some worked in the orange groves or skippers for local fisherman. In addition, Pratt established classes for the prisoners that were taught by his wife and several women who had previous experience teaching in an all-black female boarding school in the north. After four months, he boasted that “his” Indians began to show signs of “civilized behavior” when they began to grasp speaking and writing in English. In 1876, Pratt reported to Gen. Sheridan that:

[The Indian prisoners were] under good discipline; quite well behaved, doing work I can find for them to do cheerfully and industrially. They have abandoned about all the appearances and characteristics of the savage and are neat and clean in their dress and persons as men of a disciplined company...I have two hours [of] school...with an average of fifty pupils divided into four classes with a good teacher for each.

Pratt was convinced that his St. Augustine experiment was a success when twenty-two of his pupils refused to return to their tribes and insisted on continuing their education. However, since

---

<sup>28</sup> Robert L. Brunhouse. “The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School.” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1939): 72.



the Office of Indian Commissioners did not want to fund their education, Pratt arranged an agreement with Gen. Samuel C. Armstrong to establish an Indian educational department at the Hampton Institute in Virginia.<sup>29</sup>

Although the Hampton Institute had only educated freed slaves from the south since 1877, Armstrong agreed to accept Pratt's Indians after he secured a twenty-thousand-dollar investment from local philanthropists to buy an eight-hundred-acre tract of land for vocational farm training. His investment into new land was testament to his anticipated success in Indian education and to satisfy growing fears from the local community of "savage" Indians entering their community. He argued that the track of land was meant to create a buffer zone between the locals and the school property. However, even his supporters, such as Gen. J.F.B. Marshall, questioned Armstrong's tactics and mentioned that it was "strange...after all our bloody wars resulting in driving all our Indians away from the seaboard, we should now plant a flourishing colony in the tidewater region of Virginia." Regardless, Armstrong accepted Pratt's Indian prisoners and boastfully argued that the "good earth" of the bay would "civilize" them and that an education far from their reservation homes in the west would supplement the missionary work and act as a final "redemption from barbarism."<sup>30</sup>

Although Pratt's St. Augustine experiment and Armstrong's success at the Hampton Institute enticed government officials to consider funding off-reservation boarding schools for Indians, Pratt was unsatisfied by Armstrong's education philosophy. Opposite to Armstrong,

---

<sup>29</sup> Jon Allen Reyher, Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder. *American Indian Education*. (University of Oklahoma Press, 2006) p. 133-134; Brunhouse, Robert L. 1939. "The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 75.

Lindsey, Donal F. 1995. *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*: 27.

<sup>30</sup> Lindsey, Donal F. 1995. *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*: 62-64.

Pratt believed that it was unwise to educate Indians and freed slaves, as the mixing of the two “races” would foster competition against whites.<sup>31</sup>

## **CARLISLE INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL**

As a result, Pratt established a school, specifically for Indians, at the abandoned Army barracks in Carlisle Pennsylvania. In retrospect, Carlisle was in an ideal location since it was placed far from the western reservations and deep in the fertile valleys with local Mennonites who seemed to tolerate the “Christianization and education” of Indians. In addition, Quakers had garnered a reputation for dealing passively with Indians, which lent to Pratt’s ability to send Indians to work on farms in western Pennsylvania upon the schools opening. Even within the town of Carlisle, Pratt was able to convince the nearby residents that the school would provide economic and social benefits from the revitalization of the former barracks. However, to fund his project, Pratt directed his efforts to convince Secretary of the War Department, George W. McCrary, to transfer the abandoned barracks for use by the Department of the Interior. The bill to execute this plan was introduced by the House Indian Committee in 1879 and passed in 1882. However, during the bill’s time in limbo, the Carlisle School was operational in October of 1879 under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs while pending congressional approval.<sup>32</sup>

The Indian Office was eager to fund Pratt’s project before congressional approval since it gave them a means to leverage power over discontented tribes since the children of important tribal leaders could be held as hostages at Carlisle. It was anticipated that the children could be kept at the school until the action fostered “good behavior of the whole tribe.” Although Pratt

---

<sup>31</sup> Brunhouse, Robert L. 1939. "The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 6 (2): 76

<sup>32</sup> Jon Allan Reyhner, Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder. 2006. *Amerian Indian Education*. University of Oklahoma 136.

was able to convince several tribes to voluntarily send children to Carlisle with the presumption that they would receive a “white education;” the Board of Indian Commissioners had an issue convincing “hostile tribes,” such as those under Spotted Tail and Red Cloud, that had recently been removed from their homes in Nebraska into a reservation in South Dakota once gold was discovered in the Black Hills. In a last-ditch effort, Pratt assembled a council of forty chiefs to convince the tribes of the value to educate them “in the ways of the white man.” Spotted Tail responded to this and stated that “the white people are thieves and liars... [and that he] ...did not want [his] children to learn such things.” According to Pratt’s accounts, he rebutted Spotted Tail’s response with a speech that praised the chief, stating:

Spotted Tail, you are a remarkable man...but you cannot read or write. You cannot speak the language of this country. You have no education...If you yourself had an education you might be owning the Black Hills and be able to hold them...do you intend to let your children remain in the same condition of ignorance in which you have lived?<sup>33</sup>

Pratt then assured the chiefs that after a few years at Carlisle, the children would be of great value to the rest of the tribe since they would be able to write letters, interpret English, and handle tribal relations with the Indian Office. Although it was not clear if Pratt’s speech was the determining factor that pushed the chiefs to adopt Indian boarding education in the manner that he described in his writings, Spotted Tail agreed to send sixteen pupils to Carlisle.<sup>34</sup>

On October 5, 1879, the first wave of pupils arrived at the Carlisle School. Luther Standing Bear, who claimed to be among the first students to enter Carlisle, described his experience. In *My People, the Sioux*, Luther Standing Bear reported the abysmal and disorganized nature of the Carlisle Boarding School. Luther traveled by cattle car from

---

<sup>33</sup> Pratt, Richard Henry. 2003. *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian 1867-1904*: 222.

<sup>34</sup> Brunhouse, Robert L. Brunhouse. “The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School.” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1939): 80-81.

Springfield, South Dakota to the boarding school sight in western Pennsylvania. Even as Pratt struggled to find adequate food and supplies for Carlisle by opening day, he accepted pupils into the school. Luther mentioned that after the long journey from the reservation, they were sent to rooms that were completely empty: “a cast-iron stove stood in the middle of the room...there was no fire in the stove...we ran through all the rooms, but they were all the same –no fire, no beds.” Even as the entire two-building floors were empty, the administrators instructed them to huddle a dozen students into two rooms to keep warm: “we went to sleep on the hard floor, and it was so cold!” Since the school was unable to get adequate food for the students, they were given military rations of bread and water.<sup>35</sup>

## PROPAGANDA

The overall goal of the boarding school project was well documented, specifically regarding the criticism and shaming of Indian culture as “barbaric.” At Carlisle, the establishment of periodicals such as the *Indian Helper* and the *Red Man* served three primary purposes. First, as they were an aid for Indian students and teachers who used the literature to reinforce “rules of etiquette” around white behavior. Second, the publications served as a method of propaganda in the form of “Indian success stories” that demonstrated examples of native children leaving their old “backward” ways for “civilized” culture. Third, the papers were used as disciplinary tools or curriculum cues to remind teachers to comply with Carlisle’s plan. However, most importantly, Pratt used the two periodicals as publicity to assist in creating “Carlisle’s master narrative” regarding the good work done within the school.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Bear, Luther Standing. *My People, the Sioux*. (University of Nebraska Press, 1975) p. 133-134; Robert L. Brunhouse. “The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School.” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1939): 83.

<sup>36</sup> Daniel Redmond. “The Sartorial Indian: Zitkala-Ša, Clothing, and Resistance to Colonization.” *University of Nebraska Press* 28, no. 3 (2016): 55.

Marianna Burgess, who oversaw publications at Carlisle, created the Man-on-the-bandstand persona, to “control, intimidate, and manipulate the children” within the school. In a twisted fashion, the persona was used as a method to survey the children’s progress of assimilation. Since the location of the actual bandstand at Carlisle was directly in the center of campus, the man, who most likely represented Pratt, had an unobstructed view of everything within his school. Jessica Enoch in *Resisting the Script of Indian Education*, argued that the persona’s:

Watchful gaze...[assured] the automatic functioning of power...[and] the permanent visibility of both the literary and physical Man-on-the-band-stand consistently reminded students and teachers that there every step was being watched and that they should do nothing that would make them ashamed of their doings.<sup>37</sup>

Using the *Indian Helper* and the *Red Man*, schools made it clear that the most important and inaugural step towards civilization was for Indian pupils to forgo their “barbaric” and “savage” ways to enter the civilized world. As such, these periodicals established a sharp contrast between white and Indian culture by defining tribal life as nothing short of evil and ignorant towards the goodness of American culture. This was especially clear when the *Indian Helper* mentioned in 1895 that: “Indian heathenism [was] a poisonous and disgraceful element of our American home life, and whatever soils and corrupt the purity and integrity of our American home life ought to be either destroyed or put outside.”

According to Pratt, education was the only method to tame the Indians’ instinct out of their native ways. To demonstrate this progress, the Carlisle school showcased “before-and-after” photos that reflected the outward changes to pupils, claiming that they were a direct result of the boarding school experience. In an effort to exemplify his pupil’s transformation, he

---

<sup>37</sup> Jessica Enoch. “Resisting the Script of Indian Education: Zitkala Ša and the Carlisle Indian School.” *National Council of Teaching of English* 65, (2002): 124.

removed his students' traditional native apparel, and replaced them with Anglo clothing. In addition, the commissioned photographer used special lighting techniques using "front lighting and white powder" to ensure that the subjects looked whiter. When the photographs were distributed, Pratt was not hesitant to claim full responsibility for his student's transformation into "civility." In one addition of the *Indian Helper* that featured eight photos in 1895, the publication mentioned the "Indians in full and hideous dance dress, or rather undress with more feather than and doggery than clothing...[then]...showing from what degradation and barbarism the Carlisle Indian School would rescue the Indian youth if encouraged to do so."<sup>38</sup>

## OUTING SYSTEM

Aside from the in-house curriculum, Pratt argued that it was necessary to engulf his pupils into white society so that they learned Christian morals and strengthened their grasp on the English language. However, during the late nineteenth century, reformist attitudes emphasized the need for Indians to not merely be civilized, but "Americanized," by learning American values such as farming and adopting Protestantism from white people first-hand. As such, Pratt, who already was a strong advocate for teaching natives farming, was determined to firmly plant his students into "outing" sessions in which they would spend their summers on white family farms "to gain practical knowledge for managing their own farms." In conjunction with the belief that "contact [with white] peoples [was] the best of all education," Pratt also believed that the program would allow students to engage in "civilized" behavior and earn their own money to not stretch the thin resources within the boarding school, arguing that the money

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 124; Kevin Slivka, "Art, Craft, and Assimilation: Curriculum for Native Students during the Boarding School Era," *Studies in Art Education* 52, no. 3 (2011): 229-233

his Indian students earned was “a great stimulus both to the pupils and to the parent in favor of individual effort and escape from tribal thralldom.”<sup>39</sup>

However, Pratt also saw the outing program at Carlisle as a method to secure donations for the school. When he sent his students to live with white families, he also tried to travel with them to interact with families and community leaders that supported his overall goal to “civilize” the native population. He noted that “one regret in the connection with his brief history [was] the fact that it would consume more space than the whole paper ought to cover to speak of acts of generous friends, of able assistants, and of the gracious sympathy and help” from donors. Religious leaders in Pennsylvania were eager to assist in Pratt’s mission by ramping up support among their congregation to take in Indian children and donate heavily to the school. On one instance, Rev. W. H. Miller from Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania donated two-thousand dollars in the form of bonds to the school to ensure its continued existence. This donation was notable since it was mainly composed of Miller’s inheritance from his recently deceased father and an annual salary of twelve hundred dollars. Nevertheless, Pratt highlighted Miller’s enthusiasm for the program and noted that his reinvestment would “bring me one thousand percent” interest, which would eventually be minuscule compared to the over one-hundred and fifty thousand dollars in donations on top of government funding for the Carlisle school.<sup>40</sup>

In his first attempt to send Indian children with white farmers during the summer prior to the opening of Carlisle in 1878, Pratt partnered with Deacon A. H. Hyde to place Indians with New England families where they would perform chores for wages while also learning English.

---

<sup>39</sup> Richard Henry Pratt. *Battlefield and the Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian 1867-1904* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2003) p. 193; *How Carlisle School Originated*, (1897).

<sup>40</sup> Richard Henry Pratt. *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle Pennsylvania: Its Origin, Purposes, Progress, and Difficulties Summoned*. (Hampton Library Association, 1908) 45-46.

When he opened the Carlisle school a year later, he was thoroughly convinced that his project was a success when only a few families complained of the Indians and sent them back. In a letter to Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, asking for funding for the school, Pratt emphasized an arrangement with white families centered on the proposition that Indians could be transformed into “useful citizens” through “living among our people.” However, there were doubts about the viability of the outing system when the Hampton Institute arranged for twenty-five students to spend a summer of 1880 on Virginia tidewater farms, which resulted in dismal results as farmers were hesitant to allow the Indian population near their families. Specifically, they complained that the newly arriving pupils from the reservation were unable to adequately communicate with their families and were ultimately “unprepared” to live in white homes.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, at Carlisle, Pratt remained optimistic and sent out one-hundred and nine pupils to live among white families in 1881. Unlike Pratt’s first outing, his second attempt was backed by the support of Indian Commissioner, Hiram Price, which allowed for twenty-nine Indians to attend public school while adhering to normal labor responsibilities on the host family’s farm. In addition, Pratt developed a partnership for his students to live with Quaker families in Bucks County near the school to instill moral education while developing the practical skills that labeled the Indians “civilized.” By 1885, Carlisle had developed a sophisticated outing system that placed more than two-hundred and fifty Indians with white families to work in a variety of different trades.

Quaker families in Pennsylvania were pleased with the overall outcome of Carlisle’s outing program. Families gained a great deal of satisfaction and pride within their communities

---

<sup>41</sup> Richard Henry Pratt. *Battlefield and the Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian 1867-1904* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2003) 222; Robert A. Tennert. “From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System 1878-1930.” *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983): 267-291.



and believed that they were helping “resolve the national Indian dilemma” while also taking full advantage of the economic benefits of working able-bodied Indian boys and girls in domestic housework and the farm. Pratt boasted that an overall majority of the Indian pupils proved to be ideal workers, considering the fact only few were sent back to Carlisle due to “unsatisfactory performance.” Regardless, even staunch critics of Carlisle’s outing program, such as author Francis Leupp, who had originally denounced Pratt, marveled at the program stating that: the Indian students “got more that was of value from such little excursions into real life than if they had mastered the contents of a whole school library.” As a result, Pratt viewed the outing system as a raging success.<sup>42</sup>

## **DOMESTICATION OF INDIAN GIRLS**

Although the concept of educating Indian women first gained traction during the missionary school era, the idea took a new and more solidified form during the 1840s when the first Native American pupils were sent to off-reservation boarding schools such as Hampton and Carlisle. During this time, the federal government was concerned with the education of Indian women to be “good housewives” and homemakers with the assumption that they would bring those lessons back to the tribe to convince men to assimilate into Anglo-society. Although some evidence pointed to similar education tactics between men and women during the outing process at Carlisle, there were significant deviations between the manner in which educated Indian boys and girls were viewed. At a glance, contemporary literature pointed to the stark reality of the accepted perception of Indian women as nothing more than slaves or domestic servants to their

---

<sup>42</sup> Robert A. Tennert. “From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System 1878-1930.” *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983): 276-278.

native male counterparts. In Joel D. Steele's historical analysis of Indian education in 1876, he wrote that:

The Indian was a barbarian...labor he considered degrading and fit only for women. His squaw, therefore, built his wigwam, cut his wood, and carried his burdens when he journeyed. While he hunted or fished, she cleared the land...and dressed skins.<sup>43</sup>

With the intent of offering Indian girls an escape from these "barbaric" practices, government officials who supported off-reservation boarding institutions jumped on the opportunity to educate and assimilate them. However, within the schools, Indian girls were not offered the same educational experience as boys. Although the shift from academic instruction into vocational training, in the form of outing programs for boys, Indian girls were expected to be proficient in the art of "domestic science." The new programs that had been established for women at Carlisle and Hampton were created with the expectation that young female pupils would be assimilated into American culture by way of knowledge in homemaking and domestic work.<sup>44</sup>

Within the outing program at Carlisle, women were placed among the same white families as boys, however they were primarily expected to learn English and become educated in the domestic chores taught by the woman of the house as opposed to heavy manual labor outside in the fields with men. One example of this was Emily Bowen, who took in an unusually high eight girls from the Carlisle school in 1880. Like other sponsors, specifically Quakers, she felt a religious calling to teach Indian pupils and claimed that God had convinced her to "lift up the lowly." In her proposal to the school, she mentioned that she would take it upon herself to teach the Indian girls "practical, things, such as housework sewing, and all [that was] necessary to make [the] home comfortable and pleasant." As such, Bowen shared similar anticipation with the

---

<sup>43</sup> Fredrick M. Binder, David M. Reimers. "'Indian Schools: 'Americanizing' The Native American.'" (In *The Way We Lived*, 2008) 39-40.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 41.

government's policy and hoped that the girls within her care would return to their people and bring men into the program to be educated within off-reservation schools.<sup>45</sup>

## INDIAN SCHOOLS IN THE WEST

As the number of Indian girls (and pupils in general) enrolled in off-reservation boarding schools and the Indian Office began to open more institutions in the west between 1880 and 1886, officials in Washington firmly believed that Pratt's outing program could be applied to newly established schools with fewer resources. Even institutions that were established years prior, such as the Indian school at Forest Grove in Oregon and the school in the Chilocco Indian Territory (modern day Oklahoma), were encouraged to utilize the outing program based on Pratt's model. In an effort to expand the outing system even further in 1882, Congress appropriated funds to place Indian children "under the control of...white families [for] moral, industrial, and educational training...under arrangements in which their proper care, support, and education shall be in exchange for their labor." Although the limited number of white families near reservations made it difficult to operate at first, newly constructed schools that were closer to urban centers and growing towns allowed for schools to expand quickly.<sup>46</sup>

One proponent of western adoption of the outing system was the newly appointed Indian Commissioner, Thomas J. Morgan, who recommended a sizeable expansion to program in 1889. While the Indian Office saw the initiative as a cheap and efficient manner to Americanize Indians, family farms saw the program as an opportunity to secure able-bodied Indians for work. Schools such as the one at Forest Grove, which only sent twelve pupils to work on local farms,

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 41-43.

<sup>46</sup> Robert A. Tennert. "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System 1878-1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983): 289.

reported farmers traveling miles to secure students for work in the fields. In 1891, Morgan reported that the outing system grew significantly in popularity with an “increasing number of boys and girls...[that] will be enabled to find profitable employment in white communities, and will thus be prepared, as they could not be in any other possible way, for the absorption into our national life.”<sup>47</sup>

However, the outing program that initially started at Carlisle bore little resemblance to the newly promoted outing system in the Western territories. In *From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System*, Robert Trennert argued that the newly constructed Indian Industrial Boarding School in Phoenix, which was built more than a decade after the opening of Carlisle, was a prime example of how Pratt’s idealistic concept was corrupted to serve the interests of the local community rather than the education of the native population. In particular, Trennert noted that the school was originally built at the direction of Commissioner Morgan to “incorporate Indian children into American society,” but became a government-sponsored outpost that fueled a “child labor system intended primarily for the benefit of the non-Indian community.” This was evident considering that the school was originally planned to be built near Fort McDowell but changed to Phoenix when Morgan was convinced by local interest groups, including businessman William Christy and William Murphy, who were actively developing citrus orchards nearby. Christy and Murphy mentioned to Morgan that the local agricultural lands that were “extensively planted with fruit trees and vines” would provide ample work for able-bodied students. While Morgan continued to argue that the school was built near Phoenix primarily for the benefit of assimilating Indian children into white culture, far from the

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 278.

reservation, a local newspaper noted the local people's interest in the economic benefits of able-bodied cheap labor when they mentioned that the

Establishment of this school [would] flourish cheap and efficient labor in quantity to warrant the growing manufacture of cotton...in the valley as to afford our fruit-growers' facilities for handling the rapidly increasing quantity of fruit that will be handled in one way or another.<sup>48</sup>

In addition, schools saw an opportunity to subsidize its dwindling budget deficits by using students to maintain on-campus facilities. Although this practice was already common at institutions such as Carlisle and Hampton by arguing that it taught obedience, newly established schools in the west were keen on using students since the labor market was already scarce in some areas. At the Indian School in Geona Nebraska, the superintendent reported that nearly all the female students were "kept busy doing housework" with the exception of laundry, which was usually done by the males. She also reported that the Indian girls were responsible for sewing, kitchen work, and cleaning. However, when the Indian Office was made aware of this, they were disappointed to see "assembly line" chores substituting the domestic science curriculum that had been dutifully planned. Specifically, they claimed that the "wholesale" production of housewives did not prepare the Indian girls for the job of homemaker. In response to this, they recommended that the women continue their labor in the form of cleaning cottages, instead of dormitories, and looking after younger students. However, boys were still required to perform heavy labor on farms.<sup>49</sup>

Regardless of these changes, there was little anticipation that Indian pupils were prepared for life outside or even within the reservations. A report by Superintendent C. W. Goodman in

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 279.

<sup>49</sup> Fredrick M. Binder, David M. Reimers. "'Indian Schools: 'Americanizing' The Native American.'" (In *The Way We Lived*, 2008) 45-46.

1902 reported several disadvantages of the Phoenix program. He argued that students were often left simply working based on their physical ability with little intention of assimilating or preparing them for a specific trade. In addition, he argued that the misguidance and lack of adequate supervision made young and impressionable students susceptible to the “vices of Phoenix.” He continued and noted that:

By my own observations...I believe that the pupils whose schoolwork is constantly broken into [would] soon lose all in their studies, must be degraded from class to class, are by far more difficult to manage [since] they do not speak or understand the English language as readily as the pupils who for the school term have been unmolested in their schoolwork.

Hence the students that participated in Western outing programs usually gained little from their work experience and returned to the reservation unprepared for work in a trade and stripped from reservation life.<sup>50</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Overall, the endeavor to assimilate the indigenous population, first by sponsoring missionary schools and then by government sponsored boarding schools was primarily motivated to subdue and dissociate Indians from their land with little intent of educating or indoctrinating them into American society. With all this in mind, there are several determining factors that can solidify previous historical consensus regarding the true motivation of the American education of Indians. First, the federal subsidization of on-reservation missionary schools along with the passage of the *Civilization Fund Act* in 1819 provides a keen insight into the motivation for the support of schools. With the intent of controlling trade and moving tribes from a hunter gather to a farming economy, the federal government was driven to dominate the Indian by supporting

---

<sup>50</sup> Robert A. Tennert. “From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System 1878-1930.” *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983): 285; Fredrick M. Binder, David M. Reimers. ““Indian Schools: “Americanizing” The Native American.”” (In *The Way We Lived*, 2008) 44.

religiously affiliated schools such as the *Kentucky Baptist Society*. Although such schools might have been established or run with the bona fide intent of converting “backward” Indians towards Protestantism, the primary support of these schools by the federal government was to further control and disassociate the native population from their land. Second, the use of treaties that mandated federally sponsored education on on-reservation boarding schools was one element that assisted in the United States domination of the American frontier. Considering the events that occurred at institutions such as *Turkey River* then the *Yellow River School*, officials in Washington were only motivated to support institutes that provided a legitimate economic or strategic benefit for settling whites and the expanding United States regardless of their ability to actually educate the population. Third, with the establishment of the *Carlisle Indian Boarding School* in 1879, officials were quick to use the off-reservation school as an asset to send Indian children far from the reservation lands in the West, especially from “hostile” tribes that did not cooperate with the military. In addition, the founding of such an institution laid out a significant foundation for the establishment of assimilation tactics, propaganda, and programs such as “outing” in which Indians would be sent to live with white families in exchange for labor. Fifth, the outing system, which was first established as a method to inexpensively assimilate natives into white society, was then transformed in Western Indian schools, such as the *Phoenix Indian School* as a method to sustain cheap child labor that served the interest of local economies with little intention of education. As such, the broad historical consensus of American Indian education as nothing more than cultural genocide disguised as education is far more extensive than one singular event. Hence, there should be little doubt that government investment into Indian education during the eighteenth and nineteenth century was primarily established to

disconnect indigenous youths from their land and help the growing United States denominate the American frontier.



## Bibliography

- Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928*. University Press of Kansas, 1995.
- . "Fundamental Consideration: The Deep Meaning of Native American Schooling, 1880-1900." *Harvard Educational Review* 58, no. 1 (1988): 1-28.  
<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ368342>.
- Bear, Luther Standing. *My People, the Sioux*. University of Nebraska Press, 1975.
- Binder, Fredrick M., Reimers, David M. "“Indian Schools: “Americanizing” The Native American.”” In *The Way We Lived*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008.
- Brunhouse, Robert L. "The Founding of the Carlisle Indian School." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1939): 72-85.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27766347>.
- Drake, Ella Wells. "Choctaw Academy: Richard M. Johnson and the Business of Indian Education." *The Resister of the Kentucky Historical Society* 91, no. 3 (1993): 260-297.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23382664>.
- Enoch, Jessica. "Resisting the Script of Indian Education: Zitkala Ša and the Carlisle Indian School." *National Council of Teaching of English* 65, (2002): 117-141.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3250759>.
- Hernandez-Chavez, Eduardo. "Language Policy in the United States: A History of Cultural Genocide." In *Linguistic Human Rights* by Mart Rannut, (2010): 141-148.
- Jefferson, Thomas. n.d. *From Thomas Jefferson to the Senate and the House of Representatives, 1803*. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-39-02-0303>.
- Jon Allen Reyher, Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder. *American Indian Education*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
- Laurance, Robert. "Indian Education: Federal Compulsory School Attendance Law Applicable to American Indians: The Treaty-Making Period 1857-1871." *American Indian Law Review* 5, no. 2 (1977). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20068040>.
- Lindsey, Donal F. *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923*. University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- Nakano, Yumiko. "The Campaign for Civilization or Removal: Thomas L. McKenney and Federal Indian Affairs in the Formative Years." *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities* 48, (2013): 85-95. [http://repository.seikei.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10928/329/1/bungaku-48\\_85-95.pdf](http://repository.seikei.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10928/329/1/bungaku-48_85-95.pdf).

- Parkman, Francis. n.d. "The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada." In *White on Red* by Bette S. Wiedman, (1851): 43-49.  
<https://twain.lib.virginia.edu/projects/rissetto/parkman.html>.
- Pratt, Richard Henry. *Battlefield and the Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian 1867-1904*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.
- . How Carlisle School Originated, 1897. <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/pratt-replies-department-circular-and-origins-carlisle-pamphlet>.
- . *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle Pennsylvania: Its Origin, Purposes, Progress, and Difficulties Summoned*. Hampton Library Association 1908.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Treaties*. University of California Press, 1994.
- . "Civilization Fund Act: March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1819." In *Documents of the United States Indian Policy*, 34. University of Nebraska Press, 2000.
- . *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians (Volume 1)*. University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Rayman, Ronald. "The Winnebago Indian School Experiment in Iowa Territory 1834-1848." *The Annals of Iowa* 44, no. 5 (1978): 359-387. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/61076095.pdf>.
- Redmond, Daniel. "The Sartorial Indian: Zitkala-Ša, Clothing, and Resistance to Colonization." *University of Nebraska Press* 28, no. 3 (2016): 52-60.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5250/studamerindilite.28.3.0052>.
- Ricento, Thomas. *Ideology, Politics, and Language Policies*. Vol. 6. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000.
- Satz, Ronald N. *Ideology, Politics, and Language Policy in the Jacksonian Era*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.
- Slicka, Kevin. "Art, Craft, and Assimilation: Curriculum for Native Students during the Boarding School Era." *Studies in Art Education* 52, no.3 (Spring 2011): 225-242.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41407931>.
- Tennert, Robert A. "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System 1878-1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983): 267-291.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3639003>.
- University of California Santa Barbara. n.d. *The American Presidency Project: James Monroe, First Annual Message*. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/first-annual-message-1>.

Univeristy of Oregon. n.d. *President Thomas Jefferson to Governor illiam H. Harrson.*  
[https://pages.uoregon.edu/mjdennis/courses/hist469\\_harrison.htm](https://pages.uoregon.edu/mjdennis/courses/hist469_harrison.htm).