

The University of Maine

DigitalCommons@UMaine

---

Honors College

---

Fall 12-2023

## Carlisle Indian Boarding School's Role in the Unconstitutional Relationship Between Organized Christianity and the U.S. Federal Government

Kayleigh Hogg

University of Maine - Main, hogg.kayll@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/honors>



Part of the [Christianity Commons](#), [Native American Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Hogg, Kayleigh, "Carlisle Indian Boarding School's Role in the Unconstitutional Relationship Between Organized Christianity and the U.S. Federal Government" (2023). *Honors College*. 844.  
<https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/honors/844>

This Honors Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UMaine. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors College by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UMaine. For more information, please contact [um.library.technical.services@maine.edu](mailto:um.library.technical.services@maine.edu).

CARLISLE INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL'S ROLE IN THE UNCONSTITUTIONAL  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY AND  
THE U.S. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

by

Kayleigh Hogg

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for a Degree with Honors  
(Political Science)

The Honors College

University of Maine

December 2023

Advisory Committee:

Mark Brewer, Ph.D., Professor and Department Chair of Political Science,  
Advisor

Lisa Neuman, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Anthropology and Native  
American Studies

Darren Ranco, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology and Coordinator of  
Native American Research

© 2023 Kayleigh Hogg

All Rights Reserved

## ABSTRACT

The Carlisle Indian Boarding School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania was the first large Indian boarding school to open in the United States. Carlisle was founded by Richard Henry Pratt and opened in 1879. Carlisle was the first of hundreds of Indian boarding schools that operated throughout the United States and served as the model for many of the schools that followed it. The school was military-run and federally funded until its closure in 1918. The purpose of Carlisle and the rest of the boarding schools was to culturally assimilate American Indians and do so by forcibly removing them from their families. The boarding schools eventually were run by Christian churches instead of the military, and adopting Christianity was a requirement for the Native children to be labeled as “civilized”. After Christian churches took over control of the schools, the federal government continued to fund the schools to keep them running despite the violation of the Establishment Clause.

The root of this violation occurred because of the “success” of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School. Through meeting with historians, touring the Carlisle campus, and analyzing archival research through Carlisle digital archives identify three main programs at Carlisle that were used to gain government and public support for the continuation of the boarding schools and discuss the relationship between the federal government and organized Christianity. Carlisle’s outing system, football team, and marching band were three aspects of the school that were viewed as “successful” and created the opportunity for the federal government to participate in a continual unconstitutional relationship with organized Christianity, violating the Establishment Clause of the United States Constitution for nearly a century.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family for always supporting me. I could not have gotten to this point without their constant love and support.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Brewer not only for all his help with this thesis but also for being a mentor and professor for me since my very first semester at the University of Maine. I would also like to thank Professor Neuman for being a part of my thesis committee being a great resource of knowledge on the topic and guiding me in the right direction. Finally, I would like to thank Professor Ranco who first exposed me to the topic and despite being on a sabbatical was a crucial part of this thesis.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY	8
CHAPTER III: LITERATURE REVIEW	15
19 <sup>th</sup> Century Social Theory	15
Motivation Behind Carlisle	19
Laws of the Land	21
Citizenship	27
Public Proof: The Outing System	33
Public Proof: Football	36
Public Proof: Marching Band	39
Religion as a Part of Carlisle	41
Summary of Findings	43
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS	48
Founding of Carlisle	48
Financial Affairs	51
Carlisle's Reputation	55
The Outing System	60
Organized Christianity Took Over	67
CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION	71
BIBLIOGRAPHY	86
APPENDICES	94
APPENDIX A: Photographs	95

A1: Tom Torlino Transformation: 1882-1885	95
A2: Outing Students: 1895	96
A3: Carlisle Band: 1901	97
A4: Henry Pratt, Chief Spotted Tail, & Quakers	98
A5: Construction of Chapel: 1879	99
A6: Outing System Labor: 1912	100
APPENDIX B: Documents	101
B1: Chapel Funding Request	101
B2: Jim Thorpe News Article: 1911	102
B3: Carlisle v. UPenn 1911	103
B4: Outing Funding Request	104
B5: Request to Perform at Inauguration	105
B6: Outing System Rules 1907	106
AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY	107



## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The Carlisle Indian Boarding School in Carlisle Pennsylvania opened its doors in 1879 as the first large Indian boarding school in the United States. Carlisle was a place of cultural genocide and abuse, which led to hundreds of Indigenous children being killed. Many of the deaths at Carlisle were recorded as the result of various diseases like tuberculosis.<sup>1</sup> However oral history of Indigenous peoples contradicts many of the records. When the children arrived at Carlisle, they were stripped of their Indigenous heritage, instructed in Christianity, and forced to attend local Christian services because of the federal government's push for assimilation.

Richard Henry Pratt was an American military officer who founded and was the first superintendent of the Carlisle Boarding School. Pratt ran the school and its programs with the help of local church leaders and Christian Associations and was funded by the United States government. The federal government provided the funds for the school to be started and continued funding the school until it was closed in 1918.<sup>2</sup> Multiple records and letters between Pratt and various federal government members indicate the federal government was aware of the religious affiliations, yet continued to fulfill funding requests.

This thesis seeks to examine the unconstitutional relationship between religious organizations and the federal government in relation to the Carlisle Indian Boarding

---

<sup>1</sup> Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 19.

<sup>2</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

School and how the Carlisle boarding school set the foundation necessary for the continuation of the unconstitutional relationship. Throughout this thesis, I will examine the history and unconstitutionality of the United States federal government's assimilation and cultural genocide practices against Indigenous children. This thesis will explore the complex relationship between the federal government and organized Christianity, while also exploring the various processes which the two organizations used to assimilate Indigenous children at Carlisle. This thesis seeks to provide a new chapter of history that explores the United States federal government's violations of the Establishment Clause and how the Carlisle Indian Boarding School paved the way for this violation to take place for nearly a century.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial and most of the other boarding schools that were being run throughout the United States are known for their human rights violations. Today, there is a lot of research done that examines the various human rights issues and cultural genocide that occurred at these boarding schools rather than a focus on the unconstitutionality. While a lot of this research also investigates how members and leaders of Christianity carried out the abuse and assimilation process, their relationship with the government is often overlooked. This thesis will seek to understand the original intentions of opening Carlisle and how these intentions changed as Carlisle was deemed a success and hundreds of more schools were opened. The federal government opened around twenty-five large off-reservation schools by 1900. This thesis will also seek to discover what aspects of Carlisle deemed it to be successful in the eyes of the public, the Christian churches, and the federal government.<sup>3</sup> The specific areas being examined are

---

<sup>3</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). *From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930*.

Carlisle's outing system, religious practices and rules, football team, marching band, and the location of the school. All of these aspects of Carlisle contributed to the overall reputation that Carlisle acquired and led the federal government to model boarding schools.

The first objective of this thesis is to establish the social theories that were followed in the 19th century. The next is to determine the motivation behind Carlisle and its founding. This includes examining how Carlisle was modeled and why it was modeled as such. The next step is to determine how and why the school was modeled the way it was. This also includes understanding the laws that were set in place in the United States during the time that was attributed to how the Establishment Clause was interpreted and how Indigenous peoples were viewed under United States law, specifically regarding their citizenship. The ways that citizenship was granted will also be discussed, as well as the lack of rights and protections under the Constitution Native Americans had despite having "citizenship" status. Once the foundation of Carlisle and America's concept and view of Indigenous peoples is established, the thesis will examine the various programs Carlisle offered which were viewed as a success to the public and government officials. The three programs that will be discussed are the outing system, the football program, and the marching band. Finally, the role of religion at Carlisle and why the federal government continued to fund the boarding schools after many of them changed from military-run to church-run schools.

This thesis will begin with an overview of the methods used to gather research and analyze material to determine how the Carlisle boarding school led to the federal

government maintaining an unconstitutional relationship with the Christian churches. Research first began with a trip to the Cumberland County Historical Society in Carlisle, Pennsylvania where I met with local historians to discuss the subject. At the historical society, I was able to gain a solid foundation of the history of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School and the processes of assimilation that occurred there. I was also able to view various artifacts the historical society had in their possession including both traditional native clothing and “Americanized” uniforms they were forced to wear, athletic trophies, Jim Thorpe’s shoes, and some original photographs and documents. Many of the documents are uploaded to the local college, Dickinson College’s digitized archives. By utilizing the digital archives, I could analyze many of the school’s student and finance records and a large amount of correspondence between Carlisle administrators, government officials, and religious figures connected to Carlisle. I also utilized prior research done on Carlisle as well as on other boarding schools that were church-run rather than military-run. Through analyzing the historical documents and prior research articles and studies I was able to examine the opportunity that came from Carlisle’s success that provided the federal government with the opportunity and public support to violate the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution for nearly a century.

A review of the literature will follow the explanation of the methodology for the research that was gathered. It will review the literature available on Carlisle and more recent research done on Indian Boarding Schools that followed Carlisle. It will concentrate primarily on the views of “civilization” and 19th-century social theories, the specific programs offered at Carlisle that were modeled in later schools, as well as further

examine the government policies behind the opening and funding of Native boarding schools across the United States. Some of the questions that are investigated are: what was the view of religion and not just amongst the public but amongst government officials? How did the views of Christianity influence the law and other legal decisions? How did Carlisle create “success” in assimilating Native American children and how successful were they in showcasing this so-called success? What allowed the government to justify its continued funding support to the boarding schools despite the involvement with Christian Churches? Finally, why did most of the schools’ transition from the original model of being military-run to Church-run? All these questions provide the necessary understanding to fully answer the question “How did the Carlisle Indian Boarding School allow the government to violate the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution and participate in an unconstitutional between the churches and the states for nearly a century?”

To fully answer this question the above questions also need to be answered along with an exploration of the correspondence between school administrators and federal government officials and the correspondence between not just the school and government officials but also the responses and support of the public to what was occurring at the schools. What started as a relationship between school administrators and federal government officials quickly became intertwined with leaders and followers of Christianity as well as the local community around each of the schools.<sup>4</sup> While there were multiple parties and groups involved in the boarding schools and the ways each school

---

<sup>4</sup> Adams, D. W. (1979). Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917. *Pacific Historical Review*, 48(3), 335–356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3638757>

educated and assimilated their students, the federal government provided funding, and they were responsible for upholding the United States Constitution.

This research is of great value and relevance to today's politics and anthropological discussions. The conversation about Indian Boarding Schools in the United States sparked during the year 2020 after a lot of history revolving around Canadian Indian Boarding Schools came out. While there is a significant amount of research done on Indian Boarding Schools in the United States, most of it focuses on the human rights violations that occurred, rather than the political aspects of it. Furthermore, this thesis explores the federal government's violation of the Establishment Clause as well as supports the argument that the federal government was aware of this violation and continued to fund the schools once they transitioned to being church-run.

The Indian Boarding Schools and the government's support of these schools continue to impact Indigenous communities and peoples throughout the country. Many of the long-lasting effects of these boarding schools include cultural and identity loss, intergenerational trauma, and loss of cultures such as languages and traditions. The schools have also contributed to the current economic and social status of many Indigenous peoples and communities across the country, as well as continue to affect the relationship between Indigenous communities and their governments and the U.S. federal government. If a more thorough understanding of how and why the federal government knowingly violated the Establishment Clause in regard to the Indian Boarding Schools, then there is a potential that with this knowledge there will be awareness of the darker sides of American history and history will not repeat itself. The boarding schools are a part of history that is often overlooked purposefully in the American education system

because it was a dark side of America's history. However, providing more research and exposing more information regarding the boarding schools is important not just for educational purposes but also to understand the state of many Indigenous communities today and how they are still treated by both federal and state governments. A greater understanding of the federal government's violation of the Constitution regarding the Indian Boarding Schools will provide greater benefits in understanding U.S. history, along with the challenges that Indigenous communities continue to face today.

## CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

This thesis includes an analysis of the founding and operating methods of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School, Native American citizenship, the status of the Establishment Clause, and the religious values of the federal government. By looking at these areas of research the connection between the Carlisle Indian Boarding School and the United States federal government can be better understood. The citizenship status of Native Americans, as well as the state of the Establishment Clause of the 19th century, is vital to the research and understanding of how the boarding school was founded and funded.

The research began with a thorough examination of previous research done on the Carlisle Indian Boarding School and the United States federal government. Previous research provides a foundation of the values and philosophies of the time which created the opportunity for the founding of the boarding school. This work also provides a general overview of the propaganda used to reinforce the relationship between the federal government and Christian churches. Primary source documents were also gathered through my visits to the Cumberland County Historical Society in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the old grounds of the Carlisle Boarding School.

At the Cumberland County Historical Society, I met one-on-one with the librarians and the lead historian. The librarian provided various reading materials, some that discussed the founding of Carlisle and others providing personal experiences of students. The lead historian of the historical society gave me a personal tour of their museum exhibit. While the exhibit was quite small it was full of artifacts from the school and its students. Some of the artifacts on display included children's traditional clothing,



which was stripped from them upon arrival, as well as some of the clothing that they were then forced to change into. However, many of the artifacts on display were a part of the school's propaganda displays. These artifacts included instruments from marching band students, game-winning footballs, and the Olympian Jim Thorpe's shoes and clothing.

After touring the museum, I was able to look around the basement of the building which consisted of more artifacts. While downstairs, the historian shared many primary source documents including historical photographs and the school's records. These records consisted of federal funding requests, letters between the school's leaders and political leaders, death records, and employment records. I was also provided with photocopies of old local newspaper articles. Many of these articles were proof of the propaganda the school and the federal government put out for the rest of society to see. While I was unable to photograph the artifacts and records via my device, I was provided with information regarding the Carlisle archives through Dickinson College. Dickinson College provides online access to many of the documents and photographs I saw and discussed at the historical society.

A few months after visiting the Cumberland County Historical Society, I went back to Carlisle to visit the old school grounds of the Boarding School which is now the U.S. Army War College. At the base's entrance is the school's cemetery, which includes 229 graves, which makes up roughly 2.3% of Native American children who were killed at off-reservation Indian boarding schools. While I was permitted to walk into the cemetery, out of respect, I chose to remain outside of its gates. The Carlisle Barracks still includes twenty of the original buildings from when the boarding school was open. Many

of the buildings served as dormitories or classrooms during the time of the school's existence but have since then been turned into offices and apartments for the soldiers who live on the base now. Due to most of the buildings now housing officers, I was not permitted to photograph them, however, each building has a sign or plaque with a description of what it once was. I was permitted to photograph the plaques, as well as the Thorpe gym and the track and field which remains the same as it was a hundred years ago. Walking through the grounds of the old school provided me with more context of the school and I was able to associate many of the personal stories I had read with the buildings and activities they spoke about.

The second phase of the research included searching through and reviewing various documents from the Dickinson archives and various research articles via JSTOR through Fogler Library to better understand the history and background of the founding of the Carlisle Boarding School. From this, literature review information was gathered that steered me in the direction of what prominent political and religious members to research further, as well as what forms of propaganda allowed the reinforcement of the relationship between the church and state.

Many of the archives from Dickinson College contained photocopies of various historical documents. These documents included funding requests from the school's founder, Henry Pratt, to members of the federal government. One of the categories of documents is the student records. These records include a detailed report of almost 10,000 Native children who attended the school. The reports provide the students' Native and Americanized names, estimated dates of arrival, and their tribal nation. Alongside many of the children are photographs that depict what they looked like upon arriving at

Carlisle and what they looked like after being stripped of their cultural identities. The before and after photographs provide insight into how the school physically changed the children. Some of these photographs were taken from local newspaper articles. (See Appendix A1)

The digital archives also contain many copies of newspaper articles from the period. The topics of the newspaper articles vary from discussing the school's marching band, and athletic teams, to outing system advertisements, and its progress through Christian methods. The Eadle Keatah Toh, School News, and Red Mans Paper are the most documented newspaper publications. While these newspapers now provide a glimpse into the history of the school, many of them were once used as an outlet for the school and government propaganda, proving to society that the Native children could be "civilized" and function in society.

Within the documents in the digital archives are various handwritten letters from the founder, Henry Pratt to religious groups, federal government members, and federal agencies. The hundreds of letters include some from before the school opened its doors. These letters expose Pratt's persuasive words to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs about opening the school. Later letters show debates of where to locate the school, the formation of the outing system within other states, funding requests to the federal government throughout the school's entire existence, the approval by the federal government to build and fund a chapel, as well as death notices. The hundreds of letters in the archives disclose the conversations between the school leaders and government leaders, providing information in regard to their close relationship and mutual views on Indigenous peoples.

Using content analysis, I studied many documents and explored the correspondence between government officials and the Carlisle administration. The correspondence through the documents and letters allowed me to understand not only who was involved but also how much government officials were involved and aware of what was going on at the boarding schools they funded. The content analysis allowed me to prove that the federal government was not in the dark but was aware of the human rights violations at the boarding schools and the role of religion in the school's assimilation process. Through this analysis, I was also able to explore the current interpretation of the Establishment Clause during the 19th century and government official's views on Christianity through both letters and court case decisions revolving around religion and the Establishment Clause.

While the Dickinson College archives provided many of the actual documents from Carlisle, JSTOR provided research that has previously been done on the Carlisle Boarding School and the way it operated. Many of the articles from JSTOR were used to understand the lives of the students. The articles discussed various propaganda forms that the students were a part of such as the marching band, athletics, and the outing system. They also discussed the various ways in which the school's leaders stripped the students of their Native identities and the physical and mental abuse that took place.

JSTOR was also used to research the context of the Establishment Clause and 19th-century social theories. Much of the research I found through the various academic journals provided insight into how various 19th-century social theories directly affected Native Americans during the time period. Upon further research, I was able to connect multiple social theory articles to Christian beliefs that were commonly held back then. I

was also able to distinguish many of the differences between the major Christian denominations. There are multiple denominations including Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist, however, Quakers were the most involved in Carlisle and were viewed as the ideal model that Pratt wanted the children to transform into. (See Appendix A4) One of the biggest differences between these denominations is their basis for doctrine, for example, whether they follow the Bible only, the Bible and the Confession of Faith, church fathers, or Bible, scriptures and gospel, etc... They also do differ in their creeds and confessions which is ultimately their major beliefs, however, all of the denominations agreed on the nature of Christ and that Jesus Christ is fully human and fully God. These systems provided insight into how and why Native Americans were not granted citizenship or viewed as “civilized” yet. Many of these ideas and values were supported by federal government members as well as the Christian churches. By finding the common beliefs about Native Americans shared by the Christian churches and the federal government, I was able to further understand their potentially unintentional relationship.

By also reviewing SCOTUS rulings in Establishment Clause cases, I was able to analyze the rulings and oral arguments to understand the Supreme Court’s views on the relationship between church and state. The Supreme Court is viewed as the “Law of the Land,” and their oral discussions and ruling opinions supported the federal government and Christian church’s relations. Some of these rulings were researched through OYEZ, while others were further researched done by JSTOR academic journals.

To arrive at the findings and discussion sections of this paper, archival research, and content analysis, combined with the literature review provide the necessary support for the federal government and Christian church’s relationship. The research gathered and

analyzed also offers the foundational arguments supporting the role that the Carlisle Boarding School played in providing an opportunity for the violation of the Establishment Clause by the United States federal government.

## CHAPTER III: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The United States federal government attempted to “Americanize” Indigenous youth through boarding schools. By 1900, there were twenty-five large, Federal schools open and thousands of Indigenous children were placed into nearly 150 boarding schools around the country. The Carlisle Indian Boarding School, founded in 1879 at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania was the first such school. Carlisle’s training and education system served as the model for most of the later schools. Carlisle, along with the other boarding schools, was an effort of the federal government to commit cultural genocide of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous children were removed from their reservation to attend Carlisle and by the orders of the founder Henry Pratt and the federal government, were to be “civilized.” Soon after Carlisle’s founding, churches assumed charge of both the intellectual and moral education of the Indigenous children at the schools. The churches also worked in partnership with the federal government to commit cultural genocide.

### 19th Century Social Theory

Nineteenth-century social theories led federal Indian policy to be viewed as philanthropic in its approach to the Indian question. Anthropologists and other scholars during the nineteenth century were inspired by Darwin’s theory of evolution. Drawing from Darwin’s evolutionary theory of species, they believed culture could also evolve into more complex states. In the eighteenth century, the famous philosopher Montesquieu proposed the tripartite division which broke civilization down into three stages: hunting or savagery, herding or barbarism, and civilization.<sup>5</sup> This tripartite division was very popular amongst nineteenth-century social theorists.

---

<sup>5</sup> Social evolutionism. University of Alabama Anthropology Department. (2017, April 21).

During the middle of the nineteenth century, Europeans successfully conquered nearly all Native Americans and drove them out West. During this time, many Europeans believed in the Doctrine of Discovery as written by Pope Alexander VI in 1493.<sup>6</sup> The Doctrine of Discovery gave European nations an absolute right to New World lands and to take the land in the name of God. The Doctrine of Discovery was used to legitimize the colonization of lands, including those that belonged to Indigenous peoples. When Europeans came to what is now the United States, they were met with Indigenous peoples and the encounter between different cultures led to the Europeans dividing the ethnological record into evolutionary stages ranging from primitive to civilized. Anthropologist and social theorist Lewis Henry Morgan introduced the concept of subdividing the previously created stages of savagery and barbarism into upper and lower levels in his theory of kinship.<sup>7</sup> By connecting the family structure and social institutions to the previous tripartite division theory, Morgan created a much more complex way of understanding and viewing other cultures.

While cultures and civilizations were broken down into various stages of progress, the next question for scholars to answer was how groups would progress through these stages to ultimately reach what they believed was civilized. There were four main components of being civilized; race, education, monogamous marriage, and religion. While the color of skin could not be changed immediately, it could be bred out through eugenics. The term “eugenics” was established in 1883 by Francis Galton, a

---

<https://anthropology.ua.edu/theory/social-evolutionism/>

<sup>6</sup> Pope Alexander VI. (n.d.). The Doctrine of Discovery, 1493. The Doctrine of Discovery, 1493 | Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/doctrine-discovery-1493>

<sup>7</sup> Social evolutionism. University of Alabama Anthropology Department. (2017, April 21).

<https://anthropology.ua.edu/theory/social-evolutionism/>



demographer and ethnologist.<sup>8</sup> Galton defined eugenics as “the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally.”<sup>9</sup> This idea of “racial improvement” became a leading motive in progressing Native Americans to become so-called civilized during the nineteenth century.

Religion and education however were viewed as the ultimate forces of civilization and progress.<sup>10</sup> The Protestant establishment whose Mainline denominations are Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Congregationalists dominated the religious scene of nineteenth-century America.<sup>11</sup> Their dominance of American morals and beliefs stemmed from the Second Great Awakening that occurred in America. Morals and religion were associated with one another so much that starting in 1840, American courts recognized the doctrine of *parens patriae* which is Latin for “parent of the country or homeland.”<sup>12</sup> Under this doctrine, a state or court has a paternal and protective role over its citizens or other subjects to its jurisdiction.<sup>13</sup> The *parens patriae* doctrine also holds that all orphans, dependent children, and persons deemed incompetent are under the control of the state. Oftentimes demands of the doctrine would

---

<sup>8</sup> Eugenics and scientific racism. Genome.gov. (n.d.).

<https://www.genome.gov/about-genomics/fact-sheets/Eugenics-and-Scientific-Racism>

<sup>9</sup> Eugenics and scientific racism. Genome.gov. (n.d.).

<https://www.genome.gov/about-genomics/fact-sheets/Eugenics-and-Scientific-Racism>

<sup>10</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>11</sup> Religion in Post-World War II America, the twentieth century, Divining America: Religion in American history, TeacherServe, National Humanities Center. (n.d.).

<https://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/twenty/tkeyinfo/trelww2.htm>

<sup>12</sup> Legal Information Institute. (n.d.) Parens. Legal Information Institute.

[https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/parens\\_patriae](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/parens_patriae)

<sup>13</sup> Legal Information Institute. (n.d.) Parens. Legal Information Institute.

[https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/parens\\_patriae](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/parens_patriae)

limit the religious freedom of Indigenous parents and their right to instill their religious beliefs in their children.

Religion was also used as a tool that society and the government used to promote a “civilized lifestyle” which at the time was viewed as the opposite of that of Native Americans. Religion was viewed to be progressive in the sense that it provided “civilized” societal morals, norms, and lifestyles. For example, religion fell in line with Lewis Henry Morgan’s family structure of having a civilized marriage, which was viewed as being monogamous. Christianity was widely accepted as the most “civilized” lifestyle both by the majority of America and the federal government during the nineteenth century.

Education also played a large role in the civilization process at Carlisle. In American society, education was associated with being civilized and this affected both your economic and social status. While Native Americans had their own systems of education, the majority of the country viewed their education system and processes to be “savage” or “barbaric.” Part of Pratt’s civilization process included educating Native children on classic literature, the English language, European music styles, and traditional gender roles in American society. By educating Native children in these various areas, Pratt was also stripping them of speaking their native languages, singing, and playing native music, and changing their views on gender roles. Education alone was not enough for Native American children to be civilized; they needed to be educated in American and European culture. Part of this education was also learning a new faith, which was Christianity, and not only believing in God, but also living the traditional and “civilized” life of a young Christian boy or girl. Pratt believed that by stripping the Native children

of their culture and instilling Christianity and “American” culture would “civilize” them and allow them to become functioning members of American society one day.

### Motivation Behind Carlisle

In nineteenth-century America, Native American culture was viewed as savage. American societal institutions concluded that the Native Americans had to choose between civilization or extinction. According to the Pacific Historical Review, “philanthropists were genuinely sincere when they expressed hope that the Indian would choose to learn the ways of the white man rather than become a victim of American progress.”<sup>14</sup> Captain Richard Henry Pratt was a supporter of the idea that education was the only way of saving the Indian from extinction. Pratt’s view of Native Americans was shaped not just by his Christian beliefs, but also by his military experiences. His military experience began in 1861 during the Civil War when he enlisted as a volunteer.<sup>15</sup> During Pratt’s time in the military, he gained many different perspectives of Indigenous peoples which contributed to his views on “civilizing” them. In various encounters he viewed them to be, “valuable scouts, enemy warriors, victims, skilled interpreters, and trustworthy guides.”<sup>16</sup> Pratt believed the Natives if given the opportunity could be civilized and be able to compete as citizens in American society. The military also provided Pratt with a model on which to base his educational institutions such as Carlisle.

Pratt’s philosophy, which he preached to many other governmental figures, was to “kill the Indian and save the man.”<sup>17</sup> Pratt convinced other officials and governmental

---

<sup>14</sup> Adams, D. W. (1979). Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917. *Pacific Historical Review*, 48(3), 335–356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3638757>

<sup>15</sup> Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 19.

<sup>16</sup> Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 19.

<sup>17</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes,*

institutions that Indians were entitled to a chance to progress before condemning them as savage.<sup>18</sup> The course of action proposed by Pratt to progress Indians toward civilization and ultimately citizenship was to place Native children in a boarding school to be educated in the ways of the White man. Pratt proposed his plan of assimilation through education to the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, and the Secretary of War, George W. McCrary. By the middle of 1879 Pratt was granted permission to use the deserted military base in Carlisle, Pennsylvania as the site of his off-reservation boarding school.<sup>19</sup> Pratt's plan with Carlisle was based on his prior experiment with Native American soldiers that he "civilized" at Fort Marion, in St. Augustine Florida. Pratt used the same threefold attack method and industrial training program to "civilize" the prisoners at Fort Marion and he believed that if he could do this to grown men, he could achieve the same "success" with children.

The process of de-Indianization was approved as the beginning stage of the new institutional process. De-Indianization was done in a threefold attack on their tribal identity that would act as the children's introduction to White society. The standard was that before the Native children could begin to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of the white world, they must be stripped of all outward signs of their savage heritage.<sup>20</sup> The next stage was to teach the children to speak and write the English language, as well as educate them about United States history, and constitutional government, and provide

---

Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>18</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>19</sup> Lesiak, C., Boughn, P., Bradlee, B., Harker, W., & Harlan, J. (Director). (1992). *In the White Man's Image [Film] The American Experience*.

<sup>20</sup> Adams, D. W. (1979). Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917. *Pacific Historical Review*, 48(3), 335-356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3638757>

a basic understanding of subjects such as science, mathematics, and geography.<sup>21</sup> The final area of the student's civilization education would be religious conversion to ensure they follow proper morals and lifestyles while severing their ties to tribal beliefs.

The government believed that if Pratt's experiment of educating Native children worked, then the children would forever sever their ties to their tribal government and pledge their allegiance to the federal government, who in return would recognize their citizenship.<sup>22</sup> Carlisle provided the federal government with a vision for their end goal of eliminating issues with Indians. The government believed that Native Americans posed a threat to both the government and the American people because of their different belief systems, traditions, and ways of life, and there was a lot of tension from the Indian Wars.. Pratt's promise of success and prior involvement in "civilizing" Indigenous soldiers appeared to be successful, the federal government agreed to fund Pratt's experiment. As a result of this approval, Captain Richard Henry Pratt opened Carlisle Indian Boarding School in 1879. The experiment began with one hundred and forty-seven children from seven tribes.<sup>23</sup>

### Laws of the Land

The First Amendment of the United States Constitution has two provisions concerning religion: the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause. However, the Establishment Clause which prohibits the government from "establishing" a religion was not incorporated until the *Everson v. Board of Education* decision in 1947.<sup>24</sup> In

---

<sup>21</sup> Adams, D. W. (1979). Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917. *Pacific Historical Review*, 48(3), 335–356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3638757>

<sup>22</sup> Adams, D. W. (1979). Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917. *Pacific Historical Review*, 48(3), 335–356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3638757>

<sup>23</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>24</sup> First Amendment and Religion. United States Courts. (n.d.).

*Everson v. Board of Education*, a New Jersey law allowed for reimbursement by local school boards of the costs of school transportation and 96% of the private schools that benefitted from this law were Catholic schools.<sup>25</sup> A tax-payer named, Arch R. Everson filed a lawsuit alleging that this indirect aid to religion violated both the New Jersey state constitution and the First Amendment. While the Court was divided, it held that the law did not violate the Constitution. This case was the first Supreme Court case that incorporated the Establishment Clause as binding upon states through the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Establishment Clause was originally viewed as a structural limitation rather than a personal right. *Everson v. Board of Education* implemented selective incorporation which is the process by which the Supreme Court decides through a case-by-case basis which provisions of the Bill of Rights it wishes to apply to the states through the Due Process Clause.<sup>26</sup>

Prior to the incorporation of the Establishment Clause, there were no laws establishing a religion, but there were many cases that were decided by Christian belief systems. For example, in the 1807 case *State v. Cooper*, 2 Tenn. 96, the Tennessee State Court ruled that “No person can be a witness who does not believe in a future state of rewards and punishments; but evidence of a settled belief, not slight or casual sayings, should be produced.”<sup>27</sup> Soon after in 1809, A Connecticut court issued a similar ruling in

---

<https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/first-amendment-and-religion>

<sup>25</sup> *Everson v. Board of Education*. Oyez. (n.d.). <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1940-1955/330us1>

<sup>26</sup> First Amendment and Religion. United States Courts. (n.d.).

<https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/first-amendment-and-religion>

<sup>27</sup> Religious tests for witnesses - the free speech center. (n.d.).

<https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/religious-tests-for-witnesses/>

*Curtiss v. Strong*, 4 Day 51. It was believed and expected that when citizens took an oath, they were also recognizing that God will judge them if they commit perjury.

The Supreme Court case *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, in 1823, established the Doctrine of Discovery as part of U.S. federal law and was then used to dispossess Native Americans of their land. Pope Alexander's 1493 Doctrine of Discovery reads, "Lands...discovered and to be discovered, beyond that said line towards the west and south, be in the actual possession of any Christian king or prince up to the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ just past from which the present year one thousand four hundred ninety-three begins. And we make, appoint, and depute you and your said heirs and successors lords of them with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind; with this proviso however, that by this our gift, grant, and assignment no right acquired by any Christian prince, who may be in actual possession of said islands and mainland's prior to the said birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ, is hereby to be understood to be withdrawn or taking away."<sup>28</sup> In *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, Chief Justice John Marshall used the Doctrine of Discovery as the explanation for how colonial powers claim newly discovered lands. The Doctrine of Discovery provided a framework for Christian explorers to lay claim to territories uninhabited by Christians.

Two decades later in 1845, the phrase "Manifest Destiny" was created by John Louis O'Sullivan, an American columnist and editor to promote the idea that the United States was destined by God to expand its territory and democracy across the entire

---

<sup>28</sup> Pope Alexander VI. (n.d.). The Doctrine of Discovery, 1493. The Doctrine of Discovery, 1493 | Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/doctrine-discovery-1493>

continent of North America.<sup>29</sup> Manifest Destiny became the United States' version of the Doctrine of Discovery. This philosophy was the driving force behind U.S. expansion and was used to justify the removal of Native Americans and relocate them out west. Manifest Destiny was not a specific policy, but it was a widely accepted view as America's "mission" in the new world.

In 1853 the Supreme Court was involved in a property rights case relative to religion, specifically the German Lutheran Church.<sup>30</sup> The Court ruled in favor of the church and gave the church ownership of the land. The decision in *Beatty v. Kurtz* was written by Justice Joseph Story, who argued that the U.S. common law incorporated Christianity.<sup>31</sup> Justice Joseph also presided over a federal court in Rhode Island where he disqualified the testimony of two witnesses in *Wakefield v. Ross*, 5 Mason 16; Fed., due to various reports that they did not believe in God.<sup>32</sup>

In 1882, the Edmunds Act was passed by Congress. The Edmunds Act made polygamy a felony and required voters to swear that they were neither bigamists nor polygamists.<sup>33</sup> While Native Americans were not of citizen status and did not have the right to vote yet, the Edmunds Act followed the social theories of the time period in the sense it supported Lewis Henry Morgan's theory of a monogamous relationship being the only civilized relationship. The act was an attempt to confront other religious ideals that did not align with the Christian basis of the law during the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>29</sup> A&E Television Networks. (2010, April 5). Manifest destiny - definition, Facts & Significance. History.com. <https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/manifest-destiny>

<sup>30</sup> Beatty v. Kurtz (1853) - the free speech center. (n.d.). <https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/beatty-v-kurtz-1853/>

<sup>31</sup> Beatty v. Kurtz (1853) - the free speech center. (n.d.). <https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/beatty-v-kurtz-1853/>

<sup>32</sup> Beatty v. Kurtz (1853) - the free speech center. (n.d.). <https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/beatty-v-kurtz-1853/>

<sup>33</sup> Davis v. Beason. Oyez. (n.d.). <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/133us333>



A decade later the Supreme Court reversed a lower court ruling against the Church of the Holy Trinity. The Court was in favor of the church which illegally hired clergymen. While Justice David Brewer agreed the action of the church technically violated the statute at hand, he used legislative intent to rule in favor of the church. Justice Brewer provided various references to God in official documents from throughout U.S. history. These documents began with the commission to Christopher Columbus and continued through colonial charters, state constitutions, and oaths of office.

Justice Brewer then turned to the Constitution to support his ruling. He offered the First Amendment and the “Sundays excepted” provision in Article 1 as evidence of the importance of religion in American society.<sup>34</sup> Brewer found that Christianity was found throughout all aspects of American life from its laws to the customs of American citizens. With Christianity receiving special favoritism both in society and the government, in 1864 a Protestant organization asked Congress to amend the preamble to the Constitution to define the national government as a Christian one.<sup>35</sup>

While Christianity was a prominent part of most Americans’ everyday life, it was also a morning ritual in schools during the 18th and 19th centuries. It was not until 1963 that the Maine Supreme Court decided that Bible devotionals in public schools violated the First Amendment.<sup>36</sup> This was the outcome of *Donahoe v. Richards* which occurred when a fifteen-year-old Roman Catholic girl was expelled for refusing to read the King

---

<sup>34</sup> Church of the holy trinity v. United States (1892). The Free Speech Center. (2023, December 2). <https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/724/church-of-the-holy-trinity-v-united-states>

<sup>35</sup> Church of the holy trinity v. United States (1892). The Free Speech Center. (2023, December 2). <https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/724/church-of-the-holy-trinity-v-united-states>

<sup>36</sup> Donahoe v. Richards (Maine Supreme Court) (1854). (n.d.). <https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/donahoe-v-richards-maine-supreme-court-1854/>

James version of the Bible because she preferred the Douay version used by Catholics.<sup>37</sup> During this time period, America was still greatly influenced by religion, however, there were many disagreements among Christians about which version of the Bible should be read which arose later in the 19th century.

Despite later disagreements amongst Christians, they all held the belief that religion led to civilization. Many individuals in the government and legal system were openly religious, however, the government never legally established Christianity as the denomination of the United States. While they never legally established a religion, religious leaders and political leaders worked together to civilize the Native Americans. In 1869 the Board of Indian Commissioners stated in their annual report that in the discussion of assimilating Indians, “the religion of our blessed Savior is... the most effective agent for the civilization of any people.”<sup>38</sup> Soon after the commissioner’s report was given, federal officials inaugurated the Peace Policy of 1869, which was a church-led reservation-based assimilation program rooted in the belief that missionaries were the most effective agents of the government’s civilizing agenda of Native Americans.<sup>39</sup> The Peace Policy lasted less than a decade, however, it showed the nation that the government supports church-sponsored work if their agenda aligns with the government.

---

<sup>37</sup> Donahoe v. Richards (Maine Supreme Court) (1854). (n.d.).

<https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/donahoe-v-richards-maine-supreme-court-1854/>

<sup>38</sup> American Indians and Christianity. Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. (n.d.).

<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entryname=AMERICAN+INDIANS+AND=CHRISTIANITY>

<sup>39</sup> American Indians and Christianity. Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. (n.d.).

<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entryname=AMERICAN+INDIANS+AND=CHRISTIANITY>

## Citizenship

On June 2, 1924, Congress enacted the Indian Citizenship Act, which granted the Secretary of the Interior the authority to issue certificates of citizenship to Native Americans.<sup>40</sup> However, despite Congress passing the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, many Native Americans were still prohibited from voting in certain states. Before the Indian Citizenship Act was passed, the federal government attempted to move towards progression by offering citizenship to specific tribes in exchange for their land, through the Dawes Act of 1887.<sup>41</sup> However, despite the government's supposed attempt at improving the relationship between tribes and the government, the government stripped over ninety million acres of tribal land from Native Americans and sold it to non-natives.<sup>42</sup>

After the failure of the Dawes Act and Congress passing the Indian Citizenship Act, Native Americans were still stripped of what should have been their new civil rights as citizens of the United States. They were still not allowed to vote in most places because the right to vote was governed by state law and some states barred Native Americans from voting until after 1924.<sup>43</sup> While each state varied slightly in when they allowed Native Americans to vote in their state, some states incorporated later Acts that prohibited Native Americans from voting in their state. For example, even after gaining the right to vote federally in 1924, Alaska passed the Alaska Voters Literacy Act which

---

<sup>40</sup> National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). Today's document. National Archives And Records Administration.

<https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=602>

<sup>41</sup> National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). Dawes Act (1887). National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act>

<sup>42</sup> National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). Dawes Act (1887). National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act>

<sup>43</sup> Indian Civilization Act. The Library of Congress. (n.d.). <https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-02/>

required voters to speak and read English which was used as a means to exclude non-English speaking Alaska Natives and Native Americans.<sup>44</sup> Other states, particularly in the south also set in place literacy tests to lower the participation of Native Americans and other minority groups from voting. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson outlawed the discriminatory practice of literacy tests by the states by enacting the 1965 Voting Rights Act.<sup>45</sup>

Native Americans also did not receive the right to testify in courts, serve on juries, or attend public schools. As well as, despite being of legal drinking age, Native Americans were not able to buy alcohol due to Congress passing legislation banning the sale of alcoholic beverages to Native Americans in 1832.<sup>46</sup> Due to their unequal citizenship status, Native Americans were not provided with the protections of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. While treaties recognized the sovereignty of Indian tribes, when the Constitution was written and ratified, Native Americans were not included or protected by any of its provisions. Native Americans were members of sovereign states, therefore they were considered to be distinct and separate from the United States.<sup>47</sup> For this reason, despite Indians being given citizenship in 1924, they were still not protected as other United States citizens because there was no protection placed into the Constitution for them like there were others.

In nineteenth-century America, citizenship was synonymous with Christianity which adhered to the social theories of the time period. To gain citizenship Native

---

<sup>44</sup> Our native vote. Alaska Federation of Natives. (n.d.). <https://www.nativefederation.org/ournativevote/>

<sup>45</sup> Indian Civilization Act. The Library of Congress. (n.d.). <https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-02/>

<sup>46</sup> The First Amendment, social media, and the public schools: Emergent ... (n.d.). <https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1801&context=nlj>

<sup>47</sup> The First Amendment, social media, and the public schools: Emergent ... (n.d.). <https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1801&context=nlj>

Americans were expected to give up their tribal heritage and assimilate into mainstream society and culture. This system of assimilating Native Americans into mainstream American society became a primary focus after the Civil War ended on May 9, 1865. Three years after the war ended on July 9, 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was passed.<sup>48</sup> The Fourteenth Amendment, along with the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were a part of the Reconstruction Era of the United States. This era focused on civil rights with the intent of rebuilding what was a nation torn apart by the war.

The Fourteenth Amendment states that “no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of laws.”<sup>49</sup> The amendment was originally set in place because some southern states were passing laws that restricted the rights of former slaves; the Fourteenth Amendment was Congress’s response to place limits on the states and protect former slaves’ civil rights. However, the Fourteenth Amendment made all born or naturalized United States citizens to have equal protection and due process under the law, but for Native Americans, interpretations of the amendment often excluded most of them from citizenship. Their lack of citizenship allowed them to remain targets for states and civil rights violations because they were not considered citizens under the law and had no protections even if they did trade their land during the Dawes Act of 1887.

---

<sup>48</sup> School of Law, Tulane University. (2023, October 2). Tulane Online Law Blog. Tulane. <https://online.law.tulane.edu/articales/history-of-law-the-fourteenth-amendment>

<sup>49</sup> Fourteenth Amendment - Constitution Annotated | congress.gov. (n.d.). <https://constitution.congress.gov/constitution/amendment-14/>

The lack of Constitutional protections allowed the courts to take advantage of Native Americans. Many courts did not believe that Native Americans were citizens and treated them as such. One of the ways that the courts used as a way of limiting the rights of Native peoples was blood quantum laws. The concept of using “blood quantum” to determine the amount of tribal affiliation was not a part of Native American culture or traditions.<sup>50</sup> In the 1900s, the United States government began using the concept of blood quantum as another means of defining and limiting citizenship for Native Americans. The idea of blood quantum was first introduced in the early 1700s by the Colony of Virginia. The Colony adopted what is now referred to as the “Indian Blood Law” which was used to intentionally reduce the civil rights of Native Americans. The Indian Blood Law classified people who had fifty percent or more of Native blood to be “uncivilized” and therefore had fewer rights than citizens and Native Americans who had a lower blood quantum.<sup>51</sup>

Blood quantum was used in treaties to limit the number of Native individuals who could receive benefits. It was also used by the government both federal and state to associate a Native person’s level of intelligence with their supposed amount of Native American blood versus European or other blood, which was later used against them in court. Some famous examples include, *McKay v. Campbell* in 1870, *U.S. v. Osborn* in 1880, and *Elk v. Wilkins* in 1884. For example in *McKay*, a mixed-blood Chinook was

---

<sup>50</sup> The National Museum of the American Indian. (n.d.). *Developing stories – native photographers in the field*. National Museum of the American Indian – Smithsonian. <https://americanindian.si.edu/developingstories/irvine.html#:~:text=The%20concept%20of%20using%20so,of%20defining%20and%20limiting%20citizenship>.

<sup>51</sup> The National Museum of the American Indian. (n.d.). *Developing stories – native photographers in the field*. National Museum of the American Indian – Smithsonian. <https://americanindian.si.edu/developingstories/irvine.html#:~:text=The%20concept%20of%20using%20so,of%20defining%20and%20limiting%20citizenship>.

deemed seven-sixteenths white and nine-sixteenths Indian blood by the court.<sup>52</sup> The court ruled that because of his blood quantum, he was not born subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and therefore did not meet the qualifications to be protected by the Fourteenth Amendment and was not considered a citizen.<sup>53</sup>

In *Elk v. Wilkins*, the United States Supreme Court ruled that John Elk, an Omaha Indian, was not allowed to register to vote because he was not protected by the Fourteenth Amendment and therefore was not given the right to vote by the Fifteenth Amendment.<sup>54</sup> In the case of *U.S. v. Osborn*, Frank Osborn was arrested for selling liquor to an Indian man named Joe. At the time of Osborn's arrest, selling alcohol to Indians was illegal, however, Osborn argued that Joe separated himself from his people for over a decade and was no longer a part of Indian culture. Despite leaving Indian culture and assimilating, the court ruled that Joe and other Indians could not make themselves citizens, the United States was the only entity with that power. This case created the precedent that even if an Indian was leading a separate and "civilized life" they were still not legally a citizen.<sup>55</sup>

Citizenship for Native Americans varied between the federal government and the states. Despite the federal government enacting the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, many Native Americans were still not viewed as citizens or treated as citizens. Citizenship not only varied from state to state but it was also dependent on various things in each state.

---

<sup>52</sup> The First Amendment, social media, and the public schools: Emergent ... (n.d.).  
<https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1801&context=nlj>

<sup>53</sup> The First Amendment, social media, and the public schools: Emergent ... (n.d.).  
<https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1801&context=nlj>

<sup>54</sup> The First Amendment, social media, and the public schools: Emergent ... (n.d.).  
<https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1801&context=nlj>

<sup>55</sup> The First Amendment, social media, and the public schools: Emergent ... (n.d.).  
<https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1801&context=nlj>

Depending on the state there were multiple things that affected Native American's citizenship status including whether they could speak, read, and write in English, their blood quantum, their social and economic status, whether they adopted Christianity or not, and in some cases whether or not they traded their land, resources, or allotment for citizenship. Native American citizenship is a very complex topic because it varied between each state and citizenship could be gained in various ways.

In the eastern United States, there were individuals and religious groups who stated that Indians should be provided citizenship, however, they need to be educated, live a civilized lifestyle, and be fully immersed in mainstream society. Mainstream society consisted of being white, educated, and Christian. Pratt and the federal government believed that by stripping the Indian children of their cultural identity, they could be saved and brought into society as good workers and soldiers. Native Americans' lack of rights and protections made their children easily obtainable by the Federal government to begin educating and assimilating them through reservation boarding schools, beginning with Carlisle.

In some cases, if a Native American had transitioned into what the government and society viewed as "civilized" they were provided citizenship. While there were other ways to gain citizenship, even after they were given their citizenship status they were not fully protected by the Constitution. The Constitutional status of Native Americans is also very complex because not all Native Americans were treated the same, it was a spectrum. Also, because the rules and expectations varied between states, Native Americans' constitutional status also differed. However, most of the ways Native Americans gained citizenship was by giving something up whether it be their language, culture, beliefs,



land, money, or other resources. They were forced to give something up in part because they were not protected by the Constitution and were not given the rights granted to citizens under the Constitution. However, even after they gained “citizenship” they were still not treated equally under the Constitution and were often excluded from many rights and protections. Native American’s lack of protection as “citizens” is also apparent in how they were treated in Indian boarding schools, particularly how they were exploited in the outing system programs at both Carlisle and later schools.

#### Public Proof: The Outing System

Henry Pratt modeled his apprenticeship program, also known as the outing system, after his previous success with Indian prisoners who were confined at Fort Marion, Florida. Pratt was convinced that “civilization” provided an answer to the national race issue, so he took on the role of transforming Indian prisoners from Fort Marion into model citizens. He began by removing their chains and giving them responsibilities and work. He arranged for many of the prisoners to take jobs in nearby St. Augustine.<sup>56</sup> Due to Pratt’s success with the Fort Marion prisoners he originated the outing system at Carlisle Indian Boarding School. Pratt believed that Indian contact with a white environment was the “supreme Americanizer,” and his program sent Indian children to live with local white families.<sup>57</sup> At Fort Marion, Pratt used the Native American prisoners to experiment with his civilization theory. He followed the same procedures that he carried out at Carlisle including stripping them of their native clothing and giving them uniforms, cutting their hair, teaching them English, and assigning them

---

<sup>56</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>57</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

jobs to learn that they could continue in American society after being released. Pratt viewed his experiment at Fort Marion to be successful in “civilizing” the prisoners and preparing them for American society so much that he wanted to further his concepts by opening a boarding school that would “civilize” Native American children using the same processes he used at Fort Marion.

The system consisted of half-day work and half-day school, with an evening study hour for all students. Carlisle proved this model of the outing system to be so advantageous and beneficial that it was continued and became the standard model for all future Indian schools in the United States.<sup>58</sup> The first outings at Carlisle were conducted during the summer of 1878. During that summer, many of the students were teenagers and were sent to farms in New England where they did chores for wages and learned English from their employers. Due to the positive feedback from many of the employers that summer, Pratt deemed the outing system a success and continued to send more students to white homes every year after. (See Appendix A2) In 1881, one hundred and nine students were placed in white homes, largely in Bucks County and in the country around Philadelphia rather than throughout New England.<sup>59</sup> The school’s outing system was deemed a success by both the local communities and the government, so much so that in 1900, the school had twelve hundred and eighteen students from seventy-nine different tribes.<sup>60</sup> Out of all the students, eight hundred and ninety-three had outing experience and their total earnings for that summer amounted to \$27,255.52, and the

---

<sup>58</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>59</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>60</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

eleven previous years' outing students earned \$266,255.84 in total.<sup>61</sup> The outing system quickly became a way for both the school and the government to make money. While the children were making these wages they were being paid back to the school to cover their room and board costs, causing many of the students to never pocket a single penny of their wages. The employers, however, were not making a wage, but they were getting much cheaper labor than before, so, in turn, they were also benefiting from Pratt's outing system.

The outing system not only provided money to multiple parties involved, but it was also a large part of the assimilation process. When students were at school or at employers, there would be more than one student in a room and it was arranged that no two of the same tribe were placed in the same room.<sup>62</sup> This forced the Indians to speak English to one another because it was the only common language they could communicate with. While learning English would not only help the children communicate with mainstream society, it would also cause Native languages to eventually die out. Another tactic that was used to push the children to assimilate faster was to purposely place them with children who were in rival tribes in the same room. This rivalry was found to spark competition between the children and caused them to compete for citizenship.<sup>63</sup>

The success of the Carlisle outing program fueled Pratt to continue his tactics at the boarding school and also caused government officials to expand it to other Indian

---

<sup>61</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>62</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>63</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

Boarding Schools. Between 1880 and 1886 schools modeled after Carlisle were built. In 1882, Congress appropriated funds to place children with white families who could provide “proper care, support, and education...in exchange for their labor.” By 1884 the government had also approved the payment of funds to provide transportation for children who were sent out. Later, Congress added a provision to cover medical and clothing costs for outing students.<sup>64</sup> While the outing system was quickly assimilating Native American children into mainstream society it was also making money for the government, the boarding schools, and providing cheap labor for farmers across the country.

#### Public Proof: Football

In 1893 a group of young Native American boys went to Pratt’s office at the Carlisle school to request to play football. Pratt agreed that the boys could football under two conditions: that the Indians always play fairly and never slug an opponent, and that they whip the best football teams in the country.<sup>65</sup> The young boys agreed to both conditions which began the 24-year-long legendary Carlisle Indian football team. Despite Pratt’s hesitation to reinstate football, he believed that his students competing against the best college teams in the country would further advance the school’s assimilationist vision and show the public and government Carlisle’s success. Pratt believed in the doctrine of Civilized Progress and the reality of white expansion and settlement which meant reservation Indians must adopt the ways of mainstream society or they would

---

<sup>64</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>65</sup> Adams, D. W. (2001). More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32(1), 25–53. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3650836>

eventually face racial extinction.<sup>66</sup> In his eyes, a successful football team was another way to show the country his accomplishments and potential cultural transformation. Football was another part of his proof to convince the public and government that the source of Indian savagery was environmental rather than genetics.<sup>67</sup>

The Carlisle football team found much of their success between 1899 and 1914 when they were coached by Glenn “Pop” Warner.<sup>68</sup> Warner and Pratt had mutual goals which included the Carlisle students’ success on the football field and promoting these students as examples of “New Indians” to the press. The Carlisle football team soon became a crowd favorite due to their success against colleges after beating almost every single Ivy League team, including Harvard, Yale, University of Pennsylvania, Cornell, and Princeton. While the players were talented in their own right, Warner used a specific game plan, known as the Frontier Myth, to motivate his players. The Frontier Myth used the football field as an unspoken battle between the White players and the Indian players. Warner emphasized to his players that their football games were a way to battle their White opponents and be victorious in a way. The football field served as a mythic space for the Indian players to play out past conflicts with Whites without being viewed as barbaric. However, the game offered different opportunities for Indians than it did for Whites. For example, for a Yale man, football was a chance to demonstrate his masculinity, however, for Carlisle, it was a chance to display sportsmanship in such an aggressive game. Pratt used football to show the public that “Indian males could be

---

<sup>66</sup> Adams, D. W. (2001). More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32(1), 25–53. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3650836>

<sup>67</sup> Adams, D. W. (2001). More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32(1), 25–53. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3650836>

<sup>68</sup> Bloom, J. (1996). “Show What An Indian Can Do”: Sports, Memory, and Ethnic Identity at Federal Indian Boarding Schools. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 35(3), 33-48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24398295>

trained to become what a white, Anglo-Protestant would recognize as a virtuous, upright man.”<sup>69</sup>

When the Carlisle football team began traveling to play top colleges, they immediately gained lots of press. Newspapers across the country used these football games as top stories to showcase Pratt’s “New Indians.” Many newspaper cartoonists created photos that showed “before” and “after” civilization illustrations. Some journalists, however, continued to depict Native Americans in stereotypical ways. For example, a 1901 newspaper cartoon from the Detroit Evening News pictured a stereotypical drawing of an Indian captioned, “blood-thirsty savage.”<sup>70</sup> Despite some journalists still publishing racial stereotypes, Pratt’s hopes for the football team were not a complete failure. There were many positive articles counter-arguing the racial stereotypes and eventually journalists began to support the Carlisle team and were often considered the crowd favorite heading into a big game. After the team’s season in 1895, a reporter from the *Cleveland Leader* wrote that the school’s record on the football field demonstrated the players’ “fitness for the most modern achievements of American civilization.”<sup>71</sup>

However, Carlisle football players were treated differently than their fellow classmates were. The players still underwent the initial expectations when they arrived at the Carlisle campus which included stripping them of their Indian identity and culture, but once on the team, they were a higher status than regular students. Due to their

---

<sup>69</sup> Adams, D. W. (2001). More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32(1), 25–53. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3650836>

<sup>70</sup> Adams, D. W. (2001). More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32(1), 25–53. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3650836>

<sup>71</sup> Bloom, J. (1996). “Show What An Indian Can Do”: Sports, Memory, and Ethnic Identity at Federal Indian Boarding Schools. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 35(3), 33-48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24398295>

continued success with Warner, the players traveled the country for games, stayed in great hotels, and were fed higher-quality meals. However, oftentimes, the players were taken to local church gatherings to be showcased as advocates for Indian assimilation. One of the most famous advocates from the football team was Jim Thorpe. Thorpe played under Warner at Carlisle and was a star player not just for Carlisle but for the nation to watch. Thorpe went on to become the first Native American to win an Olympic gold medal, play in the National Football League, and be inducted into its Hall of Fame in 1963.<sup>72</sup> Thorpe and many of his teammates at Carlisle were viewed as symbols of the “New Indian” throughout the country. Their successes serve as proof of Pratt’s philosophies and encouraged the public and the federal government that Native Americans could assimilate into mainstream society through Indian Boarding Schools.

#### Public Proof: Marching Band

Music was one of the most effective vehicles of assimilation at the Carlisle Boarding School. Students at Carlisle were not allowed to listen to or perform any of their traditional music, instead, they were intentionally instructed in Western classical music as a means of assimilation. Outside of regular music instruction, Carlisle offered theater, choir, and marching band as options for extracurricular activities. Most of the music that was taught at Carlisle was a part of the Romantic era of music which lasted from approximately 1780 to 1910.<sup>73</sup> During this era, a rise in nationalist music occurred throughout the United States and Eastern Europe. Many of the composers during this

---

<sup>72</sup> Bloom, J. (1996). “Show What An Indian Can Do”: Sports, Memory, and Ethnic Identity at Federal Indian Boarding Schools. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 35(3), 33-48. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24398295>

<sup>73</sup> Winston, Abigail C. (2019) "The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*: Vol. 18, Article 9. Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol18/iss1/9>

time brought their nationalist views of music to the United States from Europe and included instruments such as the piano and organ.<sup>74</sup> In order to assimilate its students faster, Carlisle taught piano and the organ, and vocal music in European languages such as Italian, German, and English.<sup>75</sup> This new Western classical music was ideal for the students to perform to the public to showcase their assimilation.

The marching band at Carlisle quickly became a source of entertainment for the country and showcased what Henry Pratt and the government believed to be successful assimilation. (See Appendix A3) The band started by performing to members of Congress and other potential donors in Washington D.C. to showcase their transition from “savage” to “civilians.” After quickly gaining the approval of the elites, the Carlisle marching band was invited to perform all along the East Coast and at presidential inaugurations. The band’s performances began in 1882, when the band took part in the Bicentennial parade in Philadelphia, where it is estimated that almost a million people lined Broad Street to see the children.<sup>76</sup> Only a year later in 1883, the band played at the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge.<sup>77</sup> They later performed in the Colombian parade in New York City, opened the Chicago World Fair in 1893, played at the Belgian Relief Fund Benefit in 1914, and at President Wilson’s inauguration.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Winston, Abigail C. (2019) "The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*: Vol. 18, Article 9. Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol18/iss1/9>

<sup>75</sup> Winston, Abigail C. (2019) "The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*: Vol. 18, Article 9. Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol18/iss1/9>

<sup>76</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>77</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>78</sup> Winston, Abigail C. (2019) "The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*: Vol. 18, Article 9. Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol18/iss1/9>



All of the band's performances were in very public venues, mostly in large cities where the streets were jammed packed. Typically, the students would be dressed in military uniforms and they would play American patriotic songs. They often performed, "The Star Spangled Banner," "America," and "My Country Tis of Thee."<sup>79</sup> The goal of Pratt was to show the public and the government he could complete the assimilation process. By showcasing a band of roughly fifty Indian children wearing Western military-style uniforms and playing patriotic songs on Western instruments was the ultimate proof.

### Religion as a Part of Carlisle

Carlisle Indian Boarding School had an established Sunday school on school grounds for the young children; the older children would attend public Sunday school with White children in the local community.<sup>80</sup> Sunday school was a part of promoting moral training to the children and after about a decade, Catholic authorities insisted on having their children exclusively under their care and Pratt obliged. The church instilled a Sunday afternoon preaching service and Sunday evening a praise service, which students were required to attend. Many of the preaching services were conducted by various pastors of the town or occasionally a professor from Dickinson College.<sup>81</sup> A Young Men's Christian Association and King Daughters Circle were also established early on at the boarding school and created close relations between the college and school, the state,

---

<sup>79</sup> Winston, Abigail C. (2019) "The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*: Vol. 18, Article 9. Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol18/iss1/9>

<sup>80</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>81</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

and other national religious organizations.<sup>82</sup> This relationship with the church and college was a crucial part of Pratt's civilization philosophies. Pratt believed Christianity would morally correct his students just as it did his prisoners at Fort Marion. His religious tactics and education gave him the nickname, "Red Man's Moses" in the paper.<sup>83</sup>

While the local pastors led services and Sunday school on the school grounds, many other religious affiliates donated to Carlisle. Pratt was able to gather many donations through his various visits to Washington, D.C. where he discussed his plans for Carlisle. These donors included many government officials, however throughout the years over \$150,000 was donated outside of those in government.<sup>84</sup> These outside donations included ministers, religious organizations, and other religious-affiliated individuals who believed the combination of education and religion would civilize the Native American children at Carlisle. However, while Carlisle was supported by many, soon after Carlisle opened its doors, a missionary wrote an educational journal expressing that Carlisle was not the proper way to assimilate the Native Americans. This missionary argued that church workers must be amongst the children during this process to "properly Americanize" the children.<sup>85</sup>

The children of Carlisle were also in contact with religion when with their employers for the outing system. The employers not only taught the children English but also taught them aspects of their religion which were commonly Christianity. After Pratt

---

<sup>82</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>83</sup> Winston, Abigail C. (2019) "The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*: Vol. 18, Article 9. Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol18/iss1/9>

<sup>84</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>85</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania It Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

started the outing system program, he started an association with a Protestant Christian group, the Quakers near Philadelphia. This relationship between Carlisle and the Quakers was a result of Indian children trying to run away from their placement homes, Pratt solved this issue by sending the children to Quaker homes. A Quaker group that referred to themselves as the Society of Friends possessed many of the qualities that Pratt wanted to instill in the Native children, and both groups took an interest in Pratt's program. Together they worked towards the common goal of instilling Christianity in the children of Carlisle and transforming them into the "New Indian" that would become a new civilized member of American society.

#### Summary of Findings

Overall, the relationship between the federal government and the church in regard to Carlisle Indian Boarding School is a very complex one. Despite Pratt's own Christian beliefs, the Church was not an initial partner with himself and the government when establishing Carlisle. However, early down the line, various affiliations showed their interest and support for Pratt's de-Indianization process which led to Sunday services at schools and ultimately church-run Indian boarding schools throughout the United States. As well as, aside from donations, Carlisle and later models of it were federally funded to show their support for assimilating Native American children into mainstream society.

The issue that arises with the government and church's relationship is how it began through assimilating Native children. Without legally declaring a religion the federal government funded its relationship with the Christian churches throughout the country. Despite the Christianity that Pratt instilled at the school, Carlisle was not fully

run by the church and its members.<sup>86</sup> There was only a relationship between Pratt and the local Quakers about a decade after the school was established.<sup>87</sup> The Quakers and other religious groups became interested in Carlisle and supported its goals after they saw the “success” of Pratt’s students.

To keep Carlisle running, Pratt showed the American people and the government that he could successfully civilize Native American children. He showcased his accomplishments at Carlisle to the country through his football team, marching band, and outing system. The football team and marching band were showcased around the country for their talents and impressed many. Pratt brought faith to the country through off-reservation Indian Boarding Schools, the “Indian Problem” could be eliminated.<sup>88</sup>

Pratt’s outing system however provided the government and church with more control over the Native children. The children were sent to work for a White family where they would learn English and learn the ways of mainstream society.<sup>89</sup> Research suggests that outing systems at later Boarding Schools made the federal government a large profit.<sup>90</sup> While the students were to receive a wage for their work during their outing system placement, most students never kept any for themselves because that money was then used to pay their tuition at the school. Since the federal government funded the boarding schools, the money was sent back to the government. The White

---

<sup>86</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>87</sup> Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progress and the Difficulties Surmounted*. Hamilton Library Association.

<sup>88</sup> Adams, D. W. (1979). *Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917*. *Pacific Historical Review*, 48(3), 335–356. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3638757>

<sup>89</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). *From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930*. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>90</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). *From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930*. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

employers were also benefiting from the outing system because they were able to employ Indian children at a much lower cost due to their citizenship status.<sup>91</sup> The outing system began to exploit Native children, while the government and society reaped the benefits.

The churches, however, found themselves involved because of their interest in the assimilation process. Local churches began donating to boarding schools and began working on the school campuses to fulfill their mutual goal of assimilating the children. During this time many social theorists believed that in order to be civilized the Indians must conform to religious beliefs which were largely Christianity.<sup>92</sup> Members of the church took it upon themselves to help civilize the Native Americans. Their goal to assimilate the children was supported by their local community members and the federal government. Unfortunately, it has not yet been examined how the Carlisle Indian Boarding School directly allowed the violation of the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

The study that follows will attempt to close the gaps between prior research, with the overall goal of determining how the Carlisle Indian Boarding School created an opportunity for the Establishment Clause to be violated. To begin with, literature has examined the citizenship status of Native Americans during the period of time in which boarding schools were running throughout the United States. Scholars have discovered that despite the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 being passed, Native Americans were still not treated as citizens legally.<sup>93</sup> However, both prior to and after the Citizenship Act was

---

<sup>91</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>92</sup> Social evolutionism. University of Alabama Anthropology Department. (2017, April 21). <https://anthropology.ua.edu/theory/social-evolutionism/>

<sup>93</sup> American Indians and Christianity. Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. (n.d.). <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entryname=AMERICAN+INDIANS+AND=CHRISTIANITY>

passed, the federal government continued to break various treaties with the Native Americans. Much of the research fails to acknowledge whether Native Americans were protected by the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights after the Citizenship Act was passed. If their lack of true citizenship did not allow them to be covered under the Constitution, the Establishment Clause also may not have applied to them in the same way it applies to the average citizen.

The following research will also examine the social theories during the 19th century which may have justified the beliefs of all parties involved in the boarding schools. However, this particular research will contribute to the existing literature on 19th-century social theory and how the country used it to justify its relationship with the church in regard to Indian boarding schools. These theories may also offer an explanation as to how the government and church were able to expand their mission through hundreds of schools for nearly a century without receiving pushback and protests from the American people.

Research done thus far has also pointed out many of those involved in the government were open about their Christianity during the time period. This includes Presidents and congressmen who donated to the Carlisle Indian Boarding School in support of its mission of assimilating Native children. The literature also shows many Justices that ruled the United States and Christian nations, as well as used Christianity as a part of their court decisions.<sup>94</sup> The government's support of Christianity was not only verbalized in various court cases but was also apparent in many court decisions made and Congress Acts passed during the time period.

---

<sup>94</sup> Donahoe v. Richards (Maine Supreme Court) (1854). (n.d.). <https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/donahoe-v-richards-maine-supreme-court-1854/>

Finally, the research that follows will examine the various letters between Henry Pratt and various government officials and church leaders. These letters include funding requests, loggings of student wages from the outing system, invites to watch the marching band and football team, and other various topics of communication between all parties involved. This research will contribute to the existing literature by examining the specific ways in which the Carlisle Indian Boarding School created loopholes in legislation to allow the Establishment Clause's violation. As well as contributing to how Carlisle specifically created the platform for other boarding schools that followed the de-Indianization process despite violating the U.S. Constitution. The findings of this study will provide insight into how the Carlisle Indian Boarding School led to the violation of the Establishment Clause and the production of hundreds of Indian Boarding schools throughout the United States. These findings will help to bring both awareness to Indian Boarding schools and provide more support for Indigenous tribes in regard to the current fighting between the federal government and Indigenous tribes around the country.

## CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

The founder of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School, Henry Pratt, and the federal government did not originally intend for the school to be run by Christian churches, but it was based on a Christian belief system. Pratt and the federal government did however intend to commit cultural genocide through the Federal Indian policy to assimilate Indian children. The Carlisle Indian Boarding School was the first off-reservation boarding school that served as the model for most of the later schools built across the United States during the 19th and 20th centuries. The goals of the schools were to civilize, and Christianize Native children and they were carried out because of federal funding and policies. The horrors of the boarding schools were hidden from the public eye through propaganda, specifically involving Carlisle students to convince the public that the schools were doing a service to Native children.

### Founding of Carlisle

Richard Henry Pratt was a soldier in the American Civil War and later fought in many of the Indian Wars. During his time in the military, Pratt had many different experiences with Native Americans and gained a new perspective on them. After fighting against them and even working alongside some he believed that they did possess skills and that they could be “civilized” and ultimately become functioning members of American society. This view is where Pratt created his motto of “Kill the Indian, Save the Man.” In 1875, Pratt was given power over a group of Native men who were Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Aprahoe, and Caddo.<sup>95</sup> All the men were prisoners of war at Fort

---

<sup>95</sup> Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 19.



Marion, St. Augustine, Florida and when given this group of men he used them to experiment with his hypothesis that Native Americans could be civilized. He used military protocols and standards, including military haircuts, uniforms, and drills, and taught them English. Pratt's educational system based on military-style strict conformity and discipline effectively reformed the prisoners of war. It provided Pratt with the confidence that this system would effectively civilize Native Americans across the country.

After what Pratt believed to be a successful experiment, he used his observations and experience at Fort Marion to convince officials in the United States Army and government that a similar education system could be used on Native American children. The Department of the Interior provided Pratt the Carlisle Barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania to open the Carlisle Indian Industrial School which opened its doors in 1879. A letter dated February 14, 1879, written by Spencer Fullerton Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution was sent to Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz endorsing Captain Richard Henry Pratt's request to establish an Indian School at the Carlisle Barracks.<sup>96</sup> A few months later, a letter dated August 4, 1879, from Pratt was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ezra A. Hayt.<sup>97</sup> In this letter, Pratt did not only request an increase in the per-student funding afforded by the government to Indian schools, but

---

<sup>96</sup> Recommendation of Carlisle Barracks as location for Indian School. Recommendation of Carlisle Barracks as Location for Indian School | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/recommendation-carlisle-barracks-location-indian-school>

<sup>97</sup> Per-student funding and establishment of school at Carlisle. Per-Student Funding and Establishment of School at Carlisle | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/student-funding-and-establishment-school-carlisle>

he also encouraged the Commissioner to continue pursuing Congressional approval for the opening of an Indian school at the Carlisle Barracks.

There are a series of letters throughout August of 1879 regarding transfer requests and approval to transfer the Carlisle Barracks from the War Department to the Interior. On August 22, 1879, the request for the transfer of the Carlisle Barracks was approved and General E.D. Townsend stated that the Barracks would be used as a school for Indian children and would be under the charge of Richard Henry Pratt. However, he also stated that “The War Department retains the right to reclaim the Barracks whenever deemed necessary or by act of Congress.”<sup>98</sup> That same day the Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. A. Hayt instructed the Acting Commissioner to officially allow Pratt to recruit seventy children from the Sioux Nations and thirty from the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Nations.<sup>99</sup>

After the transfer of the Carlisle Barracks and the approval to recruit Native children, Pratt began requesting funds for supplies. There are multiple letters from Pratt to the Acting Secretary of the Interior A. Bell and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requested supplies for the school and students. These supplies included shoes, clothing, and bedding. On October 1, 1879, Bell granted the authority to purchase the supplies in the amount of \$2,000, specifically on the open market rather than through regular

---

<sup>98</sup> Transfer of Carlisle Barracks from War Department to Interior Department. Transfer of Carlisle Barracks from War Department to Interior Department | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/transfer-carlisle-barracks-war-department-interior-department>

<sup>99</sup> Order to recruit Sioux, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho students. Order to Recruit Sioux, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Students | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/order-recruit-sioux-kiowa-comanche-cheyenne-and-arapaho-students>

government contractors.<sup>100</sup> Multiple funding and construction requests were approved through 1879 and were funded through the government's Civilization Fund Act and donations.

### Financial Affairs

On March 3, 1819, the United States Congress passed the Civilization Fund Act which authorized funding for organizations to run schools on Native American reservations. The Act was later used to authorize the establishment of off-reservation boarding schools, Carlisle being the first to be approved. The Act encouraged American education to be provided to Indigenous children which reinforced the civilization process that occurred at the boarding schools. Pratt used the Civilization Fund Act to get authorization for the establishment of boarding schools, beginning with his school in Carlisle.

However, The Civilization Fund was reestablished in 1867 by a treaty with the Great and Little Osage Indian tribes. The treaty dated September 29, 1865, showed the United States purchased lands from the tribe for \$300,000.<sup>101</sup> The amount paid was placed in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the tribe along with a rate of five percent per annum, being paid to the tribes. The first article of the treaty stated that the lands would be surveyed and sold and when sold the excess \$470,179.42 was placed

---

<sup>100</sup> Approval to purchase \$2,000 of supplies for new students. Approval to Purchase \$2,000 of Supplies for New Students | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/approval-purchase-2000-supplies-new-students>

<sup>101</sup> Correspondence file, 1918-1966. Correspondence File, 1918-1966 | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource

Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/correspondence-file-1918-1966>

in the Treasury to the credit of the “Civilization Fund” to be used under the Secretary of the Interior for the education and civilization of Indian tribes.<sup>102</sup>

Throughout the entirety of Carlisle’s existence, hundreds of funding requests were written and approved. One of the first larger funding requests was for Pratt to pay off the debts and workers’ salaries for the year. Pratt wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra Hayt on November 4, 1879, requesting \$4,000 be transferred for debts and salaries. However, later files show that the Commissioner transferred \$7,000 into Pratt’s account.<sup>103</sup> Every year Pratt requested for an increase in funding from the Office of Indian Affairs and was almost always approved. On February 25, 1890, Pratt was granted \$100,000 for the Carlisle Indian School by the Office of Indian Affairs. In his response, he asked for an additional \$10,000 to be sent for the construction of another girl’s dormitory, as well as \$5,000 to cover the school’s debt from 1887.<sup>104</sup> The next year in 1891, the requested amount increased to \$115,000 which was only allocated to cover the living expenses of the students, Through the years, Pratt placed separate funding requests to cover the cost of transportation for recruitment trips which averaged to be about \$2,000 per trip.

---

<sup>102</sup> Correspondence file, 1918-1966. Correspondence File, 1918-1966 | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/correspondence-file-1918-1966>

<sup>103</sup> Request for fund transfer for salaries and debts. Request for Fund Transfer for Salaries and Debts | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/request-fund-transfer-salaries-and-debts>

<sup>104</sup> Request for increase in appropriation to cover various buildings. Request for Increase in Appropriation to Cover Various Buildings | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/request-increase-appropriation-cover-various-buildings>

As the school's budget requests increased every year with Pratt, it continued to increase when the new Superintendent, William A. Mercer ran the Carlisle Indian School. In a letter dated, December 28, 1907, the acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs C.F. Larrabee informed Superintendent William A. Mercer that the Indian Appropriations Act of 1896 only allowed them to authorize \$163,000 for the operation of the school and the school had spent \$5,623.94 over this allotted amount.<sup>105</sup> However, by 1910, the appropriation for the Carlisle Indian School was increased to \$169,000. After many employee requests for salary raises and housing allowances, in 1914, the last letter regarding the school's funding was from June 28, 1917, which consisted of the yearly financial request for the school's operations costs.

While the Carlisle Indian Boarding School received the majority of its funding from the federal government, it also received donations. During the early days of the school, Pratt wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra Hayt on October 11, 1897, requesting instructions on how to process donations he had received for the Carlisle Indian School. Pratt questioned if that donations were to be deposited to the government's Civilization Fund or directly to the school.<sup>106</sup> A document dated, January 27, 1904, written by Pratt indicates that the amount of private donations to the Carlisle Indian School during the 1903 school year amounted to \$5,285.<sup>107</sup> In July of 1905,

---

<sup>105</sup> The Indian Appropriation Act and the school's budget. The Indian Appropriation Act and the School's Budget |

Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/indian-appropriation-act-and-schools-budget>

<sup>106</sup> Request for instructions regarding donations. Request for Instructions Regarding Donations | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/request-instructions-regarding-donations>

<sup>107</sup> Contributions to Charity Fund for 1903 Fiscal Year. Contributions to Charity Fund for 1903 Fiscal Year | Carlisle

Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/contributions-charity-fund-1903-fiscal-year>

William A. Mercer received a \$1000 check from Harriet W. Taber to go towards the Carlisle Indian School. Mercer informed the Office of Indian Affairs of this donation and his plan to use it to build a photography studio on the school grounds.<sup>108</sup> March 26, 1906, another donation was made to the Carlisle Indian School, this time by Anna E. Peale. In her will, Anna left \$3,000 to fund the education of Indian girls at Carlisle. In the letter given to Superintendent Mercer, the money was paid to and managed by Bishop William H. Hare.<sup>109</sup> Two years later a document dated May 22, 1908, discussed the \$5000 donation made to the school by Miss Mary Ropes from Salem Massachusetts. In the document it explicitly stated that “This is an ordinary bequest and no limitations have been placed upon the use of the money.”<sup>110</sup> Separate from Miss Mary Ropes’s donation, her sister Eliza O. Ropes also sent Carlisle a check for \$1,500. There is no documentation of what specifically these donations were used for as the funds did not have limitations placed on them by those who donated them.

There were many donations made to the Carlisle Indian Boarding School while its doors were open, however, there were also many donations made after its doors closed. Some of these donations were written into people’s wills, however since the Carlisle Indian School was closed most of these donations went to other schools that were now

---

<sup>108</sup> Request to build photography studio with funds from bequest. Request to Build Photography Studio with Funds from Bequest | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/request-build-photography-studio-funds-bequest>

<sup>109</sup> Documents regarding school financial matters. Documents Regarding School Financial Matters | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/documents-regarding-school-financial-matters>

<sup>110</sup> Documents regarding school financial matters. Documents Regarding School Financial Matters | Carlisle Indian

School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/documents-regarding-school-financial-matters>

around the country. One of these donations came from the will of Bradford R. Wood of Albany New York. Wood left \$1,000 to the Carlisle Indian School with no restrictions placed on it.<sup>111</sup> The money from Wood was deposited into the Treasury of the United States in 1941 after his death and because Carlisle ceased to exist, the funds were made available to other existing Indian Boarding Schools. This was the standard money process left to the Carlisle Indian School after its closure in 1918.

### Carlisle's Reputation

As the first Indian Boarding School to open its doors, Carlisle was also viewed as an experiment by many. Both the public and the government were intrigued by the assimilation system proposed by Pratt and saw it as a potential solution to the “Indian problem.” The various public displays of the Native American students created a picture-perfect reputation for the Carlisle school. Both the government and the public viewed Carlisle to be successful in assimilating Native American children which led to more federal funding, public involvement, and involvement of church leaders, and ultimately led to the support behind opening up hundreds more Indian boarding schools across the United States. Carlisle used their athletics specifically the football team and marching band as a means to display their “success in civilizing” Native American children to the rest of the country.

While the students who played football at Carlisle were not forced to play, their athletic success and abilities were used to showcase the school's so-called success to the public eye and the federal government. Given the local success of the Carlisle football

---

<sup>111</sup> Bequests to the Carlisle Indian School. Bequests to the Carlisle Indian School | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/bequests-carlisle-indian-school>

team, Pratt used federal funding to hire Glenn “Pop” Warner as the boy’s head coach. The football team played many prestigious schools around the country including Ivy Leagues such as Harvard, Cornell, University of Pennsylvania, and Princeton. The team traveled all along the East Coast to play the most well-known schools in the country and often won. As their success became known, they drew thousands of people to their games. Many people and government officials were so intrigued by the idea that Carlisle was able to “civilize” the Indigenous students to this level and beat prestigious schools. Carlisle’s beating universities quickly made headlines in newspapers across the country and brought in more crowds to watch them play and more involvement from the public to the school.

Many of the newspapers and magazines that covered the Carlisle students and school were the *Red Man* magazine, *Detroit Evening News*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Minneapolis Tribune*, and many more. Within these magazines were not just articles but also cartoons that often depicted the football games. Some of the articles and cartoons consisted of stereotypes and racist beliefs such as depicting the Native Americans on the field as “savages” next to “knights” which depicted the white players from the prestigious schools. This stereotype was depicted in a now famous cartoon from the *Detroit Evening News* in 1901.<sup>112</sup> However, as the Carlisle football team began to play more teams and prove themselves on the field, many of the newspapers and magazines began to write about their transition from “savages” to “civilized” players. Many of the articles praised the Carlisle players for having good sportsmanship and playing a fair game unlike

---

<sup>112</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>



“savages.” One example of this was in 1896 when a *Chicago Tribune* cartoonist depicted an Indian who was in the midst of a cultural transformation. The image showed a Carlisle player who had long hair and feathers but was in a full football uniform. In one hand the player was throwing down his tomahawk while the other hand was holding up a football. The caption of this cartoon was “THE MODERN INDIAN DISCARDS THE TOMAHAWK FOR THE DEADLIER FOOTBALL AT THE CHICAGO COLISEUM.”<sup>113</sup>

Many of the Carlisle players proved to be gifted in football and created a name for the Carlisle football team. One of these players was Jim Thorpe who after being a star player from Carlisle went on to become a Olympic gold medalist. According to Carlisle’s student records, Jim Thorpe entered Carlisle on February 6, 1904, and left on February 1, 1913.<sup>114</sup> Thorpe became a world famous athlete while he was still at Carlisle. Thorpe competed in the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm and won gold in the Decathlon and Pentathlon.<sup>115</sup> After Carlisle and the Olympics, he had a successful professional baseball and football career making him labeled, “The World’s Greatest Athlete” amongst the public and media. (See Appendix B2) Thorpe was proof of Carlisle’s success and he was often always associated with Carlisle. Due to his success, the Carlisle school gained even more attention and his success not only boosted the football teams reputation but the school itself. After Thorpe won gold at the Olympics, the Carlisle administration received

---

<sup>113</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930.

Pacific Historical Review, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>114</sup> James Thorpe Student File. James Thorpe Student File | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

[https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/james-thorpe-student-file](https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/james-thorpe-student-file)

<sup>115</sup> James Thorpe Student File. James Thorpe Student File | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

[https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/james-thorpe-student-file](https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/james-thorpe-student-file)

multiple letters from other boarding school administrators and government officials, congratulating them on having the greatest athlete in the world at their school. The football team served as a crucial part to Carlisle's overall reputation and how the media viewed the school. While the football team alone gained a successful reputation Jim Thorpe brought the entire world's attention to Carlisle and the education system and assimilation programs of Carlisle were viewed to be successful.

While Carlisle's football team and Jim Thorpe heavily contributed to the school's successful reputation and brought the school and its mission to more people's attention, their marching band was also showcased around the country. The Carlisle marching band performed at multiple parades and presidential inauguration ceremonies. On January 28, 1885, Henry Pratt requested permission from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for approval to have 200 boys and the Carlisle Indian School band to participate in the inaugural ceremonies. In his letter, he also mentioned that he corresponded with the Secretary of the Interior, Henry Morgan Teller and he believed that the performance was a good idea and would be no expense to the government.<sup>116</sup>

After the Carlisle band and other students performed many other cities were requesting them to perform in their parades. These parades and other celebrations were thought to be a great way not only for Pratt to showcase his success of transforming Indigenous children, but for the government to also show the public that Native Americans were able to be "civilized" and a part of American society. The first request was on September 16, 1887, by Chauncey F. Black who requested that Pratt bring the

---

<sup>116</sup> Inquiry about participating in inaugural ceremonies. Inquiry About Participating in Inaugural Ceremonies | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/inquiry-about-participating-inaugural-ceremonies>

band to perform in the Centennial Celebration in York, Pennsylvania. Black also noted that the student's transportation would be paid for through the committee that was in charge of the celebration.<sup>117</sup> There are many other letters requesting the Carlisle students to perform at various parades and celebrations including but not limited to the World's Columbian Exposition in 1892, the McKinley Inauguration in 1897, the Pan-American Exposition and inaugural parade in 1901, as well as a patriotic parade in 1917. The Carlisle band had gained popularity around the country and provided the public and government officials with "proof" that Native Americans could be assimilated into civilized children and be a part of American society. Many of the songs they would perform were United States patriotic songs. In 1917, Frederic A. Godcharles, the Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania requested that the Carlisle band perform in the patriotic parade for the State House employees. In the request it stated that the "State capital employees eight-hundred strong would like Carlisle Indian school band to lead us in a monster patriotic parade in Harrisburg, expect about twenty thousand."<sup>118</sup> The Carlisle band performed for thousands of people and their new "civilized" appearances were showcased as they often played patriotic songs. The marching band was another tool for both Pratt and government officials to showcase the civilization process that occurred at Carlisle and other boarding schools. These performances which were often used as showcases also showed the public that the

---

<sup>117</sup> Request for Carlisle students to participate in Centennial Celebration in York, PA. Request for Carlisle Students to Participate in Centennial Celebration in York, PA | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/request-carlisle-students-participate-centennial-celebration-york-pa>

<sup>118</sup> Participation of Carlisle Indian School Band in Patriotic Parade. Participation of Carlisle Indian School Band in Patriotic Parade | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/participation-carlisle-indian-school-band-patriotic-parade>

children could be civilized and led the public to support the boarding schools and their mission.

### The Outing System

Richard Pratt's initial ideas for the outing system stemmed from the training he provided to the Fort Marion prisoners which allowed them to enter into American society in industrial jobs. Pratt's hopes for the outing system at Carlisle were that by sending the students on outings they would be able to learn the skills required to obtain a similar job after they graduated from Carlisle. He sent his first plan for the outing system to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs R.E. Trowbridge on June 15, 1880. In the letter, he informs the commissioner that he wants the students to have outings on farms located in Berkshire and Hampshire counties located in Massachusetts. The initial plan was for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to pay for the student's transit costs while the students would be responsible for paying for their food and washing expenses. By 1882, the outing system was reported to be a success for all parties involved. In a letter to the Office of Indian Affairs, Pratt reported that during the Summer of 1882, he was able to place 85 students over the Summer and was also able to secure transportation costs and a salary for the students.<sup>119</sup>

From 1882 until 1900, students received their earnings for outings directly from their hosts. However, on August 3, 1900, Pratt notified the hosts about the changes in how the earnings of students would be handled. Pratt indicated that hosts paying their outing students directly has resulted in various issues. Some of the issues Pratt points out

---

<sup>119</sup> Update on outing system for summer of 1882. Update on Outing System for Summer of 1882 | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/update-outing-system-summer-1882>

in the letter include, students using the money from their outing earnings to run away and other “bad results from the too-free use of money.” Due to these issues, Pratt stated that “any money given to students except on the approval of the Superintendent or Assistant Superintendent will not be considered as part of pay.”<sup>120</sup>

By the early 1880s, the outing system at Carlisle grew rapidly and easily surpassed similar programs. By 1885 Carlisle was placing almost 250 students in homes each summer, whereas similar programs were only sending out on average 25 students per summer.<sup>121</sup> As the outing system gained more success and popularity, many patrons wanted to host Carlisle students. However as its success and popularity grew, Pratt and then eventually Superintendent Mercer had to recruit more students to attend Carlisle and then be sent on outings. Due to the high volume of students on outings, there was an official document created indicating the outing rules that students and patrons had to follow. One of the first contracts signed was by student Rachel Long and her patron George Diffenderfer on February 18th, 1907.<sup>122</sup> (See Appendix B6) The contract consisted of twelve rules that the students and patrons were governed by to ensure the students would learn English and the customs of civilized life. The first bullet of the contract stated “Pupils must attend Church and Sabbath School regularly” and if patrons were to interfere or forbid their student from attending or exercising these practices, they

---

<sup>120</sup> Notice of change in outing pay. Notice of Change in Outing Pay | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center.

(n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/notice-change-outing-pay>

<sup>121</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930.

Pacific Historical Review, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>122</sup> Copy of outing rules signed by Rachel Long. Copy of Outing Rules Signed by Rachel Long | Carlisle Indian

School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.-a).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/copy-outing-rules-signed-rachel-long>

would have their pupils “recalled.”<sup>123</sup> Many of the other rules consist of the patron’s responsibility to report monthly if a student goes absent, use tobacco or any other spiritual items, do not take care of their clothing and belongings, etc... Also, the contract requires patrons to not give the students more than half of their earnings and with the earnings they do give, have the student provide receipts of their spending which the patron is required to send to the school with their monthly behavioral report.

The Carlisle Boarding Schools’ overall success led to the Bureau of Indian Affairs using it as a model for the later schools. While Carlisle had gained a good reputation, the outing system set up by Pratt was viewed as the key to ultimately civilizing the children. Due to the immediate success of the Carlisle outing system in 1880, the Bureau of Indian Affairs opened more than one hundred boarding schools modeled after Carlisle across the country between 1880 and 1886.<sup>124</sup> Many of the schools that opened up soon after Carlisle did not establish their own outing systems until Congress encouraged them to develop a program. To encourage the schools to establish an outing program at their school, Congress passed a series of laws in 1882 that appropriated funds to place Indian children with white families who would supply the children with proper care, support, and education in exchange for the child’s labor. (See Appendix A6) Two years later in 1884, Congress approved funds to provide transportation for the students to get to their outing jobs and cover medical and clothing costs of the children as well.<sup>125</sup> Despite the

---

<sup>123</sup> Copy of outing rules signed by Rachel Long. Copy of Outing Rules Signed by Rachel Long | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.-a).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/copy-outing-rules-signed-rachel-long>

<sup>124</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930.

Pacific Historical Review, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>125</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930.

immediate increase of boarding schools in a short six-year period, by the time the last boarding school closed in 1983, it is estimated that more than 523 Indian boarding schools operated in the United States with the majority of them having their own outing system program.<sup>126</sup> The original name for the program was the outing system, however, later boarding schools also referred to it as an apprenticeship or vocational training.

The success of Carlisle's outing program led to a close relationship between the Quakers and the administrators at Carlisle. The administration, including Pratt, viewed the Quakers as model citizens and believed that sending children to Quaker homes for outing positions would provide the most success in "civilizing" the children. Quaker residents of Pennsylvania took an active role and interest in the outing program by both serving as patrons and spreading Carlisle's philosophy of civilization. Patrons, including the Quakers, took an interest in hosting students for many reasons. One of the benefits to the Quakers was the ability to spread their religious beliefs and ways of life associated with it such as having the boys and girls doing standard gender role chores. Another added benefit to being able to spread their gospel and beliefs was they could give the students a much lower wage than they could by hiring a white worker at the time. Another benefit to the Quakers and other patrons who hosted students was they felt satisfied with knowing they were helping to resolve what was referred to as the Indian Problem.

---

Pacific Historical Review, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>126</sup> US Indian boarding school history. The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition. (n.d.).

<https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/#:~:text=There%20were%20more%20than%20523,they%20spoke%20their%20Native%20languages.>

The success of Carlisle's outing system on Indigenous children was not the only part of the program that was deemed to be a success. While the outing system proved to teach the children English at a fast rate and learn jobs, chores, and responsibilities associated with their status and gender roles in American society, it was also a cheap form of labor for many farmers. While the schools out west were slower to develop their own programs, by 1889 farmers were reportedly traveling from miles away to guarantee their chances of being given a Indigenous child to work for them. By this time, most of the schools were not requiring the host families to give the children any earnings for their work as Congress had passed a series of laws that children would work in exchange for knowledge and skills to further progress their education and assimilation into American society.

Many of the schools following Carlisle strayed away from the original intent and purpose of the outing system and evolved as a result of local influences from each school's surrounding community. One of the most famous evolutions of the outing system was in Phoenix which like many others changed its purpose due to economic reasons. Phoenix created their outing system which they referred to as their apprenticeship program. Ultimately what was created as an apprenticeship similar to Pratt's outing system turned into a child labor system that exploited the Native American children and benefited both the government and the surrounding white families. The child labor system and its economic benefits even influenced many of the school's decisions to locate where they did. For example, the Phoenix school was originally planned to open in McDowell, however, due to local citizens being interested and aware of the cheap labor they could use if they had a nearby school, as well as the schools attracted federal



dollars which would help their city. After Commissioner Morgan approved the new site to be Phoenix a local newspaper reported, “The establishment of this school will furnish cheap and efficient labor in quantity to warrant the growing and manufacture of cotton here in the valley as well as to afford our fruit-growers facilities for handling the rapidly increasing quantity of fruit.”<sup>127</sup> While the Quakers of Carlisle had more of a sincere interest in hosting children to “teach them to be civilized,” the cheap labor provided through later outing programs led the American people to quickly request children. There were so many people requesting to have a Native American child to work for them, that there were fewer children than there were requests. The boys were requested for farmwork while the girls were requested to be servants. The outing system at the Phoenix school was referenced multiple times in documents as the “outing business.”

Amongst Phoenix and other Indian Boarding Schools whose outing systems evolved into a business rather than an apprenticeship, many of the schools allowed the children to be significantly underpaid or not paid at all. During the late 1800s, children were being hired out to families at an average of eight dollars per month, which was significantly lower than whites were paid during that time for the same jobs. According to historical records, the average income of the typical American family was between \$400 and \$500 per year. This means that monthly whites were making significantly more ranging from \$33 to \$41 per month.<sup>128</sup> While some school’s students did make a wage, many schools made agreements with the host families that children would not earn an

---

<sup>127</sup> Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930.

Pacific Historical Review, 52(3), 267–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>

<sup>128</sup> Digital history. (n.d.).

[https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3186#:~:text=During%20the%20late%2019th%20century,insufficient%20to%20support%20a%20family.](https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3186#:~:text=During%20the%20late%2019th%20century,insufficient%20to%20support%20a%20family.)

actual wage but would work for skills and knowledge. This was made possible when Congress passed funding for the student's transportation, medical needs, and clothing in 1882.

As the Native American children learned "proper" behavior and chores during their outing assignments, they were then expected to utilize them when they were back at the boarding school. Most assignments took place during school breaks which was typically the summer time and then students would return for the start of school in the fall. Due to the success of the outing programs, many boys and girls were then considered useful to the school's themselves. The schools were able to cut down on many faculty positions, which saved the government and the school's money. For example, at their assignments girls were taught how to do laundry, dishes, sewing, etc.. which meant the schools no longer had to hire workers to fulfill these positions. The boys also learned how to farm and harvest food which saved the school's money on purchasing food and field positions. The school system eventually relied on the student's unpaid labor to keep the school running. While the initial intent of the original outing system at Carlisle was to "prepare the students to function in work in American society" it quickly evolved into unpaid labor that benefited white families and the government. The government's focus quickly changed from educating and assimilating Native American children to exploiting them for cheap and free labor. School administrators went along with the new motives of the outing programs because of the local demand for student workers and they needed public support.

## Organized Christianity Took Over

Most of the Indian Boarding Schools that operated in the United States were originally run by the military. This model began with the Carlisle Indian Boarding School which was located at old military barracks in Carlisle Pennsylvania and then run by military officials. Before most of the boarding schools opened Indigenous peoples and Americans fought in the Indian wars from 1609 through 1918. The first major war was the Pequot War of 1637 and the last official United States-Indian War occurred in January of 1918 at Bear Valley.<sup>129</sup> The wars were originally started as a result of ideologies such as the Discovery Doctrine and Manifest Destiny. Under these theories, the United States believed it was destined to expand through all of North America. These beliefs also resulted in Indian removal policies, scalping, massacres, forceful territory treaties, and eventually off-reservation boarding schools.

The Carlisle Indian Boarding School was military-run however a part of the student's education was learning and practicing Christianity. Church service was a mandatory event each week and there was a chapel built at the school for the students. (See Appendix A5) From November 15-17, 1879 there was a series of letters between Carlisle's superintendent, Richard Pratt, Samuel Wetzel who was the superintendent of building and repairs, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. A. Hayt. These letters include a blueprint and estimated cost for a chapel and assembly room to be built at Carlisle.<sup>130</sup> (See Appendix B1) The amount Pratt requested from the Commissioner was

---

<sup>129</sup> Bureau, U. C. (2021, October 28). 2020 decennial census data tables. Census.gov. <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/2020/2020-tables.html>

<sup>130</sup> Estimate of cost and blueprints for Chapel and Assembly Room. Estimate of Cost and Blueprints for Chapel and Assembly Room | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/estimate-cost-and-blueprints-chapel-and-assembly-room>

\$1,165.94 which was granted in the final letter.<sup>131</sup> The Carlisle school also worked closely with local Quakers through their outing system. Pratt believed Quakers were the perfect role models for the Native American children and the Quakers wanted to be involved in civilizing the children as well which they did through hosting outing students. Despite the religious involvement in the school including Reverend J.A. Lippincott stating “The Indian is dead in you. Let all that is Indian within you die. You cannot become truly American citizens, industrious, intelligent, cultured, civilized until the Indian within you dead” during the 1896 Carlisle Commencement the school was still not considered church-run.<sup>132</sup> Almost all of the Commencement programs for Carlisle also have crosses printed on the pamphlets. While Carlisle involved Christianity in all aspects of its education and assimilation processes it was military-run.

Many of the schools that opened their doors a few years following Carlisle were modeled after Carlisle including typically being placed on old military barracks and being military-run. However, Christian churches did become more involved with most of the boarding schools and took them over from the military for multiple reasons. The first was the United States was preparing for World War II and many of the men who were running and working at the Indian boarding schools were taken away for preparation and then eventually to fight in World War II. When the United States was preparing for World War II, the federal government wanted to keep the boarding schools running as

---

<sup>131</sup> Estimate of cost and blueprints for Chapel and Assembly Room. Estimate of Cost and Blueprints for Chapel and

Assembly Room | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/estimate-cost-and-blueprints-chapel-and-assembly-room>

<sup>132</sup> Program of the 1896 commencement exercises. Program of the 1896 Commencement Exercises | Carlisle Indian

School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).

<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/program-1896-commencement-exercises>

multiple government officials agreed that educating the Native American children was cheaper than killing them. The loss of the military men but the desire for the boarding schools to remain open provided an opportunity for Christian churches to take over. This saved the government money and the churches believed this would place them in a higher status with the government. At this time many federal government officials were open with their Christianity and their beliefs on assimilating the Native American children. This not only created a relationship between the two groups regarding the boarding schools but also allowed leaders of Christian churches to recommend people for appointments to federal positions on Native affairs.<sup>133</sup>

When the military moved out and Christian churches moved in, the military was sometimes called in. The 1969 Senate investigation states that “the U.S. military was frequently called in to reinforce the missionaries’ orders” in the 19th century.”<sup>134</sup> The report also includes a statement from a Sicangu Lakota from the Rosebud Sioux Reservation. He stated “The boarding schools were sanctioned by the United States Government. The government gave the churches our lands to Christianize us, modernize us, and civilize us.”<sup>135</sup> Finally the report also includes a statement from Reverend Hauff that reads “As much as we in the church might not want to acknowledge that, it is the truth, and we have to acknowledge and reckon with it. We did work hand in hand with the government in the assimilation process. Most if not all the Christian denominations

---

<sup>133</sup> Smith, P. (2022, May 14). U.S. report details Church-state collusion on indigenous schools. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/u-s-report-details-church-state-collusion-on-indigenous-schools>

<sup>134</sup> Smith, P. (2022, May 14). U.S. report details Church-state collusion on indigenous schools. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/u-s-report-details-church-state-collusion-on-indigenous-schools>

<sup>135</sup> Smith, P. (2022, May 14). U.S. report details Church-state collusion on indigenous schools. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/u-s-report-details-church-state-collusion-on-indigenous-schools>

that had a presence in America in the late 19th century operated at least one Indigenous boarding school.”<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>136</sup> Smith, P. (2022, May 14). U.S. report details Church-state collusion on indigenous schools. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/u-s-report-details-church-state-collusion-on-indigenous-schools>

## CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I investigated how the Carlisle Indian Boarding School allowed the U.S. federal government to maintain an unconstitutional relationship with multiple Christian churches. My thesis question was, how did the Carlisle Indian Boarding School allow the federal government to violate the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution and participate in an unconstitutional relationship with organized Christianity for nearly a century?

I chose the topic of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School and the Establishment Clause because I am interested in how the federal government was able to violate the Establishment Clause for nearly a century with little to no pushback from the public. I chose to focus on the Carlisle Indian Boarding School specifically because it was the first Indian boarding school in the United States that was used as the model for the later schools. However, Carlisle was initially military-run which is what sparked my interest in how the federal government ended up violating the Establishment Clause. I was interested in discovering how the boarding schools transitioned from military-run to church-run and the role that Carlisle played in allowing and creating the opportunity for this to occur.

Through my research, I found that there were multiple factors that in combination resulted in the federal government violating the Establishment Clause through Indian Boarding schools. Indian boarding schools did not start out being run by Christian churches nor was the federal government partnered with the organized Christianity to open Indian boarding schools. Indian boarding schools in general were a result of Indian removal policies. Before Carlisle opened its doors, the United States was involved in

multiple Indian wars and enacted removal policies to push Indigenous peoples out west. The boarding schools also opened not too long after Indian scalping took place in the United States which consisted of the federal government placing bounties on Indigenous people's scalps as proof of death. At this time, the government was removing Indians from the east and forcefully moving them out west to obtain their lands. Many government officials believed that removing them would be cheaper than killing them and continuing to pay off bounties. This view soon changed to the view that educating Indians is cheaper than killing them.

In 1879, Richard Henry Pratt approached Congress with the concept of opening an off-reservation Indian boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Many open barracks remained from the Indian Wars and were no longer being occupied by the military. Pratt presented to Congress a plan to re-educate and civilize Native American children and prepare them to be members of American society based on his experiment with Native American prisoners at Fort Marion. Pratt introduced the concept of "Kill the Indian, save the man" to Congress through the operation of an Indian boarding school. Congress approved Pratt's request to open the first Indian boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania at the old Army barracks. Congress agreed to fund the Carlisle Indian Boarding School through the Civilization Fund Act of 1819. This Act also funded the boarding schools that opened after Carlisle as well.

During the 19th century there was a common consensus among both government officials and the rest of American society that Indigenous peoples were uncivilized. Every aspect of Indigenous peoples was considered to be savage or barbaric in comparison to the rest of American society, specifically those who were white Christians.



Christianity was viewed as a civilized belief system and way of life, making those who were Christian “civilized” in the eyes of American society. Pratt’s plans for the boarding school revolved around re-educating and instilling Christianity in the Native American students. Pratt and Congress agreed that instilling Christianity into the students would make them look and act civilized and would eventually erase their “uncivilized” culture. After Congress approved the opening of Carlisle and agreed to fund the operation, there was a lot of correspondence between Carlisle administrators including Pratt and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Most of this correspondence consisted of funding requests for recruiting Native American children, supplies such as clothing, shoes, and bedding, as well as funding requests for new construction. (See Appendix B4) As the number of students grew, the original Army barracks did not provide enough buildings and the federal government approved Pratt’s funding requests to build more dormitories, a chapel, and assembly rooms which were sometimes also used as classrooms.

Despite Pratt requesting the funding for a chapel, the letters did not specify that the students would be forced to practice Christianity within the chapel. In his letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, he only used the word chapel and never Christianity or any other religion that would be associated with the chapel. Due to his vagueness, it can be argued that the federal government was not knowingly funding a Christian chapel. The funding for the chapel at Carlisle alone was not enough for the Establishment Clause to be considered violated. Aside from federal funding, the Carlisle boarding school also received multiple donations from the local community. The majority of the donations that were made came from wills of those who were Christian and believed Christianity would civilize the Native American children. Almost all of the donations that were made did not

specify what specifically the money was supposed to be put towards. The money was provided to the administration of Carlisle and Pratt and later superintendents were able to put the money towards what they deemed appropriate. It is important to note that these donations could have been used for various religious aspects such as transportation to the local church before Carlisle built their own chapel. Despite the other Establishment Clause violations that occurred, the school and the government could have used donations for various religious purposes which would mean that certain religious aspects and resources such as Bibles or paying a reverend to speak at commencement would have not been funded directly from the federal government. However, I was unable to find any records that explicitly stated what donations were spent on specifically at Carlisle.

While Carlisle was built on the Christian belief system and intended to instill Christian beliefs and values into the students, the school was not originally documented as such. The documents that discuss the founding of Carlisle discuss re-education and “civilizing” the children. Christians were viewed as the standard of civilized society and Carlisle was more focused on the “civilizing” aspect by taking away their culture and replacing it with European culture than simply teaching the children the Christian Bible.

The boarding school’s intentions went beyond teaching the children the Christian Bible. At school the children were also forced to change their appearance by having their hair cut, wear modern American clothing, and change their name to a common American one. While the school did teach typical school subjects such as reading, writing, mathematics, and even music, in these classes, the children were taught English and were educated in European culture. For example, the children were forbidden to take part in their traditional music and were forced to learn classical European music because that

was “civilized” music. The school was not intended to solely teach Christianity, but to teach them to be “civilized” and part of that belief was that the children believe in Christian God rather than their own.

Even though Christianity was not the sole purpose of Carlisle it was incorporated greatly outside of the school’s premises through the outing system families. Pratt viewed the local Quakers to be model citizens and the perfect example of what he wanted the Native American children at Carlisle to become. When Pratt received approval from Congress to establish the outing system he partnered with both local Quakers and Quakers throughout Massachusetts to provide outing placements for the children. The rules of the outing system evolved over the years at Carlisle but its intentions never changed. The outing system was created to place Native American children in white homes to learn skills and work to gain the required skill set to be able to work in American society after their graduation. Gaining these work skills would allow Native American children to integrate into American society more easily and be a functioning part of it. However, there was a sinister aspect to the outing system which consisted of the children being placed in white homes and typically Christian homes to learn how to be “civilized” from their host family. Most of the outing assignments took place over what would have been the student’s summer break from school. This time frame was chosen with the intention that rather than allowing students to go back to their families and revert to their culture and “uncivilized ways” they would instead be placed with white, Christian host families to maintain their path to becoming “civilized.”

In Dickinson College’s digital archives there are multiple letters between federal government officials and the Carlisle administration discussing the success of the outing

system design. After Carlisle's successful outing system, the federal government concluded that the outing system was not just a successful way to civilize Native American children but it was also good for the local economy and community. While the arrangement was successful in its assimilation of the Native American children into American society, it also was a source of cheap labor for the families who hosted the children.

Despite Carlisle's almost immediate success in "civilizing" Native American children, most people out west knew nothing about all the advantages of having an Indian boarding school. For the military and federal government to open more boarding schools, they needed to gain public support. By gaining public support the military would be able to use old barracks and the federal government officials would be willing to support the schools and their funding. While the government was happy with the results of Carlisle, if they did not have the public's support, many of the government officials would risk their own re-election and political careers. Three of the ways that the federal government was able to showcase the benefits of Indian boarding school were through Carlisle's outing system, their football team, and their marching band.

The Carlisle football team was known around the country because of its success on the football field. When Carlisle students approached Pratt about creating a football team at the school he happily agreed viewing it as an opportunity to showcase his students to the public and their local community. Pratt was proud of Carlisle and wanted to spread the message of "kill the Indian, save the man" and that he founded a school that could civilize Indigenous peoples. In order to help ensure the success of the Carlisle football team, Pratt requested funding from the federal government through the

Commissioner of Indian Affairs to pay for a football coach. Pratt hired Glenn “Pop” Warner as the football coach of Carlisle after the Commissioner approved the funding request for a coach salary.

The Carlisle team coached by Glenn Warner proved to be very athletic and successful on the field and after playing local teams they were offered to play against prestigious universities. Many of the schools that they played were ivy leagues and they began to gain a lot of attention because they were beating Ivy League football teams such as Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania. Newspapers around the country began to cover the Carlisle football team and the Native American football players were making headlines. (See Appendix B3) Many of the newspapers did incorporate racial stereotypes of Native Americans and often depicted these stereotypes through cartoons; however they were also being viewed in a positive light as well. Many of the newspapers were headlining that the Carlisle football team was proof that Native American children could be civilized as a result of attending a boarding school. While the Carlisle football program as a whole gained a positive reputation throughout the nation, there was one standout player named Jim Thorpe whose athleticism led to Carlisle becoming known internationally. Jim Thorpe competed in the 1912 Olympics and won gold in two events. Before Thorpe went to the Olympics, Carlisle was already in the newspapers for its students but Thorpe's athletic success put Carlisle on the map. Government officials and the public were selling out football stadiums and colleges and universities were writing to Carlisle administrators requesting a match. Their athletics gained the school a lot of attention and was portrayed as an example of how Carlisle and boarding schools can succeed in civilizing Native American children around the country.

Another program that was displayed was Carlisle's marching band. The Carlisle marching band consisted of Native American children dressed in typical American marching band outfits rather than their cultural or traditional clothing. The music they played when invited to perform was typically patriotic United States songs including the anthem. Not only did this showcase their ability to play instruments not traditional to their culture but by playing patriotic American songs it was a public display of their patriotism and their devotion to becoming "civilized" and an American citizen. The marching band was often requested to play not just in parades but also at multiple presidential inauguration ceremonies. (See Appendix B5) The government was proud of the progress that Native American children were making at Carlisle and were showcased in front of hundreds of thousands of Americans. This was another display of their "civilization" and the government believed that by showcasing "the new Indian" as many newspapers labeled them, then the public would be on board with the idea of boarding schools and would support their local politicians and government to open a boarding school in their community.

Carlisle's football program and marching band were used as forms of public display of progress. It was used as a form of proof to prove to the public that these boarding schools are the solution to the "Indian problem." It was the ideal solution to solving the so-called Indian problem and multiple governmental officials voiced their belief that educating them was cheaper than continuing to kill them. Educating them was also considered to be beneficial to the United States and the United States people because they would be able to contribute to American society and be workers underneath white families and white

businesses. The idea that the students would be able to contribute to society by being workers is also what ultimately reshaped how the outing system was run at boarding schools after Carlisle.

Carlisle being viewed as a success not just to the federal government but to the American public is why the federal government had the public support to open up hundreds of more boarding schools without any pushback. After these schools were opened, many of them used their outing programs to satisfy the public and create a better relationship between communities, their local and state politicians, and the federal government. Carlisle's outing system's contract stated that the patrons or host families were to pay the children for their work. Not too long after the outing system was up and running at Carlisle, Carlisle administration changed the rules making each host family have to give a certain amount of the students paycheck to Carlisle. Carlisle administration enacted these new rules regarding outing students earnings because they believed the students were being irresponsible and not saving to pay for their transportation, they also kept some of the earnings to put towards the students' tuition.

After Carlisle, later boarding schools evolved their outing system rules which ultimately resulted in many of the students never receiving anything from their outing families. For example, the Phoenix Indian Boarding School out west became the new model for the outing system which exploited the Native American children for cheap labor. At the Phoenix boarding school, the school made new agreements with host families that the Native American children would work for training. This training was different for boys and girls and the jobs and skills they learned from their outing family

was their exchange for the students labor. This became the new outing system for a multitude of reasons.

The first reason being it allowed the government to keep the support of the public and the local communities around the boarding schools. The schools were giving local families labor workers in exchange that the families teach their children English, traditional roles and skills, and Christianity. The public benefited from being able to hire cheap labor and also set the Native American students up to work for them after they would graduate from their boarding school as well. Locals who housed a Native American student could essentially train the child to be the perfect worker for them and provide them a job after graduation and because they were Native American they could pay them cheaper than if they would hire someone else. The outing system while it still taught the children skills, English, and Christianity had changed its motives. It was now a relationship between not just the federal government and Christian churches but also the local communities because they could gain cheap labor.

As the outing system evolved into an exploitative system for cheap labor from Native American children, the boarding schools and the federal government had gained the public's support to keep running the schools and move forward on opening more schools. While many of the boarding schools were originally military-run like Carlisle was, a few years prior to the start of World War II most of the schools were taken over by the Christian churches. As tensions were rising in the early 1900s which eventually resulted in World War II, the military was preparing for war and this included the military men who were running the Indian boarding schools around the United States. When the military had to move out, the federal government had every opportunity to



close the boarding schools or hire others to run them. However, as tensions of war started, Christian churches and Christian church leaders around the country stepped into the administrative role of operating the Indian boarding schools that have already been built and running for a few years. When the Christian churches began to take over the boarding schools, the federal government did not push back against them.

The reasons that the federal government did not push back stemmed from initial success of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School. Carlisle's success in "civilizing" and producing not only Native Americans who could participate in American society but also benefit American society created the precedent and expectations for Indian boarding schools. The various ways Carlisle showcased their students through the outing system, athletic teams, specifically football, and the marching band won the public's support to open more boarding schools and instill Christianity in Native American children to civilize them. The federal government violated the Establishment Clause of the United States Constitution by funding the Carlisle school. The Carlisle school was the foundation for the violation to occur for nearly a century with little to no pushback from government officials or the public.

Even though Carlisle was not church-run, its programs intended to strip Native American children from their indigenous culture and assimilate them into American society which included adopting Christianity. Letters of correspondence between Carlisle administration and federal government officials prove that the federal government was aware of the student's being taught Christianity and Christianity was used as the model citizen that Carlisle intended to assimilate their students into. While this alone is a violation of the Establishment Clause because the federal government was funding the

school and therefore funding the education and assimilation of Native American children to Christianity.

However, this has been argued against because at the time Carlisle was running, Native Americans were not United States citizens. Native Americans did not gain citizenship status until June of 1924. During 1924 and for decades after, the federal government remained funding Indian boarding schools across the country and by this point the majority of the schools were not only instilling Christianity into the children but the schools were run by Christian churches and church leaders. When Christian churches took over the schools from the military, the federal government could have shut the schools down but they chose to keep them open by continuing to fund them.

The federal government was well aware that the schools had been taken over by the Christian churches as tensions of war took the military out of them. By this point Carlisle had laid the foundation for the outing system and other boarding schools were thriving off of the outing system and their relationship with the public. Christianity was the dominant belief system in American society amongst the public and government officials and it was genuinely believed that Christianity was a crucial part in Native Americans being civilized. If the government would have closed the schools after the church moved in, they would have lost a lot of support from the public and local communities around the boarding schools. The public fully supported the boarding schools because many of them were benefiting from the cheap labor. Carlisle's success and the foundation it laid in combination with the support of the government officials and the majority of the public for both personal and economic reasons was enough for the government to continue funding the schools. However, when the churches began to take

over in the mid 1900s, Native Americans had gained citizenship and the federal government was supporting a religion financially which is a direct violation of the Establishment Clause. Carlisle laid the foundation and acquired public support in order for the federal government to fund church-run boarding schools without receiving pushback. The media used Carlisle as a means to convince the public that assimilation was not only benefiting Americans but also benefiting Native Americans and Christianity was a crucial part of the assimilation process.

Most of the research done on Indian boarding schools around the United States focuses on the human rights violations that occurred at the schools. As well as, how the effects of Indian boarding schools continue to affect Indigenous communities throughout the country. All research on Indian boarding schools is consistent with the fact that the boarding schools were unconstitutional in many ways. However, while there is research supporting the argument that boarding schools violated the Establishment Clause through funding an assimilation and education system around Christianity, this thesis argues that the Carlisle Indian Boarding School allowed for this violation to occur for nearly a century.

A big issue in today's education system is that Indigenous history is not often taught and oftentimes if it is taught it is inaccurate. The history between the United States and Native Americans is a dark one and like most countries, the United States attempts to keep their dark history in the dark. Indian boarding schools are not as heavily researched as much as other genocides are in the United States and a lot of the research that is done discusses the human rights issues that took place at the schools. The Carlisle Indian Boarding School is also heavily researched as it was the first American school to open,

however this thesis contributes not just research on Carlisle, but Carlisle's overall power in allowing the federal government to violate the Establishment Clause specifically.

During Covid-19 the discussion on American and Canadian Indian boarding schools began to spark. There is more research done on the Canadian boarding schools than there is in the United States and as more research and studies have been done in Canada more covered up history is being brought to the surface. So much so that Indigenous communities in Canada are pushing back the Canadian government and demanding answers and solutions to how the schools still affect Indigenous communities today. As more research has been done, the Vatican formally rejected the Doctrine of Discovery this year in March. As more research is done the religious organizations and government are being forced to provide answers and work towards solutions.

The United States is further behind than Canada in its research and investigations on Indian boarding schools. While American boarding schools also became more a discussion during Covid-19, there has been little to no media coverage about the mass grave discoveries from these boarding schools. There has also been almost no media coverage or awareness brought to how the federal government continues to treat Indigenous communities in the United States. The United States government has been and continues to be able to avoid acknowledging the depth of their role in cultural genocide and mass murder through the Indian boarding school system. There are many other questions that if answered would greatly contribute to a better understanding of the boarding schools and the federal government's motives. For example, how much of an influence did Indian removal policies have on the assimilation process? As well as, how have Christian churches involved accepted responsibility or made reparations if any have

done so? There is a lot of research still needed to be done on the Indian boarding schools in the United States and more pushback needs to be happening and more awareness needs to be spread as this topic is often not discussed in schools.

The research in this thesis aims to provide more understanding of Carlisle's role in the Establishment Clause violation. These findings add unique research to not only understand the truth of Indigenous history in the United States but also contribute to holding the federal government accountable for their violations as these violations have created everlasting effects on Indigenous communities throughout the United States today. As more research and investigation is done on American Indian boarding schools, it creates more tension for the United States federal government to acknowledge the history and work towards solutions to the long lasting effects of the boarding schools on Indigenous communities today.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A&E Television Networks. (2010, April 5). *Manifest destiny - definition, Facts & Significance*.  
History.com. <https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/manifest-destiny>
- Adams, D.W. (2001). More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917.  
*The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32(1), 25-53. <https://doi.org/10.2307/365086>
- Adams, D. W. (1979). Schooling the Hopie: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887-1917.  
*Pacific Historical Review*, 48(3), 335-356. <https://doi.org/10,2307/3638757>
- American Indians and Christianity*. Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. (n.d.).  
<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entryname=AMERICAN+INDIANS+AND=CHRISTIANITY>
- Analyzing before and after Photography & exploring Student Files*. Analyzing Before and After Photographs & Exploring Student Files | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/teach/analyzing-and-after-photographs-exploring-student-files>
- Approval to purchase \$2,000 of supplies for new students*. Approval to Purchase \$2,000 of Supplies for New Students | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/approval-purchase-2000-supplies-new-students>
- Band invited to participate in Pan-American Exposition and Inaugural Parade*. Band Invited to Participate in Pan-American Exposition and Inaugural Parade | Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/band-invited-participate-pan-american-exposition-and-inaugural-parade>
- Beatty v. Kurtz (1853) - the free speech center. (n.d.).  
<https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/beatty-v-kurtz-1853/>
- Bequests to the Carlisle Indian School*. Bequests to the Carlisle Indian School | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/bequests-carlisle-indian-school>

- Bloom, J. (1996). "Show What An Indian Can Do": Sports, Memory, and Ethnic Identity at Federal Indian Boarding School. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 35(3), 33-48.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24398295>
- Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati v. minor | the first ... (n.d.).  
<https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/660-board-of-education-of-the-city-of-cincinnati-v-minor&lang=en>
- Bureau, U. C. (2021, October 28). *2010 decennial census data tables*. Census.gov.  
<https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade/2020/2020-tables.html>
- Church of the holy trinity v. United States (1892)*. The Free Speech Center. (2023, December 2).  
<https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/724/church-of-the-holy-trinity-v-united-states>
- Commonwealth v. Wolf (Penn..Supreme Court) (1817). (n.d.).  
<https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/commonwealth-v-wolf-penn-supreme-court-1817/>
- Contributions to Charity Fund for 1903 Fiscal Year*. Contributions to Charity Fund for 1903 Fiscal Year | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index/php/documents/contributions-charity-fund-1903-fiscal-year>
- Copy of outing rules signed by Rachel Long*. Copy of Outing Rules Signed by Rachel Long | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/copy-outing-rules-signed-rachel-long>
- Correspondence file, 1918-1966*. Correspondence File, 1918-1966 | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/correspondence-file-1918-1966>
- Davis v. Beason*. Oyez. (n.d.). <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/133us333>
- Documents regarding school financial matters*. Documents Regarding School Financial Matters | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/documents-regarding-school-financial-matters>

- Donahoe v. Richards (Maine Supreme Court) (1854). (n.d.).  
<https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/donahoe-v-richards-maine-supreme-court-1854/>
- Estimate of cost and blueprints for Chapel and Assembly Room.* Estimate of Cost and Blueprints for Chapel and Assembly Room | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/estimate-cost-and-blueprints-chapel-and-assembly-room>
- Eugenics and scientific racism.* Genome.gov. (n.d.).  
<https://www.genome.gov/about-genomics/fact-sheets/Eugenics-and-Scientific-Racism>
- Everson v. Board of Education.* Oyez. (n.d.). <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1940-1955/330us1>
- The First Amendment, social media, and the public schools: Emergent ... (n.d.).  
<https://scholars.law.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1801&context=nlj>
- First Amendment and Religion.* United States Courts. (n.d.).  
<https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/first-amendment-and-religion>
- Fourteenth Amendment - Constitution Annotated | congress.gov. (n.d.).  
<https://constitution.congress.gov/constitution/amendment-14/>
- Grinde, D. A. (2004). Taking the Indian out of the Indian: U.S. Policies of Ethnocide Through Education. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 19(2), 25-32.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1409496>
- The Indian Appropriation Act and the school's budget.* The Indian Appropriation Act and the School's Budget | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/indian-appropriation-act-and-schools-budget>
- Indian Civilization Act.* The Library of Congress. (n.d.).  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-02/>
- Inquiry about participating in inaugural ceremonies.* Inquiry About Participating in Inaugural Ceremonies | Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/inquiry-about-participating-inaugural-ceremonies>



- James Thorpe Student File*. James Thorpe Student File | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). [https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student\\_files/james-thorpe-student-file](https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/james-thorpe-student-file)
- Legal Information Institute. (n.d.) *Parents*. Legal Information Institute. [https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/parents\\_patriae](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/parents_patriae)
- Lesiak, C., Boughn, P., Bradlee, B., Harker, W., & Harlan, J. (Director). (1992). *In the White Man's Image* [Film] The American Experience.
- Letter from Richard H. Pratt to Cornelius R. Agnew*. Letter from Richard H. Pratt to Cornelius R. Agnew | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/letter-richard-h-pratt-cornelius-agnew-7>
- Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, Penn.: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 19.
- Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. Oyez. (n.d.). <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1900-1940/187us553>
- Louellyn White. (2018). Who Gets to Tell the Stories? Carlisle Indian School: Imagining A Place of Memory Through Descendant Voices. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 57(1), 122-144. <https://doi.org/10.5749/jamerindieduc.57.1.0122>
- Medicine Creek Treaty, 1854: Nation to Nation*. Medicine Creek Treaty, 1854 | Nation to Nation. (n.d.). <https://americanindian.si.edu/nationtonation/medicine-creek-treaty.html>
- National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). *Dawes Act (1887)*. National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act>
- National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). “*Indian new deal*.” National Archives and Records Administration. <https://prologue.blogs.archives.gov/2015/11/30/indian-new-deal/>
- National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). *Today's document*. National Archives and Records Administration. <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=602>
- The National Museum of the American Indian. (n.d.). *Developing stories – native photographers in the field*. National Museum of the American Indian – Smithsonian. <https://americanindian.si.edu/developingstories/irvine.html#:~:text=The%20concept%20of%20using%20so,of%20defining%20and%20limiting%20citizenship.>

*Notice of change in outing pay.* Notice of Change in Outing Pay | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/notice-change-outing-pay>

*Order to recruit Sioux, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho students.* Order to Recruit Sioux, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Students | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/order-recruit-sioux-comanche-cheyenne-and-arapaho-students>

Our native vote. Alaska Federation of Natives. (n.d.).  
<https://www.nativefederation.org/ournativevote/>

*Participation of carlisle indian school and band in Patriotic Parade.* Participation of Carlisle Indian School Band in Patriotic Parade | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/participation-carlisle-indian-school-band-patriotic-parade>

*People v. Hall (1854).* Immigration History. (2020, January 31).  
<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/people-v-hall/>

*Per-student funding and establishment of school at carlisle.* Per-Student Funding and Establishment of School at Carlisle | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/student-funding-and-establishment-school-carlisle>

Pope Alexander VI. (n.d.). *The Doctrine of Discovery*, 1493. The Doctrine of Discovery, 1493 | Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.  
<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/doctrine-discovery-1493>

*Pratt provides information on the outing system.* Pratt Provides Information on the Outing System | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/pratt-provides-information-outing-system>

Pratt, R. H. (2018). *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania Its Origin, Purposes, Progresses and the Difficulties Surmounted.* Hamilton Library Association.

*Pratt suggests Robertson for teaching vacancy.* Pratt Suggests Robertson for Teaching Vacancy | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.).  
<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/pratt-suggests-robertson-teaching-vacancy>

- Program of the 1896 commencement exercises.* Program of the 1896 Commencement Exercises | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/program-1896-commencement-exercises>
- Recommendation of Carlisle barracks as location for Indian School.* Recommendation of Carlisle Barracks as Location for Indian School | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/recommendation-carlisle-barracks-location-indian-school>
- Recommendation on recruiting students in Michigan.* Recommendation on Recruiting Students in Michigan | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/recommendations-recruiting-students-michigan>
- Religion in Post-World War II America, the twentieth century, Divining America: Religion in American history, TeacherServe, National Humanities Center. (n.d.). <https://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/twenty/tkeyinfo/trelww2.htm>
- Religious tests for witnesses - the free speech center. (n.d.). <https://firstamendment.mtsu.edu/article/religious-tests-for-witnesses/>
- Report of irregular employees, June 1897.* Report of Irregular Employees, June 1897 | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/report-irregular-employees-june-1897>
- Reuben Quick Bear v. Leupp*, 210 U.S. 50 (1908). Justia Law. (n.d.). <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/210/50/>
- Request for Carlisle students to participate in Centennial Celebration in York, PA.* Request for Carlisle Students to Participate in Centennial Celebration in York, PA | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/request-carlisle-students-participate-centennial-celebration-york-pa>
- Request for fund transfer for salaries and debts.* Request for Fund Transfer for Salaries and Debts | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/request-fund-transfer-salaries-and-debts>
- Requests for increase in appropriation to cover various buildings.* Request for Increase in Appropriation to Cover Various Buildings | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/request-increase-appropriation-cover-various-buildings>

- Request for instructions regarding donations.* Request for Instructions Regarding Donations | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/request-build-photography-studio-funds-bequest>
- Request to build photography studio with funds from bequest.* Request to Build Photography Studio with Funds from Bequest | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/index.php/documents/request-build-photography-studio-funds-bequest>
- Rinaldi, A. (1880). *My Heart Is On the Ground, The Diary of Nannie Little Rose, a Sioux Girl*. Scholastic Inc, New York.
- School of Law, Tulane University. (2023, October 2). *Tulane Online Law Blog*. Tulane. <https://online.law.tulane.edu/articales/history-of-law-the-fourteenth-amendment>
- Smith, P. (2022, May 14). *U.S. report details Church-State collusion on indigenous schools*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/u-s-report-details-church-state-collusion-on-indigenous-schools>
- Social evolutionism.* University of Alabama Anthropology Department. (2017, April 21). <https://anthropology.ua.edu/theory/social-evolutionism/>
- Theimer, K. (2022). *Walking Tour of Grounds of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School*. Cumberland County Historical Society.
- Transfer of Carlisle barracks from war department to interior department.* Transfer of Carlisle Barracks from War Department to Interior Department | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/transfer-carlisle-barracks-war-departments-interior-department>
- Trennert, R. A. (1983). From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930. *Pacific Historical Review*, 52(3), 267-291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>
- Update on outing system for summer of 1882.* Update on Outing System for Summer of 1882 | Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center. (n.d.). <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/update-outing-system-summer-1882>
- U.S. Department of the Interior. (n.d.). *Medicine Lodge Treaty*. National Parks Service.

<https://www.nps.gov/fols/learn/historyculture/medicine-lodge-treaty.htm#:~:text=Among%20its%20provisions%2C%20the%20Medicine,were%20less%20expensive%20than%20war.>

*US Indian boarding school history.* The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition. (n.d.). <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/#:~:text=There%20were%20than%20523,they%20spoke%20their%20%Native%20languages.>

Winston, Abigail C. (2019) “The Role of Music in Assimilation of Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School,” *The Gettysburg Historical Journal*: Vol. 18, Article 9. Available at: <https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol18/iss1/9>

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

**A1: Tom Torlino Transformation: 1882-1885**



*Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College*

A2: Outing Students: 1895



*Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College*



**A3:** Carlisle Band: 1901



*Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College*

A4: Henry Pratt, Chief Spotted Tail & Quakers



*Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College*

**A5: Construction of Chapel 1879**



*Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College*

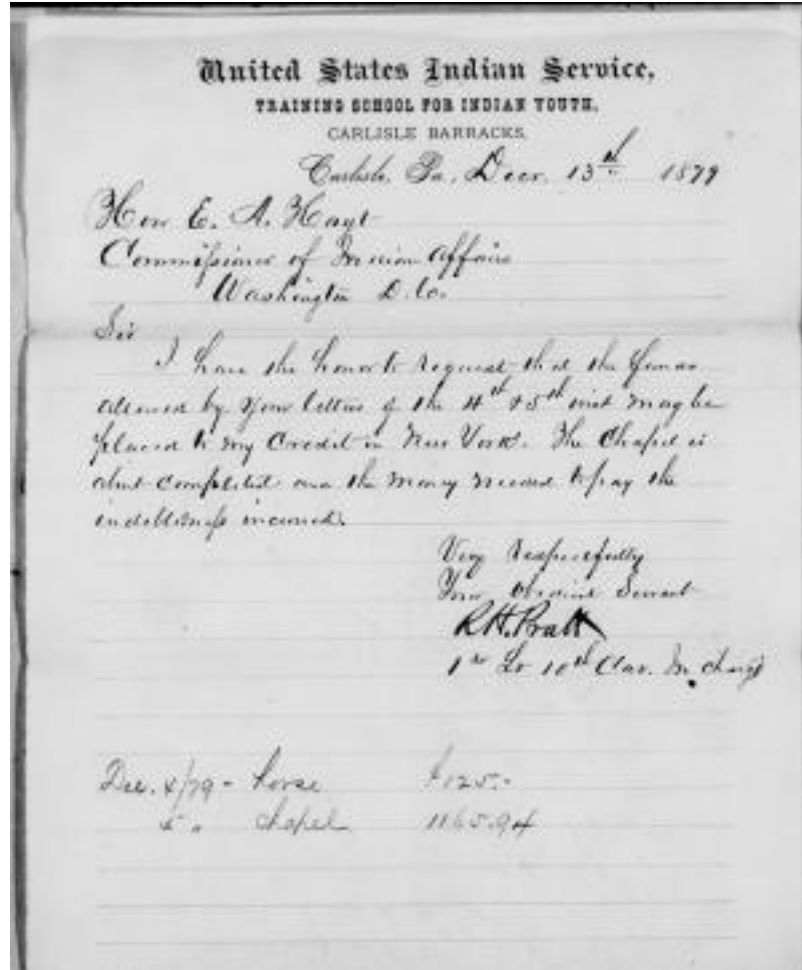
**A6: Outing System Labor: 1912**



*Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Red Man Paper*

APPENDIX B

B1: Chapel Funding Request



Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, SUNDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 8, 1911

# IN THE SPOTLIGHT OF SPORTS

## This Indian the Athletic Marvel of the Age

*Redskin Youth From Oklahoma Had No Knowledge of Athletics When He Entered Carlisle, Is Now Wonder of the Athletic World*

BY AN HEROLD

**O**NE of the most remarkable stories of the athletic world is that of a young Indian who entered Carlisle in 1907, without any knowledge of the modern games, and in a few months became the greatest athlete of the age. This young man, who is now known as Jim Thorpe, has not only won the gold medal at the Olympic games in London, but he has also won the world's championship in the pentathlon and the decathlon. His record is so phenomenal that it has caused the world to wonder how a young Indian from Oklahoma could have achieved such a feat. The story of his life is a most interesting one, and it is worth the attention of every sportsman.

The young man who is now known as Jim Thorpe, was born in Oklahoma in 1898. He was a member of the Sac and Fox tribe. He had no knowledge of the modern games when he entered Carlisle in 1907. He was a very athletic young man, and he was very popular among the other students. He was a member of the football team, and he was a member of the basketball team. He was also a member of the track and field team. He was a very versatile athlete, and he was very successful in all of the sports in which he participated. He was a very hard worker, and he was very determined to succeed. He was a very popular young man, and he was very well liked by all of the other students. He was a very successful athlete, and he was very well known in the world of sports.

He was a very athletic young man, and he was very popular among the other students. He was a member of the football team, and he was a member of the basketball team. He was also a member of the track and field team. He was a very versatile athlete, and he was very successful in all of the sports in which he participated. He was a very hard worker, and he was very determined to succeed. He was a very popular young man, and he was very well liked by all of the other students. He was a very successful athlete, and he was very well known in the world of sports.







**JIM THORPE**

The young man who is now known as Jim Thorpe, was born in Oklahoma in 1898. He was a member of the Sac and Fox tribe. He had no knowledge of the modern games when he entered Carlisle in 1907. He was a very athletic young man, and he was very popular among the other students. He was a member of the football team, and he was a member of the basketball team. He was also a member of the track and field team. He was a very versatile athlete, and he was very successful in all of the sports in which he participated. He was a very hard worker, and he was very determined to succeed. He was a very popular young man, and he was very well liked by all of the other students. He was a very successful athlete, and he was very well known in the world of sports.

He was a very athletic young man, and he was very popular among the other students. He was a member of the football team, and he was a member of the basketball team. He was also a member of the track and field team. He was a very versatile athlete, and he was very successful in all of the sports in which he participated. He was a very hard worker, and he was very determined to succeed. He was a very popular young man, and he was very well liked by all of the other students. He was a very successful athlete, and he was very well known in the world of sports.

Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center; Philadelphia Inquirer

**B3: Carlisle v. UPenn 1911**



*Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College*

B4: Outing Funding Request

United States Indian Service,  
TRAINING SCHOOL FOR INDIAN YOUTH,  
CARLISLE BARRACKS,  
Carlisle, Pa., March 8<sup>th</sup>, 1886.

To the Honorable  
The Commissioner of Indian Affairs  
Washington D. C.

Sir,

I have the honor to request the Department  
to allow me \$1000<sup>00</sup> to be disbursed at my discretion  
in developing the Mechanical features of the school  
in the purchase of Materials Tools fitting up shops  
Shop of Apprentices &c. I have already Blacksmithing,  
Wagon making, Carpentry, Shoemaking & tin ware  
manufacture in partial operation. To show I desire  
to add Harness making, and make it one of the  
leading branches. The whole matter is already  
before the Hon. Secretary of the Interior through  
his recent visit here.

Very Respectfully  
Your Obedient Servant  
R.H. Pratt  
1<sup>st</sup> Lt 10<sup>th</sup> Cav'y  
In charge

Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College



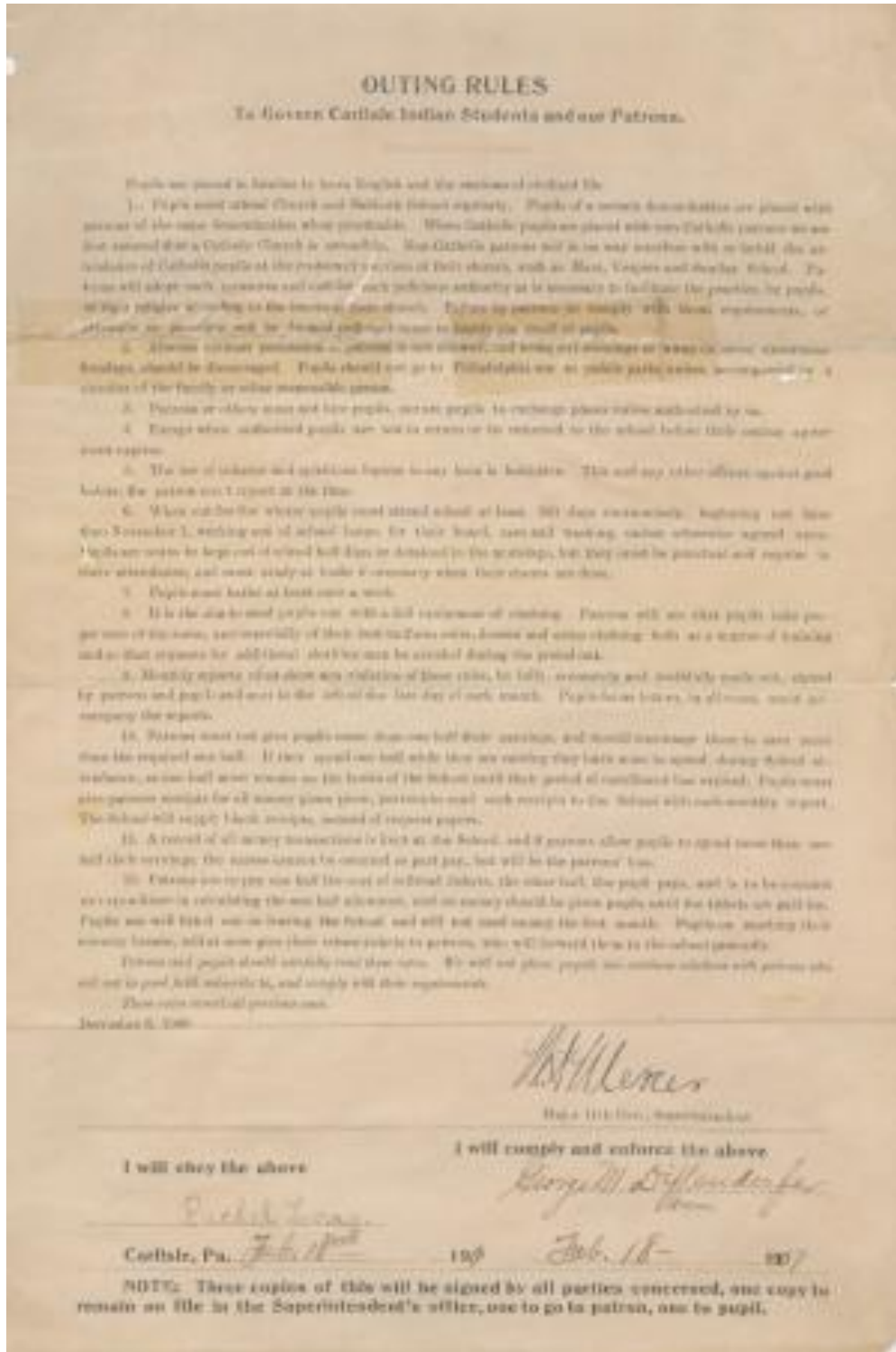
**B5: Request to Perform at Inauguration**

John Industrial School.  
Jan 21 1885  
Hart Rice  
Comdr of Ind. Sch.  
Dear Sir.  
Would it meet with  
your approval for us to take  
part in the Inaugural  
ceremonies with 200 of  
our Indian boys and  
the band?  
I spoke to Mr Lellan  
about it some time ago  
when I met him in  
Phila. and understood  
him to say he thought it  
would be a good thing to

do.  
It would be without  
expense to the Govt  
Very respectfully  
Yours etc  
R. L. Post  
Capt. U.S.A.

Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College

# B6: Outing System Rules 1907



Source: Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, Dickinson College

## AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Kayleigh E. Hogg was born in Lebanon, Pennsylvania on October 19, 2001. She was raised in Palmyra, Pennsylvania and graduated from Palmyra Area Senior High School in 2020. Majoring in political science, Kayleigh has minors in legal studies and anthropology. She is a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, the Pre-law Society, and the Maine Outing Club. She has received a Judith Dawn Grant Memorial Scholarship, the Maynard Ross Thaxter '57 Thesis Fellowship Fund Scholarship, and the Robert B. Thomson Memorial Honors Award.

Upon graduation, Kayleigh plans to attend law school in the Fall of 2024 and work toward a career in human rights law.