

A HISTORY OF INDIAN EDUCATION  
IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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# A HISTORY OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The American Indians are known to have come into contact with white people during the time of Columbus. Since that time Indians of some tribes never completely have lost contact with European civilization. Our own colonial records speak of Samoset and Squanto who had lived with English fishermen and had learned their language and customs. The charters of some of the colonies express the desire of the home governments and of the colonizing companies that efforts should be made to christianize and educate the Indians. (98, pp. 4-5) (25, p. 53) European missionaries immediately began to work among the Indians. They have continued their efforts down to the present time, aided for more than a hundred years by government grants and by government schools.

At the same time there has been constant intermarriage and inter-settlement of Indians and whites. In some areas there are few or no full bloods left. The percentage of mixed bloods has increased everywhere. However, the tendency has been to regard an individual as an Indian regardless of the degree of Indian blood in his ancestry.

Since the beginning of American settlement great numbers of people have come from the other parts of the world, have moved and

settled freely and almost unnoticed have become part of the American people.

The Indians are the only group that has been segregated and subjected to special limitations of residence, property and education.

The free world now is engaged in a great struggle with the forces of communism. The Communists have set themselves up as the champions of "oppressed" minority groups. Since education is the means of spreading ideologies among a people, it seems important to look at this segregated educational system that we have set up for the Indians. We should determine whether or not Indian education has paralleled the training given to other segments of our populations.

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study was undertaken to find out what agencies have been outstanding in the field of Indian education since early colonial times, what their objectives were in establishing their schools, what methods they employed to carry on their educational programs and what success they had in their work.

This study attempted to trace changes in the objectives of Indian education. Some of these changes were the results of shifts in governmental policies. Others were dictated by changes in the local teaching situations.

It was hoped to find the reasons for the success or failure of various approaches to the problem of Indian education in order to be of assistance to people who are charged with carrying on the same type of work today.

Finally, the study tried to point out where Indian education stands today in order to be of assistance in planning future educational policies in Indian schools.

The material in this study was gathered as far as possible from original reports and diaries of teachers, missionaries and other people who were in a position to observe the progress of Indian education. Newspaper and magazine articles, historical collections and government records were studied. It was believed that the reports of people directly concerned with Indian education over the years would be of help in studying the effects of changes in policies and in educational methods. It was hoped that some of the suggestions of former Indian education personnel might be of value in formulating present day policy.

In a number of instances, the author has included material that may seem to the casual reader to be extraneous and beside the point. This material was included for the benefit of experienced workers in the field of Indian education. Those extra items taken from the reports of years ago, point out problems that still exist in present day Indian schools. Some policies urged by Indian personnel many years ago still remain undone or have been put into effect very recently.

After the Civil War the Federal government assumed the chief responsibility for the direction of Indian education. But, at the present time, just a little over one-third of all Indian children in school are in Federal schools.

In order to study the development of Indian educational methods it was necessary to examine the work of the missionaries, since the missionaries had worked among the Indians for several hundred years

before the government schools were established.

### IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Today a great deal of public interest is being taken in Indian affairs. There has been some agitation to "free" the Indians, to turn their property over to them and to pay them for certain real or fancied claims to western lands. A movement is under way to close the government Indian schools and to put Indian children into the public schools. There is talk of removing the Indians from the status of "second class" citizens.

On the other hand, it frequently is said that many Indians are not educated well enough to manage their own affairs and should remain under the supervision of government agencies. Since many very elderly Indians received schooling at Carlisle in the early days and many others attended the reservation boarding and day schools at the turn of the century, we need to find out why it is that they never learned to manage their own affairs. Although education through the grades and into high school and college has been a comparatively recent development among white people and negroes, no effort has been made to segregate them or to administer their affairs because of their ignorance. If then, incompetence has been the result of several hundred years of Indian education, we should carefully trace the whole structure of Indian school organization and methodology to find the cause of such a state of affairs.

## LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Because of the tremendous breadth and complexity of the subject, this study was intended to be only a general outline of significant movements in the field of Indian education. The reports of field workers in Indian schools were included to point out the problems encountered by each group and to show something of the degree of success that they attained in their teaching.

A great deal of published material is available to the student of Indian education. Missionaries, teachers, and government supervisors wrote regular reports to their supervisors in regard to the progress of their work.

Much of the available material was contradictory and appeared to be biased. In some cases it was possible to compare the reports of the missionaries and teachers with the observations of travelers and soldiers in order to reach more dependable conclusions. In many cases data for comparison were unobtainable so the writer was forced to accept the material without the benefit of comparison.

There are many gaps in the chronology of Indian education. In some cases the work was interrupted by wars and by hard times that reduced the funds available for the support of Indian schools. A number of records had been lost or were unavailable for study. Other apparent gaps in the progress of Indian education probably came from the rise and decline of various teaching systems and methods.

It is difficult to decide how much credit for Indian civilization to give to the schools. We know that the Indians have learned white



people's ways and that many of them are living and working the same as their white neighbors. We do not know how much of these ways they learned in schools and how much they acquired through association with the white people.

In talking about Indians, we do not even have a clear idea of what the word "Indian" means. The Indian office reports that the Indian population is increasing slowly. However, the proportion of full blood Indians is decreasing. The government defines an Indian as a person having one-fourth or more Indian blood. This definition is rather unsatisfactory, as some quarter bloods are "white" in appearance while others resemble full bloods and may be subject to some discrimination. This study will use the government definition of the word "Indian".

#### OBJECTIVES OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Before we can make a fair appraisal of the accomplishments of an Indian school or an Indian Service program, we need to examine the objectives under which it was instituted. The objectives should be studied to determine whether or not they are the best possible for a given time, place and group. The school program itself must be examined to determine whether or not it carries out these objectives.

This study has attempted to list the objectives set up by the founders of the most significant programs of Indian education.

The United States Civil Service announcement, number 11-58, dated November 2, 1953, announcing examinations for Indian Service teachers, lists the following objectives of Indian Schools:

The primary objectives of Indian Schools are: To give students an understanding and appreciation of their own tribal lore, art, music, and community organization; to teach students, through their own participation in school government, to become constructive citizens of their communities; to aid students in analyzing the economic resources of their reservation and in planning more effective ways of utilizing these resources for the improvement of standards of living; to give students first-hand experience in livestock marketing, farm mechanics, and whatever other vocational skills are needed to earn a livelihood in the region; to develop better health habits, improved sanitation, and higher standards of diet with a view to prevention of trachoma, tuberculosis, and infant diseases, to give students an understanding of the social and economic world immediately about them and to aid them in achieving some mastery over their environment; and to serve as a community center in meeting the social and economic needs of the community.

This present day set of objectives is expressed in terms of reservation and community life.

On the other hand, the 1915 course of study for United States Indian schools gives the following explanation of the purpose of Indian school training:

To train Indian youth of both sexes to take upon themselves the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. To earn a living among their own people or away from the reservations in competition with white people.

This course of study had as its objective the training of young people to live in white settlements if they wished. Each school system must be studied in the light of its educational objectives, the methods employed to achieve these objectives and the degree of success that was attained in its work.

## CHAPTER II

### IMPORTANT PREVIOUS REPORTS AND STUDIES ON INDIAN EDUCATION

#### FEDERAL REPORTS

The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian affairs are valuable sources of information about year-to-year problems in the Indian schools. These reports include general information about conditions in the Indian areas, school problems of government and mission schools, and suggestions of field workers in regard to Indian policies.

The reports of the superintendents of Indian schools from 1893-1909 contain detailed statements of the superintendents' own views in regard to Indian education. Some of the most interesting of these expressions of policy are those of Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan in the years between 1889 and 1893 and of Superintendent Estelle Reel in her course of study for the year 1901. Superintendent Reel's course of study followed the then-new educational philosophy of John Dewey and seems quite modern today. (120) (149)

The Board of Indian Commissioners was an unpaid civilian board set up by Grant's administration in 1869. It was a sort of watch-dog board intended to keep watch of goings on in the Indian Service and to report to the President in regard to the success of Indian Service programs. The reports of this board from 1860 to 1932 make very interesting reading.

They serve as a check upon the Indian Service's own reports of conditions. Frequently the Board of Indian Commissioner's reports were sharply critical of the work of the Indian Service. (172)

#### FEDERAL SPECIAL REPORTS AND HISTORIES

In addition to the regular annual reports of governmental agencies, there are numerous special reports of individuals and small groups. Among these special reports is the report to the Secretary of War on Indian affairs. This is the report of a survey made of all the eastern and midcontinental tribes by Reverend Jedediah Morse. The report was made in 1822 using funds set aside by Congress for the civilization of the Indians. Morse' survey was made to determine the conditions in, and enrollments of, mission schools that desired to qualify for Federal aid in establishing and maintaining manual labor schools. (124)

In 1888 Alice C. Fletcher published a review of Indian education and civilization. This was a special report prepared for the second session of the forty-eighth Congress and explained what had been done in the field of Indian education up to that time. (62)

Charles J. Kappler compiled a complete record of Indian affairs, laws, and treaties. This work was published by the Government Printing Office in 1903. Although these records are largely concerned with land transfers, it is possible to trace the progress of federal support of Indian education from the sporadic appropriations for Indian education made by the Continental Congress, to an organized program of federal Indian schools. (96)

In 1928, a group headed by Lewis Meriam published a report,<sup>10</sup> The Problem of Indian Administration. This report outlined conditions in the Indian Service. It lead to the sweeping reforms that took place in the 1930's. (117)

After World War II the Indian Service secured the services of Shailer Peterson to direct its personnel in a study of the success of its New Deal program of Indian education. This report was published by the Indian Service in 1948. (139)

Of interest, but of less value, were numerous books, articles and speeches dealing with Indians and Indian education. These works usually were strongly biased and consisted of attacks upon, and defenses of, various programs of Indian education.

#### MISSIONARY REPORTS

The reports of the missionaries, their letters to headquarters and the reports of the missionary societies constitute an important source of information about Indian education.

In 1849 the Aborigines Committee of the Society of Friends published an account of the work of the Friends among the Indian tribes. The Friends established mission schools among the eastern tribes. Gradually they moved west and into the middle west and southwest. De Witt Clinton and Thomas Jefferson praised the work of the Friends' schools.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions published annual reports of Protestant mission schools among the Indians. These reports, consisting of seven volumes, were published in 1903.



In colonial times John Eliot made several reports to the commissioners regarding his missionary work and the success of his colonies of Praying Indians in New England. Some of these reports are to be found in the Old South Leaflets, published in Boston. (54) (55)

The letters and reports of Reverend De Smet relate the work of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the plains states and the northwest. (43)

The revised memorial of 1634 of Fray Alonso de Benavides sums up the work of Spanish missionaries in the south and southwest part of the country.

#### HISTORICAL STUDIES OF INDIAN MISSIONS

Catholic. In 1895 Camille de Rochemonteix published a work in three volumes, *Les Jesuites et la nouvelle France*. This study is of interest to students of the colonial period of American Indian history because the interests of the French and the English collided in the New England and Ohio valley areas. Missionaries of both countries found themselves caught in the political struggles of the French and Indian war. (151)

One of the outstanding histories of Catholic missionary work among the Indians is the *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian tribes of the United States*, by John Gilmary Shea. Although Mr. Shea was not primarily interested in Indian schools as such, his work is of great value in establishing places and dates for further study. (159)

Charles Engelhardt published a work entitled, *The Missions and Missionaries of California*. This study in four volumes is a complete

history of the Catholic missions in California. (58)

Protestant. A great many privately prepared historical studies of Indian missions and missionaries are in existence. In 1676, Daniel Gookins prepared a historical collection of the Indians in New England. This work outlines the progress of the Indian missions and mission schools in the Northern colonies. (73)

John G. Heckewelder wrote a history of the United Brethren missions among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians. (82)

Jonathan Edwards wrote an account of the life of Reverend Daniel Brainard who spent many years among the Indians of New York State. (52)

In 1905, Sherman H. Doyle published a history of the Presbyterian missionary work among the Indians. The Presbyterians were especially active in New England, the midwest and in parts of the northwest. (47)

#### PRIVATELY PUBLISHED INDIAN HISTORICAL MATERIAL

Indians, Indian customs and Indian civilization have been of great interest to American writers. Some of these literary works have been of the "best seller" type and have very little value to the student of Indian history. Others appear to have been prepared to answer criticism of governmental policy.

A useful source of information is to be found in scattered references to Indians in the letters and journals of such well known men as William Byrd, Washington, Jefferson, Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, De Witt Clinton, Jackson, Lincoln and Sherman. Although comments about Indians make up a very small proportion of the writings of these men,

they indicate the thoughts on the subject of people in public life. Their observations serve as useful checks on the reports of the missionaries and the teachers.

A number of very careful studies of individual tribes have been made from time to time. These were of great value to the author in preparing this study.

H. B. Cushman's History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians, Caroline Davis' History of the schools and educational development in the Chickasaw nation, and Angie DeBo's, Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic furnish valuable information about the development of schools among the Five Civilized Tribes. Grant Foreman has written a number of books about the same tribal groups.

Lillie Henshaw wrote a history of the Cherokee tribal schools since the Civil War. This study took up the rebuilding of the Cherokee schools after the Civil War and their operation until they were taken over by the Federal Government at the close of the century.

Virginia Lindsey wrote a detailed history of the western Cherokees.

An excellent history of the western Sioux was published by George E. Hyde in 1936. The book is entitled, Red Cloud's Folk. It takes up the factors of treaties, wars, politics, graft, and the different schools of thought that made Indian education such a slow and halting process.

An interesting book, My People the Sioux, by Luther Standing Bear, tells about life among the western Sioux in the last of the nineteenth century and the fore part of the twentieth. Standing Bear described

his experiences in the school at Carlisle, his employment among the whites under the outing system, his return to the reservation and his life there as an educated Indian. (164)

#### REPORTS BY PEOPLE INDIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH INDIAN EDUCATION

Numerous books and articles were written by people who had been connected with the Indian Service. Among these were books and articles written by R. H. Pratt, the superintendent at Carlisle. General Pratt spent most of his life in supervising Indian education. He established the non-reservation school at Carlisle for captured warriors who had been sent east as prisoners. He established a program of industrial training and organized an outing system, by which Carlisle students lived and worked among the white people. Pratt was an outspoken opponent of the policy of segregating Indians on reservations. He believed that Indians should be educated and then encouraged to settle among the white people.

An excellent study of the work of General Pratt is, Pratt: the red man's Moses, by Elaine Eastman. In 1890 Mrs. Eastman was appointed the first Indian Service Field Supervisor.

Former Commissioner, Francis E. Leupp, published a book entitled, <sup>104</sup> The Indian and his problem. Leupp was opposed to government boarding schools. He advocated the use of day schools similar to rural public schools and said that the Indians should support their children themselves.

## CHAPTER III

## THE COLONIAL PERIOD

During the sixteenth century, Europe was torn by religious, political and economic disorders that caused first one group and then another to endure want and persecution. These currents of unrest caused some groups to come to America to escape religious persecution or in hopes of making fortunes in this new country. Some of the colonies were sponsored by groups of merchants who hoped to create profitable trade outlets. Other groups hoped to find new homes for the members of their religious faiths. The Indians were of interest to both groups. The merchant adventurers saw prospects of building up trade in furs and minerals. The religious groups felt obligated to preach to the Indians and to civilize them. Each of the larger colonies were settled under the auspices of a certain sect which supplied approval and financial backing for its missionaries. Thus religious educators began to establish themselves among the Indians from the very beginnings of the settlements.

The succeeding waves of immigrants were encouraged to come to America to seek their fortunes. They sought to better themselves financially in any way they could. They were indifferent or hostile to the aims and purposes of the religious sects. (52, p. 45) It will be seen later how the conflicts of purpose of the religious and philanthropic groups and those of the exploiters and fortune hunters have affected



Indian policy and Indian education down to the present time. Indian policy has grown from the pressures put forth by these two groups.

### OBJECTIVES OF COLONIAL INDIAN EDUCATION

The early colonists of all nations were greatly interested in saving the souls of the Indians. A great part of the effort put forth to educate Indian children was made by missionaries who gave most of their attention to religious training, a little reading and writing and to teaching something of the customs of the country to which the missionary group belonged. Higher education was devoted to the training of Indian missionaries to go back to preach to their fellow tribesmen.

### INDIAN EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

In 1617, King James I ordered letters patent to be issued to his archbishops to raise money for Indian schools. "You have heard ere this time of ye attempt of diurse worthie men, our subjects, to plant in Virginia (under ye warrant of our L'res patents) people of this Kingdom, as well as for ye enlarging of our Dominions. As for propagation of ye gospell amongst ye infidells so as the undertakers of that plantation are now in hand with the erecting of some churches and schools w'ch cannot but be to them a very great charge --. In w'ch Wee doubt not but that you and all others who wish well to the encrease of Christian Religion will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to make experience of the Zeal of devotion of our well minded subjects, especially thos of ye clergie. Wherefore wee doe require you and hereby authorize you to write yor Letters to ye severall Bishops of ye Diocese in yor province that they doe give order to the ministers and other zealous men of their Dioceses, both by their owne example in contribution, and by exhortation to others, to move our people within their severall charges to contribute to so good a worke as liberall a manner as they may for the better advancing whereof our pleasure is that these collections be made in the particular parishes four severall tymes within these two years next coming: and that the severall

accounts of each parish together with the money collected of ye Dioces and by them be transmitted half yearly to you: and so to be deliev'ed to the Treasurer of that plantation to be employed for the godly purposes intended and no other." (98, p. 5)

Money for Indian education and conversion was supplied by interested individuals and societies, both in the colonies and in England.

In 1619 the Virginia Assembly passed the following resolution: "Be it enacted by this present assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, eache towne, citty, Burrough, and particular plantation do obtaine to themselves by just means a certine number of the natives children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life of which children the most towardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of litterature, so to be fitted for the colledge intended for them that from thence they may be sente to that worke of conversion." (171, p. 264)

#### PRIVATE VENTURES IN INDIAN EDUCATION

The first Virginia attempts at the education and conversion of Indians seem to have been by individual colonists. The Virginia Company gave £ 10 for each child instructed in a private home. Not many children were trained in this way, however, as the parents did not like to give them up. (5, p. 15) A well known example of Indian education at this time involved a planter named Rolfe. This man undertook the conversion and education of Powhatan's tender hearted daughter Pocahontas. While engaged in this charitable undertaking, he fell in love with his pupil and married her. (63, p. 29)

In 1619 an English donor gave £ 550 to be used to pay for the teaching of Christianity to a convenient number of young Indians. These Indians were to have been taught common school subjects from the ages of seven to twelve years. Then they were to have been given instruction

in various trades until the age of twenty-one. Later this gift was increased, but the money was not used for school purposes because of greater interest in more immediate needs. The funds were used to build an iron works at Henrico. The income from the iron works was to have been used to pay the expenses of an Indian school. In 1622 an Indian uprising resulted in the destruction of the school and iron works and the death of the men in charge of the project. A great many colonists were killed in the uprising. Interest in the education and conversion of the Indians languished for a number of years after peace was reestablished. (25, p. 344)

After the Indian uprising of 1622, the Virginians kept Indians as hostages in order to guarantee the better behavior of their fellow tribesmen. These Indian hostages and a few Indian servants were given whatever education was convenient or for which individuals showed special aptitude. (5, p. 16)

Another uprising in 1642 seems to have resulted in another period of unsociability and educational coolness between the whites and the Indians. In the second half of the seventeenth century provision was made for the reservations of lands for the Indians. The Massachusetts and New York colonies also established separate reservations for the Indians. (5, p. 16) The question of land use thus entered into the relationships of the colonists and the Indians at an early date and has remained ever since, exerting a profound influence on Indian educational policies.

The tendency is for the group making the more intensive land use to crowd the other one out. The cattleman displaces the hunter and is displaced by the farmer and the industrialist. This crowding of the

Indians led to wars and removals that upset the work of the missionaries and the teachers.

In 1689 three suspected pirates were seized by the King's officers and brought before the governor for trial. A considerable quantity of money and valuables was taken from them and impounded. The men seemed to come under the provisions of a decree of the King granting amnesty to repentent pirates and privateersmen. However, the wheels of justice became clogged by the large amount of loot possessed by the buccaneers. After numerous petitions and appeals the pirates recovered their valuables upon their promise to donate £ 300 plus one-fourth of the value of the goods to the Virginia colony for use in the erection of schools, churches, and the missions. Thus it was that education and the conversion of the infidels received encouragement from a wide variety of private benefactors. (25, p. 56)

In 1701, money was made available for teaching Indian children to read and write and something of the arts and sciences. The children, nine or ten of them, were to be not more than eight years of age and were to be accompanied by an Indian woman who was to help take care of them. (25, p. 396) A few of the more promising Indian boys were sent to England to be trained as missionaries. The practice soon was discontinued as the returned students were unsuccessful as missionaries.

An early governor of Virginia was Sir Alexander Spotswood. He was greatly in favor of Christianizing and educating the Indians. He established what was perhaps the first Indian community school, near a fort on the Meherring River. (5, p. 16) Earlier Indian educational institutions had been established on sites located well within the white settlement.



Spottswood's school was built in the midst of the Indian communities. In the spring of 1716, seventy-seven Indian children were enrolled in this school - called Christ Anna. It is believed that the school was supported by Governor Spottswood himself and by a company that was trading with that particular tribe of Indians. In 1718 the company lost its trading permit. Spottswood urged the assembly to keep up the school as a cheaper and better policy than that of fighting with the Indians. However, the assembly disliked Spottswood and ordered the school closed. (25, p. 58)

#### NEW ENGLAND

The New England colonists came into contact with the Indians as soon as they landed. Some of the Indians in the area had been in contact with British fishermen previous to the arrival of the colonists and had learned to speak the English language. The New Englanders seem to have had a stronger religious motive in establishing their colony than was true in southern colonies. The close knit settlements of New England made the establishment of churches and schools more convenient than it was among the scattered plantations of the South. (6, pp. 16-17)

Educational efforts among the Indians began at an early date. In 1637 laws were passed requiring parents to send their children to school and to see that their servants and apprentices were taught reading, writing and the principles of the Christian religion. Apparently some of the Indian children were serving the white people as servants and apprentices. (128, p. 187)

The pamphlet, "New England's First Fruits", published in 1643 describes the progress of this work. It says,

Divers of the Indians' children, boyes and girls have been received into our houses, who are long since civilized, and in subjection to us, painful and handy in their business and can speak our language familiarly; diverse of whom can read English, and begin to understand in their measure, the grounds of the Christian religion; some of them are able to give us account of the sermons they heare, and of the word read and expounded in our families, - - - - and are much in love with us and cannot endure to returne any more to the Indians." (122, p. 423)

### THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Private support of Indian education in the middle colonies seems not to have attained very great importance. Colonial records mention runaway Indian servants. Apparently private citizens took individual Indians into their homes and taught them to work at various trades.

One advertisement carried in the American Weekly Mercury of September 11, 1729 reads:

Runaway from Judith Vincent in Monmouth county, in New Jersey, an Indian man named Stoffels. Speaks good English, about forty years of age. He is a house carpenter, a cooper, wheel wright and is a good butcher, also. (128, p. 349)

One of the leaders in the struggle for the friendship of the Indians was Sir William Johnston. Sir William came to the Mohawk valley in 1735 to take charge of a large estate. He built up a sort of feudal kingdom among the Indians. He became Indian agent for the New York tribes, and worked constantly to help them. He brought livestock, grains, and tools and taught the Indians to farm and to follow English ways of living. Johnston encouraged English missionaries to come into

the country to work with the Indians. Sir Williams efforts helped to civilize the New York Indians and to keep them friendly to the English. (6, p. 22)

#### THE ACTIVITIES OF COLONIAL MISSIONARIES IN INDIAN EDUCATION

The Missionaries of all the colonizing nations were the most active group in Indian education from the earliest colonial times until the Civil War. Since that time the government schools have taken over a large part of the task of educating Indian children. (23, p. 102) The missionaries were the first groups to maintain organized Indian schools. They pioneered methods of teaching and wrote books in the Indian languages. Since the missionaries were supported by private funds and received conditional grants from governmental sources there really is no distinct division of the field of Indian education into private, mission and government schools. In colonial times the missionaries frequently were hampered in their work by the political aims of the colonizing nations. (36, p. 273)

Dr. Thomas Bray, the Anglican rector at Aldgate, England, and George Berkeley were leading figures in the work of sending missionaries and teachers to the Southern colonies. Dr. Bray founded the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was very active in raising money for missionary work among the Indians, and in recruiting missionaries and teachers for the society. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was chartered by William the Third in 1701. (98, p. 74)



Schoolmasters were told to be ready to teach the Indians and Negroes whenever the opportunity presented itself. The schoolmasters and ministers were required to send semi-annual reports to the Society.

Dr. Bray's plan was to establish artisan-mission colonies on the frontiers of the settlements. These colonies were to have been supervised by the clergy. It was hoped that the Indians could be christianized and civilized at the same time and that buffer zones could be built up between the colonies and the barbarous Indians.

George Berkeley wanted to establish a college in Bermuda to train ministers and Indians who were expected to go back to their own people as missionaries. Berkeley thought that the Indians would be easy to teach and to convert, as their lack of education had kept them from taking up a wrong education with its superstitions and prejudices. His plan was looked upon as fantastic and never was taken up. (36, p. 307)

A Mr. Mashburn established a school on the North Carolina-Virginia border near two Indian towns. This school was in successful operation in 1712. (98, p. 83) The Reverend John Blair said in 1704 that a single man's labors were very inefficient among so scattered a people. The country was difficult to cross because of marshes and lakes. He said that a large number of Indians was living among the English and that many of them were very civilized. (98, pp. 217-218) There was much sickness and death among the missionaries and teachers. Some of the teachers were reported as having taken up various sins. The society sent a Mr. Thomas to reconvert the Indians who already had been converted by the French and Spanish missionaries. Reverend Thomas found that the Indians had left the French and Spanish colonies to get away from the

strictness of their missionaries. The English authorities refused to allow him to press the Indians to accept Christianity, fearing that they would return to the French and Spanish colonies, and that their trade would be lost. (138, p. 372)

The lack of an organized program, conflicts between philanthropy and political expediency, rivalry among the nations, and the scattered population, difficult terrain and sickness contributed to the failure of the early school programs. All efforts to maintain Indian mission schools in the Southern colonies were abandoned for a time after the Tuscarora War of 1711. The Indians complained that the children they sent to be educated in the white men's schools were being sold into slavery. They refused to send any more pupils. (6, p. 21)

Moravian missionaries worked among the Georgia Indians from 1735 to 1739. They were forced out by border war between England and Spain.

#### NEW ENGLAND MISSION SCHOOLS

Roger Williams is believed to have been the first New England minister to make an organized attempt to convert the Indians. He was very successful in making friends with the natives, but did not give the attention to formal schooling that was done by the other missionaries. Williams learned the language of the tribes with which he worked. This made his teaching more direct and personal than that of missionaries who depended on interpreters to carry their messages. (123, p. 116)

One of the most noted of the New England missionaries was John Eliot, who combined Christianity, social work, civilization and learning into one integrated whole for teaching, instead of trying to divide

the elements of white civilization into separate units of study.

Eliot spent a great deal of time in painstaking study of Indian languages, customs and beliefs. He began to gather groups of converts into villages where they learned the white man's ways by practical experience in laying out their villages, developing government, and making themselves economically self-sufficient. Eliot and his helpers translated the Bible and wrote Indian textbooks which were printed at the Harvard Indian college. Eliot used the best of his scholars as teachers to help educate the others. The very best of the Indian students were sent to English schools to learn English, Latin and Greek in order to prepare them to preach to the other Indians. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supplied the funds for carrying on Eliot's work. At the height of the work, there were nine flourishing colonies of Eliot's Praying Indians in Massachusetts. Each colony held a good sized land grant. (24, p. 4)

After a quarter of a century Eliot's work was swept away when a long series of encroachments and abuses by white people brought on King Philip's war. The Praying Indians were caught in the middle of this struggle. They were killed by both sides, seized and enslaved or driven away. (6, p. 17)

Samuel Treat, Richard Bourne and the Mayhews established similar colonies along the coast. Bourne's colony remained in existence until after his death in 1685. (134, pp. 388-389)

In 1765 the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock founded Moor's Charity School for Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut. This school was moved to Hanover, New Hampshire, where it later became a part of Dartmouth College. Wheelock's

school was a forerunner of the non-reservation boarding school. The Indians came to the school from a distance and were trained away from their tribal surroundings. Eliot had set up community schools in which all the members of Indian families were given instruction in community living at the same time, although not everyone attended the schools. At Wheelock's school the boys were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, Greek and Latin. They were not given any special training in vocational work, though they helped with the detail work of the school. The Indian girls stayed in private homes and were taught to sew and to cook. They were taught reading and writing as day pupils at the school. Wheelock hoped that the boys and girls would become missionaries and that since they were being given the same type of training they would be less likely to go back to Indian ways when they returned to their own people. Wheelock's first school group consisted of eighteen whites and six Indians. (191, p. 2)

In December, 1766, Wheelock reported that there were forty children in his school and about a hundred in the four schools in the area. There were three missionaries, five Mohawk teachers, an interpreter and a house-keeper. (191, p. 2)

Wheelock reported that the "government" of the school was becoming easier. One of the missionaries had translated a number of hymns and psalms into Mohawk. Preaching was done in the Indian language. It was believed that use of the vernacular lessened misunderstanding caused by faulty interpretation. (191, p. 4)

These schools were located among Indian camps deep in the wilderness. Frequently the missionaries and teachers had great difficulty in making

a living. One teacher wrote:

From week to week I am obliged to go eeling with the Indians at Onida Lake for my subsistence. I have lodged with them and slept with them till I am as louzy as a dogge, feasted and starved with them as luck depends on wind and weather. If it should be asked why they do not support me, the answer is ready. They cannot support themselves. They are now half starved. (191, p. 18)

Mr. Samuel J. Little reported:

Wednesday I had my backhouse full of the tawny little wretches. My school consists of twenty-two, or twenty-three. There is a fair prospect of a fine school here if a master could be provided. I wish you could send a schoolmaster to take my place unless I may consistent with duty stay myself. At present they are kind and liberal in their way and to slight their kindness they esteem the highest affront. I do not let them think that they cannot cook victuals good enough for me to eat. (191, p. 7)

The most noted of Wheelock's students was Samson Occum. He lived with Wheelock for twelve years before he entered the school. In 1766 he made a trip to England and Scotland to raise money for the Charity School. He was very successful in this undertaking. Large crowds turned out to hear him. Donations of more than £ 10,000 were raised for the support of the school. Occum served as a teacher in Connecticut and as a preacher in New York state. He wrote a history of the Montauk Indians. (6, p. 19)

Miranda said that in 1756 there were about 1,000 Indians left in Connecticut. Half of these were living with English families. The others were settled in small scattered groups. (150, p. 226)

In later years Wheelock emphasized the training of white missionaries instead of Indians. Perhaps this change of policy was the result of criticism of the Indian missionaries. Sir William Johnson, Indian agent in the New York colony had complained that Wheelock's Indian missionaries



were going back to their Indian ways. (6, p. 20)

The Indian school remained a part of Dartmouth College until 1915. It received support from sources in England, Scotland and from the Continental Congress. In 1775 Congress appropriated five hundred dollars for the support of an Indian pupil at Dartmouth. (41, p. 13)

Reverend John Sergeant organized a school at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. This school was operated according to a plan that later was known as the "outing" system. The children were taught at a boarding school. In the summers they lived with cooperating white families, where they learned farming, trades, housekeeping, and white people's customs. The school was successful, but it was closed after a few years, because the Indians gradually had left the area. (191, p. 235)

Harvard College. A document found in Dr. Stoughton's Cambridge study explains his plan for a college.

The way of furthering this worke (of advancing Christianity) being by erecting a place where some may be maintained for learninge the language and instructing heathen and our owne and breeding up as many of the Indians' children as Providence shall bringe unto our hands, and abilities of the plantation assisted by the pious charity of godly men will relieve us alsoe by furnishing them with a competent library and meanes to sustaine it and them with all things necessary for their sustenance and defence against such attempts of the Indians as the devill is not unlike to stir them up for the disturbance of this worke intended for the overthrow of his Kingdome in them and making the Lord Christ glorious in his gospelle amonge them. (123, p. 415)

Harvard College was opened in the fall of 1638. It was intended to supply replacements for the ministry and to rescue the Indians from the devil. New England's First Fruits, published in 1643, explained that the colonists were endeavoring to bring some light to the poor

Indians who hitherto had dwelt in darkness. The pamphlet said that the work of the early missionaries and teachers had been handicapped by the ignorance and superstitions of the Indians, the wide variety of Indian languages and by the difficulty of learning these languages and reducing them to writing. Harvard intended to supply trained ministers to carry on this work. (123, pp. 421-422)

For a time after the establishment of the college, the Indian school was supported by individual contributions. In 1649 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was formed in England. This organization undertook the support of the Indian school. Upon President Dunster's remark that the chief need of the Indians was a Harvard education, the missionary, John Eliot, rounded up a pair of Indian youngsters and sent them to him for training. Dunster's expense account for the next years contains a long list of items covering the board, clothing, education and medicine for three Indians who seem to have been small children. The next year Dunster sent his bill to the governor and asked to be relieved of the care of the Indian children, saying,

Farther whereas the Indians with mee bee so small as that they bee uncapable of the benefit of such learning as I desire to impart to them, and therefore they being an hindrance to mee and I no furtherance to them I desire they may be somewhere else disposed of with convenient speed. (123, pp. 313-314)

The college was unsuccessful in finding many young Indians who desired to learn Greek and Latin. A dozen or more Indians attended the Cambridge Latin school to be prepared for admittance to Harvard College. Only four or five Indians entered the college. One boy graduated, but he died soon afterward. Another attended the college for several years



but, while away on a vacation, he was murdered by some of his unsophisticated brethren. A third boy stayed long enough to learn to write Greek and Latin. (122, p. 303)

Daniel Gockins said that the design of the school was prudent, noble and good, but that it was ineffective to the ends proposed. Several of the Indians died after time and expense had been given to their training and they had made good proficiency in the work. Others became discouraged and left school when they were almost ready for college. Some returned to live with their countrymen. He said that some were improved by their education for work as schoolmasters. Others entered into other occupations. One became a carpenter, one a sailor, while a third went to England to work for a gentleman there. (73, pp. 172-173)

When the royal commissioners visited the college in 1666 they could find only one Indian in residence, though the school people assured them that there were three others somewhere about the place. Ten years later the commissioners found that the Indian college building had been turned into a printing house, which was turning out Indian Bibles, grammars and tracts to be used by the missionaries. (193, p. 181)

In 1707 Harvard's president, Leverett, tried to revive the Indian college. He succeeded in enrolling one Indian boy, who soon fell into dreadful snares of sin and died. (140, p. 78)

#### MISSIONARY WORK IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC COLONIES

The Middle Atlantic colonies were slow in taking up missionary and educational work among the Indians. These colonies were smaller than the others, were settled later and were established by people as nearly

of one group as were the Virginia and Massachusetts colonies. New York and New Jersey were founded by the Dutch. Delaware was settled by the Swedes. Pennsylvania and Maryland were proprietary colonies. As the proprietors were anxious to encourage the settlement of their territory, they granted religious toleration to the settlers. Perhaps this policy of religious tolerance tended to blunt the missionary zeal which had led to educational activity among the Indians of the other colonies.

A significant feature of many of the Indian schools of the Middle Colonies is the difference of their educational objectives from those of New England and the South. Religious training and soul securing were subordinated to instruction in agriculture, manual skills, home-making and the everyday customs of white people. Many of these schools were highly successful. Their work was upset by wars rather than because of the fault of the school programs.

Father White and other Catholic missionaries worked among the Indians of Maryland. Quaker, Anglican, Moravian, and Dutch ministers were active in New York and Pennsylvania. A sustained effort was made for a period of about fifty years by Samson Occum and Samuel Kirkland who had been associated with Wheelock's work in New England. They established schools among the Senecas and Tuscaroras. They taught religion, "school learning", agriculture, and household and mechanic arts. A gentleman of the time said that Mr. Kirkland had taken great pains with the Indians but that his whole flock were Indians still, like a bear that can be taught to dance to music, but still remains a bear. (46, p. 287)

In the Swedish colony of Delaware, the Reverend John Campanius compiled a vocabulary of the Delaware language and translated Luther's

Catechism for use by the missionaries in instructing the Indians. (192, p. 239)

From the Dutch colony of New Netherlands the Reverends J. Margopallenses and J. Drisius wrote to the Classes of Amsterdam, August 5, 1657:

We see no way to accomplish the conversion of the heathen until they are reduced to some form of civilization. We have had an Indian here with us for about two years. He can read and write Dutch very well. We have instructed him in the fundamental principles of our religion, and he answers publicly in church and can repeat the commandments. We have given him a Bible hoping he might do some good work among the Indians but all resulted in nothing. He took to drinking brandy, he pawned the Bible and turned into a regular beast, doing more harm than good among the Indians. (95, p. 399)

The Englishman, George Fox, became interested in the religious education of Indians. He wrote to friends in America and urged them to go out and discourse with some of the heathen kings. In 1672 Fox came to America and preached to the Indians. (48, p. 368)

During the eighteenth century schools set up among the Housatonic Indians by Jonathan Edwards and John Sergeant attracted Indian students from the New York tribes. These schools used some of the best known plans of Indian education including the boarding school, the community school and the "outing" system, through which Indian boys and girls were placed in white households where they were brought up the same as the families' own children. Sergeant's schools taught agriculture, manual skills and home economics. (192, p. 238)

In the middle of the eighteenth century, David Zeisberger, a Moravian minister, was the leader of a group of missionaries who were preaching to the Iroquois. After some trouble with the New York authorities, the group moved out onto the frontier and began to form self-

supporting settlements of converts.

These settlements were intended to civilize, educate and convert the Indians. The villages consisted of farms, mills, shops, schools, churches, and homes for the Indians. School classes were established for children of all ages, young people and grown ups.

Zeisberger prepared an Onondaga dictionary and a German-Onondaga lexicon. Books were translated into the Indian language and used in the schools. Native ministers were trained in the settlements. These prosperous colonies were caught in the Revolutionary War. The Moravians were Pacifists by creed and were distrusted by both sides. The British arrested the missionaries while the colonists slaughtered the Indians in the Moravian settlements. (191, p. 235)

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE ENGLISH MISSIONARIES

The English missionaries were primarily interested in converting the Indians. The early schools established for this purpose seem to have met with poor success. Later workers established mission colonies that taught the principles of white civilization first and religion secondarily. These colonies seem to have been quite successful, but were destroyed by war.

#### THE WORK OF THE FRENCH MISSIONARIES

French Jesuit missionaries had set up Indian schools in Canada. These schools attracted a few pupils from the tribes of northeastern United States. These schools were operated only a few years. In general the first French missionaries to enter the field of Indian educa-

tion had an extremely difficult task. They had to contend with superstition and savagery. Many of these early church workers were killed by the Indians. They had very little opportunity to set up schools, as the French government was interested chiefly in using the missionaries as political ambassadors to the tribes in the struggle for control of the continent. The French did establish a few permanent towns at strategic locations. At these places, the Jesuits set up missions and mission schools. The early French missionaries travelled from tribe to tribe making friends with the Indians, learning their languages, preaching to them and giving them religious instruction. They worked south from the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. They entered the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys and visited the tribes clear to the Gulf of Mexico. Later on, they traveled among the Western tribes and established missions along the Pacific Coast. The educational efforts of these early traveling missionaries necessarily were very limited. For the most part the missionaries gave their attention to religious instruction and to imparting a little information about French customs. The French authorities would not allow the missionaries to establish mission colonies as was done by the Spanish. (6, p. 13)

#### THE SPANISH MISSIONS

The Spanish explorers came into Florida and moved west and north through the Gulf states and South Central states. They moved northward out of Mexico and established permanent settlements in the southwest states. Missionaries accompanied the early explorers. As the conquistadors became established in garrisons, the missionaries began to gather

the Indians together in order to preach to and teach them. The objective of the Spanish missionaries was to establish segregated self-supporting colonies of Christian Indians. These Indians were taught to farm and to keep herds of livestock. They were given instruction in trades and set to work at the missions. They were given instruction in religion and in Spanish customs. The missionaries took pains to familiarize themselves with Indian customs and languages. The Gulf coast missions were swept away by wars with the English. (16, pp. 26-27)

The missionaries who entered New Mexico about the middle of the sixteenth century had several advantages over those who worked in other areas. They profited by the experience that their orders had acquired in working among the Indians of Central and South America. They found the New Mexico Indians living in settled communities. The earliest missionaries went out to the Indian settlements escorted by soldiers who soon withdrew leaving the missionaries. As soon as the missionaries began to oppose the pagan customs of the Indians, they were set upon by the savages and were killed. Later on the Spaniards were able to put down the tribes by force of arms, enabling the missionaries to establish churches and schools. The missionaries brought in craftsmen who worked in their settlements and taught various skills to the Indians or added to those already known. They taught reading, writing, arithmetic, music, crafts and trades, religion, and Spanish customs, and added to the Indians' knowledge of agriculture, irrigation and stock raising. The missionaries were competent organizers. Their colonies flourished for about a hundred years. The Indian revolt of 1680 destroyed the New Mexico missions. However, the teachings of the missionaries persisted. The Southwest has

remained Spanish in culture down to the present time. (5, p. 9)

Spanish missionaries traveled among the Apaches and Navajos of Arizona, but were unable to achieve any important success in their attempts to civilize these fierce and nomadic tribesmen. Some expeditions moved north from Sonora and made settlements along the coast of California. These were military expeditions but they were accompanied by missionaries who gave religious instruction to the Indians they encountered. The missionaries moved out from the settlements to bring their preaching and teaching activities to the remote Indian tribes. This work was approved by the Spanish government, as the missionaries had shown themselves to be capable organizers and colonizers in Central and South America. (5, p. 7) The King ordered that supplies of beads and other trinkets should be sent to the missionaries to make their work easier.

The Spanish missionaries began by learning the native languages. They supplied clothing and food to their first converts and used them to help to bring in more of their tribesmen. They translated prayers and songs into the vernacular and taught these to the natives. As soon as they had gathered a fair sized group around them, they started missions. The missionaries and converts built churches and other necessary buildings and houses. Craftsmen were brought in, herds and agriculture projects established and the whole community made self-supporting. This usually was the first critical stage in the life of the mission. Frequently the medicine men stirred up massacres that resulted in the death of the missionaries and their converts. Bena-vides said, "The idolatrous priests in their anger incited many people



to rebellion". (86, p. 76)

These rebellions delayed but did not stop the work of the missionaries. More priests and craftsmen returned to the area and began the work over again. Usually before the second establishment of a mission the soldiers came in and taught the Indians a few lessons of their own. (100, p. 27)

The new missions were started with stronger backing from the civil authorities. Settlers came in. The missionaries began to instruct the Indians in carpentry, weaving, irrigation, leather making, blacksmithing, the Spanish language, customs and religion. The missions were planned to become completely self-supporting colonies directed by the church authorities. The King was heartily in favor of this arrangement because the missions served as agencies of conquest. They held ground and secured populations more efficiently than the military forces could have done and at practically no expense to the royal treasury. Therefore, the King directed that the missionaries were to be given a free hand in governing their little realms. (100, p. 29) In the later stages of the settlements when there were large Spanish populations in the region there was much quarreling between the missionaries and the civil authorities. (100, p. 147)

Once an Indian entered a mission, he was considered to be a permanent member of the group unless he was released by royal authority. He was not allowed to leave the mission to visit his people except by express permission of the missionaries. If he overstayed his leave, the missionaries came for him and flogged him to teach him little lessons in punctuality, dependability and obedience.

The missions were hives of industry. The people were busy all day with various trades and crafts and worked in the fields. The fathers taught all they knew of horticulture, agriculture, carpentry and masonry. Artisans were brought in from Mexico to teach and carry on work in tailoring, shoemaking, pottery, saddlery, milling, weaving and soap and candle making. Some of the artisans traveled from mission to mission, teaching their trades.

"It was through the tasks he was taught rather than the Doctrina that the Indian was led into the ways and means of civilization". (100, p. 36) The women spent their time cooking, weaving and doing other household tasks. The larger children worked with their parents. The small ones chased the birds out of the gardens and performed other minor chores. Kuhn says,

The Regulation directed the Fathers to give instruction to boys and girls who were five years old and to see that they all attended. The priests taught the children to read and write and to do simple arithmetic problems. Some of them were taught music. Everyone was given continual religious instruction. (100, pp. 60-61)

The discipline of the missions was very strict. The neophytes were locked inside the missions at night. No outsiders except church and state officials were allowed to stay overnight. Plans were made for the establishment in California of a school for neophyte boys like the Colegio de Indio in Mexico, and a girls' school at each mission where Indian girls might be placed at the age of three for training in domestic work. (100, p. 62)

Eventually there were twenty missions located on the California coast. The missions were located in places where there were suitable

supplies of good land, wood and water. The wisdom of the selection of locations for the missions is shown by the number of modern cities that have grown up on their sites.

The objectives of the Spanish mission colonies were different from those of the Moravians and the Quakers. The Spanish missions trained the Indian children to work and to take up useful skills, but they performed this work under strict supervision and on precisely bounded reservations.

The Indians who lived in the English mission colonies lived more nearly as their white neighbors did. They learned manual skills as did the Spanish mission Indians, but seem to have been freer to come and go to work or not as they pleased. Both systems were destroyed. The English missions were destroyed by war while the Spanish missions were secularized and their property taken away by the government. In both cases the mission Indians seemed to have lost their ability to adjust themselves to the sudden changes of events and declined rapidly.

#### SUMMARY OF MISSIONARY WORK

The earliest missionaries regardless of nationality underwent great hardship and privation. They encountered people who lived under the most primitive conditions. The solid opposition of the medicine men and of the older people thwarted their work at every turn. They constantly were forced to adapt their teaching to the political plans of their own countries. They found their work undermined by the activities of lawless traders, soldiers and settlers who cheated and abused the Indians. They found themselves in competition with rival groups of

missionaries, zealously trying to teach their own way of life of the Indians and to "reconvert" their converts. (134, p. 364) Wars swept away the missions and missionaries, the schools, scholars and schoolmasters. Many of the missionaries were killed but they were replaced and the work went on. Some of the methods used or advocated by the early missionaries still remain in current practice.

#### PUBLICLY SUPPORTED SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS

During colonial times very little effort was put forth by the colonial governments to provide for Indian education. A Massachusetts law of 1637 provided for the education of servants and apprentices. The general court of Massachusetts ordered the county courts to see that the Indians in their districts were civilized. These laws probably benefitted a few Indians, since in 1643 it was reported that many Indian children were living among the colonists and long since had become civilized. (22, p. 423) (20, p. 254)

In Virginia the general assembly allowed the income from twelve hundred pounds of tobacco annually for the education of hostages according to their ability; and the Virginia Company granted a payment of ten pounds sterling per child for each Indian child educated in a private home. (5, p. 16)

The benefits of these small appropriations set aside by colonial governments for Indians and Indian education were neutralized by the short sighted policies of various governors. Governor Moor of Virginia for instance, granted commissions to a number of men to set upon, kill and capture as many Indians as they could. The proceeds from the sale

of captives were set aside for Governor Moor's private account. (134, p. 342)

William and Mary's College. In 1691 the Virginia colony appropriated two thousand pounds sterling, set aside twenty thousand acres of land and levied a tax of a cent a pound of tobacco shipped out of the colony. This money was to be used to establish a college. The Virginia Assembly also levied duties on liquors and on exports of furs to raise money for the support of a college. (111, p. 207)

The charter of the college of William and Mary was signed in 1692 and was delivered in 1693. The purpose of the college was to educate the colonists' sons, to educate and convert the Indians and to train ministers. (163, p. 283) Mr. Robert Boyle willed the income from an English estate to William and Mary's College and to educational institutions in New England for use in Indian education.

The college was erected in 1700. The Indian students who were admitted to this college lived in private homes until a separate building, the Brafferton Building, was built for them in 1723 using money supplied by Mr. Boyle. They were educated separately from the white students. The money for the support of the Indian school was supplied by private charity. Some of the funds came from England, some from wealthy colonists. The ship's chaplain of the Royal James collected £ 70 for the school. (163, p. 265)

The statutes of the College of William and Mary provided for one master for the Indian school. This man was to teach reading, writing, common arithmetic and the principles of the Christian religion. He was permitted to teach white scholars, too, and to receive extra pay for

this work. (98, p. 575) In 1712 there were twenty Indian boys in attendance. The attendance of Indian students declined slowly until the Revolutionary War. At that time the supply of British funds was cut off and the Indian school closed.

It was hoped that the educated Indians would become missionaries to their tribes, but they returned to "idolatry and barbarism". (163, p. 285)

In 1724 note was taken of the fact that very little had been accomplished by way of educating the Indians in spite of the fact that considerable money had been spent. A good many of the Indians had died from sickness, neglect and the change of ways of living. Those who had finished school had returned home and taken up their old ways of doing or had remained among the English as servants or loiterers. (163, p. 286)

A gentleman of the day wrote that he regretted that more provision was not made for the children after they finished school. He said that the Indians had admirable capacities when their humors and tempers were perfectly understood. If well taught, he thought that they might advance themselves and do great good in the service of religion. At that time he said they were "taught to become worse rather than better by falling into the worst practices of vile nominal Christians, which they added to their own Indian manners and notions." (98, p. 466)

He recommended that a certain number of these Indians be kept at the school as servants and given further instruction. When qualified, they would be sent to England for further schooling or be apprenticed to ship captains and tradesmen. They were to be encouraged in their

separate callings and helped to settle among the English or among their own people. He believed that many of them would be of great help in converting and civilizing the other Indians. (98, pp. 466-467)

This whole idea of manual training and placement seems quite modern. It was intended to take the place of indiscriminate mass education in common school subjects. Unfortunately it took several hundred years for the plan to become generally accepted.

In 1786 Elkanah Watson encountered an Indian alumnus of William and Mary's College while on a government mission to the Indians of North Carolina. He said,

On this he (the chief) dispatched a runner across the Catawaba River for an interpreter. In about an hour his cabin was thronged by the savage warriors, and among them one who had been educated at William and Mary's College, a sensible and well informed person but a perfect Indian in his appearance and habits. (98, p. 549)

Byrd's diary, under the date of October 20, 1711, refers to the system of securing Indian hostages to attend the college. He says,

I rose about six o'clock and drank tea with the Governor, who made use of this opportunity (a council with the Indian tribes) to make the Indians send some of their great men to the college, and the Nausemonds sent two, the Nottoways two, and the Meherrins two. He also demanded one from every town belonging to the Tuscaroras. (199, p. 424)

The number of Indians in the Virginia colony decreased steadily as the tribes were pushed farther west. At the start of the Revolutionary War, only a few Indians were left at the Indian college at William and Mary's. (5, p. 16)

Thomas Jefferson was opposed to the establishment of such institutions as the Brafferton Indian College located in the centers of white population. He said in 1787,



The purposes of the Brafferton institution would be better answered by maintaining a perpetual mission among the Indian tribes, the object of which, besides instructing them in the principles of Christianity, as the founder requires, should be to collect their traditions, laws, customs, languages, and other circumstances which might lead to a discovery of their relation with one another, or descent from other nations. When these objects are accomplished with one tribe, the missionary might pass on to another. (98, pp. 157-158)

Whatever efforts the colonial governments made in furtherance of educational and missionary work among the Indians were inspired by the realization that the French were actively engaged in strengthening their hold on the Great Lakes-Ohio Valley area. French missionaries and artisans taught the Indians and kept their friendship by giving them presents. (6, pp. 20-21) So well unified and persistent were the operations of the French, and so scattered, tardy and unimaginative the English efforts at conversion, education, and alliance with the Indians that one wonders if the French would not have taken the whole interior valley of America if they had not been involved in wars in Europe.

#### SUMMARY OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD OF INDIAN EDUCATION

At the start of the 18th century the colonists had been in contact with the Indians for nearly two hundred years. During this time almost all the efforts to educate the Indians were made by private citizens or by missionary groups. These people worked out principles of Indian education that have been used ever since. Since institutions as boarding schools, community schools, manual labor schools and organized Indian colonies were established by the missionaries. In some areas the Indian children attended the public schools.

The nations striving to take possession of America were interested in the Indians from a political point of view. They wanted to use the Indians in the struggle for the domination of the continent. The efforts of the teachers and the missionaries were given up in some measure to furthering the policies of their home governments. Along the frontier the competition of the missionaries, traders and teachers of the different nations tended to neutralize each other. The wars that broke out among the French, Spanish and English destroyed flourishing Indian settlements and ruined the accomplishments of years of patient effort on the part of the missionaries and teachers.

Governmental appropriations were made to support ministers, teachers and craftsmen among the Indians. Money was set aside for the support of Indian students at Dartmouth, Princeton, and at Wheelock's Academy. These grants were made, not because of great interest in Indian education, but to hold the friendship of the Indians and keep them on the side of the colonists. The work of the missionaries and teachers seems to have helped to keep the Indians friendly to the colonies with the exception of the Southern tribes and the Mohawks who remained pro-British. (5, p. 28)

These small appropriations set aside for the education and civilization of the Indians mark the beginning of a government policy of Indian guardianship that became stronger as time went by. The old British plan of dealing with the Indian tribes as independent sovereign nations gradually lost importance as a principle of Indian policy.

During the colonial period of history there arose two general schools of thought in regard to Indian educational policy. One group

was alarmed by the evil influence of traders and other white men who lived among the Indians. These people believed that the Indians should be put into Indian colonies entirely segregated from the influence of unscrupulous white people. People in these colonies would be taught white men's ways of doing by missionaries and carefully selected artisans. Examples of these segregated colonies were Eliot's Towns of Praying Indians, the Moravian colonies in the middle states and the Spanish missions of the southwest. When political conditions changed, the Indians in these segregated groups seemed to be unable to readjust themselves to life in white settlements. (5, p. 11)

Another group believed in scattering the Indians out among the white settlers to learn white ways. These people wanted to remove the young Indians from the influence of old tribal ways and to make "white" people of them. This group developed non-reservation boarding schools. They originated the outing system which placed young Indians in the homes of white settlers for instruction in farming, trades and home-making. The Indian children were sent to regular public schools. John Sergeant's school made use of this apprentice system. Later on, the outing system became an important part of the training given to students at Carlisle Indian School.

It is interesting to notice that the vastly different aims of the missionaries and of the fortune hunters often led them to support the same governmental policy. The missionaries wanted to shield the Indian from contact with unscrupulous white men who cheated them and made drunkards of them. They wanted the Indians to be put onto definite tracts of land where education and civilization could be brought to them.

The fortune hunters wanted to get possession of the Indian property and to push the Indians farther out into the wilderness. Both groups pushed the government into a long period of land purchases, removals, broken treaties and reduced reservations.

## CHAPTER IV

## INDIAN EDUCATION FROM 1775 TO 1865

The first seventy years after the Revolutionary War were marked by rapid expansion of the population of the United States. The strong westward movement of white settlers moved the Indians away from the Indian schools of colonial days and forced the schools out of existence.

The Indians themselves were absorbed into the population, moved westward, or remaining in possession of their lands, as did the Cherokees, found themselves in the midst of stormy political controversies.

There was considerable difference of opinion about what had been accomplished by the missionaries in their attempts to educate the Indians. One man said that he hoped to see the Indians converted and civilized but he did not expect to see it done. (134, p. 372)

Another traveler spoke of the large numbers of Indians who were settled among the white people and who seemed to be quite civilized. Since most of the larger mission schools and Indian colonies had been destroyed by war, one wonders if these Indians who had settled down and taken up white ways were not people who had been taken in by the colonists as apprentices and had become civilized by living and working with white people rather than by receiving formal education. (132, pp. 183-4)

The great Seneca chief, Cornplanter, asked the Friends to take three Indian boys and educate them in the schools the same as white chil-

dren. This agreement was signed in 1791 and was witnessed by President George Washington.

In 1795 the Baltimore Yearly Meeting appointed a Committee to study the possibility of giving instruction in religion, agriculture and the mechanic arts. They sent a missionary, Philip Dennis, out in 1803 to show the Indians how to raise crops and livestock and the women how to spin and weave. (192, pp. 372-3)

In 1807 Jefferson wrote to James Pemberton congratulating the Quakers on their success in civilizing the Indians.

It is evident that your Society has begun at the right end for civilizing these people. Habits of industry, easy subsistence, attachment to property are necessary to prepare their minds for the first elements of science and afterwards for moral and religious instruction. To begin with, the last has ever ended with effecting nothing or in grafting bigotry on ignorance.

To the Indian tribes Jefferson said,

We will with pleasure furnish you with implements for the most necessary arts, and with persons who may instruct you how to make and use them.

He urged the Indians to take up farming in order to be sure of having plenty of food and clothing. He told them that a little land well stocked and improved would yield more than a great deal without stock or improvement. (99, p. 391)

Jefferson thought that the Southern tribes were making more rapid progress in education and civilization because they were larger and better located. The agents and instructors could spread their influence and instruction over a larger surface. The Southern tribes could raise crops and livestock more successfully than the northern tribes because of the milder climate.



He was opposed to the practice of sending Indian children to such schools as William and Mary's. He believed that the teachers should go out to the Indian villages and teach practical skills such as farming, trades and housekeeping. He said,

I wish they may begin their work at the right end. Our experience with the Indians has proved that letters are not the first, but the last step in the progression from barbarism to civilization. - - - The four great southern tribes are advancing hopefully. The foremost are the Cherokees, the upper settlements of which have made to me a formal application to be received into the Union as citizens of the United States and be governed by our laws. (99, 12, p. 78)

The plan of civilizing the Indians is undoubtedly a great improvement on the ancient and totally ineffectual one of beginning with religious missionaries. Our experience has shown that this must be the last step of the process. The following is what has been successful, first, to raise cattle, etc., and thereby acquire a knowledge of the value of property; second, arithmetic to calculate that value, third, writing, to keep accounts and here they begin to enclose farms and the men to labor, the women to spin and weave; fourth, to read "Aesop's Fables" and "Robinson Crusoe" as their first delight. (99, 12, p. 79)

Jefferson suggested to President Madison that a piece of government land at Detroit might be turned over to Father Richard who maintained a school for Indians. He thought that this land might be used as a model farm where French women could come to teach spinning, weaving, sewing and housekeeping to the Indian girls. He proposed that the War Department put up houses and buildings on the farm and that the Government farmer, carpenter and blacksmiths should live there. They were to teach their trades and skills to those of the boys who had aptitude for the work. Parents were to be encouraged to camp nearby so that they could see the various trades being practiced. Jefferson believed that settlements of civilized, property owning Indians would serve as buffers between the white people and wild Indians. This Indian community school

organization idea is somewhat similar to the modern day schools. (99, 12. p. 334)

In 1810 DeWitt Clinton mentioned visiting a village of Tuscaroras. He said they had learned to live by the practice of agriculture. They had good crops and kept a number of hogs and good cattle. They had bought some land from a land company. (30, p. 122) Clinton said that Indian girls were selling vegetables and fruit along the road. On the Oneida reservation he saw Indians plowing and using teams and wagons. (30, p. 186) Women were milking cows and churning. He said that all the marks of incipient civilization were to be seen in this area. The furniture of their homes and their farming interests were those of civilized persons. The Indians were operating their own mills. Clinton remarked that Mr. Kirkland's church and school house were standing still. Clinton said,

Abraham Hatfield and his wife (Quakers) have resided here some time, having been sent by that society principally with a view to teach the savages agriculture for which they receive \$200 a year. They are amply provided with oxen and the instruments of agriculture to administer to the wants and instruction of the Indians. The Oneidas are much attached to the Quakers. They teach morals, not dogmas, agriculture and the arts of civilized life. Those of England have divided £ 8,000 among the Friends of Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York in order to ameliorate the conditions of the Indians. They indicate a knowledge of human nature and if the Indians are ever rescued effectually from the evils of savage life it will be through their instrumentality. The missionary societies have been of little use in this nation. The morals of the Christians are worse than those of the pagans. The clergyman at Stockbridge, of the name of Sergeant, not outstanding the goodness of his intentions, has not been able to effect much. (29, p. 188)

The Indians apparently were not very well satisfied with the products of some of these mission schools, either. At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Coleraine with the Creeks in 1797, the commissioners had

spoken of setting up schools among them. The chiefs vetoed the proposal, saying that the educated Indian became mischievous, troublesome and worthless, and got both the whites and the Indians into trouble. The proposal was dropped and was not taken up again for thirty years. (78, p. 158)

John C. Calhoun was much interested in the Indian problem. He was convinced that the Indians must be absorbed into the current of white civilization. Calhoun called for the division of Indian lands among the members of the tribes, with compulsory education in farming skills for the men. The women were to be taught cooking, sewing and homemaking in community schools located in the Indian settlements. Liquor sales were to be halted and trading licenses granted only to men of good moral character. The missionaries had been trying for years to keep liquor and unscrupulous traders from the Indians. To Henry Leavenworth, Calhoun wrote,

The Indians must be brought gradually under our authority and laws or they will insensibly waste away in vice and misery. It is impossible with their customs that they should exist as independent communities in the midst of civilized society. They are not, in fact, an independent people, nor ought they to be so considered. (77, p. 162)

Ultimately both Calhoun and Jefferson came to approve a plan of removing all the tribes to the territory beyond the Mississippi and uniting them into one great nation far beyond the reach of the white man.

As Secretary of War, Calhoun authorized the purchase of spinning wheels, looms, and domestic animals. He believed that it was cheaper to undertake the civilization of the Indians by education and assistance than to embark on costly military expeditions against them. Fifty years later Calhoun's plan, under a new sponsor, became the "peace policy" of Grant's

administration. Calhoun's belief that the Indians should not be allowed to exist as independent communities still had not become general practice. In order to assist the teachers and missionaries in their work by better control of the liquor traffic, the government maintained trading posts, or factories in the Indian country. Astor and the fur companies fought this system bitterly with the aid of Senator Benton. They finally succeeded in getting government factories abolished and the Indian trade turned back to private hands. Private operation led to graft and exploitation of the Indians and brought on Indian wars that destroyed the Indian schools and missions. Later, Benton became Astor's legal counselor. (195, p. 83)

The report of the House Committee of Indian affairs for 1818 stated that if the primer and the hoe were put into the hands of the Indian children they eventually would take up the plough. The Committee believed that the creation of trading posts and Indian schools on the frontier would benefit both the United States and the Indian tribes and would tend to promote peace. (33, pp. 69-70)

In 1819 Congress passed an act to empower the President, where practicable, to secure people of good moral character to provide instruction for the Indians. The sum of ten thousand dollars was set aside annually for this purpose. This grant was called a "Civilization Fund". The Indians were to be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, agriculture, and the mechanic arts. The girls were to be taught spinning, weaving, and sewing. The money was made available to various missionary groups in proportion to the enrollment of Indian children in their schools. The grants were made conditional to the establishment of

"manual labor" courses in agriculture, homemaking and the mechanic arts. (33, 5. p. 71) The purpose of these new schools was to civilize the Indians by actual practice in performing the daily work of white people instead of by concentrating on religious and academic subjects.

In 1819 Calhoun set up regulations for Indian schools that desired to take advantage of the Congressional appropriations for their support. The schools were to be located within Indian lands. The school administrators were required to submit reports of the location of their schools, numbers and kinds of teacher funds available, numbers of pupils, objects of the teaching and extent of the aid required. They were required to report the description and value of their properties and the number of pupils entering and leaving the schools. The government agreed to pay two-thirds of the cost of building the school plant after the work was actually started. (5, p. 32)

The Reverend Jedediah Morse was sent out in 1820-21 to make a detailed survey of the Indian schools. His report shows that at that time only fifteen Indian boys were attending the missionary school at Cornwall, Connecticut. The southern tribes had been sending their boys to Cornwall to be educated but were giving up the plan. The rigorous climate of New England had caused much sickness and death among the children. (41, p. 11) Most of the schools visited by Reverend Morse were located well back from the coast in the eastern Mississippi and Ohio valleys. Perhaps population pressures had caused the eastern Indians to drift westward even before the general removals began. Some of the Indian schools were of the Lancasterian type. Most of them made use of a manual labor system of school organization, probably in order to qualify for Federal aid.



This manual labor type of school emphasized the teaching of agriculture, carpentry and other trades, together with sewing, weaving, and household work for the girls. This learning-by-doing type of school was intended to enable young Indians to settle among white people and work at various trades.

Morse himself seems to have favored the education of Indian groups in community school centers. He looked forward to establishment of a large Indian college which would serve the needs of all the tribes. (124, pp. 385-86)

#### INDIAN REMOVALS

In 1802 Georgia had ceded its western lands to the United States on condition that "the United States shall at their own expense, extinguish, for the use of Georgia, as early as the same can be peaceably obtained on reasonable terms", the title to Indian lands within the limits of the state. (8, p. 126)

As justification for the purchase of the Louisiana territory, Jefferson had suggested the removal of the Indians to the new territory across the Mississippi where they could be educated and civilized at leisure and kept away from undesirable whites. This plan was approved by succeeding presidents. Some Indians had moved across the Mississippi River by 1817. These were voluntary removals that had resulted from treaties with small groups. (83, p. 11)

By the end of Monroe's administration the question of Indian removal had become a hot political issue. The missionaries generally



were opposed to removal since this action would destroy their flourishing missions and schools among the more settled tribes. Even so, some of the missionaries believed in segregating the Indians and removing them from the reach of vicious white men. There was no agreement among the Indians themselves either. The wilder tribes and the less thrifty Indians were not opposed to removal, as the game was disappearing from their lands anyway. However, the people of the civilized tribes were determined stubbornly to remain where they were. The southern Indians had fine plantations, slaves, and well furnish plantation houses. They sent their children north to school and engaged attorneys to represent them in the courts. They had their own governments, maintained their own schools and had compulsory attendance laws. In 1800 they had asked to be permitted to come under the laws of the United States. (40, p. 10)

John Quincy Adams noted in his diary for January 8, 1824:

I called at the Presidents' and while I was there Mr. Calhoun came with a deputation of five Cherokee Indians. This is the most civilized of the tribes of North American Indians. They have abandoned altogether the life of hunters and betaken themselves to tillage. These men were dressed entirely according to our manner. Two of them spoke English with good pronunciation and one with grammatical accuracy. This was a young man of twenty-three who has passed three or four years at a missionary school in Connecticut. (130, p. 861)

At another time Adams remarked that the Cherokee were civilized and prosperous, that they would not cede any more of their lands and could not legally be forced out of their holdings. They were farmers, had their own representative form of government and courts, and held permanent property. They wrote their own state papers and reasoned as logically as white diplomats. The Cherokee schools were of the (at that time) up-to-date Lancasterian type. Adams stated that each of the principal

Cherokee chiefs owned property worth from fifty to a hundred thousand dollars. At this time the Cherokee had their own written language. (130, p. 363)

Calhoun remarked that much of the difficulty of obtaining additional land cessions from the Cherokee came from their high degree of education. Therefore, if they were to be removed at all, it was best to do so quickly before they were educated.

### THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

As California became settled, the conflict of interests of the missionaries and of the settlers, which we noticed in the eastern colonies, made itself felt in the Spanish missions. The division of authority between the clergy and the civil authorities resulted in bitter quarrels. In general the Spanish settlers were opposed to the work of the missionaries. They found the missions in possession of large tracts of the best lands in the area. The settlers coveted these lands. They regarded the Indians as a source of cheap labor. (131, p. 135) The settlers accused the missionaries of mistreating the Indians and of failure to provide religious and educational services for the colonists. (100, p. 151) The missionaries blamed the settlers for demoralizing the gentile Indians and for neutralizing the work done with the mission Indians. (100, p. 152)

At the start of the 19th century, the missionaries and the soldiers made a number of expeditions to other parts of California, but failed to accomplish anything in their contacts with other Indian tribes.

Pagan Indians and runaway mission Indians began to cause trouble in the mission settlements. Finally in 1822 the territory of California became part of the Mexican Republic. (31, p. 459) In 1833 the California missions were closed. For a number of years they had declined in importance. The proportion of deaths to births among the mission Indians in the later years had been three to two. During the years of their existence the missions had given instruction to about a hundred thousand Indians.

#### THE REMOVALS

At the end of Monroe's administration in 1824 a removal act was passed to encourage voluntary removal of Indians. This act provided for the exchange of tribal land for an equal amount in designated areas west of the Mississippi. The Indians were to be given good title to their lands and were to be protected in its possession. White riff-raff was to be kept out of the Indian territory. Since the act was permissive in nature, the Indians remained where they were. (5, p. 77)

During John Quincy Adam's administration many leading men were of the opinion that we could not have separate Indian states within the United States. They thought that civilized Indians should be protected in their property, but that unoccupied lands should be thrown open for settlement. The nomadic tribes should be moved west of the Mississippi where they had more room.

In 1828 the state of Georgia passed laws annexing the Cherokee lands within its borders and making the Indians subject to its laws. The Indians appealed to the Supreme Court and obtained a verdict declaring the Georgia

laws unconstitutional. President Jackson who had come to power through the support of the deep South, refused to execute the decision of the court. (He was glad to show his feelings in this manner in order to hold his Southern voting strength in the election of 1832.) To undermine the court decision and defeat the Indians' lawyers, Jackson went personally to the Indians and told them that the government could not protect them in their property rights. He finally persuaded them to move to the west. This removal resulted in the loss of their property, loss of life, destruction of their homes and schools, and set the development of the tribe back many years. Clay and Calhoun fought the removals for political reasons, but secretly seem to have believed in the wisdom of the action. The Friends and other religious and educational groups fought the removal desperately but were unable to stop it. (133, pp. 215-216)

Otis says,

It is difficult to destroy any government action which may bring remote benefits and in which any class of individuals is peculiarly interested. (136, p. 93)

In his 1832 message Jackson said,

I am happy to inform you that the wise and humane policy of transferring from the eastern to the western side of the Mississippi the remnants of our aboriginal tribes, with their own consent and upon just terms, has been steadily pursued and is approaching, I trust, its consummation. (136, p. 97)

In 1833 he said,

The Indians have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire for improvement which are essential to any favorable change in their condition. (136, p. 98)

The conditions of the treaties made in the second and third quarters of the century provided for payments of annuities for education and for



sending stock and tools out to the tribes. Some of these annuities were temporary. Some have gone into permanent tribal funds.

In 1838 President Van Buren said,

Measures lately pursued have rendered the speedy and successful result of the long established policy of the government upon the subject of Indian affairs entirely certain. The occasion is therefore deemed a proper one to place this policy in such a point of view as will exonerate the government of the United States from the undeserved reproach which has been cast upon it through several successive administrations. That the mixed occupancy of the same territory by the white and red man is incompatible with the safety and happiness of either is a proposition in respect to which there has long ceased to be sufficient room for a difference of opinion. No doubt of the wisdom of the policy is in the mind of any calm, judicious friend of the Indian. If in the future a powerful, happy civilized nation of Indians shall exist, it will be a result of that policy which has been so unjustly assailed. (136, pp. 99-100)

President Tyler said in 1842,

Great progress in civilizing the Indians has been made - the schoolmaster and the missionary are found side by side. The transition from savagery to civilization will be a bright trophy to adorn the labors of well directed philanthropy. (136, pp. 100-101)

In 1832 Indian affairs were given to a special bureau within the War Department. In 1849 the Department of the Interior was created. The Indian Bureau was transferred to the new department.

The first Secretary of the Interior said in 1849,

Most of the tribes located permanently on our western border and particularly the more southern continue steadily to advance in civilization and in all elements of substantial prosperity. The establishment of manual labor schools in charge of mission societies of various religious denominations is working a great moral and social revolution among several of the tribes and if the department had the means of extending the benefits of these institutions to those now destitute, it would no doubt be productive of like happy results. (136, p. 101)

The Secretary who held office in 1853 seems to have been less op-

timistic about the results that were being obtained by the separate Indian state method of civilizing the Indians. He said,

It is folly to conceal the fact that under the present system, the Indians have not for many years past advanced in morality, integrity, or intelligence. -- Much of philanthropy and charity manifested for them, has been wrongfully directed. (136, p. 102)

The Secretary's report made the statement that what had been said for years about the advancement of the Indian people was in a great measure false. The report reminded the President that one of his predecessors had congratulated the country upon the removal of the Indians to their new homes and publicly proclaimed the dawning to them of a new and happy era. The secretary remarked that the guarantee had not been fulfilled and the happy day had not arrived. (136, p. 102) The Indians had retrograded culturally since their removal. He commended the progress of the New York Indians who upon the petition of their white neighbors, had been allowed to remain in their homes. These people were making gradual progress toward civilization in spite of the white neighborhood in which they were "trapped".

Otis says,

The progress which they have made in the last half century, exposes the fallacy of the doctrine that Indians cannot exist in the presence of and in contact with, a superior cultivated race and also shows that they are no more subject to decay, or disorganization, when thus situated than when dwelling apart by themselves. (136, p. 104)

#### SETTLEMENT OF THE FAR WEST

Meanwhile the tide of settlement was moving westward far more rapidly than anyone had anticipated. The first missionaries were mov-



ing out onto the great plains, to the northwest and to California. The gold rushes, fur trade and the settlements along the Oregon Trail were establishing little islands of the white man's ways, good and bad, to start the education of the roving tribes.

Father De Smet traveled through the prairie and mountain country preaching to the wandering tribes. Father Ravalli established a mission and school among the Flatheads of Western Montana. Reverend Whitman came to the Oregon country to heal the sick and to teach the Indians. Riggs, Pond, Williamson and other missionaries set up missions and schools in Minnesota and eastern Dakota.

Both the Catholic and Protestant missionaries wrote grammars and dictionaries in the Indian languages and used them in their teaching. The first schools, as in the East, were concerned chiefly with teaching religion, languages, and simple skills. The original efforts were made among the nomadic tribes. As settlements grew up, small manual labor schools were established. These started out with only a dozen or so pupils. Some grew to be boarding schools enrolling several hundred pupils. These schools were established as manual labor schools in order to qualify for Federal assistance. (127, pp. 423-424)

One missionary said,

In regard to agriculture the teachers here have found it impractical to keep any domestic animals save the dog and cat. For the least offense an Indian here will sooner shoot a horse or cow for revenge than a dog. Still a missionary by the second or third year will be better able to judge than I now can with how much security he could make the experiment. (127, p. 437)

The missionaries found that the differences in Indian and white customs created great problems in education. Reverend Boutwell reported

that plenty of children would attend the schools if the schools would feed and clothe them. He said they needed to be taught to help themselves. Everything was used in common. If an Indian had anything to eat, his neighbors were allowed to share it with him. Boutwell thought that the government should extend education, food, and clothing only to those who would make use of them themselves instead of squandering them on those too lazy to help themselves. In that way the Indians might learn to place value on things. He said,

It will require much patience, if not a long time, to break up and eradicate habits so inveterate. An Indian cannot eat alone. If he kills a pheasant, his neighbors must come in for a portion, small indeed, but so it is. As it respects furnishing them with seed or implements of husbandry, this may be done, but only to a certain extent. An Indian would most surely take advantage of your liberality. Everyone would come, the last expecting to be served as well if not better than the first. They are so jealous that the utmost precaution must be observed in making the least present of the least article to one that you cannot make to another. (127, p. 438)

In 1825 there were thirty-eight Indian schools receiving United States assistance. The cost of operating them was \$202,000 of which \$25,000 was contributed by the government. In 1848 there were sixteen manual labor schools and eighty-seven boarding and other types of schools. Most of these schools were located in the midwest. Some were in the new Indian territory as far north as Minnesota and as far west as Dakota. (62, p. 163) They were operated by the missionaries with some Federal support.

The Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 designed to keep white people from encroaching on the new Indian territory was a failure. In practice the law kept law abiding whites from contact with the Indians but had

no effect on the vagabonds and the trouble makers. The missionaries and teachers complained of the trouble they had because of liquor sales to the Indians. (43, p. 125) De Smet said that between 1838 and 1858 the number of Pottawatomies had decreased from 4,000 to 3,000. He said that the immoderate use of liquor, change of climate, vice and sickness had caused this decline. The neighboring tribes had diminished in numbers in the same way. Nevertheless the Pottawatomies had made considerable progress in agriculture and were living in a certain comfort surprising to the white people who visited them. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart had conducted a school among them for sixteen or seventeen years. (43, p. 133)

Educational and religious work among the Indians was hampered by immoderate use of liquor, superstitious practices, polygamy, difficult languages and the Indian's inclination to lead a wandering life. De Smet said that Indians became morose if they had to stay in one place for several months. De Smet seems to have known of the presence of gold in the country he crossed in his visits to the western tribes. He kept this knowledge to himself to keep the Indian lands from being overrun by lawless whites.

Although the Indians had been assured of the perpetual enjoyment of a territory along the west side of the Mississippi River from Texas to Canada, the tide of westward settlement moved so swiftly that in no time the tribes were being pressed back and forced to move or to accept small reservations. Every time a tribe had to move, the schools set up by the missionaries were disrupted or forced to close. Removal of the Indians usually followed a "war" between the settler and the

Indians. (5, pp. 41-43)

General Sherman said that these removals followed the same general pattern. The treaties for removal were concluded with a few people who did not represent the tribe. When the removal date came, no Indians appeared. A small force of soldiers was sent out to compel removal. They were massacred. Then the cowardly inhabitants of the region screamed for help. A big army came and fought an indecisive battle on ground selected by the Indians. The Indians retreated, scattered, and reassembled farther west. (81, p. 213)

People were surprised that the peaceful Indians reported by the missionaries and the teachers often became so untamable. The Jesuits worked among them and found them friendly and responsive to training. But as soon as the unarmed missionaries had pacified the Indians, the frontiersmen, not afraid any longer, drove out the missionaries and saw the Indians become wild and barbarous again. (109, p. 315)

In 1849 the Chickasaw legislature appropriated funds for six schools to be established in their territory. The Presbyterian Wapauneka Female Manual Labor School was established in 1852. The girls were divided into little housekeeping "families" consisting of large girls, small girls and a teacher, who lived and worked together. They studied the common school subjects, drawing, painting and housekeeping. The purpose of this plan was to enable the teachers to give each child individual help and guidance. This seems to have been a forerunner of the cottage type dormitories which appeared nearly a century later. (41, p. 86)

In 1855 the Chickasaws set up county superintendents to regulate

their schools and to supervise their teachers. In 1857 the superintendent of the Central Superintendency said,

There are many schools established within this Superintendency, some of which are productive of beneficial influences, others are worthless and ought to be abolished. The employment of mechanics within the several agencies, so far from being beneficial, is in my opinion injurious to the tribes and I would recommend that the system be entirely abolished.

He recommended reduction of the size of the Kansas and Nebraska reservations, and purchase by the government of the surplus lands. He thought that civilization of the Indians could be promoted more successful if they were settled on allotments of their own issued without patents. He reported that many thousand of the plains Indians had been killed by smallpox spread among them by reckless white men. (173, 1857. p. 118)

The schools at the Miami Agency were closed for lack of Federal funds. The superintendent complained that he got no answers to his letters of inquiry sent to the Indian Bureau. He said that his Indians consisted of three classes: One group was very well educated and industrious who should be given patents to their lands and allowed to manage their own affairs. The second were at a subsistence level. They were making just a fairly good living and showed little inclination to learn or advance themselves any further. The third group was shiftless. They were poorly housed, poorly fed, and not inclined to better themselves in any way. (173, 1857. p. 190)

The mission Indians of the Pottowatomi tribe asked to be given fee simple allotments of land. This was recommended for several reasons. It would give the Indians permanent homes that each could improve with

the knowledge that it would be his. It would break up the old communistic tribal organization by which the shiftless sponged their living from the products accumulated by the thrifty. It would permit the industrious Indians to improve their land and to accumulate the comforts of life from the surpluses produced by their own efforts. It would free the Indian of restraint and let him sink or survive, root or die according to his capabilities. (173, 1857. p. 198)

Just before the start of the Civil War the Southern tribes were beginning to get on their feet again economically and educationally. The lands set aside for the Northern tribes had been whittled away. Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota and Kansas had become states. Nebraska and other states contained substantial members of white people.

The report for 1857 makes special mention of the mission school in the Bitterroot Valley of Montana. It says,

An admirable institution for the education of the Indians on the western slope of the mountains at St. Marys in the Bitterroot Valley, has been conducted with singular success by certain Jesuits who manifested peculiar adaption to the duties of education in these remote regions. At this institution many of the Nez Perce and Flatheads are highly educated. All seem intelligent, moral and observant of the forms of Christian worship. (173, 1857. p. 198)

In 1857 the teacher of Grand Portage remarked that white children in his school were a great help in teaching the Indians. (173, 1857. p. 188) The manual labor school in the area was very successful.

In the report for 1857 the agents complained about the opposition of the missionaries to their work. The agents were in favor of education by tools not by books. D. B. Harriman, agent of the Northern Superintendency said,



Send a special agent out and see how many can be found who have benefited one iota, how many have been taught a mechanical trade, how many live by tilling the soil, how many have adopted the dress of the white man. This Christianizing and education before civilizing is commencing at the wrong end. The Indian already has a religion that strikes a reasonable average. Attempting to Christianize and book-educate Indians is time and money thrown away. The zeal and anxiety of the missionary to spread his particular theological ideas blinds him as to the true course. Although he is constantly seeing his hopes blasted in some favorite, apparently promising pupil, he hopes results in the next; hopes on and continues to hope; but in no instance have hopes been realized. But they must be generally awarded the credit of sincerity in desiring good of the Indians. My idea of civilizing the Indian is to take the money that is paid to the missionaries, build houses, plough up and assign to each family a certain portion of land, furnish them teachers, and the teachers with tools instead of books; these teachers to educate them in farming, making houses, wagons, etc., blacksmiths to learn them to make their own spears, repair their own agricultural implements, etc.: thus giving them a practical education and one they can appreciate. (173, 1857. pp. 55-56)

At the Omaha agency Mr. Harriman recommended the establishment of a good manual labor school entirely separated from the mission.

The missionaries had complaints of their own to make. Blauch says,

Not only did the border settlers encroach on the Indians, but the government also neglected to observe the treaties, and the agents robbed the Indians of their annuity money and goods. Appointments in the Indian field service were made for political reasons and with little regard for fitness. Undoubtedly there were some men who labored earnestly for the welfare of the Indian, but the service as a whole was regarded as inefficient and corrupt. (18, p. 47)

As the missionaries had been working with the Indians for a long time they probably were resentful of the increasing activities of the government and attempts by its newly appointed agents to try to tell them how to teach the Indians.

Another belief that seemed to be becoming more and more prevalent

was expressed in a report of the Minnesota Superintendency. The writer expressed wonder that the whole system of treaty making had not been exploded. He said that Indians lived under so incomplete a political union and under so slender an authority that they were to be viewed rather as independent agents than as members of a social group. They were intense individualistic and were distrustful of each other. They were under the influence of the traders who stirred them up to their own advantage. Finally in 1871 Congress passed a resolution putting an end to this practice of making treaties with the Indian tribes.

Another common complaint made by school people had to do with attendance. Reverend Duerinck of St. Mary's School said that it was hard to teach when there were so many slothful ones around to discourage industry. (173, 1857. p. 178) The teacher at Sheboygen Village reported that he had about fifty per cent attendance.

The disposition of the scholars is given to idleness and as they fear no punishment from their parents in absenting themselves from school, it will take them a very long time to acquire any perfection in the English language.

Another teacher suggested that parents be strictly required by the government to send their children to school regularly.

In order to assume a regular attendance I have been frequently compelled to leave the school and look for a part of my pupils who are secreted in some spot playing and send them to school. (173, 1857. p. 37)

In 1857 the Grand Portage School reported its work with adults,

The grown-up men at the evening school lose no opportunity of improving themselves when they can attend. Eight of them are good legible writers and will soon know the multiplication, can spell well, and read pretty well. Some of the young women also have a great desire to learn.

In the Shawnee Manual Labor School the manual labor seemed to be

just detail work that had no particular educational value, and which was not planned for instruction. (173, 1857. p. 166)

Some of the Indians thought that education made the children proud and led to dissipation. (173, 1857. p. 216)

The people of Laguna Pueblo were opposed to education. "They say that if they become educated they fear their people will forsake their ancient customs, to which they cannot consent." The report suggested that the government establish a central school of its own among the Pueblos. This school should teach agriculture, mechanics, and literature. It suggested that each Pueblo should be required to send a certain number of boys to school and keep them there. (173, 1858. p. 336)

Spencer Academy was offering courses in geography, Latin, grammar, algebra, arithmetic, reading and spelling at that time. At the same time the Choctaw Schools were collecting tuition money from the parents of the children in their schools, and the Cherokees were selling surplus lands to build up their tribal school fund. The objectives of the Indian schools between 1775 to 1865 changed more and more from the purpose of making Christians of the Indians to that of teaching them the ordinary skills necessary to enable them to become self-supporting in white communities. The government supplied money to enable the missionaries to establish manual labor schools among the Indians. In some cases, this manual labor seems to have been mere detail work with little educational value. In general the manual labor schools were well accepted.

## SUMMARY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1781-1865

The period of time between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War was marked by very rapid settlement of the United States. Pressure of the whites against the Indian lands resulted in demand for removal of the Indian tribes. This demand became a major political issue between 1825 and 1835. Jackson was elected on a promise to remove the Indians to the far side of the Mississippi. This removal took place in the second quarter of the century. It resulted in the destruction of the progress the Indians had made in civilization, in acquisition of wealth, and in educational accomplishments.

In most of the removal treaties, the government agreed to furnish money for schools and teachers. Some of this money was used to send young Indian people to white schools. In other cases it was used to finance schools maintained by the missionaries.

This money was granted to the missionaries on the basis of attendance. The government made the grants conditional upon the establishment of manual labor schools or the addition of agriculture, mechanic arts, and home economics to the school programs. Until after the Civil War, nearly all Indian education was carried on by the missionaries. They also received money from private sources and from tribal funds.

In 1849 the Bureau of Indian affairs became a part of the Department of the Interior. From this time on the Government began to play an increasingly large part in Indian school affairs. A great deal of criticism of the work of the mission schools began to appear in the reports of area superintendents.

## CHAPTER V

## INDIAN EDUCATION FROM 1865-1930

A general complaint of all the Indian agents after the Civil War was that their school plants had deteriorated during the war and that they were being provided with insufficient funds to employ capable teachers and maintain satisfactory school programs.

The report from the Washington area says,

It is to be regretted that Congress has seen fit to reduce the estimates of this office for educational purposes in this territory. The amount provided has been found inadequate to procure competent teachers and furnish what is requisite to keep up the schools. In consequence thereof some of them have been suspended and others have failed to accomplish the good expected of them. I recommend that Congress be more liberal hereafter in its appropriation for all the schools. (173, 1871. p. 13)

There was general approval of the manual labor schools. It was agreed by Indian school personnel that both boys and girls should be educated in these schools. The accepted policy was one of teaching trades, farming and home economics and providing instruction only in common school subjects.

There was disagreement as to the location of these schools. Some agents believed that they should be located away from the reservations. The children were to be taken away from their parents at an early age and kept in the boarding schools to get them away from the influence of the old Indian ways. They were to be kept until they were grown. Then they were to have been encouraged to take up the trades they had learned in the boarding schools and to settle among the whites.

Another group favored the establishment of reservation boarding schools. These men felt that the Indians accepted reservation schools more readily than they did the plan of having their children taken away from them for years. The advocates of reservation boarding schools maintained that these schools would broaden the base of Indian education, since the youngsters and their parents would move back and forth between the home communities and the schools and thus would tend to spread knowledge of white ways to the people who stayed at home. The returning student would find it easier to fit back into his home community because he had never gotten entirely away from it. Teachers working on the reservations were in closer touch with Indian customs, beliefs, and superstitions and thus had a chance to avoid doing the things that aroused antagonisms and impeded school work. There was considerable opposition to the methods employed by the mission schools (173, 1870. p. 391); although some Indian school administrators thought that better training could be given by the missionaries than by the government schools, since the missions charged only part of their operating expense to their educational activities. (173, 1870. p. 34)

There was general sentiment in favor of the government's setting up Indian schools of its own instead of working through the mission schools. The Minnesota Superintendent had said,

As schools merely of a literary or religious character can be productive of but little good among the Indians, it is desirable that the manual labor system should be strictly adhered to in the future conduct of this school. (73, 1857. p. 44)

Experience has made it manifest that it is futile to begin civilization among the Indians by attempting to force upon their benighted understanding mysterious truties which no previous habits of their minds or bodies prepared them to receive or comprehend aright. After two hundred years of



Catholic teaching and fifty years of Protestant education there are a few of the most worthless ones who can understand a little English.

### THE PEACE POLICY

In 1865 a commission appointed to study the Indian question recommended education and land reservations as a more humane and less costly method of dealing with the tribes than that of army operations. (5. p. 43)

During Grant's administration the government adopted the "Peace Policy" toward the Indians in order to promote their civilization. Large sums of money were appropriated to promote the teaching of agriculture and mechanic arts. Special efforts were made to induce the Indians to move onto reservations and to encourage them to make efforts at self support. They were encouraged to build houses and cultivate land. Food, clothing and other supplies were furnished the Indians with the idea that it was less expensive to feed the tribes than to fight them.

It was considered necessary to put the Indians onto reservations to civilize them. The rapid migration of white men into the Great Plains and to the western states was settling the land and clearing the game out of the Indian hunting grounds. The Secretary of the Interior said that Indians could not be changed immediately from nomadic hunters to farmers and mechanics, but must pass through the intermediate economic stages - from hunter to stockman and then to farmer or mechanic.

The Commissioner's report for 1867 recommended that enough money be made available to enable the Department to pay sufficient salaries to attract first quality employees. The slow progress of the tribes toward civilization was blamed on vicious and unprincipled whites who

swarmed around the reservations to prey on the Indians. Another disturbing factor was the policy of continual treaties and removals which tended to discourage efforts to set up permanent houses and schools.

The report criticized the community day schools. It said that such schools were useless because the children spent a few hours a day learning the English language and white ways. They spent twenty-four hours a day learning the Indian language and ways. In order to make an Indian school successful, the Secretary insisted that the children must be brought up away from the influence of their parents.

The most necessary part of an Indian's education was said to be agriculture. It should precede everything else. Until the pangs of hunger were supplied it was idle to try to install learning into their minds. The Indians were easiest and best educated with material things rather than with abstract ideas. (173, 1867. p. 63)

The most successful teaching was said to be done by beginning with very small children. These were taught the basic school subjects while they were small. Manual labor instructions were given to them when they became large enough to work. The teachers were unsuccessful in getting the larger boys to take up manual labor. They believed such activity was women's work.

In 1867 the people at Arcata, California petitioned the government not to move their Indian neighbors. Their reason was that relations between the Indians and white were peaceful and that the Indians were rapidly learning white ways. The whites believed that an attempt to move the Indians would just bring on trouble. In the same year the Umatilla Indians took a number of prizes at the Oregon Agricultural Society Fair with their exhibits of vegetables.

The Navajos were reported to have been put onto a worthless reservation, destitute of wood and water. It was hinted that political maneuvering was responsible for the selection of that particular area. (173, 1867. p. 63)

The Pimas were reported to be prosperous farmers who carried on a comfortable trade in their surplus production of grain and feed. When the Indian Department would not allocate funds for providing food and other necessities for the starving Utahs and Apaches the local military commander supplied them from his stores and was given credit for having prevented an uprising. (173, 1867. p. 191)

Objections were raised to the practice of paying the treaty annuities to the Indians in cash. These payments drew crowds of sharpers who defrauded the Indians. It was recommended that the Indians be paid in goods or that the annuities be spent for building houses and fences, breaking up land, and buying livestock and machinery. Another suggestion was that the annuities be discontinued altogether so the Indians would have to learn the white man's ways and go to work to earn their own living. (173, 1867. p. 293)

The remark was made that the educated patent-land Indians were caught in the middle between the full blooded Indians and the white people. They were cast off by the "old" Indians who said they could not be Indian and white at the same time. At the same time they were held in a sort of indeterminate status by the government - sort of hybrid creatures - not fully citizens, not fully on their own responsibility. The report said that there was great need of clarification of the Indian's status. The Indian also lived a confused dual legal life. He was subject to Federal laws on the reservation, but came under state laws

when he stepped outside the reservation line. (73, 1867. p. 166)

Several agents suggested the advisability of separating the Indians from the mixed bloods in the schools. One man said,

I cannot omit the remark here that it seems to me to be an unjust policy to keep the civilized portions of the Indians tied down, as it were, with that class who appear determined to persevere in their savage habits. A line of demarcation should be drawn; the incompetent and uncivilized should be retained on the annuity roll, while those striving to better their condition, who have adopted the customs of the white man should receive every encouragement. (173, 1867. p. 166)

Regular annual appropriations for Indian education began in 1870.

General Grant started out by putting military men in charge of the reservations. As a military man himself, Grant probably was familiar with the quality of the leading military men of his day and knew which ones he could trust. Besides the life on the plains reservations was a sort of uneasy truce. The friendlies and hostiles came and went and lived a sort of Dr. Jekyll - Mr. Hyde existence. In these cases it seemed more efficient to have the army in general charge of both the reservation and the wild Indians. Politicians, missionaries, and private citizens complained so loudly that the practice of using military men as agents was discontinued.

In 1871 the Commissioner's report stated that the peace policy had been beneficial in its results. The timely supplies of clothing and subsistence had kept the most unruly tribes fairly quiet. The supplies were provided economically and satisfactorily by the army commissaries. The Indians were to be made as comfortable as possible on reservations and as uncomfortable off them as it was in the power of the government to do. If they went right, they were to be fed and protected - if they went wrong they were to be harrassed without intermission. (173, 1871. p.5)



The government then instituted the practice of asking the leading missionary group in each reservation to nominate a good man to act as Indian agent. The Board of Commissioners reported to the president in 1871 that this system had effected improvement in conditions on the agencies where it was fully operative. (173, 1871. p. 11) However, the agents were little Caesars in their "kingdoms" and had arbitrary, almost despotic power. (136, p. 115) Selection of the agent by a group of missionaries tended to give this sect a monopoly of the missionary and mission school work in the area. As a result of disputes among the missionary groups, this method of selecting agents was abandoned. The new agents were political appointees as were the teachers and other agency employees.

#### THE REPORT OF THE CITIZENS COMMISSION

The report of the recently established Citizens Commission in 1871 blamed the white people for the almost complete lack of success of the Indian schools.

Paradoxical as it may seem the white men have been the chief obstacle in the way of Indian civilization. The benevolent measures attempted by the government for their advancement have been almost uniformly thwarted by the agencies employed to carry them out. (173, 1871. p. 25)

The Commissioner's report stated that the soldiers were a demoralizing influence to the Indians; the agents were thieving and wasteful, and the traders were opposed to enlightenment because education of the Indians cut their profits. The contractor, the transporter and the interpreter were opposed to general education because it tended to end their jobs and remove their excuses to be on the reservation to exploit

the Indians. The report said that the more peaceful a tribe of Indians was, the more outlaws and vagabonds hung around it.

The Commission made the following recommendations:

1. Abandon the treaty system.
2. Stop paying annuities by cash or by check.
3. Get teachers and establish schools to end misunderstandings.
4. Let the teachers be nominated by religious bodies having missions in the area.
5. Issue rations and clothing to the children.
6. Honor treaties and agreements.
7. Quit neglecting peaceful and cooperative tribes and subsidizing the vicious and unruly groups.
8. Have uniform courts for everybody. (173, 1871. p. 48)

The Superintendent's report for 1871 recommended taking the children away from their parents when small and putting them into industrial schools. It spoke of paying their parents in blankets and presents. They were to be taught industrial arts and common school subjects and instructed in white ways. At the age of twenty-one they were to be allowed to marry and to be furnished with land, stock, and tools.

At the same time the Oregon report said that scores of the Oregon Indians were capable of handling their business affairs and knew the differences between useful things and flimsy trinkets.

"If they are men," it said, "treat them as such and not as children. Farms, houses, barns, saw mills, flouring mills and threshing machines are the greatest civilizers ever introduced among a heathen people. Paints, trinkets, and geegaws are good things for villainous speculation."  
(173, 1871. p. 156)



## A MODERN SCHOOL OF 1873

In 1873 a "modern" young teacher among the Caddoes told about using the "alphabetical object teacher" in his classwork. He also made use of kaleidoscopes and stereoscopic views. He used a good many pictures, too. He gave the English name of each picture and asked the children for the Caddo word. Then he wrote both words. His school started out as a day school. His scholars slept outside on the ground. When cold weather came on, he fixed up a place for the children to stay and had a boarding school. The old people helped him by telling their children to mind him and to try to learn.

During the winter sickness broke out. Somebody told the Indians that he was a bad medicine man and that he made the children sick by blowing on them. After that the young men broke up his school several times by driving the children out of the classroom. (11, p. 118)

The Five Tribes' Schools. During the post war years the Five Tribes got their schools under way again. They reopened their neighborhood and boarding schools. Some of these were part of the tribal school system, others were maintained by religious groups. A great many young people attended schools and colleges in other states. (41, p. 53)

## CHANGES IN RESERVATION ORGANIZATION

In 1873 Federal traveling inspectors were appointed. They were sent out to inspect the conduct of affairs at each agency - to suspend agents or employees, to examine all books and papers of the agency and to make reports to the President. These gentry were regarded as spies and were regarded with alarm and dislike. (62, p. 117)

In 1878 Congress provided for an Indian police force to keep order and act as truant officers on the Indian reservations. Indian office police were established at thirty agencies in that year. By 1884 Indian police numbered 784 men located at forty-eight agencies. These men served very efficiently and faithfully.

In 1882 Indian courts were set up on the reservations to handle minor offenses involving the Indians.

Special agents were appointed in 1879. These men were sent out on somewhat the same work as the inspectors and in addition went out to investigate special complaints. Wissler says that any stranger, no matter what his ostensible business, was regarded with suspicion and apprehension. Employees were afraid to converse freely with strangers for fear they were special agents. One agent complained bitterly about the trouble he had been having with an inspector

who seemed to have been born with the impression that all Indian agents were created criminals and to have left his secluded home determined to unearth something wrong at the agency whether there was anything out of the way or not.  
(173, 1890. p. 36)

The Pine Ridge agent said,

I have in mind a special agent who visited this agency during the past year, and after spending between three and four weeks inspecting (?) No. 1 day school and this same boarding school finally reported to your office that he had discovered a leak in the roof of the latter building - and he furthermore discovered that the laundry needed enlarging.

Another report stated,

Agent Williamson had compelled the parents to send their children to school. Inspector Armstrong ruled that the agent had no authority to compel attendance at a mission school. The Crows seemed to understand it and withdrew their children or aided them in running away. Under the present commissioner the agent was instructed to fill the schools.  
(173, 1890. p. 121)

Apparently there was quite a gap between the field personnel and the representatives of the Washington office. Considerable dissatisfaction was shown in field reports over changes of general policy.

The Superintendent's report says in 1890,

Frequent changes in the personnel of the Indian Bureau at Washington, at the agencies, and also in the schools is one of the serious obstacles in the way of systematizing and making effectual the work of Indian school education. -- It takes not a little time for newcomers to gain the confidence of the Indians, old or young, and when once gained it is no small loss to sacrifice this confidence. Indeed, frequent changes are the bane of the Indian Service.  
(173, 1890. p. 269)

#### ATTENDANCE PROBLEMS

A common complaint through the years was about the irregularity of attendance except, perhaps, in the schools of the Five Tribes which were on an orderly basis at an early date.

One missionary said that the Indians were more interested in getting their children into school where they would be fed and clothed than in seeing they were educated.

The report from Chemawa says,

I feel constrained to say one of two things. How shall we get scholars into our school? We never will, to any great extent, while we must depend on coaxing or winning the consent of Indian fathers and mothers who care as little for education as a horse does for the Constitution. Much rather would they have the girls dig camas, or sell them for a pony or two to some buck (young or old, it does not matter much so the price is realized). This government must make laws that they shall be educated and by so doing aid us in getting pupils. Shall these schools be governed by law and authority reasonably administered or shall they cater to the whim of a disgruntled boy and yield to his caprice? This capricious demeanor so flagrantly manifested when an inspector appears whose ear they can get and who gives them his sympathy often leads to a spirit of complaining unwarranted by any of the



facts of the case and insubordination greatly damaging to the discipline and success of the school. (173, 1890. p. 307)

#### THE SCHOOL AT CARLISLE

In 1875 a young army officer named Pratt was put in charge of a group of captured warriors who were being sent to Florida to be confined in a military prison. Pratt became interested in his charges. He gave them military instruction and put them to work on farms and roads of the area. A group of women undertook to teach these Indians to read and write and found them to be very apt pupils. The success of the experiment encouraged Pratt, with military backing, to undertake a program of Indian education. The only public institution that would accept Pratt's Indians was Hampton Institute, a private institution for Negroes. Pratt went West and brought back more young people from tribes that very recently had been hostile. After a few years Pratt moved his forty-seven students to a set of army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, which had been made available by the War Department. This was the beginning of what was, perhaps, the most famous and influential Indian school in the entire history of Indian education. Many present day Indian leaders were educated at the Carlisle school. The school remained in operation from 1879 to 1917 when the barracks were taken over again by the army.

Pratt believed that Indian education should not be used to maintain tribal autonomy, but should be a means of dispersing the Indians into the American population. The Carlisle school was set up to teach trades that the Indians could carry on in white settlements or at home.

A very successful "outing" system was established at the Carlisle school. Carlisle pupils who had been given training in industrial skills and who could use the English language were placed with cooperating white farmers and tradesmen. Their work was carefully supervised by their employers and was checked by the school. Money earned by the students was placed into accounts for them and used to buy things they wanted. The system was very successful. The young Indians got experience in working and living among white people. They were given chances to practice their trades under regular commercial conditions. They learned to handle and use money. Some of the young people settled in the East after their school work was finished and never returned to their reservations to live.

The Commissioner's report for 1890 says,

The Carlisle system presents some features not usually found in the trade school. The teachers cannot give much oral explanation because of the language handicaps. The student must learn by observation and practice. Shoemaking is taught by making shoes, tinsmithing by making tinware, and so on through all the departments. (173, 1890. p. 310)

The success of the school at Carlisle led to the establishment of a number of non-reservation boarding schools. None of the others seems to have attracted as much attention as Carlisle.

It is interesting to note that Pratt's school used no text books for the beginners. The first text books to be used were Keep's "First Lessons for the Deaf and Dumb". Carlisle used a student court of older children to maintain school discipline. The school claimed to have had no trouble and to have derived some benefits from its coeducational system. Very few failures were experienced in school or from the outing system. There were no epidemics in the school, but some pupils died as

a result of the failure to eliminate those who were in poor health before leaving the reservation.

The Commissioner's report for 1890 remarked that educated Indians could not find work on their home reservations. They had to combat the prejudice of both Indians and white people. The report says,

Let the educated young Indians as far as possible be sifted through our communities. -- The large training schools, if encouraged to locate their graduate pupils in the older sections of the country will be leaders in introducing the Indians into homogeneous relations with our best civilization. (173, 1890. p. 265)

It has been urged against industrial training of this and other schools that the trades taught are of no practical value to them on their return to their agencies. This presupposes that the Indians are to always remain as they are in an ignorant tribal condition. If we ever get the Indians to break up their tribal relations and venture into the world as successful individuals, it must be through training them to various industries, so that in different capacities they may individually feel able to cope with the whites. When the government and the Indians' friends give up the notion of continued herding them on reservations and offer opportunities and encourage their venturing into the industries of this country, the Indians will begin in earnest to become men and individuals, and not before. By far the largest number of Indians who in this generation will be self supporting will be so not by reason of their knowledge of fractions, but by their ability to do a good day's work in the office or field or at the bench. (173, 1890. p. 312)

In 1895 the commissioner said,

The non-reservation school in its peculiar work is a most valuable adjunct to Indian education and civilization and should stand in relation to the regular government school as the college to the high school. -- The brightest and most efficient higher grade pupils are recommended by school superintendents and agents for transfer to non-reservation schools, the same being in the nature of a promotion.

At that time amended civil service regulations permitted graduates of Indian normal schools, and of normal classes in Indian schools to be employed in the Indian Service as assistant teachers or day school



teachers without further examination provided that certificates as to their proficiency and character were signed by proper officials. These employees were eligible for promotion if they were efficient, progressive and faithful.

Life in the non-reservation schools was not entirely untroubled. The report from Chemawa for 1890 says,

In the industrial departments of the school there has been good progress made, but in all there is one great and serious trouble and that is the fickleness of the Indian. He seems to work quite well for a season, but a notion enters his head that he struck the wrong place and change he must. If authority be brought to bear and he is told he must stay, in a majority of cases he will spoil his work and in various ways show his determination to compel one to let him out. (173, 1890. p. 307)

#### CONDITIONS AT THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY

Common complaints of Indian Service workers at the close of the century were: that not enough money was appropriated to keep up school plants and to enable the agencies to encourage Indian farmers, that there was too great a contrast between the sheltered life of the boarding schools and that of the reservation and camp, and that non-reservation schools and the agencies were not cooperating in finding positions for graduates.

Superintendent Armstrong of Hampton Institute said,

Some experienced persons prophecy a relapse of educated Indians on their returns to their homes from oppositions, ridicule and shock at the old life and from force of circumstances. No little care must be taken when they go back that favorable arrangements shall be made for a start in life. Neglect at this point will imperil all the fruits of our labors. (173, 1889. p. 182)

Agencies everywhere complained of poor attendance and of opposition of the Indians to the schools. The agent at Pine Ridge, unsuccessful

in getting the Indians to move away from the agency, built a day school to scare them away. He said that it took constant visits from police and threats of taking up ration tickets to keep up the school attendance.

The Commissioner's report for 1890 states:

Many of the children are out of school for months and out of easy range of the police sent to gather children in. Some schools never have a full quota except during the hard winter months. As soon as spring opens the pupils skip away like rabbits and never reappear until driven in by the pinching severities of another winter. (173, 1890. p. 267)

In the 1890's the non-reservation boarding schools seem to have reached their peak. Schools were located at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Salem, Oregon; Genoa, Nebraska; Lawrence, Kansas; Chilocco, Oklahoma; Grand Junction, Colorado; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Carson, Nevada; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Pierre, South Dakota; and Fort Totten, North Dakota.

Already some of the schools were failing to keep up to the standards set by Pratt. Common reports were that the returned students could not make a living on their reservations and were being driven back to old tribal ways.

Standing Bear told of how he learned the tinsmith's trade at Carlisle. When he returned to the reservation, his family was proud of his ability, but the tinware needs of the tribe had been met by the goods that he had made while he was in training. (164, p. 147)

## THE MISSION SCHOOLS

A great deal of opposition to the mission schools was developing at this time. Some of the objections raised were that there was no government control over the activities of the missionaries, that the school sessions were of different lengths, and that the missionaries made special promises and inducements to secure the attendance of the best and brightest students. The mission employees were said to be critical of and to work against the government schools and their employees. The missions maintained groups of employees who from long residence among the Indians exercised great influence over them. These mission workers at times were said to have exerted their utmost efforts to embarrass and delay the carrying out of departmental instructions. (173, 1900. p. 338)

The report of 1890 said,

It frequently happens that upon setting out to procure a certain number of children to maintain the average the superintendent (non-reservation) is dismayed on entering a village to find the field already occupied and a brisk competition for pupils going on between a superintendent of a Presbyterian Mission School, a priest who is working for a Catholic school and the local teacher of a day school who is trying to prevent the others from taking children from the village, thereby affecting his interests. The effect on the Indian mind can only be damaging to the service and always confirms the Indian parent in his opposition to education. This competition for pupils should not be permitted, nor is it at all necessary. There are enough children to fill all the schools now in operation and yet not all be provided for. (173, 1890. p. 300)

At the middle of the century most of the mission schools were maintained by Protestant denominations. By 1891 the Catholic Missions were receiving more than two-thirds of the entire appropriation for mission schools. Some of the Protestant denominations had been forced from the field or did not qualify to receive government funds.

At the close of the century, Federal aid to the mission schools was cut off for a time. Later the Supreme Court held that public funds should not be used to support private schools, but that tribal funds might be so employed. At present the mission schools have Federal contracts as they did in the 90's.

### RESERVATION SCHOOLS

At the end of the century, the reservation boarding and day schools were becoming of increased importance. The Indians did not oppose community schools and reservation boarding schools as much as they had the practice of sending children away from home for several years to non-reservation schools where many of them died. It was believed that the reservation schools would broaden the base of Indian education by carrying the parents along with what was being done in school. The report for 1890 stated that children should be taught to study nature on their home reservations and to use their minds in picking up, classifying and using facts within their reach. (173, 1890. p. 269) Some of the teaching personnel thought that summer vacations were a big obstacle to the work of the schools. The two months of summer vacation undid the work that had been accomplished in the ten months of school. They believed that the children should be brought to the boarding schools at an earlier age and kept there all the year around. This view seems to have been stronger among the agency officers than among the school personnel who had charge of the children. (173, 1890. p. 269)

The Agency superintendent at Fort Peck reported,

I intended to have kept the older girls here (during the summer), but the superintendent informed me that he thought

that the blood of employes and children was more or less corroded by the long school term. Knowing that a reluctant service in a case of this kind would be no service at all, I dismissed all the children. I have not heard of any of the older girls being debauched in the camp. I think none have, but if such good fortune has attended them it has been through fear of their parents of a reckoning with the agent and through no part or solicitude on the part of those whom the government appointed and paid for their protection whether they went to the devil or not, just so long as they might have their full two months of vacation, gadding around over the country. (173, 1895. p. 195)

### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE 1890'S

White children often wish that the schoolhouse would burn down. Their feathered counterparts took more direct action. Captain Sproule, Agent at Fort Peck, said in 1895,

The boys' dormitory is nearly finished. It is a fine building and they will have great trouble in burning it down if their fancy should point that way and the employees should all be asleep, as I have reason to believe had they been on the alert the first building would not have been burned. (173, 1895. p. 195)

In the same year the Santee Agency reported,

The burning of the boarding school and laundry buildings the past spring was a serious loss to the reservation. It still is a mystery how the fire originated in the school room proper. (173, 1895. p. 204)

Commissioner Leupp said,

Another disorder to which I had to apply a dramatic remedy was that of incendiarism in the schools which had become intolerable in its frequency. A few unruly children, angry perhaps at a scolding they had received, would seek revenge by setting something afire. In one case where the pupils wished to attend a festivity at home, but were denied the privilege because it occurred in term time, they undertook to bring on a vacation prematurely by burning the school. (104, p. 239)



## THE COMMUNITY DAY SCHOOL

The community day school became increasingly important at the close of the century. In Haworth's report of 1883, he suggested the establishment of semi-boarding and industrial schools. He suggested the use of units of fifty children under the direction of a white man, his wife and one other teacher. The man was to give farming and stock raising instruction and was to do community work with the adult men. His wife was to act as a matron, to visit the Indian homes and to instruct the women in home economics. She was to prepare a midday meal for the students with the help of the older girls. The teacher was to carry on the classroom work. This instruction was to be on the primary level and include English, music and manners. Later on, the best of the pupils were to be sent to the reservation boarding schools where they would be given industrial training and taught the grammar school subjects. The best of these students were to be sent to the non-reservation boarding schools where they would be given more advanced training and placed in outing positions. None of the Indian schools gave high school training but efforts were made to put unusually capable youngsters into public schools. Most of this program was carried out over a period of time. The community day school developed rapidly for a number of years. As the reservations were opened up by good roads, many of the one-teacher day schools were closed. Their places were taken by centrally located consolidated schools.

The day school teachers of the 1890's encountered a great deal of opposition from the old people. The old Indians believed that deaths of the children were caused by attendance at the schools. (173, 1890.



p. 150) They blamed the children's attendance at the white man's school for the failure of the Messiah craze. At one reservation it was pointed out that the teacher's success in getting the boys to cut their hair was a great accomplishment, as the Indians believed that cutting their hair would bring bad luck.

An even greater hazard to the work of the day school teacher was reported by the Pine Ridge agent in 1890. Eagle Horse, an Indian dying of consumption, shot a day school teacher so he would have company to the spirit world.

Objectors to the day schools said that the children remained in touch with the vicious elements in the neighborhood and that they unlearned at home what they had been taught in school.

Advantages claimed for the day schools were that they were relatively inexpensive to maintain, that they were more popular with the Indians because the children lived at home and that they tended to educate all the people of their communities.

Objections made to the boarding schools were that they taught the children in an artificial situation, that they took the children away from their parents, and that they educated the children out of the surroundings where they later would have to live, thus making misfits and town loafers of them. It also was said that the boarding schools were expensive to operate and that their attendance was poor.

#### IN-SERVICE TRAINING

In 1890 the Indian school supervisors initiated a program of in-service training for Indian Service teachers. In 1895 institutes were

held at Tacoma, Sioux City and El Reno. The association of the Indian Service employees at the annual institutes was found to be very beneficial. (173, 1900. p. 44)

At the same time the Indian service was placed pretty generally under Civil Service regulations. These regulations eliminated some of the political favoritism that had riddled Indian education up to that time. Employees under Civil Service were given the benefits of tenure, retirement, vacations and sick leave. Qualifications were established for various educational positions. Thus the quality of the educational personnel was greatly improved.

Some miscellaneous statements and recommendations made by superintendents and agents in the 1890's are listed below:

The recommendation was made that teachers be hired who already were familiar with Indian ways. (173, 1895. p. 152)

"A white person living at an agency can work irreparable injury to an Indian school by exerting an evil influence over the Indians and prejudicing them against the head of the school." (173, 1895. p. 153)

The roving habits of the parents made school work very difficult. (173, 1895. p. 127)

"The soap rations are too small. A child has to wash twenty-one times, take one bath, wash one hundred dishes and five garments from a piece of soap 2 x 2 inches." (173, 1890. p. 120)

"No Indian who is not thoroughly civilized should be employed in an Indian school." (173, 1898. p. 153)

"Most of the whiskey drinkers are educated Indians." (173, 1891., p. 188)

The principal and the superintendent were inefficient. The children had to live on carrots and government rations all winter. They had much trouble with boils and sore eyes. (173, 1895. p. 206)

It was recommended that the squaw men be expelled from the reservations. It was said that they were no good, were trouble makers in the schools and had a bad influence on the Indians. (173, 1895. p. 49)

"It is a mistaken notion that should long ago have been exploded that a person is capable of teaching because he is educated." (173, 1895. p. 290)

"The children read parrotlike with no attempt to make use of words that they can recognize by sight." (173, 1890. p. 276)

There was much bother and interference from parents who came to the school. (173, 1895. p. 285)

"The reservation is a no man's land in legal matters." (173, 1895. p. 287)

"There is too much work to be done in the farm to allow us proper time for teaching." (173, 1895. p. 376)

"A guard house is badly needed. Very little punishment is given at this school yet some means of confinement is absolutely necessary." (173, 1895. p. 383)

"The school has very fine military discipline." (173, 1895. p. 384)

"Constant wrangling and growling among employes is usual in the Indian service." (173, 1895. p. 384)

"Instruments for a band would very much advance the civilization of the pupils." (173, 1895. p. 384)

"Specialized training is not usually desirable as there are too few opportunities on the reservations." (173, 1895. p. 387)

"There is nothing but the Long Knives everywhere I went and they keep coming like flies, so we will have to learn their ways in order that we may be able to live with them." (164, p. 113)

"A compulsory school law will hasten the final accomplishment of the government plan of the absorption of tribes and extinguishment of reservations." (173, 1900. p. 35)

"Who are Indians? They have allotments; they are educated at government expense; they are employed as Indians, but when in trouble they claim to be White. This is an important question, as mixed bloods are on the increase."

"If an entire generation could be taken from the camps and put into training schools until well educated, and then were encouraged to seek homes among the Whites, there would be no Indian problem." (173, 1890. XI)

"If you are naughty, the white man will get you and shut you up in a school." (164, p. 117)

#### OBJECTIVES OF POST CIVIL WAR INDIAN EDUCATION

The objectives of Indian education in the post Civil War period were not sharply drawn. In general the government policy was to encourage the Indian tribes to come onto reservations of land and to make their living there. The schools were to be organized on a manual labor, learning-by-doing basis. The boys were to be taught to make their living by farming and various trades. The success of Pratt's school at



Carlisle gave great impetus to the policy of taking children away from their parents, teaching them trades through actual shop work and encouraging them to settle among the white people.

At the same time reservation boarding and day schools were being maintained. The objectives of these schools were to broaden the base of Indian education by allowing the parents of the school children to observe the progress their children were making in school. The reservation schools prepared the children to return to the reservation to live. It was believed that the reservation schools would attract more pupils, since the children would not be taken completely away from their parents.

The traditional academic program of the mission schools did not fit the objective of teaching the children to carry on the mechanical skills necessary to make a living on the reservations. The mission schools declined in importance during this period of history.

#### SUMMARY OF INDIAN SCHOOL HISTORY AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

At the close of the Civil War, the government embarked upon a "peace policy" toward the Indians. The Indians were placed upon designated reservations where they were supported and educated at government expense. The influence of the mission schools declined rapidly from 1865 to 1900 while the government schools attained a dominant position in Indian education.

The government schools were of three types: The non-reservation boarding school, the reservation boarding school and the reservation

day school. The non-reservation boarding school had as its objective the removal of Indian children from the influence of the tribe at an early age, their education in white men's manual skills in white neighborhoods and the placement of graduates in white communities. This process was intended to disperse the Indians among the white population and break up the Indian tribes. The non-reservation schools succeeded fairly well in meeting these objectives. Some of their graduates settled in white communities and never returned to the reservations. Many, however, returned home where they became misfits amid their fellow tribesmen. They found little local demand for the skills that they had acquired in the non-reservation schools. Many of the non-reservation school graduates found employment at the agencies and exerted great influence on tribal affairs.

The reservation boarding schools were a sort of intermediate institution between the day schools and the non-reservation boarding schools.

The reservation boarding schools usually accepted intermediate, upper grade and high school children and orphans of all ages. These children were taught agriculture of a type suited to the reservation, carpentry and the manual skills necessary to enable them to make their living on the local reservation, home economics and the arts and crafts that were practiced by their own tribes. Formal school work consisted of the common grade school subjects. The object of the reservation boarding schools was to give Indian children training in the skills needed to make a good living on their home reservations. They were taken away from their parents for a good part of the year but never



lost contact with Indian ways to the extent that they had great difficulty in returning to their home communities.

The reservation boarding schools were acceptable to the Indians since their children were not taken away from them for long periods of time. The teaching of trades and crafts with reference to local needs trained the boys to make and maintain the buildings and equipment they needed on their own property. Objections to the reservation boarding schools were that the tools and equipment used were unlike those available at home, that the boarding students lived in an artificial atmosphere, that attendance was poor, and that operating costs were very high.

The community day schools were intended to bring training in the white man's ways directly to the Indian villages. Day school teachers and their wives taught school subjects, home economics, sanitation, and manual skills to all the Indians who lived in the scattered settlements on the reservations. A great deal of the day school teacher's work was done with the adult Indian. The objective of the day school system was to broaden the base of Indian education by teaching manual skills and white customs to whole families instead of just to the children.

The day schools reached the group that had immediate use for manual skills and instruction in making a living in the community. The objection was made that the day schools made very slow progress in their teaching. The children spent a few hours a day in learning the white man's language and customs. The rest of the time they learned Indian ways.

## THE ALIENATION OF INDIAN LAND

The Dawes Act of 1887 was a product of the combined planning of idealists and exploiters. The idealists hoped to hasten the civilization and assimilation of the Indians by placing them on land holdings of their own where they could make their own living and adopt white men's ways of living. The exploiters wanted to get hold of Indian lands by getting it divided into disposable individual holdings. The Dawes Act had provided for the establishment of a trust period of twenty-five years. After the expiration of the trust period, the land was to be patented and might be sold.

## SCHOOL POLICIES OF THE EARLY 1900'S

In 1901, Estelle Reel, the superintendent of Indian schools wrote in the preface to the Indian school course of study,

The aim of the course is to give the Indian child a knowledge of the English language and to equip him with the ability to become self-supporting as soon as possible. -- Methods of instruction and subjects of study have their limitations in value. -- Such methods must be employed as will develop the powers and capacities with which the child is endowed, and by systematic industrial training to give him the skill in various directions designed to be serviceable in meeting the demands of active life, making him a willing worker as well as an inquiring learner.

The value of education must be measured by its contribution to life interests, and it is our purpose to fit the Indian pupil for life.

The child learns to speak the English language through doing the work that must be accomplished in any well regulated home, and, at the same time is being trained in habits of industry, cleanliness and system. He learns to read by telling of his daily interests and work with the chalk on the blackboard. In keeping count of his poultry and in measuring his garden, he becomes familiar with numbers in such a practical

way that he knows how to use them in daily life, as well as on the blackboard in the schoolroom. (173, Preface 1901, p. 5)

Fitting the boy to make his living out of his land must ever be kept in mind in training the boy on the school farm. If stock raising can be more successfully conducted than farming, the training that the boy receives should be along this line. (173, 1901. p. 11)

All theoretical and experimental work must be discarded by the farmer. The boy has but a few years to go to school and it is highly necessary that he be taught the practical work necessary to become self-supporting while in school. Do not attempt anything but what can be successfully raised in the locality. (173, 1901. p. 11)

Do not attempt much memorization of rules. Where the principles are understood, the rule will be of little practical use. All teaching should be of such a nature as will best fit the child to cope with his environment. (173, 1901. p. 12)

Divisions of the course of study for 1901 were Agriculture, Arithmetic, Baking, Basketry, Blacksmithing, Carpentry, Cooking, Dairying, Engineering, the Evening Hour, Gardening, Geography, Harness making, History, Housekeeping, Laundry, Music, Nature study, Outing system, Painting, Physiology, Printing, Reading, Language, Sewing, Shoemaking, Spelling, Tailoring, a Teachers' Reading Course, and Upholstering.

Pottery, Beadwork and Basketry were to be taught with a view of keeping up skill in native crafts, as a source of extra income, and in recognition of the Indian's great artistic ability and skill in crafts work. Blacksmithing and Carpentry were taught with views to making the boy more successful in his farm work, to teaching him a skilled trade and to using his hands to benefit his mind. (173, 1901. p. 42)

The Superintendent said that industrial education is simply an extension of Froebel's idea. Her course of study frequently quoted works of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Comenius. She instructed teachers to shape

their work to fit the tools and materials at hand. She told the teachers that the real value of instruction is evidenced in the pupil's ability to do rather than merely to say.

In the evening hour, attention was to be given to the teaching of manners, customs, speaking and the organization and conduct of meetings. Little work was to be done because of poor lights and the bad eyes of many of the children. (104, p. 141)

Indian service field workers reported that not enough money was appropriated to enable them to keep up school plants and to encourage Indian farmers, that there was too great a contrast between life at the boarding schools and that of the reservation and camp, and that the non-reservation schools and the agencies were not cooperating to find positions for graduates.

Commissioner Leupp who held office from 1904 to 1909 favored the use of day schools with simple equipment similar to the things that Indians might purchase for themselves. He was opposed to the highly artificial boarding school living, teaching and working situation. During his administration, the boarding schools declined in importance. He looked forward to the time when the day schools would become the ordinary public schools of the areas, serving both Indians and whites. (5, p. 63)

The Dawes Act of 1887 had been intended to break up tribal groups and to civilize the Indians by assigning them allotments of land to be held in trust until the owners had achieved legal competency. Then the holdings were to be patented and might be sold.

By 1906 it was realized that most of the Indians could not manage their own affairs well enough to be given title to their land, so the



trust period was extended by the Burke Act. This law provided for the granting of patents on an individual basis. During the land boom of the First World War, Indians living on desirable farm lands speedily were declared to be competent. Their land was patented and sold - often at ridiculously low prices. Between 1887 and 1934 Indian land holdings shrank from 138,000,000 acres to 50,000,000 acres. Moreover, the alienated lands were the best for farming and grazing purposes. This loss of lands upset the school program, for in many cases the school graduate had no land of his own to use and usually had no way to get any.

In 1910 the annual report of the Carlisle Indian school gave the total enrollment of the school as 1083. The course of study was said to have been made up after careful examination of several hundred state and city courses of study. The superintendent expressed himself as opposed to the prevalent idea that the only salvation for the Indians was to make farmers and stockmen of them. He said that Carlisle's records showed that of a total of 514 graduates only fifty-four Carlisle boys were engaged in farming.

"There is no reason", he said, "based on practical experience why an Indian should not become a good carpenter, bricklayer, blacksmith, or painter, and find remunerative employment, as to become a successful farmer."

In that year, Carlisle had placed 457 boys and 303 girls in their outing system, living and working among the white people. There were more applications from people wishing to take students than there were available outing students. These outing students earned \$26,409.99. This money was placed in individual accounts for the students. Carlisle's students were working as bakers, blacksmiths, brickmakers,



candy makers, carpenters, painters, dentist assistants, electricians, ice cream makers, machinists, masons, draftsmen, photographers, plumbers, printers, telegraphers, tinsmiths, and wagon makers.

Of the Carlisle students 222 were attending the public schools. Only five of 514 Carlisle graduates were classed as failures. Three hundred of the 514 were living off the reservations. Nearly all of the remainder had returned to the reservations as teachers. (70, p. 7)

The Indian Service course of study for 1915 sets up the following objective of Indian education:

To train Indians of both sexes to take upon themselves the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, and to enable Indians to earn a living among their own people or away from the reservation in competition with white people.

The work of the Indian schools was meant to be of practical vocational nature, not to prepare children for college. The half day system of academic and vocational training was held not to be a handicap to the Indian children, as non-essentials and repetition were eliminated from the regular school work. Children were to be assisted to find themselves and to select the vocations for which they were best suited. They were urged to seek help from the school committees on vocational guidance. Guidance people were expected to know well both the subjects and the pupils.

Some suggestions from the 1915 course of study follow:

Interest in home reading.

Create a love for good literature.

Be sure you add at least two new words a day to child's vocabulary.

Pupils should be taught to pass judgment on what they read with regard to truth, to beauty in thought, and in choice of words, to rhythm and to the purpose of the lesson. (p. 38) Develop a paragraph and call attention to the indentations of paragraphs.

Poems suggested for study included *Excelsior*, *Old Ironsides*, *About Ben Adhem* and *Thanatopsis*.

The course of study in History and Civics included the study of the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, taxation and law making.

Art and Music included the study of the works of Raphael, Millet, Murillo, and Van Dyck, *Faust*, *The Messiah* and *Il Trovatore*. (179. p. 38)

In 1914 a law was enacted to exclude Indian children of less than one-fourth Indian blood from the Indian schools. A year later appropriations were made to pay the tuition of Indian children attending the public schools. In 1916 the Indian Service was using the same courses of study as the public schools in the same area. (5, p. 63)

America's entrance into World War I interrupted the work of the Indian schools. Numerous employees and young Indians went to war or entered defense work. Less money was appropriated for Indian affairs. Some of the schools were closed, including the one at Carlisle whose property was taken back by the army. (173, 1922, p. 6)

The schools found it difficult to maintain their educational programs. The school plants deteriorated as they had done during the Civil War. Non-reservation boarding schools had lost much of their popularity. Day schools were beginning to occupy a leading position in Indian Service planning. It was hoped that the day schools would merge into village public schools. (50, p. 142)

General Pratt took exception to that point of view. He said that day schools tended to hold the Indian in compact masses. In 1916 he said that the Indians had had day schools for two hundred years and still had remained in solid tribal units.

The 1921 annual report of the Board of Indian commissioners remarked about the inadequacy of the fund provided for the Indian service.

"If," they said, "appropriations are inadequate for the carrying out of the announced policy of the Indian Office to place every Indian child physically and mentally able to attend, in some school, government supervision of Indians will continue several generations."

The Commissioners went on to say that it seemed economical to spend more money at that time. If more facilities were provided to put more of the present generation of children in school, the sooner the day would come when there would be no supervised Indians and consequently no Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Commission spoke of the rapid loss of Indian lands, the large proportion of Indian citizens (two-third) and the pressing need of the Navajos for more schools. The report made the usual complaint about the low salaries and the poor housing conditions for teachers. The commissioners were critical of the rundown condition of the school plants and insisted that there was no economy in skimping the appropriations for Indian education. (172, 1921. p. 7)

During the 1920's special attention was given to placing Indian children into the public schools. Commissioner Burke's policy during these years was to put every Indian child into some school. The Board of Indian Commissioners reported in 1922 that mixed bloods in the public schools made as good progress as the white children, but that the

full bloods did not. The commissioners believed that the association with white children in the public schools was good for the mixed blood children. The remark was made that the public schools did not compel the attendance of Indian children. The rigid army type organization of the boarding schools began to relax in the latter part of the 1920's. In 1927, the last boarding school jail was closed.

#### THE MERIAM REPORT

In 1926 the Institute for Government Research began a study of conditions among the Indians. This report, known as the Meriam Report, was completed in 1928.

The Meriam Report made the general statement that the Indian Service had done about as well as could have been expected with the money it had available. In order to bring each of its major activities up to the better practices of agencies serving the general population, the Service should have been given twice as much money. Frequently the number of employees was too small for the work to be done. (117, p. IX) The report criticized the policy of educating the Indian child apart from his home environment. It spoke of the futility of trying to establish a uniform course of study for Indian schools operating under varied conditions of topography and climate. The study concluded that it was useless to try to apply public school methods to Indian schools.

The Meriam Report proposed that the Indian Service employ personnel with credentials acceptable to good public school systems, pay them as well, and set up uniform salary schedules based on training and experience. (117, p. 347) The comment was made that cheapness in educa-

tion was expensive in terms of poverty and crime and that there was no reason to be proud of schools that fed their pupils at a per day cost of eleven to eighteen cents.

The Meriam Report proposed that Indian children should be educated within their home communities. Each school should plan its program in the light of its own community needs. Community programs of adult education should be established. It was suggested that the Indian Service should start an all over revision of the school curricula and that specialists should be added to the Washington staff to assist in developing local programs in health education, adult education, guidance, and in other educational fields.

It was said that the institutional needs of the schools were so pressing that production became almost the only aim. Much of the so-called vocational training consisted of washing dishes, doing janitor work, cleaning barns, and running endless piles of sheets and towels through the school laundries.

There was much criticism of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its policies of keeping the Indians, their lands and their schools under special regulations.

Pratt commented,

What this Bureau has done is doing and contemplates, portends only tribal development under perpetual Bureau control. Even schools can be and are used as one of the best factors to restrain knowledge.

Pratt pointed to the significant contribution to individual income of such crafts as basketry and weaving. He said that the schools were not justified in spending time and effort on them. (143, p. 4)

Leupp said,



As long as the Indian remains a ward - - he depends on the government to interpose its big shield between him and the consequences of his deliberate misconduct. Withdraw his adventitious protection and the Indian is put upon precisely the same footing before the law as everyone else. - - Make the Indian's land pay its tribute with the rest and its owner becomes not only entitled to the rights and privileges of full citizenship, but amenable to the laws with no technical or sentimental excuses to intervene. (104, p. 236)

## CHAPTER VI

## THE REORGANIZATION OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The recommendations of the Meriam Committee resulted in sweeping changes in the Indian schools. These changes covered the period from 1928 to 1938. (15, Vols. 1 to 12) The schools were changed from a formal semi-military system to a democratic activity program. Very flexible school programs tailored to fit the needs of local groups were planned for the various reservations. Specialists came out from Washington to help the field personnel reorganize their school programs. Non-reservation boarding schools, many of which had been established in response to political pressures rather than because of educational need, were closed or their activities were sharply reduced. (5, p. 58) The policy of the Indian Service was to bring the Indians back to the reservations, encourage their old Indian arts and crafts and teach them to live on their lands as Indians. Standards of quality were set up for Indian arts and crafts. Students and adults were encouraged to make high quality articles for sale in the school crafts shops. Steps were taken to revive the old Indian languages, and to put them into written form. Text book writers developed special texts in the various Indian languages as the missionaries had done several hundred years earlier.

Reservation day schools became the chief centers of education in this program. Some of these were converted into community consolidated schools located in the neighborhood of small irrigation projects.

Rehabilitation houses were built. Community gardens and canning kitchens were encouraged. The day schools became community centers. The teachers worked with the adults as well as with the children. Better roads were built to permit buses to haul pupils to the large day schools. School health services were greatly increased. Special attention was given to the care of tuberculosis, trachoma and typhoid fever.

The schools encouraged student cattle associations to enable boys to build up small herds of cattle and care for them under the supervision of agriculture instructors. An end was made to the practice of issuing free clothing to children to be thrown down and left on the playground or on the river banks. Children and parents were required to work for such supplies, in the belief that they would take better care of them.

The reservation boarding school programs were planned to train children to make their living on the reservation, not to prepare them for specific trades. The pupils were expected to learn to fix their own shoes, and to tinker with their own cars but were not especially prepared to become shoemakers or mechanics. Specialists of all kinds, music art, curriculum, textbooks, crafts, agriculture, industrial training, anthropology, languages, health, home economics, and guidance, came to each reservation to help build and supervise school programs designed to meet the needs of the Indians living in specific areas.

Cottage type dormitories were built on a number of the reservation. In these cottages, teachers lived with a mixed group of boys and girls. The children and teacher went to school during the day. The meals were

prepared by the girls under the direction of the teachers. All the housework, washing, scrubbing, and other work around the cottages were carried on by the boys and girls under the teachers' supervision.

Guidance committees consisting of teachers, school administrators, student advisors, law enforcement officers, doctors, and social workers met to help students with their school problems. In the boarding schools the positions of student disciplinarians were abolished. In their places there were created a group of girls and boys advisors who had been given special training in psychology and guidance. Both the advisors and the classroom teachers were expected to make numerous visits to the homes of the students, to Indian celebrations and to other gatherings of the Indians in order to familiarize themselves with life on the reservations.

The objectives of the school program were turned away from the regimentation, formalism, and military discipline which had come down from the days when the reservations were under army control. The new program was planned to meet the needs of the individual Indian in his home and community. It undertook to reawaken his pride in his tribes, its language, customs and crafts. Formerly these things had been suppressed in the belief that they retarded the process of making a white man of him. The new Indian school avoided trying to make the Indian into something different. The program aimed to leave him an Indian, but one capable of guarding his health, managing the operation of his own ranch or business, capable of governing himself and appreciative of his Indian heritage. The school and community programs centered around the use by Indians of Indian lands which formerly had been exploited by white farmers and ranchers.

In 1936 the Indian Service Summer School Program was revived. Teachers from all the reservations met for special in-service-training in methods of meeting Indian school problems.

#### THE WHEELER-HOWARD ACT OF 1934

In 1934 the Wheeler-Howard Act was passed. This law stopped the allotment and patenting of Indian lands. It set up a program of land purchase to increase the areas of the Indian reservations. It provided for the formation of tribal constitutions and tribal governments and put the old Indian courts within these new tribal governments. The law provided that tribes might incorporate in order to operate tribal enterprises and that these corporations might borrow money and make loans to individuals and corporatives. Indian cooperatives were given priorities in the right to use land. Previously most of Indian land had been leased to outsiders as the individual holdings were too small to be used profitably by individual Indians.

Civil Service regulations were eased to permit more Indians to take government jobs.

A loan fund of twenty-five thousand dollars a year was established to enable young Indians to attend colleges and business schools.

At the same time steps were taken to promote soil conservation and range improvement. The lands were blocked off into range units consisting of both upland and lowland range. Previously cattlemen had leased only the land along the streams and had used the uplands by trespass. Stock dams were built to promote more uniform grazing.

The Wheeler-Howard Act was a sort of Indian Bill of Rights. It set out to give Indians priority in land use, employment, and in



management of local affairs.

It set out to make credit available so that the Indians could develop their own natural resources and thus increase the ability of their land to support the population. The objectives of the entire new school and reorganization programs were directed to benefit the true Indians of a tribe - the people of a high degree of Indian blood and in whom the old Indian ways still were strong. These people were enabled to live as Indians and to take pride in their Indian ways. The old type schools had tried to make a white man out of the Indian by figuratively changing a derby hat for his old war bonnet. To such people, the new school with its freedom, its emphasis on the manual skills in which an Indian is so talented, and its respect for his language, crafts, customs, songs and dances, made a very strong appeal.

To the mixed blood child who was inclined to think of himself as white and whose social mobility was relatively high, the new type of school was not as satisfactory. The mixed bloods were more likely to think of entering professional work than the full bloods. They were inclined to complain and demand to be given "academic" courses. Some of these children were accommodated in special courses, some attended the mission schools, and a few were sent to non-reservation schools that offered more formal training. A great number of Indian children attended the public schools.

#### THE JOHNSON-O'MALLEY ACT

The less heralded Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 provided that the Secretary of the Interior might enter into contracts with the states for the education of Indians and to permit the use of Federal school

buildings and other equipment by local school authorities. Under the terms of this act the Federal government had in 1953 negotiated contracts with fifteen states and with twenty-eight districts in four other states and Alaska. Some states having large Indian populations, have no government schools at all any more.

The philosophy of the Johnson-O'Malley Act is the same as Leupp's policy in the establishment of community day schools that eventually would grow into village public schools. (5, p. 13)

The same belief was held by Commissioner Burke in 1922, in his policy of putting all eligible children into some kind of school. The Johnson-O'Malley Act was intended to provide financial aid for public school districts that have tax exempt Indian lands within their borders. The Johnson-O'Malley Act has been of increasing importance in implementing the transition of Indian schools from Federal to state control. This transition has moved very rapidly since World War II.

In 1953, there were 53,417 Indian children enrolled in the public schools of the country. Of this number, approximately thirty-two thousand children attended schools that received Federal aid under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. The others were scattered through the public schools in such small numbers that no hardship to the districts resulted.

Of the children enrolled in Indian Service schools, ninety-five per cent are from one-half to full bloods. Seventy-eight per cent are full bloods. The Indian Service schools usually are located in rather inaccessible areas where it is difficult to work out suitable contracts for the state operation of schools. Usually children of half to full blood parentage have language difficulties that can best be met by teachers experienced in special Indian educational methods.

World War II caused the program of Indian education to be greatly curtailed. Many of the Indians went to War or left the reservations to take up defense work. Large numbers of the teachers went to war or left the Indian Service. Less money was available to maintain the plants and to carry on the school activity programs. The reduction of funds and the reduced number of employees tended to drive many of the Indian schools back toward a more traditional program.

The Indian Office was moved to Chicago while five regional offices were established in various parts of the country. As many of the traveling supervisors were put into area offices or made reservation superintendents, the school programs lost much of their drive.

Large numbers of Indians left the reservations during the war and went to work in other areas. Although some of these people returned again when the defense plants closed after the war, a good many probably have become permanent residents of their new homes. At the same time, many ex-soldiers and their families have moved to new homes and probably are sending their children to public schools. (14, 10. p. 47)

#### INDIAN EDUCATION SINCE WORLD WAR II

Since the war a special program of education for Navajo children has been in operation. These children, aged fourteen to twenty are sent to a number of non-reservation boarding schools. They are given a special five year program in trades, housework, farming, language and American customs. Then they are placed in private employment and are supervised to help them to become adjusted to life in white communities.

This is an adaption of the old outing system except that more attention than formerly is given to guidance, vocational placement and followup activities.

Guidance services have received great emphasis in post war Indian education. Testing programs have been given to Indian children to determine their progress in school and to select students to be given scholarships. Reservation guidance people have made followup studies of graduates in order to make revisions in the school programs. Experienced Indian school administrators feel that the most important training that can be given young Indians is in the field of social customs and adjustment to white society. The skills themselves are quite easily taught. Indian youths are more likely to fail to make proper adjustments when they move from the highly regulated, rather moneyless existence of the Indian schools, to a life of freedom outside - a life in which no one tells them what to do or not to do. It is a new life among strangers with strange new ways. It is a life in which one has money of his own. Indian school personnel are making a strenuous effort to teach young Indian people how to adjust themselves to live in white society. Then they stand by their graduates for a year to help smoothen out the actual path of adjustment.

Public law number 248 of the eighty-third Congress, first session, amended public law number 874 of the eighty-first Congress. This Act permits the governor of each state to elect to receive payments for the education of Indian children under public law 248 rather than under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. When this choice is made, it will be effective throughout a state and will place assistance for Indian education on the

same basis as is given for the children of soldiers, park employees and other Federal employees who live and work on tax exempt land. Although this change seems small, it removes a final small bit of special legal discrimination in the case of Indians. It groups Indians in the general class of people whose educational costs are partly borne by the Federal government. This law takes another small portion of responsibility out of the hands of the Indian Bureau and turns it over to the states.

The Indian Bureau has moved very rapidly to turn its educational activities over to the states. Some areas in the plains states which the author remembers as rather backward only a few years ago, have been opened up by good roads. The schools have been turned over to state control. At present the chief work of the Indian Bureau is concerned with problems of land ownership, conservation and use. These land problems are extremely complex. Conservation work on some Indian lands is extremely expensive, as the lands have been badly overgrazed. For these reasons, the Indian Bureau may have to manage some Indian lands for a long time, but the end of a separate Indian educational system seems to be in sight.

In 1949 the five Indian Service regional offices were reorganized. In their place, eleven area offices were established in order to make administration of the various reservations more convenient. The Bimson Report, made to the Commissioner in January, 1954, recommends the consolidation of two of these area offices and the streamlining of the branch organization in the Indian offices at all levels.



## THE BIMSON REPORT

On January 6, 1954, the survey team for the Bureau of Indian Affairs submitted its report recommending changes in the organization of the Bureau. This report, known as the Bimson Report, was approved by the Secretary of the Interior and is being put into effect.

Some of the changes suggested by the survey team are the consolidation of the Window Rock and the Albuquerque area offices, consolidation of the Oklahoma area offices, the reduction of the number of special departments at all levels of the Bureau, and the reduction of the size of the Bureau staff. (176, pp. 3-4)

The survey recommends the expansion of the program of voluntary and permanent relocation of Indians off the reservations. This work, which is being done chiefly in the Navajo area, is intended to reduce the local Indian populations to the number that the reservations will support easily. The implication for the Indian educational program is that the number of Indians to be served by government schools soon will be reduced even more rapidly than it is at present.

At the same time, the survey recommends the postponement of the construction of more boarding schools in the Navajo area. Previously it had been thought that boarding schools were necessary for the Navajos since the people with their flocks had seldom stayed in the neighborhood of the day schools long enough to attend school. The survey team reported that the cost of providing boarding schools was too high, about six thousand dollars per pupil, as opposed to eight hundred dollars per pupil in the day schools. The suggestion was made that simple thirty seat day schools be constructed for the small children.

Provisions for extra pupils could be made by locating trailer classrooms as needed at the day schools. Reservation boarding schools would be used to educate children from nine to twelve years of age. Pupils from twelve to eighteen years of age should be sent to non-reservation boarding schools, presumably to enter the relocation programs. (173, p. 25)

The report states that the lack of facilities is keeping approximately thirteen thousand Navajo children from getting any education at all.

The Bureau's figure for 1952 are given in Table I.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF INDIAN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN 1952

Number of Indian children not in school		22,174
Number in mission and private schools		10,067
Number in Indian Service schools		36,414
In day schools	16,865	
In boarding schools	19,549	
19 non-reservation boarding schools		
41 reservation boarding schools		
30 community boarding schools		
Number in public schools		52,960
With Bureau financing	31,000	
Without Bureau financing	21,960	
Total number of Indian children of school age		121,615

In 1953, the pamphlet, Statistics concerning Indian Education lists the summaries of Indian education as shown in Tables II and III.

TABLE II

## SUMMARY OF INDIAN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN 1953

Number of Indian children not in school	19,681
Definite information not available	6,649
Number in mission and private schools	10,272
Number in Indian Service schools	36,194
In day schools	16,723
In boarding schools	19,471
Number in public schools	<u>54,417</u>
Total number of Indian children of school age	127,213

TABLE III

INDIAN SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION  
OF PERSONNEL IN 1954

Appropriation for Indian schools	\$26,227,000
Field personnel	4,234
Supervising personnel	<u>98</u>
Total education personnel	4,332

The scope of Indian school activity as stated in the Bimson report is as follows:

The responsibility of the Branch of Education is to provide educational opportunities for Indian children of one-fourth or more degree of Indian blood residing within the United States and Alaska who live on tax exempt Indian lands and do not otherwise have educational opportunities available to them. (176, p. 23)

By this statement, the Bureau of Indian Affairs binds itself to provide schools of its own only for Indians having a considerable quantum of Indian blood, who live on reservations, and who have no other schools available to them.

Indians living off the reservations, regardless of their degree of Indian blood, are entirely free from Bureau supervision, as they attend public or private schools. The Indian Service has reached a point in its educational work where its only connection with the majority of Indian children will be to allocate money to the states to relieve hardship to districts containing important areas of non-taxed Indian land.

When a state adopts the provision of public law 248, Indian children will not be handled separately even in this allocation of money for the relief of hardship to school districts, but will be included with the children of government employes in general. Their share of such allocations of funds will not be supervised by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at all.



## CHAPTER VII

## SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## SUMMARY

American Indian education has been of great interest to Americans since the earliest times. At first the colonists were concerned chiefly with soul saving. Traveling missionaries worked among the wild tribes to convert them, to win their friendship for the colonizing nations and to teach them a little of the languages and customs. As the colonies became stronger and the Indians more settled in their ways, the objectives of the missionaries and teachers became broader. Their schools were more elaborate as to buildings and programs and employed larger staffs. In this second phase of Indian education, the colonists hoped to train Indian missionaries and teachers to go back to work among their own people. Small groups of Indians were educated at Harvard, Moor's Charity School and at William and Mary's. These schools met with some success, but the number of Indians they trained was small and their courses in Latin and Greek were not very useful to the wild tribes.

A third type of early Indian education consisted of establishing colonies of Indian families who were taught religion, language, customs and manners of white people, and the ordinary skills necessary to make them self-supporting. They were taught such things as carpentry and agriculture. The women were taught to cook, weave and sew. The



emphasis on religion was less strong in these colonies. More importance was given to instruction in the white man's ways of making a living and in principles of self government.

Among the most important of these Indian colonies are Eliot's Praying Indians in Massachusetts, Sir William Johnson's colony among the Mohawks of New York State and the Moravian colonies of western Pennsylvania. In the southwest, the Spanish missionaries established a chain of flourishing missions. The Mission Indians were segregated from their neighbors both Indian and white, in a sort of reservation system.

Although all of these educational ventures were destroyed by war or, in the case of the Spanish missions, by secularization, the early missionaries developed educational methods and techniques that have been used down to the present time. Among the most important of these methods is the outing system by which Indian children lived in white families for long periods of time and learned trades and manual skills, cooking, sewing and the customs of white people.

The missionaries also wrote books in the Indian languages and used them in their teaching. They turned from the formal teaching of religion and languages and emphasized vocational and manual training.

The missionaries developed some of the fundamental principles of Indian boarding schools, day schools and community schools for the training of children and adults.

The rapid growth of the country after the Revolutionary War caused great population pressure to be put on Indian lands. Although large numbers of the Indians in the east and south had become quite well civilized, they were forced by a series of removal treaties in the

period from 1800 to 1835 to give up most of their land and move west of the Mississippi River. This movement destroyed the eastern mission schools, as well as the tribal schools which the Southern tribes had established and maintained. As a part of the removal treaties, the government agreed to furnish funds to support Indian schools. The government also appropriated ten thousand dollars to be used as a civilization fund to aid the existing mission schools in their work.

After the Civil War, the government entered the field of Indian education more and more by establishing non-reservation boarding schools and reservation boarding and day schools. At the same time, the mission school began to decline in importance until by 1900 they had ceased to receive Federal aid in carrying on their school programs.

The non-reservation schools had reached the peak of their importance by 1900 and began to decline while community day schools increased in numbers and importance.

After World War I, Indian Service policy was to put Indian children into the public schools as rapidly as possible.

As a result of the Meriam study of conditions in the Indian Service published in 1928, the Indian Service undertook a sweeping reorganization of its school program. Community day schools were emphasized. School programs in the reservation boarding and day schools were planned to train the child living on each reservation to live as Indian on that reservation, making his own use of the land resources of the area. Indians were given priority as to land use on their reservation. Loan funds were made available to enable graduates of Indian schools to operate their own land or to enroll for further schooling.

At the same time, the Johnson - O'Malley Act of 1934 implemented the process of placing Indian children in public schools. This act provided for making money and Indian Service facilities available to public schools to compensate for the lack of taxable land in their districts.

World War II interrupted and slowed down the community oriented program of Indian education. The policy of the Indian Office after World War II has been to close out the Indian Service as rapidly as possible, and make contracts with the states for the education of Indian children.

The Navajos live a nomadic life, herding sheep and goats over a vast barren region. It has never been practicable to establish many permanent schools in the Navajo area because of this constant wandering of the people. The Indian Service has embarked on a special program of education and resettlement of Navajo children. The children are transported to non-reservation boarding schools in other areas where they are trained in manual skills. The outing system is used to assist the young Navajos to find work and to settle in the new areas, thus relieving the population pressure on the overgrazed Navajo reservation.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

Laws. Indians should be placed under the laws of the states where they reside - whether on the reservations or away from them. The present dual system of laws enables the shrewder Indians to evade responsibility for their acts. (173, 1900. p. 35)

Land. Indians living off the reservations should be allowed to lease or sell their own land as they see fit. At present Indians of all degrees of education and ability have to lease their land through a government office. If Indians want to sell their lands, these lands might well be bought by the tribes with money obtained from the settlement of tribal claims. The land might be sold to resident Indians on G. I. type loans. (23, pp. 55-56)

School Plants. School plants where the cost per pupil is excessively high might well be closed to conserve the scanty funds available for Indian education. The pupils affected should be sent to larger boarding schools in the same areas. (104, pp. 136-141) The present policy of providing educational loans to young Indian people should be continued.

Professional Training. Young Indian high school graduates, having superior school records and desiring professional training, should be given aptitude tests. If found capable, they might be sent to such non-reservation boarding schools as Haskell, Albuquerque, Riverside, and Chemawa, and given college preparatory training. Upon entering college, they could be furnished board, lodging and supervision at the Indian schools. Tuition might be paid from government funds on a G. I. type arrangement, contingent on good behavior and satisfactory school progress. In the writer's experience a number of young folks left the reservation to go to schools at a distance where they were among strangers and had no supervision. Usually they came home again in a little while. The writer feels that if these young people had been given quarters and supervision at an Indian school they might have remained and completed their courses.



The Policy of turning Indian Affairs over to the States. The program for "turning the Indians loose" should be done carefully and on an individual basis. Competency has little to do with the quantum of Indian blood possessed by an individual. Local committees of competency might certify the competency of Indians whether they ask for it or not in order to rid the reservations of bright able-bodied mixed bloods who loaf around the agencies. These people who at different times claim to be white men or Indians to gain the advantages of both groups should be cut off from a share in government aid or tribal funds. Government funds should be used for the benefit of the few incompetent Indians who find it impossible to make their living outside of the reservations. (50, p. 201) (73, 1900. p. 402)

Teachers' Salaries. The most common remark made in Indian Service reports over the years was that the appropriations for Indian schools were too small and that the educational programs constantly were handicapped for lack of funds. The Oregon report for 1858 remarked that it was impossible to get teachers and employees to go out into the wilderness for half the pay they could get for similar service among the whites. (73, 1858. p. 222)

In 1954, the Indian Service was offering, in announcement 11-58, a starting salary of \$3,410 for high school teachers. At the same time the Portland Public Schools, in their 1954-55 instructions for applicants, were offering a beginning salary of \$3,400. However, the Portland schools pay their salaries for a nine months' school year, while the Indian Service salary is on a twelve months basis. Indian Service personnel receive a little less than a month of annual leave.



Furthermore, Portland salaries are comparatively low. Other Oregon schools were paying from \$3,400 to \$4,200 for a standard nine months school year. Thus the Indian Service needs to have enough money appropriated to it to enable it to pay more than four thousand dollars a year plus an additional amount to compensate for the isolation of Indian schools if it is to attract capable employees. At present the Indian Office is attempting to raise Indian Service teachers from their present starting grade of GS-5, with a salary of \$3,410 per year, to the grade of GS-7, with a starting salary of \$4,205 per year. This salary plus the advantages of regular increments, sick leave, annual leave and retirement benefits should make the Indian Service attractive to well-trained teachers.

Transfer of personnel. One report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs remarked that frequent changes of personnel in the Washington office and in the field were the bane of the Indian Service. It took several years for a new employee to gain the confidence of the Indians. If then he transferred to another area, the value of his services was lost. (73, 1890. pp. 269-270) Indian Service personnel still have the reputation of being gypsies. The author became an "oldest" inhabitant of one Indian high school building after a stay of only three years. It might be possible to stabilize the teaching personnel to some extent if new employees went to their assignments as army ROTC men do, for definite terms of years. The knowledge that he would have to remain in a school for awhile might induce the employee to learn the Indian language, to explore the area and find out all he could about the Indians and their

homes and to become acquainted with the parents of his pupils. In this way, his teaching would become more purposeful and better fitted to the local needs.

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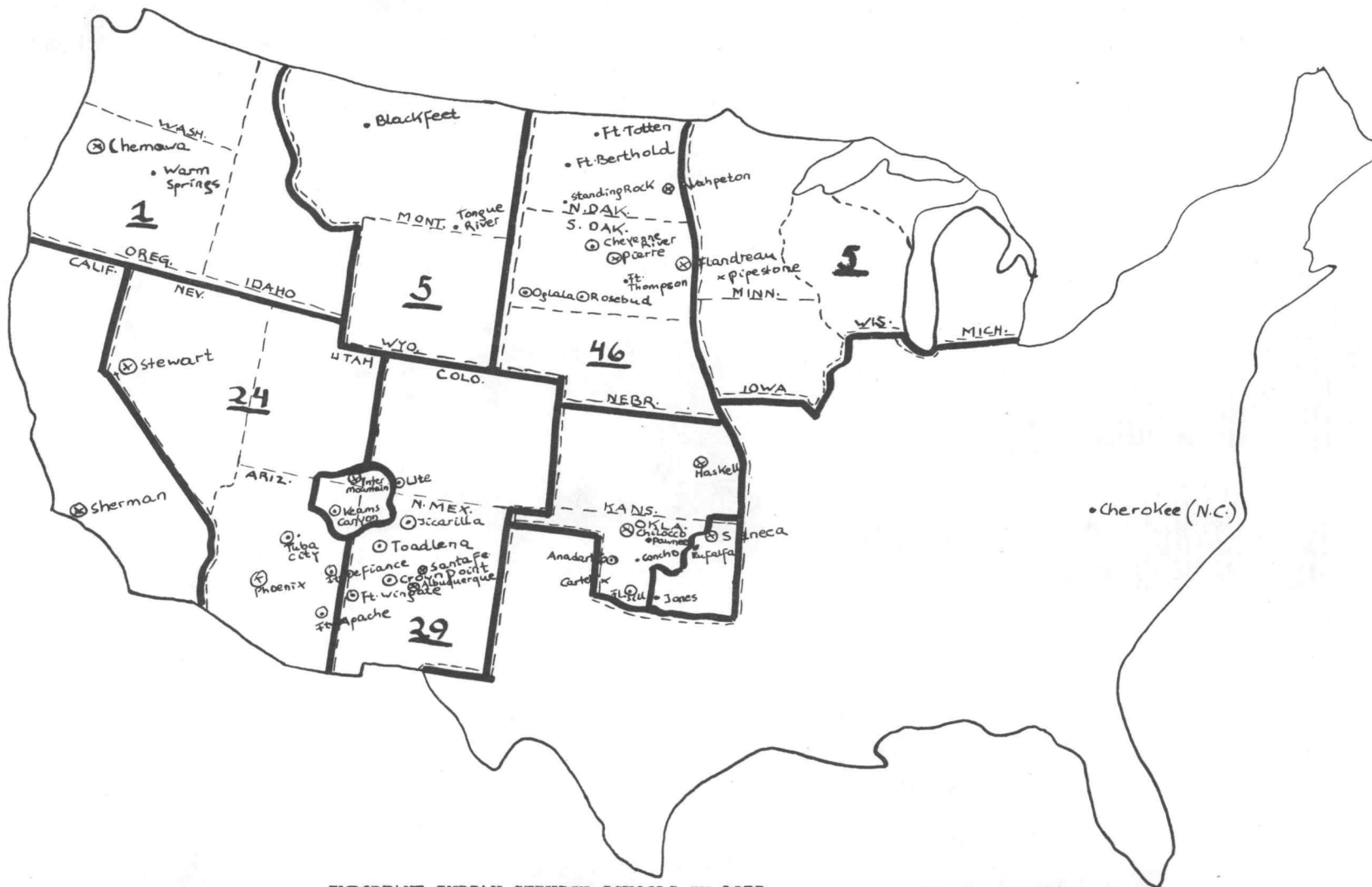
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ADVANCE BOND

APPENDIX A

IMPORTANT INDIAN SERVICE SCHOOLS IN 1953

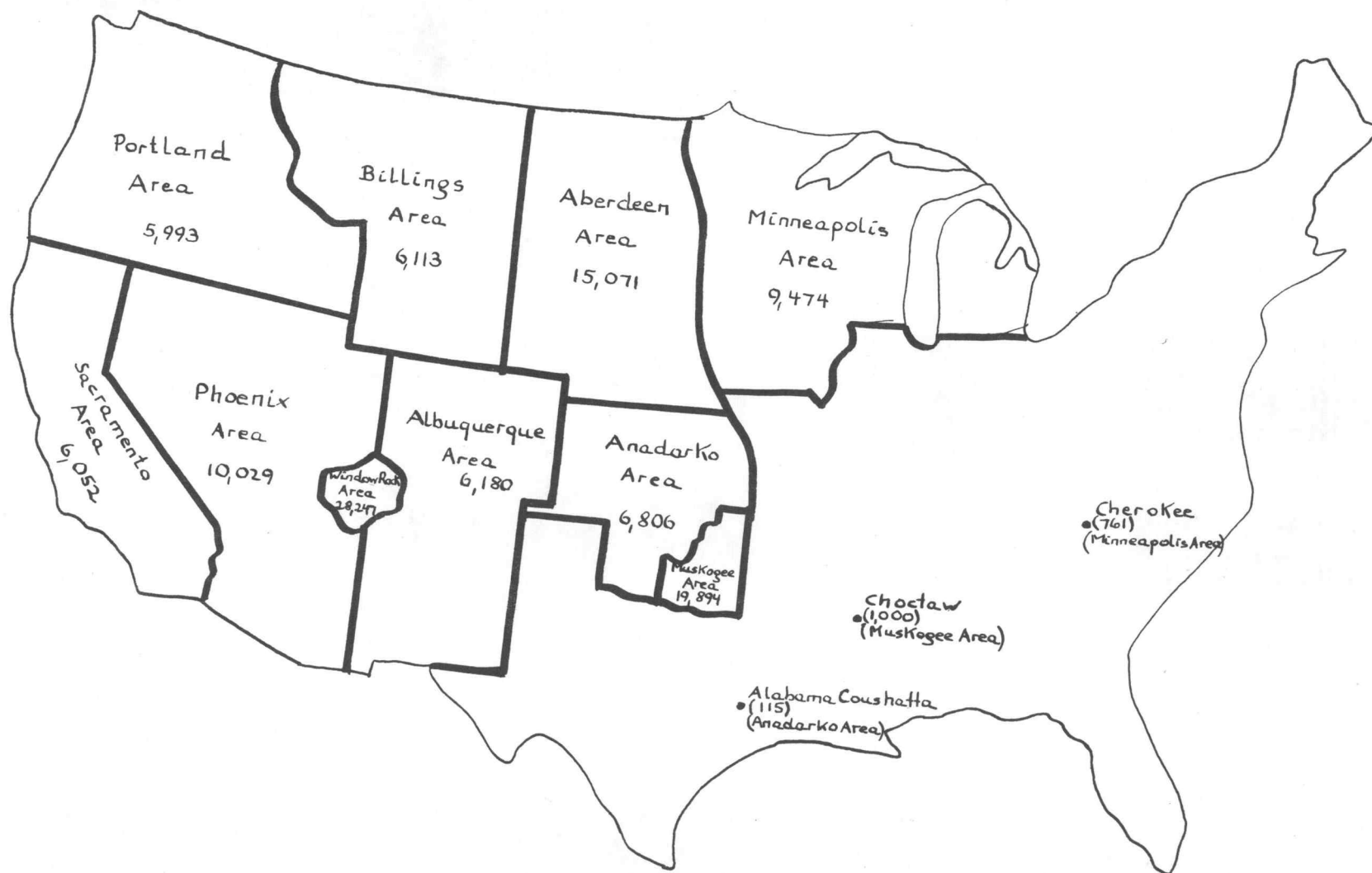


IMPORTANT INDIAN SERVICE SCHOOLS IN 1953

- x = Non-reservation
- = Reservation
- = 200 or more enrollment
- = Numbers indicate day schools in each area

## APPENDIX B

TOTAL ENUMERATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN  
AS SHOWN BY THE ANNUAL SCHOOL CENSUS REPORT  
FOR THE FISCAL YEAR OF 1953



TOTAL ENUMERATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN  
AS SHOWN BY THE ANNUAL SCHOOL CENSUS REPORT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR OF 1953