FEDERAL POLICY IN INDIAN EDUCATION,
1870 - 1938

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Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

Stillwater, Oklahoma

1950

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

1951

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PREFACE

The primary purpose of this thesis is to present as clearly as possible a study of the federal government's Indian educational policy from the date it was instituted to the year 1938. The factors which led to the establishment of the program have been briefly and chronologically presented. There have been studies made of segments of the federal Indian educational policy, but to my knowledge there has not been published as yet a complete, comprehensive study of the program. I do not propose to present such a study in this thesis but I do hope to make a contribution to the literature on the subject.

I wish to thank Dr. O. A. Hilton, who directed this thesis, for his assistance and guidance and Dr. Alfred Levin and Dr. Nobert R. Mahnken for their suggestions as to style and form. Thanks are also due to the librarians of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College for their assistance in locating materials used in this thesis and to my wife, Mrs. Edith Colleen McMullen, for her encouragement and help.

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CHAPTER I

EMERGENCE OF FEDERAL POLICY, 1789-1869

Although there are exceptions to the classification, the Indian policy of the United States Government up to the year 1887, falls, for the most part, into two general periods, the treaty period up to 1871, and the reservation period from 1871 to 1887.[1] During the treaty period all relations with the Indian tribes were governed by means of formal treaties ratified by the Senate in the same manner as treaties with foreign nations.[2] The direction of Indian affairs was placed in the hands of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs by an Act of Congress passed on July 9, 1832.[3] The commissioner was to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, and the newly created Bureau of Indian Affairs was placed under the direction of the Secretary of War.[4]

Until the early 1820's, the policy of the government had been that of shifting the Indians in piece-meal fashion towards the west. No definite explanation, however, had been made con-

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1 Lawrence F. Schmeckier, The Office of Indian Affairs. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1927), 2.

2 Ibid.

3 4 U. S. Stat., 564. When the Department of Interior was created in 1849, the Indian Bureau was transfered to the Department - Report, Secretary of Interior, 1896, Vol. I, XXXVI.

4 Ibid.

cerning this policy.[5] In 1825, the first serious effort was made to construct a policy for handling the Indians. At that date, a study of the Indian problem was made by the government and as a result the policy of removing the Indians to the territory west of the Mississippi River emerged. The Indians were to be given permanent homes for themselves and their posterity in this area, and they were to be allowed to live in their own way. In this manner the greatest evil to which the Indians were subject--the incessant pressure of the white population--was to be eliminated, for, according to the best scientific opinion of the time, the white man could never live in the great area of the plains west of the bend of the Missouri River. This area was considered as being practically designed by God to be the Indians' home, for the plains abounded with game, and the Indians were accustomed to living on wildlife. Approval of the policy of removal was given by Congress in 1825, and by 1840, most of the Indians had been removed west of the Mississippi River, and the land taken by them was forever secured and guaranteed to them by formal treaties ratified by the Senate.[6]

The education of the Indian during this period was, for the most part, in the hands of religious missionary organizations.[7]

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[5] Frederic L. Paxson, History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893. (Student's Edition. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), 276.

[6] Paxson, op. cit., 277-284.

[7] W. Carson Ryan, Jr., "Indian Schools in the United States," Bureau of Indian Affairs Circular. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 2.

The government followed a policy of appropriating funds from time to time to assist the religious organizations in their educational endeavors, and included in many treaties provisions for the education of the Indian youth.[8]

The purpose of the education extended to the Indian was to teach him the skills of the white man and induce him to accept the white man's ways.[9] As early as 1792, the government stated that it was:

> ...highly desirous of imparting to all Indian tribes the blessings of civilization, as the only means of perpetuating them on the earth. That we are willing to be at the expense of teaching them to read and write, to plow and to sow, in order to raise their own bread and meat, with certainty as the white people do.[10]

One of the first treaties implementing this policy was made with the Oneida, Tuscorora, and Stockbridge Indians in 1794. The treaty provided funds for the instruction of the young Indians of the tribes in the, "act of the miller and sower."[11] To further implement the policy of educating the Indian in the white man's ways, the first appropriation for Indian education was made by an Act of Congress on March 3, 1819. The act provided that an annual sum of ten thousand dollars be appropriated for the purpose of civilizing the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States. The Indians were to be instructed in

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[8] G. E. E. Lindquist, The Red Man in the United States. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923), 40.

[9] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1789-1814, I, p. 235.

[10] Ibid.

[11] 7 U. S. Stat., 48.

the mode of agriculture suited to their situation, and their children were to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, industrial arts, and home economics courses.[12]

The ten thousand dollars was to be distributed, under the direction of the President, to benevolent associations and individuals already engaged or planning to engage in educating the Indian youth.[13]

The procedure for receiving this aid designated that the associations or individuals already engaged or planning to engage in educating the Indians were to submit a report to the government containing information concerning the location of their institution, their funds, the number and kind of teachers employed or to be employed, the number of youths of both sexes taught or to be taught, the plan of education adopted, and the extent of the aid required. If the President approved an association or individual's request for funds, then aid was extended by the government to the institution.[14] The facilities of the better mission school receiving this aid from the government usually consisted of a school farm, garden, and dairy, and the course of study attempted to correlate learning with farm upkeep and production.[15] The scholastic curriculum of the schools

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[12] 3 U. S. Stat., 516-517. The appropriation was permanent appropriation and was not repealed until February 14, 1873--17 U. S. Stat., 461.

[13] American State Papers, Indian Affairs, 1815-1827, V, p. 801.

[14] Ibid.

[15] G. E. E. Lindquist, The Indian in American Life. (New York: Friendship Press, 1944), 93.

was patterned after the public school standard and offered only the elementary grades.[16]

By 1869, it was evident that the theory that an Indian civilization could be maintained in its original form by legislative enactments was obsolete. The westward advance of the white man had not stopped at the Mississippi. White settlers took lands which had been given the Indians by solemn treaties between the tribes and the United States. Gold seekers disregarded the treaty rights of the Indians. Towns sprang up in the buffalo hunting grounds of the Indian and trains crossed the Great Plains where the buffalo grazed. To the Indian this spread of the write man's culture into the Indian lands was unjust. They declared that the white man must get out of their territory. To the white man the extension of his culture was important. The western settlers demanded that the government curb the Indian. As a result of this difference of opinion, the United States Army was kept busy protecting the settlers. Over eight thousand troops had to be withdrawn from the front during the civil war for this purpose.[17]

In 1867, an Indian Peace Commission was appointed by President Johnson to inquire into the causes of the numerous Indian wars and widespread hostilities in the West and, if possible, to make peace with the Indians. The commission reported that most of the Indian wars and outbreaks had been provoked by white men employed

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16 Ryan, op. cit., 4.

17 Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners. 1929, p. 7 hereinafter cited as Report, B. I. C.

by the Indian Service and by those residing in the border settlements.[18] The members of the commission recommended that the control of Indian affairs be moved from the Department of Interior to the War Department and that:

> ...hereinafter all Indians should be considered and held to be individually subject to the laws of the United States, except where and while it is otherwise provided in said treaties, /existing treaties and treaties negotiated by the commission/ and that they /all Indians/ should be entitled to the same protection from said law as other persons owing allegiance to the government enjoy.[19]

The Indian Peace Commission succeeded in ending the Indian wars for the time being, but the House of Representatives refused to appropriate the funds itemized by the Senate to carry out the treaties entered into by the commission. Instead a compromise was reached whereby the House agreed to appropriate a lump sum of two million dollars to:

> ...enable the President to maintain peace among and with the various tribes, bands and parties of Indians and to promote civilization among said Indians, bring them, where practicable, upon reservations, relieve their necessities, and encourage their efforts at self-support.[20]

In order to have additional supervision over the appropriations, the House authorized the President to organize a Board of Indian Commissioners who would have joint control with the Secretary of Interior over the disbursement of the funds

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[18] House Executive Document., No. 97, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., (1869), p. 27.

[19] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, 371. Hereafter cited as Report, C. I. A.

[20] 14 U. S. Stat., 40

allotted by the act.[21] In accordance with this authorization, the Board of Indian Commissioners was created by executive order on June 3, 1869.[22]

As a result of the continuous refusal by the House of Representatives to appropriate funds for the treaties entered into by the Peace Commissioners Congress passed in 1871 a law providing that:

> ...No Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty: but no obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March 3, 1871, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired.[23]

From the date of the passage of this law to 1887, the government followed a policy of segregating the Indians on reservations. The policy included the issuance of rations to the Indians on the reservations until they were able to support themselves. The Indians, while on the reservations, were to be directed into new pursuits of livelihood under the guidance of the government. The rations were to serve the purpose of, "supplying such subsistance as [was] absolutely necessary during the period of initiation and experiment."[24]

The more hostile and aggressive Indians were given more material aid and rations than the feeble or friendly Indians.

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21 Ibid.

22 Schmeckier, op. cit., 57.

23 16 U. S. Stat., 566.

24 Report, C. I. A., 1872, pp. 3-10.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis A. Walker, defended the practice on the grounds that it reduced the loss of life and property on the frontier and allowed, "the freest development of our settlements and railways." Moreover, Walker declared that the practice was not a bit more unreasonable than it was for a private citizen to give a highwayman all of his possessions, "while on another occasion, to a distressed and deserving applicant for charity, the private citizen would measure his contribution by his means and disposition at the time."[25]

To carry out the policy of directing the Indian into pursuits consistent with the progress of the white man's culture, the Indian Affairs Office recommended that the federal government establish government schools, and encourage and foster the work of the Christian missions.[26]

Following this report, the federal government took the first step in the creation of a definite government Indian school program. One hundred thousand dollars was appropriated by Congress to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of Interior for the support of industrial and other Indian schools which were not receiving aid from Washington in some other form.[27] The Department of Interior, in carrying out the wishes of Congress, began to establish strictly government schools on the Indian reservation.

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[25] Ibid. Brigham Young had told the Indian Peace Commission appointed by President Johnson that the Mormons had had no serious difficulty with the Indians, due to the fact that they had always considered it cheaper to feed them than to fight them. Report C. I. A., 1869, p. 69.

[26] Report, B. I. C., 1869, p. 1870.

[27] 16 U. S. Stat., 359.

The schools were constructed at federal expense and were operated by government employees.[28]

[28] Ryan, op. cit., 4.

CHAPTER II

EARLY GOVERNMENT DAY AND RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs declared in 1867 that if the government would support schools to teach the Indians the white man's culture, stock the reservation with large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats, and provide the Indians with farming utensils, then the Indians themselves would discover that the white man's life afforded a "better and more surer subsistence than a precarious dependence upon the chase." Moreover, with this realization a desire for "acquisition of individual property [would] soon spring up," and each Indian adult could be given a limited quantity of land for his exclusive use. Thus, long before the tide of emigration reached the Indian, the reservation could "be reduced to dimensions required by the actual wants of an agricultural population."[1] More land would then be open to white settlement and development.

The first government Indian schools established to teach the Indians the "arts of civilization" were day schools. These were four-year elementary schools maintained for groups of children who lived at home while attending school.[2] The personnel of the day school generally consisted of a teacher and an assistant teacher. The policy of the Indian Service was to employ married couples to teach in these schools. The man served as the teacher

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[1] Report, C. I. A., 1867, pp. 3-11.

[2] Ryan, op. cit., 3.

and handled the industrial work of the boys while his wife served as the assistant teacher and worked with the girls.[3]

The annual salaries of the teachers in the Indian Service ranged from three hundred dollars to eight hundred dollars in 1884. The assistant teachers for the same year received salaries running from sixty dollars a year to nine hundred dollars a year.[4]

The Indian Agent had direct supervision over the schools, including the right to appoint and remove all teachers on the reservation. The Indian Office curtailed this power of the agent somewhat in 1890, by assuming the right to appoint and remove the personnel of the schools and by requiring that a state or territorial teaching certificate be submitted with a teacher's application. The agent, however, continued to make nominations.[5]

From the year 1835, the Indian agent was supposed to inspect the government schools located on the reservation under his control every year. A public examination of the students was made during this inspection and military officers and other citizens were requested to attend them.[6]

The primary purpose of the day school was to teach the Indian to speak, write and read the English language. There was no

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[3] "Rules for Indian Schools," in Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. CXLVII.

[4] "Indian Education and Civilization," Special Reports of Bureau of Education, Senate Executive Doc., no. 95, 48 Cong., 2 Sess., (1888), p. 194.

[5] "Rules for Indian Schools," in Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. CXLVII.

[6] American State Papers, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., I, (1835), p.285.

uniform course of study in the early schools and each teacher apparently taught as he saw fit. In 1884, the Indian Department regulations required a farm and garden to be connected with each school and that one-half of the school time be devoted to industrial training. Boys were to be instructed in farming, the care of livestock, and the trades. Girls were to be taught all branches of housekeeping, to make butter and cheese, to cut and mend garments, to care for the sick, to cook and to wash and iron.[7]

Reports of the teachers from the different Indian agencies during this early period of development invariably included requests for funds to repair the building used by the day schools. A teacher in Washington Territory described his school as being, "... a one room building built of old refuse undressed lumber one inch thick and presenting many cracks and open places."[8]

An early problem of the day school teacher was that of attendance. The Indian children didn't want to go to school and their parents showed little concern about education. When the Indians needed their children to help them with their work, they kept them out of school. The following reports are typical of those reports received by the Indian Office from the schools:

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[7] Regulations of the Indian Department, 1884, secs. 500, 502, 503, 504, and 517, in "Indian Education and Civilization," Special Reports of the Bureau of Education, Senate Executive Documents, no. 95, 48 Cong., 2 Sess., (1888), p. 194.

[8] "Report" of L. F. Thompson, teacher, Puyallup Indian Reservation, Washington Territory, 1871, in Report, C. I. A., 1871, pp. 291-292.

> ...during last summer the teacher's field of labor was an arduous one; children entered the school room without any knowledge of home government, and most parents manifesting but little concern to have their children attend in order to be intellectually benefited; but the object principally in view seemed to be the hope of compensation for their attendance in the way of gratifying the appetite or furnishing them clothing... Some days the school would number forty and upward, the next probably not more than a dozen.[9]

> ...The Indians require their children to help them in their work. The Indian children attend school with a view to enjoy [sic] the comforts of a warm room than to become adapt in knowledge.[10]

There were no laws compelling the Indian children to attend school before the late 1880's, although as early as 1874, the Indian Commissioner recommended that a law be passed suspending the rights of Indian parents to receive government benefaction unless they sent their children between the ages of six and sixteen to school.[11] In the absence of compulsory attendance laws, presents and premiums were used to influence the Indians to go to school during this early period.[12] Rations of flour and meat were given once a week for regular attendance in school by the Winnebago Agency in Nebraska.[13]

A second problem of the day school was that "it was well-

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[9] "Report" of S. E. Griest, teacher, Otoe Agency, Nebraska, 1874, in Report, C. I. A., 1874, p. 207.

[10] "Report" of Thomas Smith, teacher, Warm Springs Agency, Oregon, June 27, 1869, in Report, C. I. A., 1869, p. 164.

[11] Report, C. I. A., 1874, p. 80.

[12] Report, C. I. A., 1869, p. 167.

[13] "Report" of Sidney Averill, Principal of Schools, Winnebago Agency, Nebraska, in Report, C. I. A., 1869, p. 348.

nigh impossible to teach Indian children the English language when they /Spent/ twenty hours out of the twenty-four in the wigwam, using only their native tongue."[14] This problem coupled with the difficulty of maintaining regular attendance in the Indian day school resulted in the establishment of the reservation boarding school.

In contrast to the day school, the reservation boarding school took the Indian under constant care, surrounded him with an English-speaking community, and gave him home training.[15] The school provided seven grades--four primary and three advanced--and was located within the reservation for the service of the children on the reservation.[16]

The personnel of the boarding school included a superintendent, clerk, physician, principal teacher, matron, industrial teacher, cook, seamstress, and launderess. The Indian agent was the highest authority on the reservation in all matters pertaining to the schools, but the superintendent of the reservation boarding school had immediate general control of the school. He also made up the examinations which determined whether or not the student was to be promoted. The physician cared for the medical needs of the students and taught courses in hygiene in the school. The principal teacher arranged schedules, assigned teaching loads, and taught in case a teacher was absent. The matron had charge

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[14] Report, C. I. A., 1873, pp. 8-9.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ryan, op. cit., 3.

of dormitories, saw that the beds were properly made, that the girls were carefully groomed, had general oversight of the kitchen, dining room and all domestic matters. The matron, was to see to it, with the cooperation of the superintendent, that the principal part of the work in the kitchen, laundry, dining room, and serving room was performed by girls of the schools who were to be regularly detailed for the purpose. The industrial teacher, under the direction of the superintendent, was to attend to all outside manual labor connected with the school, cultivating the school farm and garden, caring for the stock belonging to the school, keeping a supply of feed on hand, making repairs on buildings, and seeing that the school property and grounds were in good order. All such work had to be done, with the industrial teacher's assistance and supervision, by the boys of the school regularly detailed for that purpose. The cook, with the assistance of the pupils who were regularly detailed for that purpose, was to prepare all food and have general oversight over the kitchen and dining room. The seamstress was to take care of all mending and was to teach girls to mend and make their own clothing and the boys' clothing. The laundress was, with the assistance of the girls, to do all washing and ironing required for the school. The superintendent outlined the duties of the other employees. Indians were to be employed, where competent, in preference to whites and every school was expected to have one or more Indians among the employees. Employees were to reside in or near the school buildings--the matron had to reside in the girls building. The agent and superintendent had the right to discharge any employees when the moral welfare or

the discipline of the school demanded; for other reasons, the agent had to make a report to the Indian Commissioner, and the commissioner determined the case.

The Indian Office had the right to appoint and remove all employees. Nominations for appointment were generally made by the agent with the advice of the superintendent. There were no definite qualifications for teachers, but the Indian Office asked that a certificate to teach in some state or territorial school, or normal school diploma be submitted by the agent with applications for positions. Employees were also supposed to have good moral character and be able to speak English fluently and correctly. There was no religious qualification. All positions in the schools expired on June 30, of each year, and the Indian Office had charge of all promotions in the school.[17]

The government developed a social policy for the schools. It contained the provision that members of all tribes living on the reservation were to be placed in the same boarding school. This placement was presumed to facilitate the teaching of English and to help the Indians overcome prejudices which existed among the tribes. The Indian Office also recommended that the sexes be equally represented in the boarding schools. Each school had a retiring bell, and absolute quiet was to be maintained after the ringing of the bell. Social dancing, card playing, gambling, profanity and smoking were prohibited and pupils were forbidden to carry concealed weapons. The students were supposed to be taught the white man's sports, and it was suggested that a uniform style

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17 "Rules for Indian Schools," in Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. CXLVII.

of clothing be adopted by the schools. Two plain, substantial suits, with an extra pair of trousers for each boy, and three dresses for each girl were to last for weekday wear, for a year. For Sunday wear, each pupil was to be supplied a better suit. Other clothes were to be provided according to the nature of the climate of the area where the reservation was located.[18]

The Indian Office demanded that a farm, garden and an orchard, when possible, be connected with each school and that special training be given in farming. Every school was to have horses, cattle, swine, poultry, and, when practical, sheep and bees. The blacksmith, wheelwright, carpenter, shoemaker, and harnessmaker trades were to be taught to a few pupils at every school. When no mechanics were available at the school, the agency mechanics were supposed to teach the trades. One-half of the pupil's time was to be devoted to industrial teaching and application, for with the limited appropriations the schools were to be so managed as to make each school as nearly self-sustaining as possible.[19]

There was no definite course of study for the reservation boarding schools, but it was suggested that emphasis be placed on teaching the Indian to speak, write, and read the English language during the first four years. To facilitate the teaching of the English language, all instruction had to be in English, and pupils who did not were to be punished. All school employees were to speak English exclusively to the pupils and also to one

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[18] "Rules for Indian Schools," in Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. CXLVII.

[19] Ibid.

another in the presence of the pupils. The seven years were divided into four years of primary work and three years of advanced grades. The subjects taught in the primary grades were reading, writing, numbers, spelling, penmanship, geography, and arithmetic. In the three advanced grades, subjects studied in the primary grades were continued, with United States history, physiology, hygiene, civil government, music, and courses designed to teach the Indian how to buy and sell, added. The course of study was designed to give the Indian an education about equal to that obtained in six years of study in the public schools attended by white children, and to enable the Indian pupil to make his own way alongside of the white citizen.[20]

The buildings used by the boarding school were generally, like those of the earlier day school, too small, poorly arranged, ill-ventilated, and dilapidated. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs ascribed this condition to lack of adequate appropriations. He declared that in 1883, "the whole amount appropriated for erection and repair of school buildings...is but $25,000 less than the cost of one building erected by private contributions... for the use of fifty girls."[21]

The reports from the schools generally point with pride to the conditions and accomplishment of the school, but occasionally a new teacher noted the failure of the teacher who served before him. This tendency is evident in the reports received from the

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20 "Rules for Indian Schools," in Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. CXLVII.

21 Report, C. I. A., 1883, p. 38.

Fort Stevenson School for the years 1885 and 1886. The person in charge in 1885 reported that:

> ...both school and pupils have a much more prosperous appearance [since the improvements of last December]... The matron is a thorough housekeeper, and has systematized the work so that under her control both the girls and employees are doing well, with less apparent effort and more cleanliness...a sewing room has been organized and regular hours appointed... All the clothing worn by the girls, with shirts and occassional suits for the boys, are made at the school...breadmaking is done entirely by the girls, but the boys attend to the baking... In the classroom the children are making very fair progress, and in order and discipline will compare favorably with the generality of children in public schools. They are very much interested in their studies, and when the disadvantages under which they labor (language and home influence) are taken into consideration, the progress which they make is often wonderful.[22]

The next year a new superintendent in charge of the same school reported that:

> ...in justice to myself, I review the "rose colored reports" of this school..."excellent management," "the breadmaking," ...[and] the "shirts," and "occasional suits" which were never made in the sewing room but shipped by the Indian Office, were "among the things that were not." The everlasting quarreling, degrading and nauseating twaddle between employees and pupils, the inherent laziness of the former, the abominably filthy condition of the quarters, the accumulated rubbish around the buildings, the half-cooked food, the advantages of training pupils unused, the dilapidated conditions of the buildings, following an expenditure of $3,000, and a glossy report thereon, all has had an injurious effect on the school. Instead of being in a healthy growing condition, it was the reverse.[23]

The truth probably lay somewhere between the two reports.

General Henry Heth, an inspector in the Indian Service,

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[22] "Report" of teacher in charge of the boarding school at Fort Stevenson, Dakota Territory, in Report, C. I. A., 1885, p. 52.

[23] Ibid., 1886, p. 1.

stated, in regard to personnel, that:

> ...The Indian Bureau has been made the dumping ground for the sweepings of the political party that is in power. I have found an abandoned woman in charge of an Indian school. I have found a discharged lunatic in charge of another... As soon as a report that is derogatory to these people goes to Washington, their friends rush to the Interior Department and say that these reports are wrong, and that another trial must be given, and they are kept on and on...if you stay there [in an Indian School or an agency] and get behind the scenes,...you will find two or three who are physically, mentally, or morally incapacitated. You find good, earnest people among them, but they are the exception. You find people who are there only to draw their pay. You find cliques, wrangles, quarrels going on that are a disgrace to any institution.[24]

Although the reservation boarding school improved the education process, the task of the teacher was no easy one. Indian tribes agreed to cease fighting the white man, live on the reservation, and put their children in the boarding schools, but in practice, many of them allowed only a few of the less intelligent orphan children to attend the white man's school.[25] The Indian boys who did attend complained to the teacher that when they visited the Indian village, the young Indians of the camp called them squaws and told them that it was foolish to allow a white man to discipline them when, if they would only stick together, they could easily whip the teacher.[26]

Moreover, it was difficult to keep regular attendance in the school, for when the children were let out to play, they dis-

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[24] Report, B. I. C., 1889, p. 139.

[25] John H. Seger, Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians. Edited by Stanley Vestal. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 24-31, 33-60.

[26] Ibid.

carded their uniforms, ran away to camp, and hid from the teacher. Too, when the tribes went on a buffalo hunt, they took their children with them. Those Indians who took pride in their tribes and thought the Indian superior to the white man looked upon the boarding school as a menace to their tribal life. Pupils who attended the schools were taunted by children who called them white girls and white boys. The Indian boys who did not attend school accused those who did of cowardice and wearing their hair short like Negroes. Many of the red men saw no necessity for changing their ways, for they, while on the reservation were given enough food for subsistence by the government.[27] Moreover, work was looked upon by the Indian men as being degrading.[28] Watching the white men employed by the agency work and perspire all day, many of them decided that work was a white man's penalty and an evil to be avoided. The white man earned his living that way only because he was a poor hunter.[29] These practices of the Indian children were looked upon by the teachers in the field as evils of tribalism, and they held that the only way to educate the Indian was to remove him from the reservation. They looked upon the reservation as compelling dependence and fostering tribalism in the Indian rather than training him for citizenship. This feeling that the evil of tribalism could best be abolished

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[27] Seger, op. cit., 33-60. The Cheyenne Indian considered being called a white man the greatest insult that could be handed him. Ibid.

[28] Report, C. I. A., 1871, p. 423.

[29] Seger, op. cit., 33-60.

by a process of education removed from the influence of the reservation was widespread in the late 1870's and early 1880's.[30] Its chief proponent, General Richard Henry Pratt, a forceful and energetic person, entered the controversy in 1879.

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30 "Reports," of H. B. Shelton, Round Valley Agency, Mendocino County, California, August 12, 1878, in Report, C. I. A., 1878, p. 12; William E. Daugherty, Lower Brule Agency, Dakota, August 15, 1878, in Ibid., 35; M. H. Newlin, Office of Agency Indians in Kansas, September 1, 1878, in Ibid, 73; C. G. Belknap, Tule River Agency, California, August 11, 1879, in Report, C. I. A., 1879, p. 13; R. H. Milroy, Olympia, Washington, August 28, 1879, in Ibid., 152; W. H. Donilson, Fort Hall Agency, Idaho, August 31, 1879, in Report, C. I. A., 1879, pp. 52-53; A. B. Ludlam, Pima Agency, Pottawattomie Agency, Kansas, September 10, 1881, in Report, C. I. A., 1881, p. 167.

CHAPTER III

THE ASCENDANCE OF THE BOARDING SCHOOL

The Indian child had demonstrated to the satisfaction of many American citizens by 1878 that he did not differ from the white child of similar social status in aptitude or capacity for acquiring knowledge.[1] These citizens, therefore, saw no reason why the Indian could not be transformed into a white man within one generation, and they began to demand that the government see to it that such results were attained.[2]

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was convinced that the only way to accomplish this task was to establish Indian schools away from the reservation. In schools away from the reservation, attendance would be regular, vacations would not be periods of retrogression, the Indian child would breathe the atmosphere of a civilized community, and he could be compelled to adopt the English language.[3]

The Carlisle Indian School located at Carlisle, Pennsylvania was the first non-reservation Indian school established in line with this policy. Captain Richard H. Pratt, an Army officer and an Indian War veteran, was the founder of the school and its beginning was almost accidental.

Captain Pratt was assigned by the War Department, in 1875, to take the most troublesome leaders of the Cheyenne, Kiowa,

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[1] Report, C. I. A., 1878, p. XXVI.

[2] Report, C. I. A., 1881, pp. 32-35.

[3] Ibid.

Commanche, and Arapahoe Tribes as prisoners from the Indian Territory to the government prison at San Marco, Florida. The Indians were chained to a wagon and hauled to the railroad. Their friends lined the hilltop above the point of departure to see them off, the women among the group wailing and gashing themselves with knives at the sight of their people being taken away from their homeland.[4] Enroute to Florida, the Indians displayed a sharp reaction against being removed from their homeland. Two of the principal Cheyenne Chiefs attempted to commit suicide. Grey Beard, one of the chiefs, attempted to hang himself, and when that failed, he broke away from his guards and was killed. Lean Bear, the other chief, starved himself to death after failing to accomplish suicide by stabbing himself with a small pen knife.[5]

Pratt had charge of the Indians in Florida for two and one-half years. He put them in uniform, organized them into a company, and with the help of his wife and some of the ladies of St. Augustine, Florida, began to educate them. He hired a baker to teach some of the men to bake; had them do chores around the prison, and got them interested in polishing sea beans which they sold to the tourists. After some time, a few of them could speak English and Pratt allowed them to hire themselves out to people of the surrounding area to pick oranges, to handle baggage at railway stops, to work in sawmills and other kindred jobs. Some built boats and

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[4] Richard H. Pratt, "The Way Out," in House Executive Document, No. 1, part 5, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., (1892), pp. 1177-1179.

[5] Ibid.

served as boatsmen for the tourists.[6]

At the end of three years, the prisoners were released and were told that the government planned to send them back to Indian Territory, but they all wanted to stay in Florida and have the government send their women and children to them. The government denied the request and twenty-two of the young men, who were pleased with the progress they had made, then asked to stay in the East for a few years and go to school. That too was denied them on the grounds that money appropriated for school purposes was to be used on the reservation.[7]

Pratt, however, as a result of his experiences with the Indians in Florida, was enthusiastic about the possibilities of educating the redman away from the reservation. He continued to write long letters to government officials in behalf of the prisoners and finally obtained permission for the Indians who so desired, to go to school in the East, but the government refused to provide any funds for the experiment.[8]

Pratt secured enough funds from private persons to finance the schooling of the twenty-two young Indians.[9] He then proceeded to try to enroll the young redmen in a number of agricultural and labor schools in the northern states, but none of them would accept the Indians. The first favorable response came from the

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[6] Pratt, op. cit., 1177-1179.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Elaine G. Eastman, Pratt, The Red Man's Moses. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 63.

[9] Pratt, op. cit., 1179.

Hampton Negro Institute, Hampton, Virginia.[10] Seventeen of the twenty-two young Indians were enrolled at the school in 1878.[11] The other five were sent to northern homes.[12]

Hampton Institute was primarily a manual and vocational training school. Its academic work was confined to the grammar grades. Both sexes were allowed to attend the school, and for this reason, some persons predicted that the experiment would result in clashes between the two races and failure. They were proved wrong, for the young Indians were eager to make good and in a few weeks had adapted themselves so well to the routine of the school that the government was induced to allow Pratt to go to the Dakota Territory and enlist some fifty young Indian boys and girls and form a new Indian department at the school.[13]

While at the school the two races were segregated. For although it was reported from the school that the mingling of the races was working well, Pratt insisted that they be kept separate. He had respect for the Negro, but he argued that heavy social prejudice against the Negro was a fact and that it was foolish to saddle the Indian with this handicap. He believed that the slight barrier that existed to the freedom of marriage between the white race and the Indian could be removed by education and that the Indian could eventually be absorbed into the dominant race.[14]

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[10] Eastman, op. cit., 63.

[11] Pratt, op. cit., 1179.

[12] Eastman, op. cit., 63.

[13] Ibid., 65.

[14] Eastman, op. cit., 66-67.

The success of the young Indians at Hampton attracted considerable attention among influential persons. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote an enthusiastic account of their success for the Outlook. President Hayes and members of his cabinet attended an examination in which the young redman acquited themselves well. Secretary of War George W. McCrary suggested that Pratt be placed in charge of the Indian Department at Hampton, and the army appropriation bill for 1879, provided that an Army Officer not above the rank of captain be detailed for Indian education.[15]

Pratt, however, was not satisfied with this arrangement. He wanted his own school where he could translate into action his belief that, "to civilize the Indian, [you should] put him in the midst of civilization [and] to keep him civilized [you should] keep him there."[16] He went to Washington and won Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz to his side. Together they induced Secretary of War McCrary to grant the use of Carlisle Barracks for the temporary site of the school until Congress had time to sanction the act or provide other facilities.[17] McCrary and other government officials were won over for other reasons. To them, the school was a means of holding the children of the potentially rebellious Sioux as hostages for the good behavior

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[15] Flora Warren Seymour, Indian Agents. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941), 264-265.

[16] Pratt, op. cit., 1180.

[17] Seymour, op. cit., 265.

of their fathers and friends.[18] The government urged that the children selected for schooling away from the reservation should include those children of individual Indians and tribes most likely to make trouble.[19] Carlisle Indian School was thus born in the fall of 1879.[20]

Pratt recruited some 120 students from the Sioux Nation and Indian Territory for the new school.[21] Luther Standing Bear, the first son of the elected chief of the Oglala Tribe of the Sioux Nation was the first Indian student to walk through the gates at Carlisle.[22] By the end of the next year, 239 children had been in attendance at the school. They represented sixteen tribes and all but ten percent of them were full-bloods.[23] The number of students had increased to 295 by 1881, and they represented twenty-four tribes and fourteen agencies. Twenty-nine percent of the group were girls. Seventy of them were learning trades, and were so successful in their labor that the articles produced and the

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18 Eastman, op. cit., 78.

19 Report, S. of I., 1882, XVII. That this policy was, in part, carried out is evident in the fact that two thirds of the Indian children brought to Carlisle were children of Chiefs and headmen of the most rebellious Indian tribes. Report, C. I. A., 1880, p. VII.

20 Pratt, op. cit., 1179.

21 Eastman, op. cit., 78.

22 Luther Standing Bear, My People the Sioux. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), 6, 133.

23 Report, C. I. A., 1880, p. VII.

work performed by them in the harness, shoe, tin, and blacksmith shops netted the school $776.62 over the cost of materials, salaries of instructors, and wages of Indian students in 1881.[24] The students were paid 16 2/3 cents per day for the time actually employed.[25]

The students at Carlisle went to school during one-half of the day and worked in the industrial shops or at other duties during the other half. The boys' hair was cut short; they were dressed in the clothes of the white man and they were inspected by Pratt regularly. Each of them was given a Christian name, and they were introduced to as many of the cultural traits of the white man as was possible.[26]

As soon as possible, Pratt began to place the Indians among the white farmers of Pennsylvania just as he had the Indian prisoners in Florida. He termed this his "outing system" and believed that only in this way could the Indian be civilized, for to him the solution of the Indian problem hinged upon the destruction of the reservation system and in devising means which would disintegrate the tribes and bring the Indian into association with the best of the white man's civilization. Over one-half of the sixteen Indian boys and girls placed among the Pennsylvania farmers in 1880 were failures. The farmers were afraid of the Indians, and the Indians

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[24] Report, C. I. A., 1881, 27. Congress had authorized the Secretary of Interior in the Indian Appropriation Act of 1880 to purchase, "articles as may be manufactured at Indian Schools and which are used in the Indian Service." Report, C. I. A., 1881, p. 27.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Bear, op. cit., 132-160.

were afraid of the white people. Pratt, however, continued to push the system and ten years later 413 boys and 249 girls were "outed" during the school vacation where they lived and worked with white families.[27] The students were paid for the work performed and in 1900 they earned $24,000. To promote thrift, a bank was maintained at the school for the student's use, and every student had a bank account.[28] Careful records were kept of every deposit and withdrawal and, as a rule, the students appreciated their savings and did not throw them away as they did the few dollars of annuity money given them by the government.[29]

The success of Pratt's school won many of the government officials in Washington to his side. The Secretary of Interior wanted the number of the schools increased, and he thought it would be a good plan to establish one school in Washington so that Congress could inspect the work done at the school.[30] He believed that the reservation schools should be continued for only those children who could not be sent away.[31] This enthusiasm led to the establishment of the second non-reservation school at Forest Grove, Oregon, for the education of the Indian youth on the Pacific Coast.[32]

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[27] Pratt, op. cit., 1179.

[28] Report, S. of I., 1900, p. XVII.

[29] Report, C. I. A., 1900, p. 32.

[30] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1880, p. 10.

[31] Ibid., 1882, p. XVII.

[32] Ibid., 1880, p. 7.

Congress was not won over so easily. It tried for some time to enroll the Indians in land grant colleges or schools already established by offering these schools $167 a year per capita to educate, clothe, and take care of all the Indian's needs.[33] Since no land grant colleges or schools were found who would accept the offer, in 1882, Congress authorized the Secretary of Interior to set aside any vacant military post or barracks not needed by the military service for use in the establishment of Indian schools and to detail one or more officers of the Army for duty at each school so established. The schools were to be under the direction of the Secretary of Interior and were to be supported by money appropriated for general purposes of education among the Indians at the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior or as Congress might authorize and provide.[34]

This Act of Congress gave impetus to non-reservation school movement. By the end of 1882, $200,000 had been expended in the establishment and maintainence of the schools at Forest Grove, Hampton, and Carlisle, and there were 476 pupils in attendance at the schools.[35] Two years later three new schools were added, located at Genoa, Nebraska, Lawrence, Kansas, and at Chilocco, in the Indian Territory just below the Kansas line. The school located at Lawrence, the Haskell Institute, could accomodate 450 pupils, only fifty less than Carlisle.[36]

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[33] Report, C. I. A., 1881, pp. 32-35.

[34] 22 U. S. Stat., 181.

[35] Report, C. I. A., 1882, p. 30.

[36] Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. IX.

The work done at the schools was thought so rewarding that Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller was of the opinion that if the Indians were given three to five years of industrial training in the schools the Indian problem would be entirely solved and the Indian race made completely self-supporting.[37]

Paralleling the development of the theory in Indian education that the Indian should be individualized and removed from the influences of tribalism was the change in the government's Indian land policy which began in 1887 with the passage of the Dawes Act. Up to the time of the passage of the Act, except where special provisions had been made by law, Indian reservation land had been held in common. The Dawes Act provided for the allotment of reservation land to the individual Indian and for the conferring of citizenship on all Indians to whom land was allotted. The allotment was to be held in trust by the government for twenty-five years at which time a patent in fee would be given the allottee. He would then be released from federal supervision and could do what he pleased with his land.[38] All reservation land left over after each Indian had been given his allotment was declared surplus and open to white settlement.[39] With the passage of this act it became the settled policy of the government, "to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into national life, and deal with them not as nations or

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[37] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1883, p. 41.

[38] Report, C. I. A., 1929, p. 11.

[39] Jay B. Nash, Oliver La Farge, and W. Carson Ryan, Editors, The New Day for the Indians. (New York: Academy Press, 1938), 10.

tribes or bands, but as individual citizens."[40]

An exponent of this philosophy, Thomas J. Morgan, was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889 and held office until 1893.[41] He believed that when the provisions of the Dawes Act had been carried out the public schools would be the most effective means of "Americanizing" the Indian.[42] But until such a time, he thought that the non-reservation school should be used to educate the Indian and encourage him to seek a home among civilized people. He stated that if it were possible to place the entire rising generation of Indians in such institutions and keep them there long enough for them to be well educated, then there would be no Indian problem.[43] During his administration the non-reservation boarding school reached the crest of its popularity. New non-reservation schools were established in Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, South Dakota and North Dakota by 1890.[44] The seven schools in operation during the same year employed 238 persons, had an enrollment of 2,112 students and cost the government a total of $301,691.59.[45] When he left office

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[40] Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. IV.

[41] Report, C. I. A., 1932, p. 2.

[42] Report, C. I. A., 1890, IV. Pratt believed this too, but when the Indian Office offered to enter into contracts with school districts for the tuition of Indian children at the rate of 10 dollars per quarter in 1891, only eight school districts responded. Report, C. I. A., 1901, p. 25.

[43] Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. XI.

[44] Report, C. I. A., 1890, p. IX.

[45] Ibid.

fourteen such schools having an enrollment of 4,235 Indians were in operation.[46] Government appropriations for the support of all Indian schools had grown from $487,200 in the year he took office to $2,312,385 in 1893.[47]

The attendance of Indian children at school had always been a problem. Attempts had been made in earlier years to solve the problem by giving the Indians presents and premiums for regular attendance, but the results had not been satisfactory.[48] Irregular attendance had been one of the primary reasons for the development of the boarding school and non-reservation school, and they had brought about some improvement, but not to the extent that was desired. In the year before Morgan took office, the enrollment in the 159 Indian schools of all types was 10,392 pupils. The average attendance was 7,658 students.[49] Four years later the number of schools had increased 182 and the enrollment to 19,793, but the average attendance was 15,111, making the approximate attendance for these years the same, about seventy percent.[50]

To better the attendance at the Indian schools Congress was induced to pass a compulsory school attendance law in 1892. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was authorized and directed by the law, "to make and enforce by proper means such rules and regula-

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[46] Report, Secretary of Interior, Vol. I, 1893, p. XXV.

[47] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1892, Vol. I, p. XXXVII.

[48] Report, C. I. A., 1869, p. 167.

[49] Report, C. I. A., 1888, p. XI. Average attendance was usually determined by dividing the total daily attendance by the number of days the school was in session--41 U. S. Stat., 6.

[50] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1892, p. XXV.

tions as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit."[51] The following year the "proper means" were defined by Congress. It authorized the Secretary of Interior, at his discretion, to "withhold rations, clothing and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children of proper age in some school a reasonable portion of each year."[52] The legislation resulted in an increase in the average attendance at the government schools. By 1896, the 293 schools had an enrollment of 23,393 pupils and an average attendance of 19,121, an increase of approximately ten percent in average attendance over the years 1888 and 1892.[53]

The central administration in Washington and the field service of the Indian Service was improved by the appointment of six field supervisors.[54] Fifteen thousand dollars was appropriated to be used in developing the field matron service. The field matron's duty was to visit Indian homes and teach domestic work.[55]

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[51] 27 U. S. Stat., 143.

[52] 27 U. S. Stat., 635. Congress in the same year defined, "children of proper age," as 8 to 21 years. 27 U. S. Stat., 628.

[53] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1896, Vol. 1, p. XXXIX. The figures did not include the New York Indians or the Five Civilized Tribes. They were not under the federal government's control. Ibid.

[54] Official Register of the U. S., 1893, Vol I, p. 775. The President had appointed the first inspector of Indian Schools in 1882. The next year, the Office was given the title of Superintendent of Indian Schools. 27 U. S. Stat., 68, 434.

[55] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1896, Vol. I, p. XLI.

In an effort to improve the school personnel and to curb the power of the Indian agent, the appointment of school personnel was placed in the hands of the Superintendent of Indian Schools.[56] Four years later the merit system of appointment was adopted as a further measure to improve the personnel of the schools. The first Civil Service classification included school superintendents, teachers, and matrons, and in 1896, all school employees except agents, day laborers, and the personnel of the Five Civilized Tribes were placed in classified service. In that year, 1,364 Indian school positions were included under classified civil service.[57]

Sincere efforts were made to improve the Indian schools and develop a school system which would transform the Indian culturally. The first course of study and regulations appeared in 1890, and they expressed the same purpose.[58]

Although the work done by the Indian school system during the 1880's and 1890's appeared impressive, there was much criticism leveled against it. The criticism came primarily from religious organizations, the Indians themselves, and from Congress.

When the land grant colleges and other established schools

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56 Report, C. I. A., 1888, p. XXI.

57 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1896, Vol. I, p. XXXVIII.

58 "Rules for Indian Schools," in Report, C. I. A., 1890, CXLVII. See Chapter I, pages 2-5. The regulations of the boarding schools applied also to the non-reservation schools, except that the superintendent of the non-reservation school had direct control of his school and reported directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Ibid.

had refused the offer extended by the government to educate the Indian for $167. a year per child, various religious societies came to the aid of the government and accepted the terms. In 1888, they had established five boarding schools.[59] Four years later they were educating 5,186 Indian children.[60] By 1896 they had established seventy Indian schools.[61] They entered into special contracts with the government and were paid a per capita allowance, (usually 167 dollars) for every Indian pupil regularly enrolled in their school.[62]

These religious schools criticized the government's policy of restricting the use of Indian languages in the Indian schools and they, in turn, were denounced by the government for allowing the native languages to be used. The religious organizations claimed that it was much easier to teach the Indian his native tongue before attempting to teach him English. They claimed that under that procedure the Indian pupil would at least have the advantage of being able to read his native tongue even if he never learned English.[63] The government's position was voiced by Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners Merrill E. Gates. He declared that, "with reference to teaching their native language to the Indians, it seems to be a good rule that, unless a nation

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[59] Report, C. I. A., 1888, p. XI.

[60] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1892, Vol. I, p. XXXV.

[61] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1896, Vol. I, p. XXXIX.

[62] Report, C. I. A., 1888, p. XI. The non-reservation boarding school was provided for in the same manner until 1910. Report, C. I. A., 1910, p. 14.

[63] Report, C. I. A., 1871, p. 534.

has a history or a literature, there is no possible use in keeping up the language. I am satisfied that our Indian language ought to go."[64] Pratt maintained that the religious organizations did not "citizenize" and that they encouraged the Indian to remain separate and apart from the rest of the country. They did that, claimed Pratt, "because in order to enlarge their work and make it a success, /they/ must keep the community together." Their main aim was to produce preachers or teachers to help them save the Indian. Thus, the government by paying money to the religious organizations was only building up opposition to its own policy of individualizing the Indian.[65]

The sectarian schools not only engaged in conflict with the government, but they also fought among themselves. The government's policy of basing the support given them on the number of students enrolled in their schools caused them to fight among themselves for pupils. At Santee, Nebraska, there was a government school, Congregational school, an Episcopal school, and a Presbyterian school, all located within a mile of each other. All were receiving government funds and fighting among themselves for students. At Banning, California, the same situation existed. The government established a school, and soon after it was completed, the Catholic Church put up a brick building close by and

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64 Proceedings, Board of Indian Commissioners at Lake Mohonk Conference, Ninth Annual Conference of Indian Affairs, in House Executive Document, No. 1, part 5, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., 1892, p. 1200. Hereafter cited as Proceedings, B. I. C.

65 Eastman, op. cit., 112-113.

entered into competition with the government. The government, therefore, paid twice over. It paid for its own school, and then paid $150 for every Indian child the Catholics could gather.[66]

The Protestant organizations complained of unfair competition by the Catholics who, because they employed nuns as teachers and paid them nothing, could run a school much cheaper than other religious organizations.[67] They criticized the Indian Office for taking advantage of this fact. That there was an unequal distribution of funds among the organizations is evident from the fact that between 1886 and 1893, $2,366,416 was set apart for Roman Catholic work in Indian education, $315,080 for Presbyterian, $208,819 for Congregational, $107,146 for Episcopalian, $150,537 for Friends, $33,750 for Unitarian and $33,345 for Methodist educational work among the Indians.[68]

With compulsory education the conflict between sectarian schools and the government was intensified because the government followed a policy of not allowing Indians to go to sectarian schools when there was room in a government school in the same locality, and a blacklist of pupils dismissed from government schools was kept by the Indian Department so that sectarian schools could not pick them up. The sectarian schools claimed that by eliminating their schools the government was crowding out a good

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66 Proceedings, B. I. C., 1892, p. 1202.

67 Proceedings, B. I. C., 1892, p. 1202.

68 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1892, Vol. I, p. XXXVIII.

deal of Christian endeavor on behalf of the Indians, for even under Civil Service a teacher might be hired by the government who was an infidel.[69] They had long contended that the greatest obstacle to the civilization of the Indians was the immoral habits of government employees and other white men who drew away some of the best Indian girls into vice and degradation.[70]

As a result of the conflict between the government and the sectarian schools the Secretary of Interior declared in 1894, that he planned to cease providing funds for them. Aid was not cut off all at once because it was estimated that it would require $1,203,600 to replace the sectarian contract schools with government schools.[71] Instead, support was gradually withdrawn, and by 1901, there was no sectarian school receiving aid from the government.[72]

The Indians opposed the boarding schools because they took their children away from them, and many of the Indians looked upon the schools as prisons where their children were held as hostages by the government to insure their good behavior.[73] Moreover, some of the Indians felt that their children suffered

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69 Proceedings, B. I. C., 1892, pp. 1201-1204.

70 Report, C. I. A., 1869, p. 426.

71 Senate Executive Document, No. 112, Vol. X, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., 1897, pp. 1-4.

72 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1900, p. XVII.

73 Report, C. I. A., 1900, 33. It was one of the stock arguments of the Interior Department, when fighting for appropriations, that if there were 20,000 or more Indian children in the schools, there would be no danger of Indian wars. Report, Secretary of Interior, 1882, p. XVII.

in health and died in consequence of the removal to distant schools.[74] When an Indian died in a tepee or other shelter of some kind, the Indians destroyed the structure by fire, for many of them believed that if this was not done, direful calamities would be their portion. Consequently, when a child would pass away at a school, the school acquired an evil reputation among the Indians, and they would refuse to send their children there.[75]

The adult Indian did not want his children to learn things which were foreign and distasteful to him. His hereditary language, manners, and customs were sacred to him, and the government schools aimed at the destruction of these. Moreover, the industrial features of the Indian school failed to appeal to the Indian, for the older generation seldom earned their living by work. The women of the tribe were generally the breadwinners and those men who did work were called squaws and were even looked down on by the women.[76]

The Ute Indians refused to have their children educated until the late 1880s, and then they would send them only to an agency school.[77] Chief Yukeoma of the Hopis declared that the children of his tribe should remain, "dirty like the sheep - as dirty as I am. That is the old Hopi way." When the tribe was ordered in 1891 to send their children to a boarding school

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[74] Report, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1891, p. 488.

[75] Report, C. I. A., 1900, p. 33.

[76] Report, C. I. A., 1901, p. 15.

[77] Report, C. I. A., 1888, p. XVIII.

they turned back, with bows and arrows, the six cavalrymen sent to bring the children in. They bowed to a superior force ten days later and gave up their children, but they continued to resist the government's efforts to educate them. Every year the troops had to be sent after the children.[78]

Constant repetition by the fathers and grandfathers of the woes caused the Indian by the white man tended to inculcate a dislike, if not positive hate, for the ways of civilization.

Congressmen objected to the non-reservation school system because it was expensive and because some of them did not believe that the Indian could be educated. Representative James W. Throckmorton of Texas stigmatized all money spent on Indian schools as waste. He claimed, in 1886, that very few of them would appreciate their education but instead would become the most "cunning and treacherous of their race." He was joined in his criticism by Mr. Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois who stated that most Indians were bad and that Congress could find not one student educated at Hampton or Carlisle who had not gone back to savage life, except for those employed by the government.[79] Their statements were usually correct, especially for the Indians living on reservations where rations and annuities were provided. For on these reservations there were few chances to practice the trade learned in school and in many cases there were no opportunities for farming. If the Indian went away from the reservation in

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[78] Katharine C. Turner, Red Men Calling on the Great White Father. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 194-214.

[79] Eastman, op. cit., 96-97.

pursuit of uncertain employment he forfeited the certainty of the rations and annuities. Few took that chance.[80]

A Senate Resolution requested that the Indian Department submit a report concerning the progress of students who had returned home from government schools. The information contained in the report was gathered by the Superintendent of Indian Schools and included information on 1,021 students. Ten percent of the students were reported as being successful in civilized pursuits; forty-eight percent were self-supporting. Twenty-two percent were not altogether self-supporting; ten percent had failed to make use of their educational advantages; seven percent were troublesome and had returned to camp ways and three percent were impossible to classify. Of the total 1,021, 23 percent were failures and had taken up Indian ways. The remaining seventy-four percent were classed as, "at least successful in their efforts to follow civilized ways of living."[81]

A further criticism leveled against the non-reservation schools was that in an effort to keep their schools filled and thus receive the maximum government support they fought over students in territories located far from their schools.[82]

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80 Report, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1891, p. 493. Luther Standing Bear stated that the tinner trade that he learned at Carlisle did him no good because when he got home, the Indians had plenty of tinware which had been made at the schools. Bear, op. cit., 147.

81 Senate Executive Document, No. 136, Vol. 10, 55 Cong. 2 Sess., 1897, pp. 1-3.

82 G. E. E. Lindquist, The Indian in American Life. (New York: Friendship Press, 1944), 96.

Little concern was given the parent whose children were taken. The criticism of this practice became so intense that Congress passed an act making it unlawful to send Indian children beyond the borders of the state or territory in which they resided without the consent of the parent or guardian. Moreover, it was made unlawful for the Indian agent or other government employees to withhold rations or use other improper means to induce the parent to consent to the removal of his child beyond the limits of any reservation.[83]

Critics of the non-reservation school had long pointed out that the expense of educating the Indian away from home would preclude the possibilities of more than a limited number of them ever receiving the advantages of such schools. Besides, the government had entered into treaties with over nine tribes having a total population of over 68,000, which promised some of them a school for every thirty pupils for a period of twenty years and to others, schools sufficient to accommodate the school population. Some of these treaties had been made as early as 1868. The appropriations which would have been required to take care of these early treaties from 1870 to 1881 was $2,315,250. Only $219,000 was appropriated to carry out the treaties during those years.[84]

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[83] 28 U. S. Stat., 906.

[84] Report, C. I. A., 1880, p. IX. The critics further stated that there were some 45,000 to 50,000 Indian children exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes. To educate these children would cost approximately $150 in the boarding school. The day school cost only thirty dollars a year per child. Ibid.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones, appointed in 1901, declared that, "in the last twenty-four years forty-five million dollars /had/ been spent by the government for education and only 20,000 Indians have been educated." He claimed that with the same effort and with much less expenditure, the day school could have accomplished much greater results. The boarding school pampered the Indian and gave him all of the modern conveniencies without money or effort. Not having earned his education, the Indian did not appreciate it. Instead, he looked upon it as a right rather than a privilege and accepted it as a favor to the government. The boarding school thus tended to encourage dependence, foster pride and create a spirit of arrogance and selfishness. When the Indian returned home he was dissatisfied with conditions and found it hard to honor his ignorant parents and as he was left to make his own way against the bigotry of the tribe he soon lapsed into old ways.[85]

As a result of this pressure against the boarding schools, in the first part of the twentieth century the government turned to the day school and the public school to solve its Indian school problem. The boarding schools were not done away with, for they were too well intrenched economically in the system, but few of them were constructed after 1900.

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[85] Report, C. I. A., 1901, pp. 1-8.

CHAPTER IV

THE USE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND REGIMENTED INDIAN SCHOOLS, 1900-1928

Although there were differences of opinion as to the best method of attaining the end results, the federal government's Indian education policy was until 1933 dominated by the philosophy that the Indian should be individualized and eventually absorbed into the white race. To accomplish this individualization Congress had passed the Dawes Act in 1887, looking towards placing the Indian on his own individual farm and the government, by 1900 had invested $4,000,000 in building a school system which consisted of twenty-five non-reservation boarding schools, 147 day schools and eighty-one reservation boarding schools.[1] The majority of the non-reservation boarding schools had been created between 1882 and 1896, as is shown in Table I on page 47. These cost the government some $2,000,000 a year to operate.[2] And Congress was seldom satisfied that they produced the desired results.[3] The truth concerning the abilities of the returning students was difficult to obtain; some agents reported that the educated Indian was worthless and would not work;[4] other agents continued to report

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[1] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1900, pp. XVI, XVII.

[2] Francis E. Leupp, The Indian and His Problem. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), 138.

[3] Report, C. I. A., 1901, p. 39.

[4] New York Times, Nov. 1, 1902, p. 8.

that three-fourths of the returning students had benefited from the non-reservation schools, but as late as 1911 only 3,204 adult Indians out of an estimated population of 304,950 Indians were employed by private persons.[5]

TABLE I

GROWTH OF NON-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1882-1909;

YEAR	NUMBER	ENROLLMENT
1882	3	476[6]
1892	14	4,235
1896	22	5,088
1900	25	7,430[7]
1907	25	9,485
1909	27	9,252[8]

[5] Reports, C. I. A., 1901, p. 40, 1914, p. 118 and 1913, p. 46.

[6] Report, C. I. A., 1882, p. 25.

[7] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1892, I, p. XXXV, 1896, I, p. XXXIX and 1900, p. XVI.

[8] Reports, C. I. A., 1907, pp. 33-37, 1909, p. 17. The statistics concerning the Five Civilized Tribes are not shown in the table because it was not until 1910 that their schools were incorporated into the regular Indian School Service. In the years before 1898, they operated their own schools; after that date and following the passage of the Curtis Act of June 28, 1898 and the Seminole Agreement of the same year, which brought the five tribes under the provisions of the Dawes Act of 1887, the Indians lost control of their revenues and thus their schools. The government assumed part control of the schools and appointed a superintendent of schools for the Indian Territory, supervisors of education for the different civilized tribes and formulated regulations for the administration of the schools. This dual system of control proved unsatisfactory to the government because the Indian Bureau thought that the schools stressed academic subjects too heavily at the expense of industrial training and that they were inefficient and corrupt. The personnel of the schools was also accused of conversing with the students in their native tongue, a procedure which was condemned by federal school rules. Consequently, after 1910 the schools were incorporated into the regular Indian School Service and were operated by employees of the federal government. Report, C. I. A., 1910, p. 17; Report, B. I. C., 1928, p. 34; Report, Secretary of Interior, 1910, pp. XXX-XXXII.

Because of the excessive cost and of Congress' belief that the non-reservation school system was inefficient, the government began in the early 1900's to favor the use of the smaller day school and the public school in its educational policy. Francis E. Leupp an exponent of the day school system was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1904 and held office until 1909.[9] The growth of the day school system during his administration is indicated in Table II.

TABLE II

GROWTH OF DAY SCHOOLS, 1882-1909.

YEAR	NUMBER	ENROLLMENT
1882	101	3,999 [10]
1892	101	3,714
1896	124	4,215
1900	147	5,090 [11]
1907	163	5,130
1909	194	6,286 [12]

Tables I and II show that during his term as Commissioner of Indian Affairs only two non-reservation schools were built and that the enrollment in such schools actually decreased by over 200 pupils during the last two years of his tenure while the number of day schools was increased between the years 1900 and 1909 from 147 to 194 schools and enrollment rose from 5,090 students to over 6,000 students.

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[9] Leupp, op. cit., VII.

[10] Report, C. I. A., 1882, p. 25.

[11] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1892, I., p. XXXV, 1896, I, pp. XXXIX, 1900, p. XVL.

[12] Reports, C. I. A., 1907, pp. 33-37, and 1909, p. 17.

Although Leupp preferred the boarding school located on the reservation to those at a distance,[13] their number and enrollment was also reduced during his administration as is shown in Table III.

TABLE III

GROWTH OF BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1882-1909.

YEAR	NUMBER	ENROLLMENT
1882	74	3,937 [14]
1892	67	7,644
1896	77	8,489
1900	81	9,694 [15]
1907	91	11,019
1909	82	10,988 [16]

Leupp's philosophy was similar to that of Commissioner William A. Jones who served between the years 1901-1907, but he opposed Pratt's theory, and they bitterly attacked one another during Leupp's term as Commissioner. The Commissioner believed that it was the government's duty to carry civilization to the Indian rather then bring the Indian to civilization as Pratt advocated. Pratt's ideas were based on the power of environment while Leupp's thought rested on the natural gravitation of the Indian to the white man's ways. He believed that if you

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[13] Leupp, op. cit., 137.

[14] Report, C. I. A., 1882, p. 25.

[15] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1892, I., p. XXXV, 1896, I., p. XXXIX, 1900, p. XVI.

[16] Reports, C. I. A., 1907, pp. 33-37, and 1909, p. 18.

forced the white culture on the Indian faster than his natural movement toward it then you made an enemy of him because the Indian wanted nothing to do with the white man's civilization, insisted that the ways of their ancestors were better and resented the government's efforts to show him how to earn money by other means than those his grandfathers had used. Consequently he said that the course to follow was to win over the children by sympathetic interest and guidance, to nourish their love of home and then to utilize this affection to reach the hearts of the parents.

He labeled the non-reservation school as an "educational almshouse" maintained by the government in a way that deprived the parents of their natural responsibility thus fostering in the Indian a willingness to accept unearned privileges.[17] Moreover, the students who attended them grew up amid surroundings which they would never see duplicated in their own home and the modern conveniences they furnished him gave him a contempt for the homely things which would make up his environment as a poor settler in a frontier country.[18] Consequently, the student who returned to the reservation was generally a failure and exerted no influence whatever upon their people beyond intensifying their dislike for everything civilized.[19]

In contrast to these disadvantages associated with the board-

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[17] Leupp, op. cit., 137. See Chapter II, page 45 for a discussion of Jones' views.

[18] Report, C. I. A., 1907, pp. 22-23.

[19] Leupp, op. cit., 119.

ing school, Leupp believed that the small day school would provide a medium through which all of the Indians could be reached and absorbed into the white race. Before this amalgamation could take place, however, the Indian had to go through the era common to the history of all races when they must be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The simple "rudiments" of a grammar school education which could be furnished in a small day school was all the education the Indian needed. Beyond this the Indian's time should be spent in learning how to repair a broken harness and other skills which were necessary to the frontier farmer. The Indian girl should be given a similar education directed toward making her an efficient mate adapted to frontier conditions since three-fourths of the 30,000 to 40,000 Indian children of school age in the United States would settle down on the frontier West and draw a living from the soil. This type of training he held would work hand in hand with the Dawes Act because the Indian after attending the small day school and working on his own farm, would reach the point where he could handle his own affairs and could be declared competent by the government and released from all federal control. In this way the small day schools would in the course of twenty to twenty-five years become village schools supported by local governments and operated by and for Indians and white persons alike.[20]

Besides, Leupp argued, for each student educated in a non-

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[20] Leupp, op. cit., 46.

reservation school it cost the government over $200 a year while the average cost at a day school was fifty dollars a year per child. And the day school employed only two persons while the average non-reservation school employed over forty persons.[21] The personnel employed at the Carlisle Indian School in 1891 is shown in Table IV.

Pratt, in contrast to Leupp, argued, that the day schools were tools of the Indian Bureau designed to insure the continued dominance of the Indian by the Federal Government. "About the hardest thing in the world to do," he stated, "was to get rid of a system of any kind organized to handle somebody and their money and property so long as the money and property holds out."[22] President Roosevelt, he claimed had appointed Leupp Commissioner of Indian Affairs because Leupp had written the President's principal campaign book and Leupp had as commissioner misled the President in his thinking on Indian Affairs.[23]

Pratt's difference with Roosevelt had begun over the intro-

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21 Leupp, op. cit., 139.

22 Report, Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent People, 1914. (New York: Lake Mohonk Conference on the Indian and Other Dependent People), 108-113.

23 Eastman, op. cit., 269. Pratt was once affronted by President Theodore Roosevelt with whom he had hoped to discuss Indian education. Roosevelt evaded the interview by saying: "Hello Pratt: How's football?" Ibid., 260. Carlisle never attained even complete high school status but with such athletes as Jim Thorpe the school played football successfully against numerous leading universities of the east. Seymour, op. cit., 271.

TABLE IV[24]

POSITIONS AND SALARIES AUTHORIZED FOR THE CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL, 1891.

NUMBER	POSITION	ANNUAL SALARY
1	Superintendent	$ 1,000 *
1	Assistant Superintendent	1,500
1	Clerk	1,200
1	Clerk	1,000
1	Clerk	600
1	Physician	1,200
1	Principal teacher	1,200
1	Teacher	720
1	Teacher	660
13	Teachers (at 600 each)	7,800
10	Teachers (at 60 each)	600
1	Music teacher	500
1	Assistant music teacher	450
1	Disciplinarian	1,000
1	Assistant disciplinarian	300
1	Agent for "outing" pupils	1,000
1	Girls matron	800
1	Assistant girls matron	540
1	Matron to small boys	720
1	Dining room matron	600
1	Nurse	720
1	Superintendent of Printing	1,000
1	Assistant printer	600
4	Assistant printers (at 60 each)	240
1	Laundress	540
3	Assistant laundresses (at 240 each)	720
1	Wagon maker and blacksmith	720
1	Carpenter	720
1	Tinner	600
1	Tailor	600
1	Harness-maker	600
1	Shoemaker	600
1	Bandmaster and painter	500
1	Engineer	600
1	Assistant engineer	420
1	Farmer	900
1	Assistant farmer	600
1	Assistant farmer	180
1	Dairy manager	180
1	Teamster	360
1	Cook	600
1	Hospital cook	240
1	Storekeeper	600
1	Baker	180
2	Assistant bakers (at 60 each)	120
1	Superintendent of sewing room	600
3	Seamstresses (at 240 each)	720
4	Assistant seamstresses (at 60 each)	240
4	Assistant laundresses (at 60 each)	240

[24] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1891, p. 709. * Pratt's salary was in addition to the salary he received as an officer in the United States Army. Ibid.

duction of civil service in the Indian school service in the 1890's. He had wanted to select his own employees while Roosevelt, who was on the Civil Service Commission at the time, had defended the merit system.[26] The breach between the two was further widened when Pratt asked to be retired with the rank of Brigadier General when he reached retirement age in 1906 and Roosevelt answered the request by immediately retiring him at the rank he then held.[27] The culmination of the disagreement between the old soldier and the administration came in 1904 when Pratt, in the spring of that year, declared in a speech delivered before a conference of Baptist Ministers that "nothing better could happen to the Indian than the abolition of the Indian Bureau."[28] Instead, the Bureau abolished Pratt. The Secretary of Interior demanded his removal and Roosevelt obliged by ordering Pratt removed on June 12, 1904.[29]

With Pratt's dismissal the Carlisle School was not closed nor were the other non-reservation schools, for although Leupp would have prefered to have them discontinued, too great an amount of federal money was invested in them, and the communities

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[26] Eastman, op. cit., 255.

[27] New York Times, June 12, 1902, p. 1. Congress passed a law in the same year providing that all officers who had served during the Civil War should be advanced on the retired list one grade thus Pratt was retired at the rank he desired, Brigadier General. Ibid.

[28] Eastman, op. cit., 207.

[29] New York Times, June 12, 1904, p. 1.

where they were situated exerted strong pressure to retain their schools.[30] Instead, the course of study at the schools was changed so as to let each school gradually specialize along lines which its location, climate and other factors fitted it to follow. For example, the Phoenix school, at Phoenix, Arizona, which accommodated some 475 Apache, Pima and Maricopa Indian students included in its facilities, offices, a great dining hall, dormitories, cook houses, workshops, a large bathroom, assembly rooms, serving rooms, parlors, a recitation and classroom building, tool houses, a brickyard, cattle and sheep corrals and sheds, and a school farm which, including the school grounds, spread over an area of 180 acres. This institution specialized in those activities which were thought to benefit boys and girls slated to reside in an area where mining, cattle raising and irrigated farming were the chief industries. The boys operated the brickyard, built and kept the irrigation ditches and buildings owned by the school in good condition, ran a dairy department, and raised alfalfa, peaches, prunes, apricots, melons, corn and garden vegetables on the school farm. The girls were taught to sew, to bake and to do other domestic arts.[31] On the other hand at the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, special stress was laid on stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, and other kindred business

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[30] Leupp, op. cit., 149. Carlisle School was closed and the plant was turned back to the War Department in 1918 and most of the students were transferred to the Haskell Institute. Report, C. I. A., 1918, p. 32; Report, B. I. C., 1919, p. 266.

[31] Leupp, op. cit., 147; New York Times, March 22, 1903, p. 28.

courses because it was felt that the best market for Indian clerical help lay in the Middle West.[32]

Because the Commissioner believed that in time the Indian parents themselves would support their children he urged that, as a means of preparing them for the responsibility, the course of study in all Indian schools include the common branches taught in the white schools.[33] The year after Leupp left office his suggestion was carried out and the first uniform course of study for the Indian schools, adopted in 1916, followed the first six years of academic instruction in public schools with an additional provision for student labor.[34] The student's half day of productive labor was deemed essential because of limited appropriations but it was also thought that the pupil's progress would not be restricted if the work detailed could be properly correlated with regular periods of instruction. Consequently, a daily half-hour of instruction was arranged in connection with all work and the work of the higher grades was lengthened to three years.[35] Forty weeks, for example, were required in cooking, twenty weeks in nursing, and so on up to a total of 120 weeks or a three year period for the girls and a similar arrangement was made in the boys work. Thus by an administrative adjustment the labor in the schools was supposed to be transformed into a kind of voca-

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[32] Leupp, op. cit., 148.

[33] Leupp, op. cit., 140.

[34] Report, C. I. A., 1910, p. 23; Ibid., 1916, p. 45.

[35] Report, C. I. A., 1916, p. 35.

tional training.[36]

The introduction of the public school course of study into the government Indian school curriculum went hand in hand with the enrollment of Indian children in the public schools. The growth of the public school movement is shown in Tables V and VI.

TABLE V

INDIANS ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1891-1926.

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS RECEIVING FEDERAL AID	ENROLLMENT OF PAY PUPILS	ENROLLMENT OF FREE PUPILS
1891	8	7	none reported
1896	45	413	.. ..
1901 [37]	19	257	.. ..
1906 [38]	6	94	.. ..
1910 [39]	not given	1,326	1,396
1914 [40]	not given	not given	9,906 (estimated)
1917 [41]	2,479 a	20,379 a	not given
1926 [42]	not given	29,484 b	8,353 b

a 2,285 of these school districts and 18,185 of the pupils were in the area occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes.

b 21,345 of the pay pupils and 1,577 of the free pupils were in the state of Oklahoma.

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36 Report, C. I. A., 1916, p. 35.

37 Ibid., 1901, p. 25.

38 Ibid., 1907, p. 38.

39 Ibid., 1910, p. 58.

40 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1914, p. 10.

41 Ibid., 1917, p. 14.

42 Schmeckebier, op. cit., pp. 321-339.

TABLE VI[43]

TOTAL ENROLLMENT OF INDIAN PUPILS, BOTH FREE AND PAID, IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY FISCAL YEARS, 1900-1926.

	1900	1912	1916	1920	1924	1926
Total Enrollment	246	17,011	28,463	30,858	34,834	37,730

The small enrollment in the public schools during the first few years was due to the opposition of both Indians and whites,[44] for although the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had offered to enter into contracts with school districts at the rate of ten dollars per quarter for each Indian child in attendance only eight school districts accepted the terms in 1891.[45] The Indian children complained to their parents about the prompt and continuous attendance demanded by the public schools,[46] and in a great many instances the Indian child would enroll in a public school, attend school one or two days and then disappear.[47] One of the reasons for this practice was that there was very little parental pressure to insist upon regular school attendance, as the Indian was exempt from state compulsory school laws.[48] A further reason for the Indian child's poor attendance was his inability to speak English well and his poor clothing. The white children were in-

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[43] Schmeckebier, op. cit., p. 216.

[44] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1896, p. XL.

[45] "Letter to the State Superintendents of Public Instruction in regard to admitting Indian youth into the Public Schools," in Report, C. I. A., 1891, p. CLXIX; Report, C. I. A., 1901, p. 25.

[46] Report, C. I. A., 1907, p. 38.

[47] Report, B. I. C., 1920, pp. 11-12.

[48] Ibid.; New York Times, Nov. 26, 1902, p. 8.

clined to make fun of his speech and odd clothing and this in turn caused the Indian child to dread attending the school because he feared ridicule above all else.[49]

This irregular attendance brought protests in many localities from the white citizens living near the Indian reservations that the Indian children could not keep up with their children and therefore acted as a clog in the school.[50] Moreover, white persons objected to the Indian associating with their children on the basis that the Indian was dirty and diseased.[51]

In the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Mississippi the Indians were forbidden by either state laws or actions of public school authorities to attend public schools. The South Carolina law also provided that there were to be no mixing of races in industries. In Florida the public authorities refused to allow the Seminole Indians to attend the state's schools because of their poor sanitation.[52] In Mississippi the

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[49] Report, B. I. C., 1920, p. 11; Leupp, op. cit., 232.

[50] New York Times, Nov. 26, 1902, p. 8.

[51] "Survey of Conditions of the Indian in the United States," Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Senate, 72 Cong., 1 Sess., (1932), Part 27, p. 14794. Hereafter cited as "Survey of Indian Conditions". These hearings followed a barrage of attacks on the government's handling of Indian affairs in articles appearing in popular magazines and newspapers and the finding of Meriam Report, a survey of Indian affairs launched by the Brookings Institution in 1924 at the request of Secretary of Interior Hubert Work. The hearings were begun in 1927 and continued to 1932. They included most of the tribes of the United States and were published in twenty-seven volumes in 1932. Report, B. I. C., 1920, pp. 11-13.

[52] "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 3 Sess., (1930), Part 16, pp. 7525, 7536, 7570, 7613, 7614, 7666.

state constitution of 1890 provided that separate schools should be maintained for white and colored races and the Mississippi State Supreme Court ruled that colored meant brown, yellow, black and others and that white meant Caucasian or pure white. Indians, therefore, were denied the right to attend the white schools. The decision was appealed to the United States Supreme Court but the court refused to review the case on the grounds that it had no jurisdiction over state school matters. Moreover, if the Mississippi Choctaw Indian wanted employment outside his own people he had to work beside the negro, and the Indian prefered not to associate with that race.[53] Even as far west as Wyoming and Arizona the white people did not want Indians in schools with their children because they believed that the Indian did not maintain proper homes so that they could keep their children clean.[54]

Despite these many obstacles the government after 1910, continued to stress the use of the public school as an essential part of its Indian education policy, and, with the advance of the white settlement in districts where Indian reservations were situated, the opportunities for Indians to attend public schools increased. The teachers in the Indian schools were urged to attend state teachers conventions, Indian schools were made ready

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53 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 3 Sess., (1930), Part 16, 7825; Report, B. I. C., 1918, p. 20-21. The Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Osage tribes also refused to associate with the Negro and threatened to boycott the federal government's Indian schools if the Negro was allowed to attend them. New York Times, May 4, 1904, p. 9.

54 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 72 Cong., 1 Sess., (1932), Part 27, 14572; Ibid., 71 Cong., 3 Sess., (1931), Part 17, p. 7978.

for absorption into state school systems and textbooks of the states, where government Indian schools were located were adopted.[55] Following this same line of thought, the Dawes Act was amended by the Burke Act which gave the Secretary of Interior the right, if he thought the Indian was prepared, to declare an Indian competent, grant him his patent-in-fee, and release him from federal control before the twenty-five year trust period was up. Under the Dawes Act the Indian either had to wait until the twenty-five year trust period expired before he could receive his allotment free from federal control or obtain special legislation from Congress granting him the patent-in-fee. This procedure had resulted in the Indian being exploited by lawyers, politicians and lobbyists who would promise him that for seventy-five to one hundred dollars they could obtain his release from Congress. The Burke Act also postponed citizenship for the allottee until the government declared him competent. Heretofore, even though still under federal control, when tribal land was allotted, the allottee was allowed to vote before he received his patent-in-fee. This was extended to enable the Indian to protect himself. Instead, he had been voted in "blocks" by politicians.[56] The Burke Act resulted in an almost threefold increase in the allotment process and Commissioner Leupp predicted that his generation would see all Indians so entitled receive their allotments acreage.[57]

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[55] Report, C. I. A., 1915, p. 34.

[56] Leupp, op. cit., 60-71.

[57] Ibid., 345. The Five Civilized Tribes were excluded from the provisions of the law because their affairs were regulated under separate legislation and it was feared that the law would cause legal conflict. Ibid.

To further cooperate with the state school districts and to take care of the white children in areas where white settlement was sparse, the government allowed white children to be enrolled in its Indian schools upon payment of tuition which was to be applied to the support of the school attended, under rules laid down by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In furtherance of the same purpose certain Indian schools were closed and in some cases their buildings and grounds were turned over to district authorities for use on the condition that they enroll Indian children on equal terms with the white children.[58] In addition, the teacher's salaries were paid by the federal government in some district schools attended by a large percentage of Indians, and in consolidated public school districts the Indian Office furnished transportation for Indian pupils.[59] Moreover, in an effort to increase the number of Indian children in the public schools, many Indian children who had access to the public schools and those who possessed only a small degree of Indian blood were eliminated from government schools.[60] Some Indians objected to this exclusion on the grounds that they wished to have the benefit of the vocational training offered in the Indian schools which the public schools did not extend while others complained that their parents were too poor to send them to the state schools. Verification as to whether the Indian had access to public schools or was in dire circumstances was at first made by the reservation superintendent but this

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58 Report, C. I. A., 1910, p. 58, and 1909, p. 17.

59 Report, C. I. A., 1914, p. 8, and 1919, p. 24.

60 Report, C. I. A., 1919, p. 27.

resulted in enrollment of students in the Indian school before justification was obtained. Consequently, the power to rule on such cases was transferred to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1919.[61] Indian children could be enrolled in government schools but if they had access to public schools and their parents were able to pay for their education they had to pay tuition and provide for their own transportation.[62] Children who had ample resources for financing their education or whose parents had been declared competent by the federal government or had sufficient funds to educate their children regardless of their legal status were excluded from government supported Indian schools unless the Commissioner of Indian Affairs authorized their enrollment or the child was a federal ward irrespective of his parents position.[63] The number of Indians receiving patent-in-fees was swelled by a directive issued by the Indian Bureau which provided that when an Indian student twenty-one years of age and over completed the full course of instruction in a federal school, received his diploma and demonstrated his competence he could be released from federal control. Moreover, all Indians of less than one-half Indian blood were released from government supervision. During the first eight months following this provision 6,456 patent-in-fees were issued,[64] as compared with 484 trust allot-

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[61] Report, C. I. A., 1919, 19.

[62] Ibid., 1917, p. 4.

[63] Ibid., 1919, p. 19.

[64] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1917, p. 38.

ments made in the entire year of 1904.[65]

To provide for more regular attendance on the part of the Indians in the public schools, the government changed its method of paying school districts from one based on quarterly enrollment to one based upon payment per pupil per day of actual attendance.[66] Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated in 1915 to carry this procedure out among Indians other than those of the Five Civilized Tribes and the tuition paid to school districts ranged from ten to thirty-five cents a day per pupil.[67] The amount of tuition the schools received was based on the cost of the education of the white pupils in the schools which the Indian attended.

The United States Comptroller of the Treasury ruled in 1913 that the federal government was not authorized to pay tuition of Indian children legally entitled to attend public schools.[68] In

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65 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1917, p. 39 and 1904, p. 30.

66 Report, C. I. A., 1915, p. 4.

67 Ibid., 1916, p. 24.

68 Reports, C. I. A., 1921, p. 8, and 1914, p. 8. The United States Supreme Court ruled in the Choate V. Trapp and in the English v. Richardson cases that this ruling did not apply to some of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes because in part consideration of their relinquishment of all claim to their tribal property, Congress had exempted certain members of the Five Civilized Tribes from state taxation regardless of their legal status. 224 U. S., 941,949. This ruling stimulated the public school enrollment in Oklahoma because the Constitution of the state gave the Indian equal status with the white race in educational privileges; colored was defined as children of African decent and the term "white children" as including all other children. State of Oklahoma, The Constitution of Oklahoma, 1948, Art. XIII, Sec. 3. Oklahoma state courts held in interpreting the Article that an Indian child was entitled to attend the public schools with all rights and privileges of the school. Report, C. I. A., 1918, p. 29. That the ruling stimulated Indian participation in the Oklahoma public schools is evident in that in 1915 2,219 school districts of this area received federal aid as compared with 225 districts in 1912. Reports, C. I. A., 192, p. 37, 1913, p. 25, and 1915, p. 6. Moreover, the number of Indian children enrolled in the Oklahoma public schools under the federal tuition system increased from 3,700 pupils in 1911 to 21,345 children in 1926. Report, C. I. A., 1911, p. 28; Schmeckebier, op. cit., 321-339.

accordance with this ruling the government discontinued paying tuition for these children. Also, the Indian Department ceased to pay tuition for Indians of less than one-fourth Indian blood. Despite this ruling, however, the twenty thousand dollars appropriated in 1915 for tuition was found to be inadequate so the amount was increased to $60,000 in 1918.[69] One of the difficulties associated with the tuition system, however, was that when the Indian moved from one township to another, the school in which his child was first enrolled in would refuse to transfer tuition to the second school and the child would remain out of school altogether.[70] But regardless of this handicap, by the fiscal year 1926, 691 school districts exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribe area received $336,192 in tuition payments on 9,487 children in their schools. Payments ranged from thirty-five to forty cents per day per pupil in actual attendance depending on the size and financial condition of the different schools.[71]

In addition to taking steps through financial means to secure a better attendance record in the public schools the Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall, instructed federal officials in 1921 to assist state, county, and local districts in enforcing the regular attendance of Indian children who were wards of the federal government at government schools and at public schools in accordance with the compulsory education

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69 Report, C. I. A., 1918, p. 28.

70 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 2 Sess., (1930), Part 7, p. 2787.

71 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1927, p. 53.

laws of the different states. Where the state or district officials had no authority over the Indian, federal officials were to enforce the state laws and place the Indian children in schools designated by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Indian parents who disobeyed the state laws were to receive the same punishment as other citizens.[72] The difficulty with the law, however, was that many of the Indian parents had no money with which to pay assessed fines.[73]

Because of the progress made in the public school movement between 1900 and 1925 Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work declared in 1925 that the complete transfer of Indian education to the states should be made.[74] In line with this movement to turn Indian educational affairs over to the states, Congress by an act of June 2, 1924 conferred citizenship upon all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States. President Calvin Coolidge urged in a message to congress a rapid transfer from federal jurisdiction.[75]

As a result of this emphasis on transferring federal control of the Indians to state control, construction and repairs on federal Indian schools were delayed pending action by the states.[76] The assumption of control by the states was not realized, however, for many persons and organizations had long

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[72] Report, C. I. A., 1921, p. 8.

[73] "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 3 Sess., (1930), Part 17, p. 8995.

[74] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1925, p. 20.

[75] 43 U. S. Stat., 253; Cong. Rec., 70 Cong., 1 Sess., (Dec. 6, 1927), p. 107.

[76] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1925, p. 21.

opposed the movement on the grounds that the Indian problem was a federal question and that if it were turned over to the states, local politicians would exploit the Indian.[77] Moreover, there was no hope of entering Indians in the public schools of the southern states or in the area occupied by such tribes as the Navajos and Papagos Indians. Their nomadic habits made it seemingly impossible to provide them with education except in boarding schools.[78]

Although the uniform course of study issued in 1916 with its inclusion of the public school curriculum undoubtedly stimulated the enrollment of Indian pupils in public schools, it unfortunately acted in a way to regiment the activities of the Indian pupils and the courses of study following it seemed to intensify this regimentation.[79] For example, the following is a copy of the daily

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[77] New York Times, March 23, 1914, p. 10. The fate of the Indian in Oklahoma was pointed out as an example of the exploitation. New York Times, April 15, 1930, p. 30.

[78] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1924, p. 46. Another difficulty was that many of the states did not have the necessary resources to assume the control of Indian affairs and revenues from Indian taxable property did not compensate for the states' lack of funds. For example, the Indians of New Mexico constituted seven percent of the state's population and occupied six percent of the area of the state but the estimated value of their taxable property was only $10,000,000 and only $130,000 could be derived from taxing it. This sum was less than one-fifth of what was needed to administer Indian affairs in the state. New York Times, April 15, 1930, p. 30.

[79] The day school which had been stressed during Leupp's term of office was considered unsatisfactory by Robert G. Valentine who followed Leupp in office, served from 1909 to 1912, and by most of the commissioners who served during the years between 1909 and 1928. Their number was decreased from 194 day schools in 1909 to 129 in 1928. The number of non-reservation boarding schools and reservation boarding schools also decreased as a result of the increased public school enrollment, but enrollment in both types of boarding shhools was 22, 720 in 1928 while there were only 4,532 pupils enrolled in day schools during the same year. As a result of this dependence on both types of boarding schools they were almost universally overcrowded. Reports, C. I. A., 1907, pp. 33-37 and 1909, p. 19; Report, Secretary of Interior, 1928, p. 284.

program of a federal boarding school as reported in 1922, by Miss Florence Patterson who was appointed by the American Red Cross to make a survey of the needs for public health nurses on the Indian reservations:[80]

Morning	
5:30	rising bell
5:30-6:00	dress and report for athletics
6:00	warning bell
6:00-6:20	setting up exercises
6:20-6:25	roll call
6:25	breakfast
6:25-6:30	line up--march to dining room
6:30-7:00	breakfast
7:00-7:25	care of rooms
7:15	sick call
7:25	work bell
7:25	line up--detail report
7:30-8:30	industrial instruction
7:30-8:15	academic division (boys)
8:25-8:30	prepare for school
8:30	school bell and bugle; line up; march to school application meant actual work doing school chores
10:00-10:15	recess--5 minutes exercise
11:30-11:45	recreation; details return to quarters
11:45	warning bell
11:45-11:55	prepare for dinner
11:55	dinner
11:55-12:00	line up--inspection--march to dining room
12:00-12:30	dinner
12:30-12:55	recreation
12:55	signal bell; work; school

Afternoon	
12:55-1:00	line up; details report, school
1:00	school; industrial application
2:15-2:30	recess; 5 minute breathing exercises
4:00	recall; academic division, bugle
4:00-4:15	prepare for athletics
4:15	sick call
4:15-5:15	group games
5:15	warning bell
5:15-5:25	prepare for supper
5:25	supper bell

(continued on page 69)

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80 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 70 Cong., 2 Sess., (1929), Part 3, p. 973.

5:25-5:30	line up; flag salute; march to supper
5:30-6:00	supper
6:00-6:55	free play; special athletics; band
6:55-7:00	line up; roll call; march to school or church
7:00-8:00	evening exercises
8:00	recreation
8:00-8:15	recall bell; evening hour recreation
8:15-8:20	roll call in dormitories
8:20-8:30	prepare for bed
8:30	taps

The uniform examinations which accompanied the courses of study added to the regimentation of the schools since they prevented the raising or lowering of grades arbitrarily.[81]

Moreover, during the first World War every school in the Indian service was short-handed as a result of personnel entering military service or resigning to take up more lucrative employment in civil life.[82] This shortage and the fact that the government continued to appropriate only an average of $238 per child in non-reservation schools during years when prices were increasing rapidly resulted in the absorption of much time by Indian pupils in daily routine work which had no educational value.[83] Furthermore, persons who did remain in the Indian school

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81 Report, C. I. A., 1917, p. 11. In 1926 the curricula in all day schools was increased to six grades, in all reservation schools to eight grades, and in some non-reservation schools to twelve grades and by 1928, 1409 students were enrolled in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades. Report, C. I. A., 1926, p. 7; Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1926, p. 7 and 1938, p. 246.

82 Report, B. I. C., 1918, p. 11.

83 Report, C. I. A., 1919, p. 17. John Collier, "Senators and Indians," Survey Graphic, LXI, (Jan. 1, 1929), 425-428. At a government boarding school in New Mexico children six years of age were required to work a half a day in the school farm fields and in the laundry. Boys at the Santa Fe, New Mexico, boarding school were awakened at midnight to work on school machinery. Moreover, girls spent long exhausting hours in sewing rooms and school laundries in other boarding schools before the school day began. Those girls who were late to work had to kneel on the floor all night as punishment and boys were beaten and choked by school personnel in order to keep them working. Vera L. Connaly, "The Cry of A Broken People," Good Housekeeping, LXXXVIII, (Feb., 1929), p. 226.

service, although they might be sincerely interested in the welfare and progress of the Indian, always had the deadly letter of the law to contend with and this led to emphasis being placed on regular attendance, discipline and other institutional formalisms. As a result of these factors and the general apathy of the citizenry toward public affairs during and following the war years, corruptness became the rule in the Indian school system and the Indian child suffered many abuses. For instance, as appropriations for non-reservation schools continued to be made on a basis of the number of students in attendance, the superintendents of such schools used every method possible to obtain students and to keep them when they arrived at the school. In Ashland County, Wisconsin, an Indian agent broke down the door of the home of an Indian boy who had run away from a government school at Flandreau, South Dakota, and forcibly took the boy away from his parents and returned him to the school. The Circuit Court of Ashland County ruled that the agent was within his rights in seizing the child and the United States District Attorney declared that in his opinion "there would seem to be no question about the justice of the court's decision."[84]

Numerous other instances of cruelty were reported in articles appearing in popular literature and many of them were later sustained by testimony given to the Senate Subcommittee. A government Indian school employee testified that two boys age ten and twelve who had run away from school were cruelly beaten when they were

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[84] Report, C. I. A., 1901, p. 19.

returned. Moreover, the employee declared that the two boys were locked in their rooms for almost a month after their attempted escape and that they had a ball and chain tied to their legs during their imprisonment. When they left their rooms, the employee stated, that they had to carry the ball and chain with them. The agent of the reservation where the school was located, when questioned about the affair, stated that it had happened but that he had not known of it until he read about it in the Good Housekeeping Magazine.[85]

At the Rice Indian School located in Arizona two Indian girls age eleven and twelve, who had escaped from the school, were pursued, caught and brought back. As punishment they were compelled to walk around the school grounds with heavy cordwood on their shoulders for an afternoon. As additional punishment, they were chained to their beds at night and were led to their meals by employees of the school held by chains fastened about their necks.[86]

Insufficient appropriations led to other abuses and corruption. Luke White Hawk of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, testified that the teacher at a day school on his reservation hooked up eight of the larger boys attending the school to cultivate potatoes and had his own son walk alongside to punch any of the eight who lagged

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[85] "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 2 Sess., (1929), Part 7, p. 2853. The article was written by Vera L. Connaly. Its title was "The Cry of a Broken People" and it appeared in the February, 1929, issue of the Good Housekeeping Magazine.

[86] John Collier, op. cit., pp. 425-428.

behind.[87] In another instance, the superintendent of the Genoa, Nebraska, Indian School was accused of using government equipment from the school on his private farm and of exploiting student labor for his own benefit.[88] He told the committee that he did use Indian boys on his farm but that he paid them a just wage. He explained the use of government equipment on his farm by stating that in "this western country here, if the school or anyone has any machinery, it is a community affair."[89]

At the Towoac, Colorado, Indian School which had four grades only and was populated by children brought there when they were six years of age, children were kept year after year in the fourth grade because by then they had grown big enough to do compulsory industrial school work.[90] Mrs. Charles Welfelt, a cook employed by the Indian Bureau, swore that the children at the same school had been fed wormy dried fruit and meat which was full of maggots. Others testified that dirty water from the floors above the cellar where the flour was kept dripped into the flour and that mice nested in the flour. Protests by the employees of the school finally got action and the spoiled flour was taken from the school but was issued as rations to the aged Indians on the reservation.[91]

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87 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 2 Sess., (1929), Part 7, p. 2837; Connaly, op. cit., 236.

88 Ibid., 71 Cong., 1 Sess., (1929), Part 5, p. 2125.

89 Ibid., 2183.

90 Ibid., 70 Cong., 2 Sess., (1928), Part 1, 250,251. Children in boarding schools in Arizona were forced to do servant's work for employees without compensation under the guise of industrial education. Vera L. Connaly, op. cit., 235.

91 Collier, op. cit., pp. 425-428; Connaly, op. cit., p. 235.

Diets of the Indian children were also inadequate. At the Rice School in Arizona the children were fed on an allowance of nine cents a day.[92] And at the Pierre Indian School in South Dakota seven cents was allowed for each child per meal. Moreover, at the same school there was not enough funds to provide sufficient shoes for the students.[93] Aside from the small allowances for food in many of the schools the menus were prepared by people with little or no knowledge of child health and frequently the cook was an Indian woman who fixed food "so that the children will like it." At the Fort Yuma Arizona Indian School the breakfast menu consisted of meat, bread, and coffee; the dinner menu of meat, hash, beans, canned corn, bread, and tea; the supper menu of meat, beans, bread, prunes and water. No fresh vegetable and little milk was served. Coffee was served for breakfast to all children regardless of age.[94]

The corruptness of some of the Indian school personnel and

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92 Collier, op. cit.

93 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 2 Sess., (1930), Part 7, p. 242. At the Towoac, Colorado, Indian School only cheap canvas shoes and the thinnest of underwear were provided. Connaly, op. cit., 235.

94 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 70 Cong., 2 Sess., (1928), Part 3, p. 945. The main meal at the Santa Fe, New Mexico Boarding school consisted of "gravy, a kind of a tea just like water and some bread and water." Connaly, op. cit., p. 226. Dr. Ryan, a member of the Brookings survey group, reported that at many of the Indian schools, children were clothed in rags and so under nourished that they snatched at bits of food at meals like famished animals. Vera L. Connally, "The End of a Long, Long Trail," Good Housekeeping Magazine, April, 1934, p.254.

insufficient funds led also to a low moral level and disease in the schools and reservations. Miss Florence Patterson, an employee of the American Red Cross who conducted a survey of health conditions among the Indians of the southwest, reported that lack of sanitation was universal in the schools and that boys in some of the boarding schools that she visited had to sleep two in a single bed in dormitories which allowed only one-half the required cubic air space and were poorly ventilated. This factor coupled with the exacting program of the boarding school frequently facilitated the development of tuberculosis. Moreover, when pupils did develop this disease in the schools they were returned to their homes where they spread it among other members of the family. In the Western Navajo Reservation Boarding School eleven children were sent home in one year with tuberculosis while two others were allowed to continue until the end of the school term. While at the school the dishes of the two were not isolated and they lived and slept with the other children. Trachoma, an eye disease, was also prevalent in the schools.[95]

These conditions were not restricted to the southwest for Doctor M. J. Eagan, a government physician at the Rosebud Reservation in North Dakota, estimated that fifty percent of the Indians on that reservation had tuberculosis and that fifty percent were venereal.[96] Mr. R. H. Barr, a United Presbyterian missionary in Oregon, testified that married men took Indian girls out of the

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95 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 70 Cong., 2 Sess., (1929), Part 3, p. 936.

96 Ibid., 71 Cong., 2 Sess, (1930), Part 7, p. 3953.

dormitories at the Warm Springs, Oregon, Indian School and kept them out to all hours of the night.[97] He also claimed that a seven year old girl sent to the store to purchase some food was molested by an older boy. The father of the girl complained to the superintendent of the reservation and was told, "you better keep your girl off the street at night."[98]

Efforts were made to cover up the conditions by not publishing reports concerning Indian affairs, by threatening employees who testified against the policies of the government with dismissal, and by blaming the worst features of the schools on inadequate appropriations.[99] By the late 1920's, however, the public had been aroused by exposures of the system in popular magazines and in the Meriam Report, a survey of Indian affairs launched by the Brookings Institution in 1924 at the request of

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[97] Ibid., 70 Cong., 2 Sess., (1928), Part 1, p. 395.

[98] Ibid.

[99] "Survey of Indian Affairs," 70 Cong., 2 Sess., (1929), Part 3, p. 955. When the California Board of Health asked for a copy of Miss Patterson's report the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated that the department would not send out the report to be published throughout the country because it believed that the report was impracticable. He said that if the California Congressmen wanted to examine it they could "come down and see it." The Red Cross wrote the Bureau and asked what part of Miss Patterson's report the Bureau considered impracticable. They received no reply. Ibid; Collier, op. cit., 426; Francis F. Kane, "East and West: the Atlantic City Conference on the American Indian," Survey Graphic, LXI, (Jan. 15, 1929), 473. Salaries were low and living conditions bad in the Indian service as is evident from the fact that annual turnover of personnel for the Bureau was sixty-seven percent. Ibid.

Secretary of Interior Hubert Work and published in 1928.[100] And as a result of public pressure, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke in January of 1929 issued an order forbidding any form of corporal punishment in the government Indian schools.[101]

President Herbert Hoover promised reform of the Indian Service, removed Burke and his assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and appointed two Quakers to succeed them, Mr. Charles J. Rhoads as commissioner and Henry J. Scattergood as assistant commissioner. Rhoads was an officer in the Indian Rights Association, an organization formed in 1882 and constituted to work for the rights of the Indian. Its membership consisted of both women and men and its headquarters were in Philadelphia. It maintained a Washington agent to cooperate with the Indian Bureau and to lobby for or against bills affecting Indians. The organization had supported the Dawes Act and the extension of the merit system in the Indian schools. Scattergood had been Rhoad's associate and had taken an active part in Indian affairs for a long time.[102] The new officers promised to rid the department of corruption and to carry out the reforms demanded by the people.

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100 Lewis Meriam, Ray A. Brown and others, The Problem of Indian Administration. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 111.

101 New York Times, May 6, 1930, p. 28.

102 Eastman, op. cit., p. 108; Report, Indian Rights Association, 1887, pp. 36,38.

CHAPTER V

A DECADE OF REFORM, 1928-1938

The Meriam Report declared that what the Indian needed was adequate training for competitive life in the white culture, and assistance in securing positions and in making an adjustment to life in the industrial world.[1] To accomplish this goal the report recommended that immediate action should be taken to improve the diet in the boarding schools and to reduce the working hours of the students by the employment of additional laborers and by the use of labor saving devices.

In the development of the long term policy in Indian education the report's principal recommendations dealt with six outstanding issues: point of view, personnel, boarding schools, the use of public schools, higher and professional education, and day schools. A change in point of view on Indian education was considered by Meriam and his associates as being the most fundamental need in Indian education. They opposed that view

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[1] Institute for Government Research, The Problem of Indian Administration. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 434-435. Hereafter referred to as Meriam Report. The Book contains the findings of a survey made of Indian conditions in ninety-five different Indian jurisdictions and also many communities to which Indians had migrated. It was begun at the request of Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work on November 12, 1926 and published in 1928. The survey staff was asked by the Secretary to learn the truth about Indian conditions, to what extent the government was responsible for any existing evils, and what it might do to correct them. The survey staff personnel consisted of Lewis Meriam of the Institute of Government Research, technical director; Ray A. Brown; Henry Roe Cloud; Edward Everett Dale; Emma Duke; Herbert R. Edwards; Fayette Avery McKenzie; Mary Louise Mark; W. Carson Ryan, Jr.; and William A. Spillman.

which had proceeded largely on the theory that it was necessary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment and offered one which would "lay stress on the upbringing of the Indian child in the natural setting of the home and family life." They urged that a new approach less concerned with a conventional school system and more concerned with the understanding of human beings be adopted. Teaching methods such as the "old-type recitation," the unnatural formality between teacher and pupil and mechanistic devices such as "class rise!", "class pass!" should be replaced by methods adapted to the individual abilities, interests and needs of the Indian. Intelligence tests should be given in the schools to facilitate the new methods. Moreover, the practice by the Indian Service of prescribing from Washington a uniform course of study and of sending out uniform examination questions in an effort to improve the Indian schools should be terminated and in its place substituted the establishment of higher standards for the teaching personnel in the Indian schools. To accomplish this, the survey staff recommended that an increase in the entrance requirements for teaching and administrative personnel of the Indian school system should be made; and that salaries should be raised so as to permit the rewarding of efficient teachers and to make it possible for them to continue their professional training and to keep the best teachers in the Indian Service.[2]

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[2] Meriam Report, 346-348, 379.

The enrollment of Indian children in public schools near their homes was commended by the survey staff for they considered it a movement in the direction of the normal transition of the Indian to the white man's culture. They warned, however, that care ought to be taken not to push the transition too fast. The Meriam Report also noted the fact that often both the Indian child and the Indian family required more service than was usually given by public schools, and that consequently, the Indian Service should supplement public school work by giving special attention to health, industrial and social training, and the relationship between home and school. Furthermore, it stated that for some years to come the government ought to exercise some supervision over the Indians in the public schools to see that the Indian children really obtained the advantages offered by the public school system.[3]

The members of the survey staff, although recognizing that the reservation boarding school was the only practicable way of educating the children of some nomadic tribes such as the Navajos, recommended that, in general, they should be closed and day schools substituted for them. Those that remained should be reserved for students above the sixth grade. The pre-adolescent age group, it was recommended, should be educated in public elementary schools whenever possible or government schools located near the children's homes so that the parents could have their children with them dur-

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[3] Meriam Report, 11, 34-37.

ing the formative period.[4]

In contrast to the reservation boarding school, the non-reservation school was considered by the survey staff as presenting special opportunities other than merely housing and educating children above the sixth grade. They held that each school should be investigated to see what its possibilities were and what contribution it might make to Indian progress. All of the non-reservation schools were not to specialize in the same vocational field. For example, one school whose location and facilities were favorable to the teaching of printing might concentrate on that trade, and Indian boys desiring to learn that craft could be sent there. In conjunction with the training received in all types of schools, the report stated that a guidance and placement division should be created to help Indian students find positions and make adjustments to the industrial world. This emphasis on the special needs of the Indian should not, it was held, be so distinctive that the boarding schools of both types would not dovetail into the general educational system of the country. The faculties and course of study of each should be such that they could meet the standards set for accredited high schools, for Indian boys and girls who desired to go on with their education should not encounter educational barriers because of the limitations of their schools. The Indian Office, the report stated, should encourage promising Indian youth to continue their education beyond boarding schools and should aid them in meeting the costs through scholarships and loan funds. Other non-reservation schools might be turned

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[4] Meriam Report, 11, 404-405.

into special schools for the mentally defective, for groups affected with trachoma or tuberculosis, for delinquents, and for orphans or children from socially submerged homes. Students who graduated from the non-reservation schools should be aided in making the transition from school to the world outside by an Indian employment service.[5]

The Meriam Report stated that the Indian day schools should be increased in number and should carry the children at least through the sixth grade. It was also suggested that the day schools should be made community centers for reaching adult Indians as well as children. It was recommended that they should be tied to the whole program of education adopted so that a child graduating from a day school would be prepared to enter the educational system prescribed for the area by the federal government whether it be public schools or boarding schools.[6]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles J. Rhoads earnestly sought to carry out the major recommendations of the report. To assist him in this goal Rhoads appointed Dr. W. Carson Ryan of the Institute's survey staff Director of Indian Education. Their first step was to improve conditions in the boarding schools. The increase in appropriations during their administration as indicated in Table VII was almost tripled between 1906 and 1932. This hike permitted the administration to raise the daily food allowance in the boarding schools from an average of eleven cents to $.38 a day

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[5] Meriam Report, 35, 404-405, 454.

[6] Ibid., 413-416.

TABLE VII

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS FOR INDIAN EDUCATION

YEAR	APPROPRIATION
1906	$ 3,777,100
1917[7]	3,978,662
1923	4,385,000
1929[8]	7,434,000
1932[9]	10,185,400

and to affect a similar raise in the clothing allowance in schools from twenty-two dollars to over forty dollars a year.[10] This increase in daily food allowance approached the minimum recommendations of the Detroit Visiting Housekeeping Association which had estimated in May of 1929 that forty cents should be allowed as a minimum for children of eleven to fourteen years of age.[11] In furtherance of this program to improve conditions in the boarding schools, labor saving devices were introduced in many of the schools and the time spent on routine work was shortened from a half to a quarter of a day.[12]

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[7] Reports, C. I. A., 1907, p. 45, and 1916, p. 4.

[8] Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1925, XLVIII, p. 163, and 1930, LII, p. 50.

[9] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 116.

[10] Editorial, "Indian Progress," Survey Graphic, LXVI (April 15, 1931), 99.

[11] Editorial, "More Food for Indians," Survey Graphic, LXIV (April 15, 1930), 69-70.

[12] Lewis Meriam, "Indian Education Moves Ahead," Survey Graphic, LXVI (June 1, 1931), 254.

Moreover, the qualifications for educational personnel in the Indian Service were raised and salaries were increased. A degree was made a prerequisite for examination and appointment to the position of principal. A superintendent was required to be a college graduate with two years of graduate work. In addition, he was to have had four years of experience in education including three years as an administrator. Boarding school teachers were required to have a degree from an accredited college with sixteen semesters hours of education and eight months of paid teaching experience. The untrained girl's matron and the disciplinarian, who had been the officers responsible for discipline, were replaced by trained girls' and boys' advisors with qualifications similar to those for teachers. The retirement age from the Indian Service was reduced from seventy to sixty-five years and old boarding school superintendents who had urged the use of corporal punishment were now urged to retire. The salaries of the superintendents were raised to $4,600 a year and those of the teachers' to $1,860. Advisors in the senior high school division received $2,600 a year and in the elementary and junior high schools $2,000. In addition to salary increases sixty days of educational leave was given in alternate years to all teachers so that they might continue their professional training.[13]

To better the relations between the home and the school both public and boarding, the position of visiting teacher was created in 1931, and eight such positions were provided for in appropriations for 1932.[14] Moreover, many schools were provided with a

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[13] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1928, p. 58, and 1929, p. 35; Report, B. I. C., 1931, p. 13; Meriam, loc. cit., 255.

[14] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1931, p. 84.

vocational guidance department whose duty it was to study school population and economic conditions, to advise the student on the possibilities of different employment fields and help the student secure outside employment.[15]

The former practice of suppressing all Indian traits in the children and of teaching that anything Indian was necessarily inferior was terminated and the uniform course of study with standard examinations formerly sent out each year from the Indian Bureau was abandoned. In their place the Washington Office substituted a program that involved the study of each jurisdiction to determine the special program necessary. The standard textbooks formerly used were replaced by special reading materials prepared by the Indian children themselves in cooperation with the teachers. The illustrations in the new textbooks were often drawn by the children and were things that were related to their daily lives. Native languages were no longer suppressed and the Indian children were encouraged to practice their traditional arts and crafts. Among the Pueblo Indians three Indian teachers were employed to teach Pueblo arts and crafts. At the Santa Fe, New Mexico, Boarding School the Indian girls were taught pottery making by an Indian woman who instructed them in their own language. Other schools employed Indians to teach silversmithing. Sometimes the Indians objected to the program on the grounds that the Indians employed by the Bureau to teach such crafts as silversmithing were not good craftsmen and that the program would result in lowering the quality of the trades. The

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15 "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 3 Sess., (1931), Part 17, p. 8067.

principal need, they stated, was protection of the genuine Indian products by the government against imitations. Besides, they argued, Indians could learn some of the crafts such as silversmithing better in their own homes. In other areas Indian men were of the opinion that they could make more money on farm work than in arts and crafts, for the market was limited and the work brought little return.[16]

Reform came slowly, but in line with the recommendations of the Meriam Report boarding schools were abandoned whenever possible, small children were eliminated from the larger boarding schools, and enrollment in day schools and public schools was increased to take care of these children.[17] In 1933 there were 132 day schools with an enrollment of 6,836 pupils as compared with 129 day schools and an enrollment of 4,465 pupils in 1927.[18] An example of one of the larger community day schools established was that at Turtle Mountain North Dakota; it had 550 students, 500 Indians and fifty white children. The school was operated by the Indian Service and the county paid the tuition of the whites. Forty miles of road were built to make bus service available to all parts of the reservation and six buses were provided to bring the children to school.

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[16] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1931, p. 84; Meriam, loc. cit., 256-258; "Survey of Indian Conditions," 71 Cong., 1 Sess., (1930), Part 16, p. 7553 and 71 Cong., 3 Sess., (1931), Part 17, pp. 7975-8067.

[17] Report, C. I. A., 1931, p. 4.

[18] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1927, p. 232 and 1933, p. 152. The number of reservation boarding schools was also reduced from fifty-one in 1927 to forty in 1933. Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1927, p. 232 and 1933, p. 152.

A lunch program for the Indians was organized and a noonday meal was served to all students.[19]

No comprehensive analysis of the results of the Rhoads administration can be made because President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed John Collier to succeed him in 1933.

Collier had been interested and employed in social work for a long period.[20] In 1920 he began traveling among the Indians of the Southwest and studying them. When the American Indian Defense Association was organized in 1923, Collier was made its executive secretary and held that position until his appointment as Commissioner.[21] While serving in this capacity he was one of the outstanding critics of the allotment system and of the suppression of Indian culture by the Bureau. He maintained that the government schools subjected the Indian children to vigorous christian-

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[19] Report, Board of Directors of Indian Rights Association, 1931, p. 8.

[20] John Collier, "Indians Come Alive," Atlantic Monthly, CLXX, (Sept., 1942), 75. He had served for ten years as Civic Secretary of the People's Institute in New York City, working for the regeneration of immigrant communities in New York until after World War I. Ibid. He was an organizer of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures and the National Community Center Association and served on the board of directors. In 1919, he moved to California where he became the State Director of Community Center Organization. Indian Rights Association, Indian Truth, X, (May, 1933), p. 1. Hereafter referred to as Indian Truth. Indian Truth is a periodical published by the Indian Rights Association and contains material from investigations conducted by the association and other material concerning the Indian.

[21] Indian Truth, X, (May, 1933), p. 1.

ization, without reference to their parents' wishes and did everything possible to make the Indian feel the inferiority of their indigenous culture.[22] The accusations of the Bureau that some of the secret dances of the Indians of the west were little less than a ribald system of debauchery were untrue, he claimed. He held that the testimony which the Bureau had obtained to prove its claims was gathered from Indian Service employees who were compelled by the Bureau to testify falsely.[23] The Pueblo Indians around whom the controversy was centered were divided on the religious question. The All Pueblo Progressive Indians, a Christian organization, supported the government's policy of suppressing the Indian culture. They claimed that the ritualistic customs were unjust, and that some of the leaders of the Pueblos were cruel and attempted to make slaves of the Christian Indians because they refused to take part in "secret and unchristian dances." Collier labeled these statements as "trumped-up" charges.[24] Furthermore, he claimed that the Bureau launched these and further charged that the Pueblos were anti-American and subversive because they had, with the aid of the Indian Defense Association, kept Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall from securing for exploitation, by himself and his friends, lands which had oil beneath them.[25] The findings of the investigation of the Brookings Institu-

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[22] New York Times, Dec. 16, 1923, p. 6.

[23] New York Times, July 13, 1924, VIII, p. 12, and November 16, 1924, IX, p. 12.

[24] Ibid., June 19, 1924, p. 10, and Nov. 16, 1924, IX, p. 12.

[25] John Collier, The Indian of the Americas. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1947), 249-257.

tion supported the case of the Pueblo Indians against Albert B. Fall and gained for Collier and his organization the national recognition that was heralded as a great victory for the Indians.[26]

Collier also attacked the allotment act of 1887 which he claimed resulted in making red slaves of the Indians; for despite the Indian citizenship act of 1924, many Indians remained subject to unlimited control by the Indian Bureau. Of the 340,000 Indians residing in the United States 225,000 were still considered incompetent by the Indian Bureau in 1926 and had to depend on that organization for the direction of their affairs. Besides, the allotment act by its provision for allotting Indian lands to individuals rather than to heads of families, destroyed "grouphood and familyhood."[27]

To assist Collier in his work as Commissioner, William Zimmerman, Jr., was appointed Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He, like Collier, had experience in community development. He was a graduate of Harvard and had served as Vice-President of the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis and had taken a large share in preparing and carrying out the industrial democracy plan undertaken there whereby the ownership of that business was turned over to the workers.[28]

When Collier took Office in 1933, Indian-held lands had shrunk from 130,000,000 acres at the time of the passage of the

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[26] Eastman, op. cit., 107.

[27] John Collier, "Are We Making Red Slaves?" Survey Graphic, LVII, (Jan. 1, 1927), 453-455; John Collier, "Indian Come Alive," Atlantic Monthly, CLXX, (Sept., 1942), p. 77.

[28] Indian Truth, (June, 1933), X, p. 11.

Dawes Act in 1887 to about 49,000,000 acres; tribal funds had been reduced from $500,000,000 to $12,000,000 and ninty-three percent of the tribal income was being used for bureau maintenance.[29] Collier viewed this loss with concern and declared that the alienation of Indian property waste be stopped. Allotted land, he maintained, should be brought together into tribal ownership with individual tenure and new lands should be acquired for those Indians who had none. An educational program which would include instruction and training in land use should be given the Indians, credit should be extended to them in order that they might make the most efficient use of their natural resources and soil erosion should be checked.[30]

In the field of education, the new Commissioner held that the community day school, which would supply educational centers for adults as well as children, should be substituted for the boarding school. The remaining boarding schools, he felt, should specialize in occupational training for older children or supply the needs of children requiring special institutional care.[31]

When the emergency conservation program was undertaken by the national government early in 1933, the Indian Office received a share of the funds and controlled their disbursal on work which would employ those Indians who needed assistance. The sum of $15,875,200 was given the Bureau to carry out conservation work

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[29] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1933, p. 68; Editorial, Literary Digest, CXVII, (April 7, 1934), 21.

[30] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1933, p. 68.

[31] Ibid., 69.

and $4,000,000 was allotted to build roads.[32] By September of 1933, plans for more than one hundred new day schools were made and $2,820,000 of public works allotments were given to aid in building the schools. The schools were to be "community schools of the activity type" for the use of all members of the community and they were to be built with local material and local labor so as to provide work for those Indians who needed help during the depression. The buildings were to include, in addition to the main classroom, space for a workshop, library, school lunch, for washing and laundering, teachers quarters and other needs of the community. The plans contemplated sufficient grounds around the school (from ten to forty acres) to make possible gardens, athletic fields and other recreational opportunities. The day schools were to be constructed in thirteen different states.[33] Collier viewed the program with great satisfaction and declared that the Indians for more than a generation had suffered as a result of planless individualistic policies. Now he felt that with planned community living and community development the Indian would be saved from destruction and that, as pioneers in the adventure being tried under the leadership of the President, they would blaze the way for vaster social experiments and readjust-

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[32] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1933, p. 70-72; Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indians at Work. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, Sept. 1, 1933), p. 13. Hereafter referred to as Indians at Work. Indians at Work is a news sheet published in magazine form for the use of Indian Service Personnel. It contains editorials by Collier and other Washington officials, articles, statistics and other information.

[33] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1933, pp. 68-69; Indians at Work, Sept. 1, 1933, p. 33.

ments which would bring about a rebirth of the American people.[34]

The scope of the Commissioner's program was too broad to be carried out without legislation, therefore, with the aid of President Franklin Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, Collier succeeded in securing the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934.[35] This legislation was of far reaching importance because it was the exact opposite of the policy of individualization which had been in effect for over fifty years. Under the terms of the act the allotment system was ended and remaining Indian lands, except Indian homesteads or allotments situated on the public domain outside of reservations and lands held by Indians of Alaska and Oklahoma, were protected from further loss. Surplus land which had been obviously thrown open to entry by white homesteaders but had not been entered could be withdrawn and further land bought for the Indians. Every tribe could accept or reject the act in a referendum held by secret ballot. The Secretary of the Interior was to call an election for that purpose within a year, giving thirty days notice of the date. Those who accepted the plan could organize under it for local self-government and through a subsequent referendum, could establish themselves as federal corporations chartered for economic enterprise. The local governments and corporations were to be regulated by constitutions, by-laws, and charters which would be

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[34] Indians at Work, Sept. 15, 1933, p. 3.

[35] 48 U. S. Stat., 984-988.

drawn up by the tribes and which would be legal when approved by a majority vote of the adult members of the tribes and the Secretary of Interior. The constitutions and charters might be repealed or amended in the same manner. Moreover, to aid the incorporated communities to support themselves at the start, a system of agricultural and industrial credit was established by the government for their use. The act provided that no civil liability could be enforced against the Indian communities and their members and Indians so organized were exempt from taxation.[36] In furtherance of Collier's plan to employ more Indians in the Indian Service the act exempted Indians from Civil Service requirements. A scholarship fund was established to enable gifted Indians to continue their education in vocational schools, high schools and colleges.

The Act defined an Indian as a person of Indian blood who was a member of a recognized tribe under federal jurisdiction or who was a descendant of such a member who lived on the reservation on June 1, 1934, or who, if an unaffiliated Indian, was one-half or more Indian by blood. Indians not so qualified could not enjoy the benefits of the act. An adult was defined as anyone twenty-one years of age. Tribe was defined as any tribe or band living on the reservation.[37]

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[36] Ibid., 987-988. In 1936 the Indians of Oklahoma were brought under the provisions of the law with certain restrictions in the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. 49 U. S. Stat., 1867-1868. By 1940 approximately three-fourths of all the Indians in the United States had voted themselves under the act. John Collier, The Indians of the Americas. 1947, p. 250.

[37] Ibid., 988.

Collier held that the purpose of the act was to stop the process of individualization of the Indian which had been carried on for over fifty years and to reorganize the tribal governments. He claimed that the individualization process had been a failure and that instead of assimilating the Indian into the dominant culture, which had been its purpose, the Indian had had his spirit broken, his health undermined, his native pride ground into the dust and his initiative stolen from him. It was necessary, therefore, he maintained, to restore to the Indian those things that he had lost. This could be done by the tribal governments for they had effectively managed their affairs in the past whenever there had been no white interference for selfish end. Besides, he declared, "Clan instinct /_was_/ inherent in the Indian." "It is our aim," he stated, "to encourage that group loyalty in him and help him to create his own unique future right with his group."[39] Collier proclaimed that the act was a "New Deal" for the Indians and that it would prove of immeasurable value to them.[40] He took to the field himself in an effort to convince the Indian of the value of the act. To obtain the cooperation of the Indian Office employees who were skeptical of the measure the Interior Department declared that any person wishing to oppose the new policy should do it honestly and openly outside the service.[41] When

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[38] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 82.

[39] Connally, "The End of a Long, Long Trail," 1934, p. 254.

[40] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 81-84.

[41] Indian Truth, June 1934, XI, p. 4.

interpreting the law to the Indians Collier contrasted the great good to be gained through acceptance of its provisions with the almost certain stagnation that would follow its rejection. He declared that, "those who reject the act must reject all of it /and that/ the tribe that rejects the act cannot receive any of its benefits and the government can continue to do as it pleases with their tribal assets."[42] The loan provision of the measure and the Civil Service exemption clause which would give the Indian all the jobs in the Indian Service were emphasized.[43] By June 15, 1934, ninety-two tribes with a population of 180,163 Indians had voted on whether to accept the provisions of the act. Seventy-four tribes representing an Indian population of 158,279 had voted in favor of the act and eighteen tribes representing a population of 21,884 had voted against it.[44] Over a year later, July 15, 1935, although a majority of the Indians had accepted the act, tribes numbering 78, 415 members (45,000 of whom were Navajos) had rejected the measure because some of them feared self-government while others were afraid that the government would confiscate their sheep and allotments and that they would lose treaty rights and other legal grants given them under the old system. He stated that this was all fiction because the act did not require self-government nor did it destroy any treaty or claim.[45] The surprising fact is that many of the tribes rejected it since the clause

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[42] Indian Truth, Oct., 1934, XI, p. 2.

[43] Ibid., May, 1934, XI, p. 7.

[44] Indians at Work, June 15, 1934, p. 5.

[45] Ibid., July 1, 1935, p. 44 and July 15, 1935, p. 5.

stating that, "with the approval of the majority adult members of the tribe" was interpreted to mean that to reject the law over fifty percent of the adult members of the tribe had to vote against the measure or it went into effect.

An analysis of the elections held on October 27, 1934, November 17, 1934, and December 15, 1934, shows that out of 40,275 adult members eligible to vote 15,077 voted "yes" and 6,447 voted "no". There were fifty-nine jurisdictions that voted in the elections and only seven of them voting under the Bureau's interpretation of the act, rejected its terms. If a majority vote of the adult members of the tribes of the fifty-nine jurisdictions had been required to vote "yes" on the act before it went into effect, only twenty-five of the fifty-nine jurisdictions would have accepted it.[46] Furthermore, the Crow Indians who rejected the law stated that they did so, in part, because they did not believe that "approval of the Secretary of Interior" was self-government.[47] The Navajos claimed that they rejected the measure because they feared further herd reduction. The government's earlier order reducing the Navajo's herds had been an "across the board" reduction and had not taken into account the fact that the Indians owned different numbers of animals. As a result, those Indians who had small herds were adversely affected and thus alienated from the administration. Moreover, the Navajos claimed that they did not

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46 Indians at Work, Nov. 15, 1934, p. 6; Dec. 1, 1934, p. 5 and Jan. 15, 1935, p. 8.

47 Indian Truth, Feb., 1936, XIII, p. 3.

like the reduction in the number of boarding schools in their country or the educational program set up by the administration.[48] They claimed that Commissioner Collier had forced the day school program on them by threatening to grant no funds for boarding school purposes if they did not endorse the program.[49]

Despite these objections the administration continued to push forward the day school program. The Indian Office stated that in order to give all the Navajo children a chance to be educated the boarding schools had to be gradually changed into day schools and that the Navajo parents had to assume the responsibility of caring for their children.[50] On September 15, 1934 it was announced that the first two of the one hundred day schools provided for by the public works allotments had been completed. The schools were located in South Dakota and would provide educational facilities for 150 pupils. They had four large class rooms, auditorium, library and office on the main floor, shop room, home economics and dining room in the basement. Each school had from ten to forty acres of land, large garages for the school buses, and teachers' cottages. They would carry the Indian children through Junior High school.[51] The growth of day school enrollment during the years 1934 to 1940 is shown in Table VIII.

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48 Indian Truth, Oct., 1935, XII, p. 3; Nov., 1937, XIV, p. 1.

49 Minutes of the Navajo Tribal Council at Kearns Canyon, Arizona, July 10-12, 1934, pp. 31-34, in Indian Truth, Jan., 1938, XV, p. 2.

50 Indians at Work, July 15, 1934, p. 6.

51 Ibid., Sept. 15, 1934, p. 15.

TABLE VIII

GROWTH OF DAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1934-1940.

YEAR	ENROLLMENT
1934	8,063
1935	9,502
1936 [52]	11,822
1938	13,659
1940 [53]	15,917

The decline in non-reservation boarding school enrollment as a result of the day school program is shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX

ENROLLMENT IN GOVERNMENT NON-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS.

YEAR	ENROLLMENT
1934	9,276
1935	8,322
1936 [54]	7,645
1938	5,402
1940 [55]	4,792

The tables show that day school attendance was increased almost fifty percent during the six years between 1934 and 1940, and

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[52] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 163; 1935, p. 177, and 1936, p. 228.

[53] Report, C. I. A., Statistical Supplement, 1938, p. 16, and 1940, p. 18.

[54] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 163, 1935, p. 177, and 1936, p. 226.

[55] Report, C. I. A., Statistical Supplement, 1938, p. 16, and 1940, p. 18.

that enrollment in the non-reservation boarding schools declined from 9,276 pupils to 4,792. Enrollment in reservation boarding school also decreased from 8,401 students to 6,122 during the same period.[56]

The educational program adopted for the Indian schools aimed at developing the Indian so that when a student left school he would be able to establish himself on the reservation and not be alienated from his group by his broadened education but to take with him a rich and authentic background of his own culture when he left his people to reside among the white population. Emphasis was placed on arranging programs suited to the area where the schools were located and on instructing the Indian in ways to make use of native resources. Commissioner Collier believed, as had Commissioner Francis Leupp, who headed Indian Affairs in the early 1900's, that most of the Indians would remain on the reservations. At the Oglala Community High School at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, which served an area where cattle raising and community irrigated gardens were considered the most promising occupations, the school built its instructional work around a herd of more than 800 beef cattle. All the activities connected with the care of the herd were carried on by the students of high school age. At the Wingate, New Mexico school students shared in the development of water conservation and irrigation projects, as practical training for reproduction of these activ-

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[56] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 163; Report, C. I. A., Statistical Supplement, 1940, p. 18.

ities within their home area on the Navajo reservations. The practical operation, maintenance, and repair of modern machinery was taught at the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona.[57]

In accordance with the announced policy of the government, a sincere effort was made to develop the schools as community centers. In dry areas such as the Dakotas and the Southwest, the school water supply served the community. A laundry, a community shop and community workrooms were connected with each school to provide opportunities for Indian women to perform domestic tasks. Tools were furnished so that Indian men could repair wagons, construct furniture and build other conveniences.[58] At Nambe, New Mexico, Day School, clubs were organized by the teacher to teach the older women cloth handiwork and Indian men woodcarving. Moreover, a reading club was organized and operated by the Indians themselves. In the clubs the whole population of the community met and each had an opportunity to use his skill, the older men teaching the children native skills, such as how to work with buckskin.[59] Traveling libraries and visual education services were operated from the schools in some areas. In Southern Arizona a specially constructed book and motion picture

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[57] Willard W. Beaty, "Indian Service Schools: Their Aims and Some Results," Indians at Work, Oct. 1, 1938, pp. 4-6. Mr. Beatty was Director of Indian Education at the time the article was written in 1938.

[58] W. W. Beatty, "Federal Government and the Education of Indians and Eskimos," Journal of Negro Education, July, 1938 , p. 267-72.

[59] Indians at Work, Nov. 1, 1934, p. 34.

truck was designed to distribute books, magazines, visual education materials, records and other library material to Indian camps and homes.[60] In the Navajo country the community day schools were to be used in the important task of carrying out soil conservation projects in the area and of supplementing with irrigated farming the Navajo economy which previously rested primarily on sheep production. It was planned that the Navajos would settle around the day schools, form communities and plant subsistence crops, thus making possible further herd reductions as a means of solving the problem of overstocked and overgrazed ranges.[61]

The social policy developed for the Indian schools intensified the policy instituted by Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads in 1930 of doing away with the earlier practice of suppressing indigenous languages and ways. The law forbidding corporal punishment in the schools was enforced by making the supervisory force responsible for reporting abuses in the matter of discipline and by dismissing those persons who were proved guilty of inflicting corporal punishment.[62] Schools were ordered by the Washington Office not to interfere with Indian religious life or customs and the cultural history of the Indians was to be considered the equal of that of any non-Indian group. The Commissioner considered it desirable that the Indian be fluent in both the English language and in their, "vital, beautiful and

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60 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1936, p. 168.

61 Ibid.

62 Indians at Work, Sept. 1, 1934, p. 6.

efficient native languages." Anthropologists were employed to give Indian Office personnel lectures on Indian languages and history, and work was begun in the middle 1930's by the Progressive Education Association on the construction of a written alphabet for the Navajos who had no written language. In 1940 the new written language was completed and school books were printed in both the new language and English. Over ninety-five percent of the adult Navajos were illiterate and only one out of every ten could speak English. Therefore, it was hoped that through instruction by pictures in the books and by instruction from children who could read English and compare the Navajo words with the English language, the adult Indians would learn to read the new language and thus make it easier for the government to communicate with them. The books written in the new language were mainly simple stories dealing with plots common to the Indian and their phraseology was that of the Navajo himself.[63]

Concerning religion in the schools, Collier in a letter to superintendents of Indian Schools stated that they were not to interfere with Indian religious life except where violations of law were committed under the cloak of cultural tradition. Furthermore, he stated that the Indians did not have to obtain the permission of the Indian Service personnel before they could hold religious dance ceremonies as had been the case in earlier years.[64]

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[63] Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 90, and 1935, p. 135; Indians at Work, Jan. 15, 1935, p. 28, and March 1940, p. 15; New York Times, February 19, 1940.

[64] Indians at Work, Jan. 15, 1934, p. 16.

In furtherance of his announced program to employ more Indians in the Indian Service, Commissioner Collier placed Indians in responsible positions on the emergency conservation work instituted in the early 1930's, and the employment section of the Indian Service kept records of their progress with the view of giving them positions in the Indian Service when the conservation projects were ended.[65] Moreover, Indians were exempted from competitive examinations for all Indian Service positions in 1934, and the Civil Service Commission raised the mixiumum salary for the position of Indian assistants from $720 to $1200 and permitted employment in such positions to count for experience in the classified service. Furthermore, when vacancies occurred in the Indian Service, Indian applicants were given first consideration in filling the positions. By August of 1934, 1,785 positions of the 5,325 regular classified positions in the Indian Service were held by Indians. Most of the positions held were clerk's and teacher's posts although two enrolled Indians were appointed as heads of Indian Agencies.[66] Some seven months later 56.5 percent of the total expenditures of the Indian Service went to Indians as compared with 29.9 percent in 1933.[67] To quiet the fears of white persons employed in the Service, Collier explained in a letter to them that their Civil Service protection would not be diminished. However, he stated

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65 Indians at Work, Oct. 1, 1933, p. 28, and Nov. 1, 1933, p. 18.

66 Ibid., August 15, 1934; Indian Truth, Oct., 1934, XI, p. 3.

67 Indians at Work, Feb. 1, 1935, p. 13.

that the program of increasing the number of Indians employed by the Bureau would be continued and that preference would be given Indian applicants as vacancies arose if they possessed equivalent practical qualifications regardless of whether they could show merit system eligibility.[68]

To improve instruction in the Indian school and to orient longtime employees in the new program, in-service training agencies were developed for teachers. During 1936 two such institutes were conducted at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and at Wingate, New Mexico. Courses in anthropology, philosophy of Indian education, rural sociology, Indian arts and crafts, vocational agriculture and home economics were taught. Demonstration schools were operated in which teachers were instructed in the use of the Sioux and Navajo languages. The courses lasted for six weeks and 404 teachers attended.[69] In 1937 the program was extended to Sequoyah and Chilocco in Oklahoma and a total of 997 educational personnel was served. Moreover, to increase further the number of Indian teachers a program of apprentice training for Indian college graduates trained in education was begun in 1936. They were placed with superior service teachers and were paid by the government while serving as apprentices.[70] As a part of this program, some 100 Navajo young men and women were placed in the

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[68] Indians at Work, Feb. 15, 1935, p. 5.

[69] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1937, p. 227.

[70] Ibid.

Navajo Community day schools.[71] The provision of the Indian Reorganization Act providing for loans to pupils desiring to go to college or do post-high-school work was also used to increase the number of Indian teachers. By 1938 there were 600 students receiving these loans. Not all of them were training for the Indian Service but the Bureau encouraged them to do so.[72] Another step in improving the personnel and in securing persons who could better adapt themselves to teaching in the Indian Service was taken by adding to the earlier requirements an oral test on the person's knowledge of rural life and community development.[73]

As a measure designed to improve the relations between local governmental units and the federal government, the Johnson-O'Malley act was passed in April of 1934.[74] The measure authorized the Indian Service to contract with states, districts and private organizations for educational, medical and social services for the Indians. The law made it possible for the federal government to make agreements with the states for services that had in the past been contracted for with thousands of local districts. Under the terms of the act the states accepting the responsibility of educating the Indians had to agree to offer special courses in Indian arts and crafts, physical and health education and other courses which were

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71 Report, Secretary of Interior, 1938, p. 133.

72 Indians at Work, Oct., 1938, p. 8.

73 Ibid., Dec., 1938, p. 26.

74 48 U. S. Stat., 596.

considered by the Indian office necessary to meet the special needs of Indian children. Anthropologists acquainted with the Indians of the different areas were whenever feasible, to design the special courses to be taught the Indians.[75] The states entering into such contracts were paid by the federal government and they in turn were to provide funds for the local districts. Tuition payments by the government to the states were generally based on the type of instruction given in the state schools and the amount of non-taxable land in the state. The funds received were used chiefly by most states to provide services of special benefit to Indian children such as school lunches and clothing.[76]

Under the terms of the contracts the federal government reserved the right to refuse or reduce tuition payments for Indian children to any school district maintaining less than the highest state standards in respect to professional preparation of teachers, school equipment, text and library books and construction and sanitation of buildings.[77] California was the first state to accept the terms of the act and under the terms of its contract the state agreed to fit the school program to the special needs of the Indians of the community.[78] By 1939

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[75] Ibid.; Report, Secretary of Interior, 1934, p. 88.

[76] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1936, p. 169.

[77] Editorial, "The Las Vegas Conference on Indian Education," School and Society, XXXIX, (June 1934), p. 696.

[78] Report, C. I. A., 1934, p. 85.

the federal government had contracts with the states of California, Minnesota and Washington covering the education of all Indian children in the public schools of those states.[79] The law was also used to facilitate the policy of reducing the number of boarding schools. The government had announced that such schools would be used only for educating those children who could not be furnished with suitable education near their homes in Indian or public schools and for homeless children or children from unfit homes who lived in districts where there were no agencies equipped to make the necessary adjustments for them. Where it was possible the federal government entered into contract with state and private child welfare agencies to provide foster homes for such children, and those Indian children then attended public schools. In the placement of children in Oklahoma the preliminary study and follow-up work necessary to place the child wisely was conducted cooperatively by Indian service and the Child Welfare Division of the Oklahoma State Department of Public Welfare. Indian Service social workers prepared a list of eligible homes and the state child welfare division selected from the list the homes which were to serve as boarding homes. Foster parents were paid by the state and federal government for their care of the children. Contracts were also made with the state of Wisconsin Division of Social Welfare, with the Michigan Children's Aid Society, and with other

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[79] Willard W. Beatty, "Indian Education in the United States," in C. T. Loram and T. F. McIlwraith, The North American Indian Today. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943), 279.

private agencies and missionary groups to supervise and carry on the boarding home program. The activities carried on by the private agencies were generally placed under the direction of the State Superintendents of Education. In all of the federal-local-state cooperative programs the federal government paid subsistence, tuition and other type payments only for children of more than one-fourth Indian blood.[80]

In furtherance of the government's program of promoting the study of Indian arts and crafts in both the Indian schools and the public schools, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes appointed a committee to study and make recommendations concerning them in their relation to the economic and cultural welfare of the American Indian. The committee was to recommend to the Indian Department practical procedures for organizing marketing methods, for encouraging the revival of the arts themselves and for the training of the newer generations of Indians in their production. The committee recommended to the government in 1934 that there be created a department to promote the Indian Arts and crafts, and in 1935 Congress authorized the creation of an Arts and Crafts Board.[81]

A sum of $45,000 was granted for its work and it was given wide powers to establish and administer suitable trademarks, grade

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80 Reports, Secretary of Interior, 1935, p. 160, 1936, p. 171, and 1940, p. 389; Indians at Work, Nov., 1938, p. 16; Willard W. Beatty, "Indian Education in the U. S.," 280.

81 Indians at Work, Jan. 15, 1934, p. 18; James W. Young, "The Revival and Development of Indian Arts and Crafts," in Indians at Work, April, 1940, pp. 25-33. Mr. Young was the Chairman of the Committee appointed by Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes to make a study of arts and crafts. Ibid.; 49 Stats., 891.

qualities, explore marketing possibilities and serve as a management corporation for traders and groups of craftsmen.[82] The board could provide penalties for any counterfeiting or misuse of the trademarks and United States district attorneys were to prosecute violations of the marks. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board began to function in 1936. Standards of genuineness and quality for Navajo, Pueblo and Hopi silver and turquoise were established and a government stamp was created to be applied only to those pieces meeting the standards set. With the assistance of the Federal Trade Commission and United States District Attorneys, a number of cases of the use of misleading labels on imitation Indian jewelry and false advertising were stopped during 1936.

Moreover, during the first year of operation, an Indian exhibit was arranged at the World's Fair in Paris. Efforts were also made to teach better workmanship and to arrange and supply raw materials to craftsmen. Local arts and crafts boards in many areas were helped to increase their activities and arts and craft courses such as silversmithing and pottery making were organized and were being taught in many of the Indian schools by 1938.[83]

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82 Indians at Work, July 15, 1936, p. 18. The Board was to consist of five members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior for four year terms. They were to serve without pay, except for reimbursement of actual expenses incurred incidental to the performance of their duties. Young, loc. cit., 26.

83 Young, loc. cit., 25-33; Willard W. Beatty, "Indian Education in the U. S., 280. Rene d'Harnoncourt, "Activities of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board Since Its Organization in 1936," in Indians at Work, April, 1940, pp. 32-35. Mr. Rene d'Harnoncourt was General Manager of the Indian Arts and Craft Board when the article was written.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In reviewing the reforms which were brought about in the Indian service under Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads and John Collier there can be no doubt that the conditions in the schools were, for the most part, tremendously improved and that the Indians did, in general, profite from the reforms instituted. Appropriations were increased almost threefold, making possible more adequate care of the children in the boarding schools without forcing them to spend one-half of the school day on routine tasks and menial work.[1] The foolish and sometimes brutal disciplinary practices of the earlier years were abandoned and the level of the educational personnel was raised through higher merit system qualifications. However, it is apparent that the reforms instituted were not altogether successful nor did they completely solve the Indian educational problem.

The value of the policy of the government in emphasizing instruction in the Indian arts and crafts in the Indian schools and of requiring states to include such courses in their schools attended by Indian children was questionable. Some persons

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[1] The 1941 Manual for Indian School Service allows upper grade students to be employed by the schools if the pupil is properly paid for his services and if such employment does not interfere with school activities. Office of Indian Affairs, Manual for Indian School Service, (Riverside Calif.: The Sherman Press, 1942), 95. The Sherman Press is operated by the Riverside, California, Boarding School.

argued that most of the skills could be taught at home and that the income from this source was not enough to warrant instruction in the schools.[2] Figures from government sources sustained their arguments, for the most part. In 1942, for example, even with all the active operation of the Arts and Crafts Board the Indian population earned only a net income of $720,885.36 from arts and crafts. This sum represented only 1.30 percent of the total net Indian income and over one-half of the amount went to one Indian Nation, the Navajo.[3]

There was evidence also that the high level of personnel attained through the use of competitive examinations during the years between 1928 and 1933 was threatened by Commissioner Collier's policy of exempting Indians from the merit system. At any rate the measure placed a heavy burden on the Secretary of the Interior and administrators who had to determine subjectively, under the exemption practice, what should be the qualifications of the Indians employed. Their inability to make the correct selections in every case resulted in incompetent local administrations in some places. The case of the Navajo is an example of the tendency. The government placed inexperienced Navajo girls as teachers in the first day schools completed on their reservation and expected the girls to develop an educational program with practically no direction from the Indian school administration. The girls had about an eighth grade education and the Navajo knew it. Consequently,

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[2] Indian Truth, April, 1938, XV, pp. 2-4; New York Times, March 14, 1937, p. 16 and March 28, 1937, p. 11.

[3] 86 Office of Indian Affairs, Individual Income: Resident Population. (Washington D. C.: Gov. Printing Office, 1942), pp. 1, 2, 5.

they protested to the government and demanded that their schools be staffed with instructors qualified to teach. Besides, the Navajos claimed that they wanted their children to learn to read and write English so that they could help them when they "went to town and came in contact with the whites."[4] They stated that the language used by the federal government which controlled their affairs was English and they wanted to know for themselves what the government was doing. This difficulty could in the future be eliminated by the introduction of the new written Navajo language but it is doubtful if the new language will solve their difficulties in dealing with the surrounding white population.

The government's social policy of allowing the Indian almost complete freedom to practice his native religion was also attacked. The older Yuma Indians in Arizona complained that because the new generation did not know the true meaning of the native dances and because, in complying with the order not to interfere with the ceremonies, superintendents of agencies had provided no police protection, the supposedly religious dances were generally followed by indiscriminate sexual orgies.[5]

Commissioner Collier's argument that the community day school could be run for a third less than the boarding school proved incorrect in places where the Indians were scattered over a large area. Collier claimed in 1933 that one of the reasons why 7,000 of the 12,000 Navajo school age children were not in school was

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[4] Indian Truth, Oct., 1934, XI, p. 6, and Oct., 1935, XII, p. 4.

[5] Indian Truth, Nov., 1937, XII, pp. 2-3.

the lack of facilities. The community day schools would, he stated, solve this problem.[6] Five years later in 1939, however, more than sixty percent of the Navajo children were not attending any type of educational institution and daily attendance of the children except in the boarding schools was very low.[7] At Fruitland Navajo Day School, New Mexico, which was built at a cost of $100,000 and had eight classrooms, a clinic, home economic quarters, bathrooms, a dining room, kitchen, employees' quarters, and a 30,000 gallon water tank only eleven children were in attendance in 1938.[8] A similar condition existed at Aneth, Utah. There was a large plant and only six children in school.[9] As a result of this poor attendance the per capita cost of some of the day schools was $600 a year instead of the $124 which had been estimated by Collier.[10] One of the reasons for the poor participation in school by the Navajo was that although some federal money had been spent on improving the main roads on the reservation most of them became impassable during bad weather and the children consequently were kept out of school for weeks at a time. A further reason was that the

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6 Indian Truth, Oct., 1934, XI, p. 6, and April, 1938, XV, pp. 2-3.

7 Ibid., April, 1938, XV. pp. 2-3, and Nov.-Dec., 1939, XVI, p. 6. Thomas Jesse Jones, Charles T. Loram and others, The Navajo Indian Problem. (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1939), 52,245.

8 Ibid., April, 1938, XV, pp. 2-3.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

Navajos had for centuries followed their flocks. They would put in a crop near the day school and live there until the crop was harvested then they would move away leaving the school deserted.[11] The parents of those Navajo children who did attend school complained that their children were not getting a proper education in the schools. A superintendent of the Navajo Methodist Mission School, Farmington, New Mexico, declared that among the Navajo children ranging in age from ten to fifteen years who supposedly had been attending school for as many as six years some of them were not ready for the second grade.[12] A survey made by the Phelp-Stokes Fund in 1939 stated that of those children who attended school in the Navajo Nation almost half could be classed as being in grade one or under. The report also stated that although the home economic courses in the schools were good, vocational instruction in agriculture was far below standard and not in any way comparable to vocational training in agriculture in high schools supported by the Smith-Hughes fund throughout the country.[13] Spokesmen for the government answered the charges by stating that the schools were reservation centered and that a standardized education was not their purpose.[14]

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[11] Indian Truth, April, 1938, XV, pp. 2-3, and Nov.-Dec., 1939, XVI, p. 6. Jones, op. cit., 53.

[12] Ibid., Nov.-Dec., 1939, XVI, p. 6, and March, 1941, XVIII, p. 2.

[13] Ibid., Nov.-Dec., 1939, XVI, p. 6; Jones, op. cit., 235.

[14] Ibid., Nov.-Dec., XVI, p. 6, and March, 1941, XVIII, p.2.

To many persons this concentration by the government on adapting the schools to reservation life as well as the whole protective segregation policy seemed a backward step. They still wanted the trend toward individualization of the Indian hastened. The government's policy of emphasizing training which would prepare the Navajos for life on the reservation was especially mentioned. They claimed that at least part of the Navajo children should be trained for life among the whites for the government itself had restricted the number of sheep and the amount of range that could be used and nature had restricted the area fit for cultivation. Even some of the strongest advocates of the Reorganization Act in 1934 were by 1937 asking for repeal of the act. Senator Wheeler, one of the co-authors of the measure, stated that many of the Indians resented being "herded like cattle" on reservations where they were treated like some special kind of creature. He claimed that many of the Indians who had voted for the law now wanted to be released so that they could live like other Americans and go to school and be prepared like other citizens instead of being isolated in separate communities.[15] Collier answered Wheeler by stating that to speed up the migration of Indians into the white population would mean certain disaster for 100,000 of them because Indians detached from native life and thrown into the mechanized society dropped, for the most part, to the lowest social stratum while those living in their traditional tribal environment attained spiritual and cultural heights such

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[15] Indian Truth, April, 1938, XV, pp. 2-3; New York Times, March 14, 1937, p. 16 and March 28, 1937, p. 11.

as only tribal Indians know.[16] While some persons were doubting the wisdom of the segregation policy, Commissioner Collier claimed in his report for 1939, that the population of the Indian race was increasing at almost twice the rate of the population as a whole and that the future of the Indian and the Indian culture was brighter than at any other time since the advent of the white man. Moreover, he stated that with the increase in population, the policy of the government must be to place the Indians on good adequate lands of their own where they might earn decent livelihoods and "lead self-respecting, organized lives in harmony with their own ideas and aims." The policy of promoting assimilation of the Indians into the dominant culture, a policy so prized by Pratt and other Indian educators, seemed to have been rejected by the commissioner. In his Annual Report for 1939, he quoted from a survey conducted by the government which revealed that the Indian like the Negro was gradually forming a more and more definite racial minority group in some areas and especially in localities where the government had purchased land from the whites and settled the Indians on them. He further stated that the survey showed that assimilation was being retarded and that the quantum of Indian blood in the mixed bloods was increasing. Instead of suggesting ways of improving the assimilative process through education and other possible avenues, Collier stated that the Indians living in the self-governing communities would in their interaction with the white culture "make fundamental contributions

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[16] New York Times, March 28, 1937, p. 11.

to the improvement of the American design of living."[17] This may prove correct, but the fate suffered by some of the other minority groups in the United States challenges the policy of the federal government in carrying out a practice which by the government's own words restricts the chances of amalgamation between the Indian and the white race. There can be no doubt that the Indian presents a unique problem. He is the only race specifically mentioned in the United States Constitution and as a result his affairs have always been primarily a federal question.[18] But despite the intrinsic worth of the Indian culture to the Indian himself, the perfect solution to the problem would seem to be the complete absorption of the Indian race by the dominant culture.

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[17] Report, Secretary of Interior, 1939, pp. 66-67, 68; John Collier, op. cit., pp. 263-269.

[18] United States Constitution, Art. I, Sec. VIII, in Federic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, Introduction to American Government. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1945), 716-729.

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The government sources used primarily for obtaining information concerning actual conditions in the Indian schools were House Documents, Senate Documents and Congressional Hearings. The "Survey of Conditions of the Indians of the United States," Hearings Before a Subcommittee on the Committee on Indian Affairs was especially useful for this purpose.

Valuable information regarding the Indian Bureau's educational policy and pertaining to actual conditions in the Indian schools was also found in the New York Times, Indian Truth, Atlantic Monthly, Indians at Work, Journal of Negro Education,

Good Housekeeping magazine, Annual Reports of the Board of Directors of the Indian Rights Association. The Survey Graphic magazine definitely favored the Collier administration as did the articles in the Journal of Negro Education. Atlantic Monthly and Indians at Work; but they contained much information of worth concerning the structure and operation of the Indian schools. Indians at Work is a periodical published by the Department of the Interior for the Indians and the Indian service personnel. Therefore, it is naturally a little too critical of earlier administrations and a trifle too optimistic in depicting the accomplishments of the Collier administration. However, it does contain a wealth of material about the activities of the Indian service since 1933. Indian Truth is a magazine published periodically by the Indian Rights Association. It contains information gathered by private persons in investigations at the Indian schools. Although the magazine does not present the administration in such glowing terms as does Indians at Work. Sincere efforts are made in the studies conducted for the periodical to weigh the value of the government's Indian educational policy. The articles in the Good Housekeeping magazine were written at a time when the Indian schools were at a low ebb, and they, in part, were written to arouse public opinion against corruptness in the Indian service. Consequently, the articles present, for the most part, the worst features of the schools during the late 1920's.

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Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities and Organization and The Problem of Indian Administration were especially useful. Elaine G. Eastman's Pratt: The Red Man's Moses and Flora W. Seymour's work, Indian Agents, were also helpful in writing the chapters on the early Indian policy and on Richard Henry Pratt's work in Indian education.

Since some of the policy was written into law, I have made use of the Statutes at Large of the United States. The United States Supreme Court Reports were also used to obtain information concerning the court's interpretation of laws regulating the Indian.

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THESIS TITLE: Federal Policy in Indian Education, 1870-1938.

NAME OF AUTHOR: George R. McMullen

THESIS ADVISER: O. A. Hilton

The content and form have been checked and approved by the author and thesis adviser. "Instructions for Typing and Arranging the Thesis" are available in the Graduate School Office. Changes or corrections in the thesis are not made by the Graduate School office or by any committee. The copies are sent to the bindery just as they are approved by the author and faculty adviser.

NAME OF TYPIST: Dorothy S. Laycock