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The Study of Nez Perce Indian education

Gregory R. Sanford

STUDY OF NEZ PERCE INDIAN EDUCATION

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THE STUDY OF NEZ PERCE INDIAN EDUCATION

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THE STUDY OF NEZ PERCE INDIAN EDUCATION

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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THE STUDY OF NEZ PERCE INDIAN EDUCATION

BY
Gregory R Sanford

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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THE STUDY OF NEZ PERCE INDIAN EDUCATION

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Studies of "rock writings," both pictograph and petroglyph, indicate that the primitive artist was following a pattern of pictography in the vogue of his area. The drawings were symbolic of religious and ceremonial rites, i.e., puberty. Rich findings have been located along the Snake River depicting the history of the Nez Perce Indian.

Education of children was in the form of myths and legends told in large group gatherings in the longhouse during the winter months. Expressions of politeness, etiquette, and proper behavior were usually emphasized. Horror stories indicated treatment by "spirits," if caught. Monsters were obstacles to be conquered. Tribal history and biographical sketches were an important part of education. Apprentice training was the most popular method of teaching established skills, much of the teaching being done by older Indians and parents. A religious experience of a vision quest for the spirit "weyekin" was a part of growing up. The feast of the first fruits in the spring was another important religious ceremony. Religion was a central part of their culture and rules on religion, birth, adolescence, marriage, death and burial were taught. Magic, too, was important with the Shaman (witch doctor) as the leader. Some of these ceremonies were held as recently as 1940-1945.

The Lewis and Clark expedition in 1805 may have been the first contact of the Nez Perces with the whites. Other early contacts were with Catholic and Presbyterian missionaries.

Early missionary, Reverend Henry Harmon Spalding, was away ahead of his time. He believed the Indians could be civilized, educated, and converted to Christianity. He and his wife helped them construct and operate a gristmill, sawmill, blacksmith shop and printing shop and introduced agriculture. Spalding translated the Bible into the Nez Perce language. He established schools. Finding the English language too difficult for them, he learned their

language. He devised an alphabet for them and printed a lexicon and grammar–imperfect, of course, but of service. As the Indians liked music, he translated hymns and even composed new ones in their tongue. However, he had a violent temper and lashed the Indians. There was much conflict between Spalding and the Catholic missionaries.

The Indian children, in order to receive a Catholic education, had to travel to DeSmet, Idaho. They did not get their own school at Fort Lapwai until 1902. In 1915 an orphanage was opened. Both school and orphanage burned on August 27, 1916. Rebuilt, they were destroyed again by fire on October 3, 1925. Eventually a concrete school was built. Today both school and orphanage are closed.

It would appear that the missionaries failed to build a lasting bridge between the Indian and white cultures. They merely tolerated the Indian way of life until they could teach them to be good white men.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs came into being in 1824 during the Jacksonian era. By 1849 it passed from military to civil control, its work to "civilize" the Indians and train them for farming trades. By 1862 the Indians came to be regarded as "wards" of the government. As the "Wild West" filled with white settlers the various tribes had to curtail their ranging habits or continue them in a much smaller region. So long as fish and game were plentiful, there was little trouble. As the settlers grew in numbers, food and buffalo became scarce and the Indian began stealing cattle. By 1853 the whole area was involved in general uprisings.

With the building of the railroads, more and more land was taken from the Indian. By 1854 the Nez Perce, once a free and prosperous tribe, were to be relegated to reservation life. Considered the most intelligent Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, they were beginning to wonder what had happened to the white man's promises of schools, industries and teachers. A treaty was finally ratified in 1859, the first appropriation being made in 1861. Gold was found in abundance on the reservation and the whites poured in. The reservation was reduced to about one-sixteenth its original size and a compensation of $262,000 was given, $50,000 of which was for school land. The treaty was not popular. The new school was not built until 1870. Spalding was assigned as Superintendent of Instruction by the Presbyterian Church. Much trouble ensued.

The Indians continued to farm, to graze their cattle, and to raise their famous horses,

to improve their 20-acre tracts, and to build homes. They showed interest in education and in religion and in less consumption of whiskey. It was becoming apparent that the only way to make responsible citizens of the Indians was to give them land as well as to teach them how to farm. The Dawes Act was passed in 1887. By 1894 farming flourished, fine home were built. Some 203 students were enrolled in the school.

By the early 1900's Indians and whites were attending the same public schools. They mingled well, were seldom unruly, and were easily disciplined. Many attended the Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania. Others were sent to the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas.

Lapwai Rural High School was opened in September, 1901, the first rural high school in Idaho and the first integrated school of its kind in the United States. This same year, instead of the big boarding school maintained at Fort Lapwai, the Government established schools and workshops throughout the reservation and also planted fruit orchards and vegetable gardens for instruction in farming.

The Meriam Report, published during 1926-1928, pointed out weaknesses in the program of Indian life and education. Since that time an improved school system has been established with the greatest responsibility being allocated to the State of Idaho, aided by Federal funds. Since 1960 the Nez Perce have benefited from several Federal programs.

My grandchild, the Whites have many things which we Navajos need, but we cannot get them. It is as though the Whites were in a grassy canyon and there they have wagons, plows, and plenty of food. We Navajos are up on the dry mesa. We can hear them talking but we cannot get to them. My grandchild, education is the ladder. Tell our people to take it.

Manuelito
Famous Navajo War Chief

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF NEZ PERCE INDIAN EDUCATION

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study was to survey the history of the educational pursuits of the Nez Perce Indians.

Importance of the Study

There is a need for a study of the history of education among the Nez Perces. First, there is no existent work available on the complete history of the Nez Perce education. Second, a history of their education should illuminate past and present Indian educational policies.

Method of Study

The historical method will involve three major steps:

1. The data will be collected from primary and secondary sources.
2. The data will be objectively analyzed as to authorship, authenticity, time, and place.
3. The data will be treated in a chronological and topical pattern, which will be divided into three parts:

a. Before the white man

b. Missionary effort

c. Role of the United States Government.

Delimitations of the Study

Because of the enormous breadth and complexity of the history of the Nez Perce Indians' education, this study will be limited to an historical study of significant movements in the field of Nez Perce Indian education.

Sources of data will be limited to the: (1) prehistorical Indian art and rock writing in the Nez Perce country, (2) prehistorical Nez Perce education, which includes religion, vocational skills, animal husbandry, mythology, missionary movement to Nez Perce territory by Protestants and Catholics, and the United States Government's education of the Nez Perce Nation.

Representatives of the following denominations, the Christian Reformed Church, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, the Congregational, the Roman Catholic, and the Missionary Research Library of the Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University, should be able to supply information through personal interviews or private correspondence.

For the most part, publications of the United States Government will be used as sources of data on the work of the Bureau of

Indian Affairs and the schools that were established and maintained under its direction.

Much of the available material is contradictory. In some cases it may be possible to compare the reports of the missionaries and teachers with the observations of travelers and soldiers in order to reach more dependable conclusions. In many cases data for comparison may be unobtainable.

There are many gaps in the chronology of Indian education. In some cases reporting and chronicling was interrupted by wars and by economic recessions that reduced the funds available for the support of Indian schools. A number of records have been lost or are unavailable for study.

CHAPTER II

THE YEARS OF FREEDOM

Petroglyphs and Pictographs in the Nez Perce Country

Many things about the native Americans have been studied but the study of the so-called "rock writings" has to be one area that needs further exploration. These are found throughout the length and breadth of the western hemisphere. Usually the response by living Indians is that they have no knowledge of their meaning of the "rock writings" except maybe they are similar to the white man's "doodles" at the side of a page. Many amateurs in the Pacific Northwest have made suggestions on meanings to detail their significance; but again there appears to be relatively little scientific endeavor that has been pursued.

The prehistoric art of the Old World, found on cliffs and on the walls of caves, has been a source of scientific information to scholars for many years. On this side of the Atlantic stream there are numerous publications. Mallery's pictographs,[1] Stewart's

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[1] Garrick Mallery, "Pictographs of the American Indians, a Preliminary Paper," Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (1886), pp. 3-256; "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (1893), (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 5-822.

monograph on the southwestern states,[2] Johnson's photographs of pictographs and petroglyphs,[3] learned journals, monographs, and semi-popular periodicals were used to give background to the Nez Perce study.

We must first face the job of establishing an accurate record of distribution of these "rock-writings" before there can be any hope of interpretation of the petroglyphs or pictographs in any general sense as a phase of culture or means of relating to the aboriginal's education. Most of the "markings" appear along the Snake River or its principal tributaries where the "writings" have been observed. As the Snake River enters the mighty Columbia, the distribution tapers off to very few petroglyphs on the south bank of the Columbia as it forms the boundary between Washington and Oregon. A detailed study was made by a group who worked that area.[4]

Studies of "rock writings" usually create many conflicting views on the terms to be utilized in a discussion of this phase of the

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[2] Julian H. Stewart, "Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Vol. XXIV. No. 2 (1929), pp. 47-238.

[3] John W. Johnson, a great uncle of the writer, who spent 35 years as a forest ranger and supervisor in the southwest, especially New Mexico.

[4] W. D. Strong, W. E. Schenck, and J. H. Stewart, "Archaeology of The Dalles-Deschutes Region," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (1930).

American Indian's past. As a general rule, in studying paleolithic art, there is no problem of differentiating between a pictograph and a petroglyph. Pigments are used for a pictograph; incised lines for a petroglyph. The latter type of design is found usually on fixed surfaces such as the granite and basalt cliffs or caves along the Snake River. In early American Indian work there appears to be a large field of art mobilier such as the pottery of the Southwest; crests, wooden masks and metal objects of the Northwest; lithic carvings from the lower Columbia; and textile and basketry patterns along the Pacific Coast.

Were these "rock writings" done by Nez Perce Indians? Did they reflect significant aspects of life such as marriage, death, and survival? Did they represent a historical ledger?

There is certainly a wide range of variation in the quality of the different designs. Many are clearly identifiable, while others are simply a series of rambling or involved lines. The fact that the present-day observer can recognize what the early Indian artist put on the surface of a column of basalt doesn't mean that one understands fully why the Indian put it there.

Many writers have attempted to arrive at some interpretation of "rock writings." Drawing freely upon their imaginations, without much regard for factual data, they have propounded many absurd theories. Competent scholars, on the other hand, seem very reluctant

to theorize. The fully trained researchers all seem to agree that a certain amount of symbolism is contained in the art. The difficult part is the interpretation of it; for, until it can be determined that it relates to a known culture or can be tied in with the contemporary Indian, there is still the question, "what symbolism?" This uncertainty of what things mean is fully evident in the highly symbolic art of the Pacific Northwest Coastal Indians, where Boas[5] has shown there exists a wide gap between what scholars and other observers believe. The Nez Perce tribe has pictures that have been interpreted both as puberty rites and sexual activities. While a certain device such as the triangle may in one area stand for the female procreative powers, there is no proof that it must mean the same thing wherever it occurs. The wide distribution of geometric forms, such as the rectangular grid and the concentric circle, substantiates their long existence although not necessarily any marked stability of meaning.

Stewart writes:

> It has frequently been stated that petroglyphs and pictographs are but meaningless figures made in idle moments by some primitive artist. The facts of distribution, however, show that this cannot be true. Since design elements and style are grouped in limited areas, the primitive artist must have made the inscriptions with something definite in mind. He

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[5] Franz Boas, "The Decorative Art of the North American Indians," Popular Science Monthly, Vol. LXIII (1903), pp. 481-498.

> must have followed a pattern of petrography which was in vogue in his area. He executed, not random drawings, but figures similar to those made in other parts of the same area. The elements of design, then, must have had some definite significance which was the same over wide areas.[6]

We shall probably never know precisely why many of the petroglyphs and pictographs were made, but we can guess that many of them were made for some religious or ceremonial purpose. Among the Quinault on Puget Sound in Washington State, R. Olson states, pictographs were made by boys at their puberty ceremonies and the figures represented mythical water monsters seen by the boys in their visions in order to gain a position in the tribe.[7] Among the Nez Perce, Spinden[8] reports a number of pictographs made by girls during their puberty ceremonies and representing objects seen by them in dreams or connected with the ceremonies. These writers do not, of course, prove that all petroglyphs were made during puberty ceremonies, but they do strongly indicate that most, if not all, petroglyphs were

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[6] Ibid., p. 225.

[7] The Quinault are reported erroneously here as being on Puget Sound. Olson, in a recent publication, lists pictographs and petroglyphs as wholly absent in this culture. R. Olson, "The Quinault Indians," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. VI, No. 1 (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 1936, p. 184.

[8] H. J. Spinden, "The Nez Perce Indians," in the Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, II, Part 3 (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: New Era Printing Company, 1908), p. 47.

probably more than the results of idle moments, even of efforts for posterity or production of works of art.

Mallery cites the belief prevalent among different tribes in North America of the relation of these designs to the shaman;[9] and among the Klamath Indians in Oregon, Spier found the same relationship, with the practice sometimes observed of the shaman repainting the designs from year to year.[10] In the Southwest the petroglyphs were reportedly used as clan symbols.[11]

Even if in contemporary cultures pictographs and petroglyphs are associated in some way with adolescent ceremonies, we cannot be certain that these are the intended meanings.

The use of objects for ceremonial or mystical purposes should in all likelihood depend upon some quality of the extraordinary that they possessed. A quality of sacredness may have been imposed upon petroglyphs by bands of Indians in the Nez Perce region. Such cases have been recorded by Mallery and Spier. Shamans, never slow to capitalize upon potential sources of power might, when the original

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[9] Mallery, op. cit., pp. 31-36 passim.

[10] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. XXX (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1930, p. 142.

[11] Mary R. F. Colton and Harold S. Colton, "Petroglyphs, the Record of a Great Adventure," American Anthropologist, n. s., Vol. XXXIII, 1931, pp. 32-37.

meaning was no longer known, use the petroglyphs for their own purposes. Power-giving adolescent ceremonies might have found a psychologically valuable source of power in the duplication of the mysterious designs. While it is valuable to know that the painting of pictographs was used at the termination of adolescent ceremonies, the point of real importance is why this practice, rather than some other device, was utilized.

Although a reasonable explanation for a design may be found in one culture, it doesn't follow that the same explanation will suffice for other areas. This study, as well as many others, has shown that design elements differ widely in this form of art. As design elements and meanings tend to break down, diffuse, and recombine with other elements of a pattern, any effort to explain examples of this form of art must confine itself to the cultural area of which it may be a part.

Pictographs and petroglyphs are found at a site five miles west of Clarkston, Washington, on the Alpowa Creek (location of Red Wolf and Timothy's band of Nez Perces).[12] The latest picture shows an Indian riding a horse. This was probably done right after the Nez

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[12] Buffalo Rock, Nez Perce County--both petroglyphs and pictographs, Twp. 33N, Rng. 5W, Sec. 22. This is located some twenty miles south of Clarkston, Washington on the confluence of the Snake River with the Clearwater River.

Perce acquired their first horses from the South.

Many of the pictures became very sophisticated as the Indian put in contours to show hills and valleys. For example, at Buffalo Eddy, one big boulder was used to represent a mountain and trails.

Buffalo Eddy had been a gathering place of Indians long before the advent of the white man. The Snake River is deep and cradled in jagged stone. The sturgeon lie in the depths. Indians fished there in ages past, apparently held councils, left their messages, and proceeded on their way.

"Rock Writings" are found on a granite rock that stands by itself on a small flat at the mouth of a lateral canyon. A considerable village, named Ilokobatpi, was formerly situated around it. Buffalo Rock takes its name from crude but unmistakable figures of buffalo painted with red paint on the upriver side. Some of these figures have been removed and others have been destroyed by vandalism; therefore, most of them are in very poor condition. Near these buffalo figures are two signs, each with one vertical line and seven horizontal lines on the left side as the teeth of a rake. These figures were painted in black and yellow paint.

The most interesting group of pictographs and petroglyphs is on the downriver side of the rock. A considerable area of the rock is still covered with a varnish-like brown paint. This covering was removed by pecking and cutting figures that stand out in gray against

the brown background. Most of these figures appear to represent men who have buffalo-horn headdresses. The arms are long; the elbows are bent; and the hands are on a level with the broad shoulders. In one or two cases the hands carry wands or bows. The bodies, from the shoulder down, resemble the tail of a fish, the hips being very narrow and the legs short. A mountain goat with greatly elongated horns is represented above one of the man-like figures. In general style these petroglyphs closely resemble those found elsewhere in the Columbia Basin area.

Many pictographs and petroglyphs abound in the Buffalo Eddy area. Probably the most classic petroglyph, which was photographed prior to vandalism and will be covered shortly with slack water behind a proposed dam, was interpreted as a hunting scene. Some of the beasts were shown outside of the encirclement as if they were escaping, some were lying down as if they were dying, and some were in the process of being killed. As indicated by the pictures, the weapons were spears and heavy billy-clubs.

This eddy is not the only site of Indian etchings in the area. Others can be seen on the Idaho side of the Snake River between Wild Goose Rapids and Shovel Creek Rapids and on a rock about three-quarters of a mile north of the Timothy Bridge near Silcott (located five miles west of Clarkston, Washington). All these areas, including Buffalo Eddy will be covered by backwater of a new dam.

Mrs. Elmer Earl, a housewife in the Buffalo Eddy area, discovered a cave full of ancient Indian artifacts; but she has kept its location secret. She found arrowheads, necklaces, needles, awls and other utensils buried in the cave in layers, indicating preceding civilizations of early men. One of her discoveries was a necklace of rolled copper, looking much like a string of odd-sized firecrackers, lying buried in the dust. The copper rolls were aligned as perfectly as though the string had not long ago decayed. Evidently these Indians were mining and working the Snake River Canyon copper veins that would be worked later by the white man.

H.W. Krieger wrote:

> The unique inscriptions, human figurines, animal figure rock sculptures, and paintings of the bison at Buffalo Rock, about twenty miles south of Clarkston, Washington, on the east bank of the Snake River, differ radically from other nearby inscriptions and are not characteristic of the petroglyphs or pictographs of central Idaho. They resemble much more what one might expect to find in a typical Basket Maker environment.[13]

Further up the river, at what is called Indian Ladder Point, or Lime Point in Nez Perce County,[14] the symbols resemble goat-like animals and are symbols of geometric forms. These are near the mouth of the Grand Ronde River that empties into the Snake River at this

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[13] H.W. Krieger, Prehistoric Inhabitants of the Columbia River Valley, Curator, Division of Ethnology, U.S. National Museum.

[14] Twp. 32N, R.5W, Sec. 21, 27 miles south of Clarkston, Washington.

point.

Along the east side of the Clearwater River are pictographs. Spinden[15] drew a sketch of a red colored pictograph on a large granite boulder about four miles above Kamiah, Idaho, at one end of a railroad cut. He had observed it in 1897--this sketch shows a thunderbird[16] and several other symbols. He also said "A mile or two above Kamiah on the Clearwater River, a small group of paintings existed until destroyed by railroad grading. The animals represented were men and deer or elk."[17]

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[15] Spinden, op. cit., p. 232.

[16] Kamiah, Idaho County, T 33N, R 4E, Sec. 30.

[17] Spinden, op. cit., p. 234.

EARLY AMERICANS

Near a big eddy in the Snake River
Where the sturgeon like to stay,
The fish with bone-like armor
That links the dim past with today.

Is an old Indian camping ground
Of a clan that vanished long ago
But they left a written record
So that other clans would know,

That they were mighty hunters
Of the big game of the hills,
The bighorn, deer and elk and buffalo
Were pictured as their kills.

There were sturgeon in those days
Fifteen feet and half a ton.
And salmon by the millions
With no dams to stop their run.

On the smooth face of the granite
Some history conscious writing man
With a hard flint for a chisel,
Pecked out the record of his clan.

It tells of game hunts and fishing,
And thirteen moons would make a year.
That each moon had four phases,
And the evening star was near.

It tells of ritual dance and battles,
And visitors from another tribe.
The family life and daily living
Was recorded by this scribe.

The history of a valiant people
Whose dreams we can only guess,
But they gloried in achievement
And bore their sorrow and distress.

John W. Johnson

Primitive Societal Education

To have any order within a society, a social group has to develop a series of mechanisms that will act as socializing agents to further education or to maintain what has gone on before. These mechanisms might be grouped and called an educational system. It appears that this system is to teach, develop, and maintain a life cycle "adequate motivation for participating in socially valued and controlled patterns of action."[18] In other words, "socialization" is the major task by which a person becomes a member of a social group or community.

The basic goals for all cultures remain the same: transmittal of traditions, beliefs, ideals, and aspirations to the pursuing generations. A separate but important goal is the acquisition of physical skills relative to the technology of the culture.[19] However, societies can vary widely in how these aspirations can be carried out. All of the different techniques that emulate from technology are aimed at helping the individual in his relationship with the environment and with others within his group. In most societies, both the environment and the group are intermingled for the purpose of perserving the community.

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[18] Talcott Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 12.

[19] George A. Pettitt, Primitive Education in North America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), p. 1.

Thus, the family, clan and tribe (in this case the Nez Perce) have an interest in the formation of ways of insuring solidarity, teaching role behavior, inspiring achievement, and transferring traditions and values to their young.

The big task is encountered when large groups of people and advancing technology lead to a more formalized system for "socializing" the youth. Usually, in primitive societies, the means for educating the offspring are less observable. When one wishes to study these educational mechanisms, he finds a multitude of problems. Since most natives had not developed a written language (except for such things as petroglyphs and pictographs), documents are extremely hard to locate. White recognizes that many problems exist and become more complicated. When an established culture contacts a new and more advanced civilization, change will occur.[20] This means that the process of acculturation distorts the older system. Therefore, any judgment of the educational structure of primitive societies must rely heavily upon anthropological and ethnological studies and notes left by experts who observe these societies before extensive acculturation had a chance to take place. Another source of data would be the folktales and legends of the Indians. Possibly a third method of getting

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[20] Elizabeth White, No Turning Back (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1964), p. 40.

information would be biographical data provided by the Indians writing about themselves. With the foregoing in mind, the following section will be an attempt to look at the early educational processes among the Nez Perce Indians.

Primitive Nez Perce Education

The Nez Perce Indians had an effective system of socializing their youth. To understand how this system worked, one has to have an understanding of their religion. Indeed religion was obviously a vital portion of their life. Indians could not discriminate between the spiritual and the mundane. Religion was all pervasive. It transmitted both the culture and the practical teaching to the children. Simple supernatural explanations helped the children to understand the problems in the world about them. With the absence of scientific technology to explain natural phenomena, the Nez Perces developed an elaborate animistic system of belief to aid in their adjustment to their environment. Usually, they seemed to believe that when one lived in harmony with nature, the spirits would naturally be pleased to grant them the so-called "good life." Malinowski described myths to substantiate belief, to embrace moral precepts, to give validity to faith, and to give weight to any preparation necessary for the "happy hunting

ground."[21]

The religion became important in the socializing process because the young were taught that spirits were all around them.

Harrison and Grant observed that:

> It is usually not so much the thought of how severe the punishment may be that deters a potential offender as the thought that some kind of reckoning will ensue. Mere detection and intervention by the authorities are enough. Probability of detection is what counts most.[22]

The supernaturals are the ones who see and know all. Therefore, it is they who actually act to provide a policing function. The spirit may be represented by an ancestor, sun, moon, bird, natural phenomenon, and things of this nature.

To implement the supernatural, the parents tried to create an illusion of reality. It took the form of myths and legends, which were usually told in the winter months when everyone was in his longhouse. Sometimes supernatural stories were told to control the youngsters.[23] Any layman could tell a story, and it seemed to be expected that he

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[21] Bronislaw Malinowski, Myth in Primitive Psychology (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1936), pp. 87-94.

[22] L. V. Harrison and P. Grant, Youth in the Toils: A Study of Delinquent Youth in New York (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 4.

[23] Catherine Holt, "The Shasta," Unpublished field notes, University of Chicago, 1939.

incorporate his special technique into relating this myth or legend.[24] Expression of politeness, etiquette, and proper behavior were usually emphasized. Some horror stories were told to emphasize what would happen when a person got caught by the spirits. The most popular characters were adventurous youths. Mythological monsters were presented as obstacles to be conquered.[25] Histories and biographies of famous persons were told sometimes.

Ray noted that with many Indian tribes, "myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence.[26, 27] It would follow then that the stories were designed to indoctrinate a knowledge and appreciation of the tradition and literature of the culture to the whole Nation. Waterman felt the adults' satisfaction gained from the stories was more emotional than intellectual, since the explanations were never too important. The adults seemed to enjoy the fact that the children were being stimulated and

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[24] Ruth F. Benedict, Zuni Mythology, Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 21, Chapters 30-32 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935)

[25] G.R. Sanford, Interview with Red Wolf, 1964.

[26] Verne F. Ray, "The Sanpol and Nespelem: Salishon People of Northeast Washington," Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 5 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1932), p. 133.

[27] This was also related to the author by Red Wolf.

trained in the folktales of the tribe.

Seemingly, the current belief is that cultures remain somewhat static. However, certain types of cultural change can be identified. The Nez Perces, as well as other tribes, are in this process of cultural diffusion that the discipline of anthropology calls acculturation. This is described as ". . . culture change that is initiated by conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems."[28] The Nez Perces in many aspects continue to resemble what could be called an autonomous culture, a sector of the Plateau tribe of the Pacific Northwest. One of the most impressive sides of Nez Perce acculturation has been in the confines of religious change that was brought about by the introduction of Euro-American contact.

Before the actual missionary program of education and teaching of religious concepts is described, it may be useful to establish a background in the Nez Perces' primitive religion, including the ipnú-clipt movement and its various branches. Also, it would be well to look at the wéyekin[29] that was a dominant feature throughout the Plateau Tribes. What was the wéyekin? It was the quest of a vision of supernatural tritelary spirit that was initiated usually between the ages

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[28] Homer G. Barnett, "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, 1954, pp. 974-75.

[29] D. E. Walker, Jr., "Survey of Nez Perce Religion," Unpublished manuscript, 1954, p. 1.

of five and ten. Both sexes could become involved and receive the wéyekin, but the male usually received it more than the female.

Preparation for the vision quest was time consuming as it involved informal as well as formal instruction. Much of the education received by Nez Perce youths was through a highly complex array of myths[30] that provided many of the basic ideas and values. Other necessary instruction that was in the schedule for Nez Perce youngsters was provided by adult relatives. A vast amount of the children's was presented around the sweat bath and the cold bath.[31] In regard to these baths, the children were intimidated to undergo great temperature changes and engage in activities that were taught as experiences to prepare him for manhood and his weyekin (vision quest).

Usually the young lads were placed in solitude up to six or seven days. If a quest came to them early, they were then allowed to migrate back to their people. Often times, it was a custom to put objects in various locations to maintain proof that the individuals actually went to designated spots during the wéyekin. The persons were not allowed any substance by which to maintain themselves or to come into contact with their fellow man. These requirements, along with

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[30] Archie Phinney, "Nez Perce Texts," Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 25 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 26.

[31] Interview with Red Wolf by writer, 1964.

extensive education, provided an atmosphere of almost certainty for the vision quest to become a reality. The vision usually came in one of two ways: a dream or a semi-delirious state. The spirit was in most cases preceded by a particular song that the student would hear and then learn to sing.

When the wéyekin was completed,[32] they would venture toward home again. The wéyekin was usually followed by a fainting experience. Here the witch doctor or shaman[33] played a role in which he was the only individual that could revive the neophytes in vision quests. It was the duty of the shaman to reintroduce the children into the group again.

Two important aspects were represented in this quest for a spirit. One was the identification with a spirit and the other was the rebirth. The children were new creations as they individually obtained a spiritual helper (this is why some missionaries later felt it would be easy to convert these people to Christianity).

The experience of a vision quest and the need to be successful in acquiring it was essential to live.

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[32] The instruction was predominantly on animal spirits but some individuals did receive vision from inanimate objects--thunder, mountains, moon, etc.

[33] Shaman - Tiwe't.

The religious ceremony involving the weyekin was referred to as the Wéyek Wécet or spirit dance, which was usually held in the months of January and February when they would meet nightly for about two weeks at a time. These ceremonies were held as late as 1940-45[34] and, to a small degree, are still in practice.

Another important ceremony, the feast of the first fruits, was held in different areas as the salmon and first roots were taken in the Spring (this compares with many ceremonies of the Northwest Coastal Indians). Rules on religion, birth, adolescence, marriage, death and burial were taught. The use of magic was also used extensively to reduce anxieties concerning these big events in life. But it is apparent that religion was the central theme of life in which the important teaching activities centered and provided support in facing every day human existence.

Ipnú--Cililpt Movement

Normally the date given by most individuals as the first contact with the white man by the Nez Perces is 1805--the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Most anthropologists set this date as the time between the pre-and post-contact Nez Perce culture, but contact could

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[34] Deward E. Walker, Jr., "Survey of Nez Perce Religion," Unpublished manuscript, 1954, p. 3.

have been made with trappers earlier. No available records have been located as yet. The Nez Perces were very active in trading activities that were carried on with Coastal tribes to the west, California and Utah to the south and the Plains Indians to the east, which created many occasions for cultural diffusion prior to the famous explorers' arrival.

One individual has analyzed systematically and charted the development of a syncretistic religious movement he called the Prophet Dance. He was interested in establishing this dance as a lineal predecessor of the later Ghost Dance and other similar movements.[35] While the earliest supposed movement remains somewhat hypothetical,[36] there is little doubt that some type of movement involving Christian elements swept the Nez Perces' area sometime between 1810 and 1820.[37, 38] Chief Uyaskasit described to Father Cataldo how the Nez Perces first learned of Christianity from the trappers who came into the

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[35] Leslie Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance (Menasha, Wisconsin: The George Banta Publishing Co., 1936.)

[36] Cora Dubois, The Feather Cult of the Middle Columbia, General Series in Anthropology (Menasha, Wisconsin: The George Banta Publishing Co., 1938).

[37] Spier, op. cit.

[38] Dubois, op. cit.

region.[39] Heightened interest in Christian forms of worship doubtless followed the arrival of a band of trapper Iroquois who settled among the Flatheads and with whom the Nez Perces had extensive contact.[40] In 1832 before any missionaries had arrived, Bonneville had the following to say about a band of Nez Perces he encountered on the upper Salmon in 1832:

> It would appear that they had imbibed some notions of the Christian faith from Catholic missionaries and traders who had been among them (Bonneville, or his editor Washington Irving, was of course mistaken about the missionaries who did not arrive until later). They even had a rude calendar of the facts and festivals of the Romish church, and some traces of its ceremonials. These had become blended with their own wild rites, and present a strange medley; civilized and barbarous. On the Sabbath, men, women and children array themselves in their best style, and assemble around a pole erected at the head of the camp. . . . During the intervals of the ceremony, the principal chiefs, who officiate as priests, instruct them in their duties, and exhort them to virtue and good deeds. He found that these Nez Perces would not hunt on Sunday. Grace at meals, which seems to have been quite generally adopted at this time, is attested for the Nez Perce (on Clearwater River, Idaho, September 1835) in the words of Parker: "Charle (The Nez Perce chief) prays every morning and evening with his men, also asks a blessing when they eat."[41]

This movement was doubtless a lineal predecessor of what has

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[39] L. B. Palladino, Indian and White in the Northwest, Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Wickersham Publishing Company, 1922), p. 18.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Palladino, op. cit., pp. 13-29.

come to be called ipnu· cililpt. It certainly helped prompt the Nez Perces' delegations to St. Louis for missionaries.[42] Several other Nez Perces were sent out also to different places for training in the white man's religion and figured prominently in the later missionization of the Nez Perces. Some of them were Ellis from Kamiah; Salmon River Billy; and somewhat later, James Slickpoo from simi· nekem, the present site of Lewiston, Idaho.

When the missionaries finally arrived, certain regional groupings of the Nez Perces accepted them and eventually formed a series of churches on the reservation. Those groups along the Clearwater River, extending from Lewiston to Stites via Spalding, Lapwai, Ahsahka, Orofino, Kamiah and Kooskia, formed the bulk of the churches. Because the Clearwater River was an arterial, missionary activities concentrated along the banks. However, those grouping to the south of the present reservation, primarily Lamtama, Saqanma and Wal-wama, were less exposed to these new Christian influences and tended to retain their older syncretistic beliefs. These beliefs eventually became involved with the on-and-off reservation territorial conflict that led to the War of 1877. Much information concerning the ipnu· cililpt movement was gleaned from descendants of the lower Nez Perce bands.

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[42] Palladino, op. cit., pp. 13-29.

However, the ipnu· cililpt movement was part of a wider movement that swept through much of the Plateau and adjacent regions just before continuous contact with the whites began. This was observed as follows:

> Throughout the northern region west of the Rocky mountains one hears in almost every tribe a tradition that before the first appearance of the first white man a dreamer, or in some instances (and nearer the truth) a wandering Indian of another tribe, prophesied the coming of a new race with wonderful implements. In every case the people formed a circle and began to sing according to the instructions of the prophet. At the end of the song the palms were extended outward and upward and sometimes closed with a corrupted "Amen." The following was the prophecy song of the Nez Perces. It will be noticed that the air is reminiscent of a Catholic chant, and the words savor of the Christian doctrine of angels . . . .
>
> Those coming from above
> Then coming from noise [were] created
> children
> And coming down tilapits[43]
> coming down from above.
> Hiya-hiya-haiiya.[44]

While research is as yet incomplete it would appear that the Nez Perces had their version of a pre-Christian movement that has been called the Washani Cult, by one investigator in the mid-Columbia

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[43] Tilapits means some distant but very desirable object. Some individuals have described the word as nostalgic or homesick feeling.

[44] Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, Vol. VIII (Norwood: The Plimpton Press), pp. 75-76.

River area, and the Christianized Prophet Dance by another writer. The Washani Cult has expanded our knowledge concerning the numerous prophets and movements that have continued to appear in this whole region, presumably derivatives of this earlier movement.[45] Such complexity gives reason for caution when attempting to delineate those beliefs characteristic of the movement in any particular tribe. Therefore, in its Nez Perce expression, the movement seems to have had the following elements.

1. Prediction of the coming of a strange new people who would cause great changes.
2. Belief in a "book" which would provide important revelations.
3. Belief in a creator and sub-deities such as angels.
4. Observation of a moral code in which charitable actions towards one's peers were emphasized.
5. Belief in a hereafter, entrance to which was largely determined by one's actions in this world.
6. An important emphasis on dreams and/or comatose states as sources of revelation.[46]

Special Skills

Vocational education started at a very early age. In these primitive societies, toys became replicas of the real life. Boys played with bows and arrows; the girls had dolls and played house. The play

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[45] Dubois, op. cit.

[46] Walker, op. cit., p. 13.

was undirected and tended toward imitation of adult behavior. As the youngsters grew older, the adult would actually encourage certain kinds of activity through public approval. Young boys would mimic adult dances and the girls would act as appreciative audiences. Their play, therefore, was important in giving them skills needed for their adult role in the tribe.

Apprentice training was the most popular way of teaching more specialized skills. Some accounts record that much of the teaching was done by older Indians as the young mother and father were food gathering. When the apprentice became competent, he normally inherited[47] the paraphernalia to signify that he was a full-fledged practitioner.

Training of the shamans' mediators was a separate process from the regular duties of the tribe. Normally shamans or medicine men had to be chosen by the spirits. Having a vision or experiencing a certain sign could qualify. A shaman had to have definite visions that he had been called by the spirits.

The type of person chosen as a shaman has caused much discussion among investigators. Most of them seem to agree:

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[47] Usually this was given while both the teacher and student were yet alive. The competence of the student was apparently the only requirement.

> Shamans as a class are recruited from the psychically unstable individuals of the primitive community, that the primary qualification is an epileptoid or psychopathic personality, and that professional status as a shaman is sought as an "escape," or accepted because it is the career which tradition and accompanying public pressure mark out for such individuals.[48]

Besides memorizing the chants and rituals, the shaman had to develop a high degree of mental concentration, and intuitive character analysis, to list two qualifications. The many years of preparation and the time needed to develop a reputation meant that the shamans that were most recognized were the very oldest.

This brief survey of the culture of the Nez Perces indicates a unique development in the field of education. The tribe had no school system but was able to indoctrinate the young to operate effectively. Since the Indian culture stressed physical stamina, techniques other than corporal punishment had to be developed. The use of supernatural beings and public pressure was important in maintaining discipline and encouraging achievement. Generally speaking, it would seem that this kind of perceptual teaching was very influential in giving clues for behavior. The definite role expectation that was exemplified by the initiation ceremonies gave the child a feeling of security about what he was to do. The apprenticeship system was the accepted

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[48] Pettitt, op. cit., p. 119.

procedure to teach specialized skills, although the skills themselves could hardly be distinguished from religion or life itself. The whole community participated in the socializing process. They never delegated their responsibility to schools or other agencies as the Western societies have done. Nevertheless, they produced young men and women who cherished tradition and dealt effectively with their environment. Since this was the goal of education, the conclusion must be reached that the Nez Perce Indians had a functional educational system.

Horse-Breeding before the White Men

The Nez Perce Indians of north central Idaho were the outstanding horse breeders of all the tribes in the Northwest. Most likely the Nez Perce horsemen obtained their initial stock around 1730 from the southern Idaho Shoshones, who probably obtained them from the Spanish. One of the questions raised was how one tribe had become such skilled breeders and riders in such a short period of time. They became specialists in training their mounts. The best ponies were trained to be buffalo hunters, war steeds, and racers.

Lewis and Clark in 1805 told us in their journals that the Nez Perces were more skilled in certain aspects of horse breeding than were the Virginia gentry whom they had known in the East.

The Indians were hard, daring racers. It was a matter of the survival of the fittest with the Indian horses. Sgt. Patrick Gass, one

of the men on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, marveled at the skill exhibited by the young Nez Perce riders on the steep slopes of the Clearwater River just north of Lapwai. General Joel Palmer, who traveled in the Palouse country in 1846, estimated that he saw 10,000 horses between Walla Walla and Lapwai. He found that some of the Indian families had from 500-1500 horses. Most of these horses were the spotted Appaloosas. Captain John Mullan, who was to become famous for his wagon road from Walla Walla to Ft. Benton on the Missouri River in Montana, in 1863 described a Nez Perce racing strip on the northern bank of the Snake River not far below the present sites of Lewiston, Idaho, and Clarkston, Washington. The horses that were not good enough for racing were used for other purposes or traded off to other tribes.

Every summer the Nez Perces would cross over the rugged Bitterroot Mountains to hunt buffalo to the east. There was no activity quite so hard on a pony as riding down one of those shaggy creatures. According to Dr. Francis Haines, an authority on Indian horses and the Nez Perces, the buffalo hunters were the aristocrats in the eyes of their masters. A horse had to be able to give a buffalo a quarter mile start and then catch him within a two mile distance. It had to run in so close to the bison that the rider could reach out and touch it with his foot.

Mythology

The Nez Perce Indians were similar to other tribes in passing on to each generation the various myths that try to explain many of the fundamental causes of life or death or natural phenomena. An examination will be made only of those myths that seemed to have played a larger role in the life of the Indian. Phinney,[49] whose mother spoke only Nez Perce, gave the stories to her son without much outside influence of the English language. According to her offspring, the influences of new intertribal contacts and of wholesale "myth trading" at non-reservation Indian schools did become very noticeable in Nez Perce mythology.

Many changes have taken place in the character of these folktales in the past 100 years. The myths tended to be altered as acculturation took place. This was obvious with the present English speaking Indians. Most of the myths that will be covered are no longer in vogue in storytelling.

The nature of mythopoetic life as interpreted by natives on the reservation today differs in character from the spirit and content reflected in mythology. This, in many aspects, represents a lack of appreciation among the youth for symbols of their past; but a big movement is evident today of establishing this pride again. Myths have

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[49] Phinney, op. cit., p. 3.

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[49] Phinney, op. cit., p. 3.

disintegrated, by and large, under a cover of "reservation backwardness." While a few Indian dances and spirit ceremonies contain some elements of drama that show some survival in shape and form, myths have tended to be forgotten by the younger generations. There exists an overall feeling that ancient stories are very uninspiring. This trend has resulted in a loss of "vision."

Some Nez Perces will say that a long time ago, before humans lived, there was a world of animals, birds, and fish over which the trickster, the Coyote ruled. This kingdom broke down and the animals then became creatures as we know them today. On the scene appeared the human species. Other Indians claimed that the former world included all animals, fish and birds. Only through evolution, at the time of the arrival of the Indians, did the animal-humans take the forms as we know them at the present time. This may explain many of the petroglyphs and pictographs showing man and animal sketched or depicted as one being.

These contradictory descriptions would tend to show some peculiar speculation on the part of the native and a defense for his viewpoint. Phinney says that:

> . . . in reality the Indian mind was never burdened by such considerations. The Indian does not visualize the characters of a tale as being animal or human. No clear picture is offered or needed. If such tangible features were introduced a tale would lose its overtones of fantasy, its charm. To these personalities are attributed only a

> certain few necessary qualities and faculties of animal and human being. In fact some animal characters are frequently not ever identified and if they are then only incidentally.[50]

Some of the characters had two names, and the second name was usually peculiar to the role that they played in the myth. Such animals included the coyote, bear, magpie, fox, and skunk. Some of the animals had distinctive speech characteristics. The fox always spoke with utmost clarity and directness. A bear would have slurring remarks or slurring consonants. The speech styles varied as to the emotion that was being portrayed in the myth.

Funny stories were probably the most vivid element in the study of myth. Such drama portrayed the commonplace as well as tragedy. Indian humor of this kind did not evoke hearty laughter. There was nothing hilarious but the type of droll, the clever exaggeration. As Phinney points out "any substantial appreciation of these tales must come not from the simple elements of drama unfolded but from vivid feeling within oneself, feeling as a moving current all the figures and the relationships that belong to the whole mythology."[51]

The coyote was the most popular animal character and the following were two abstracts involving this animal.

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[50] Ibid., p. ix.

[51] Ibid.

Coyote and Monster

Coyote ties himself to three mountains and has a swallowing contest with the monster who has swallowed all the people. While he is being inhaled, he leaves camas roots and service berries for the coming race. Within the monster he kicks bear and rattlesnake, flattening rattlesnake's head. The people collect wood, Coyote starts a fire and cuts the monster's heart with his five knives. The people emerge from the dying monster's openings. His anus closes on muskrat's tail which comes out hairless. Coyote revives those who have died in the monster. He distributes the monster's body parts in all directions, thus destining the various peoples. From the bloody water sprinkled from his hands originate the Nez Perce.[52]

Coyote and Fox

Fox chops fir pitch which turns into dried salmon. Coyote imitates him, eats up his first pile of salmon, and continues to chop. As a result neither he nor Fox can obtain any more salmon. Fox calls for five bundles of meat to fall, three of which Coyote seizes for himself. Coyote imitates Fox, but offends their benefactor who never returns. A man allows Fox to help himself to venison and pack a load home. Coyote in turns kills the man to obtain all the venison. It comes to life, for the man was a deep-tick, and kicks Coyote and Fox about. Fox puts his tail through a hole in the ice and accumulates a ball of turnips on it, which he shares with Coyote. Coyote misunderstands Fox's classical language and squashes some of his turnips, throws others toward dawn. He pulls in turnips once on his own tail, but at a second attempt leaves it in the water so long, it freezes and pulls him under. Fox revives him. In late winter people's food supply shall become exhausted.[53]

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[52] Ibid., pp. 18, 26.

[53] Ibid., pp. 285, 301.

Education and Acculturation

The breakdown of a native cultural pattern seems to be a fundamental process for the Nez Perce Indian. Since Spalding, the idea of formal education is playing a large role in this disintegration. Many people who study these cultures have made intensive studies on this process of "culture diffusion" or the process of acculturation. In the past, and maybe even today in some cases, destruction of Indian civilizations has been the policy of various agencies which have had control of Indian tribes. Hence, we see the mission as well as governmental departments placing in operation programs designed to dissolve any vestige of the cultural past of the tribe. Many studies have indicated the assimilationist viewpoint that has been tried and the bad effects that have often resulted.

Many designs have been forced on the Indians to transform their native habits such as: family structure, dress, religion, child rearing, economy and technology, and political makeup. The Nez Perces adopted very rapidly many of the white men's ways. What happened was that the Indians lost their stable structure and acquired an unstable way of life. Culturally, you might say that in some instances they were almost totally underprivileged.

Some studies indicate that Nez Perces, who are primarily of Indian ancestry, generally have less formal education than those Nez

Perce who are only half or less Indian. The full-blooded Nez Perces, with less formal education, tend to have fathers who are not fully employed, who have relatively little formal education, and who are proficient in the native language. Also, their mothers generally have little formal education, adhere to Indian traditions, practice non-Christian religions, and are proficient in the native tongue. The families of lower achievers also use the native tongue more in their household, which is usually devoid of books, magazines, and other reading materials.

In addition, those Nez Perces with relatively less formal education place higher value on retaining the native cultural patterns, place less value on formal education for their own children, and generally have lower incomes. They usually don't advocate assimilation, usually oppose termination of reservations, and usually support the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its policies. These low achievers, in most cases, have the unskilled jobs; the poor housing; the barest essentials in the home; and little, if any, life, medical, or car insurance. Usually among the reservation Indian people, the better educated have to leave the reservation in order to find employment. Generally only unskilled jobs are available on the reservation.

What we are really saying is that as the Nez Perces become educated and leave the reservation, they divorce themselves from tribal affiliations. They take jobs elsewhere instead of returning to their

native country to upgrade their own people. These people really have no firm identification with any social group. The Nez Perces are strangers both at home and in the Euro-American society. In other words, with the present educational system of the Nez Perces, they may succeed but with great personal sacrifices. The price of success is loss of personal identity.

Biographical data show that an Indian, when stable, can exist outside the reservation. He has times, however, when he might become unstable. Alcoholism, divorces, and many other problems may cause him to return to the reservation with the feeling of a "prodigal son." The reservation seems to fulfill a need for the disturbed Indian.

One individual who has spent years in laboring over these problems of the Nez Perce is Deward E. Walker, Jr.; and he has set forth seven steps necessary to get Indian education back into its proper perspective. These are:

1. Return control of Indian education to tribal government. Only they understand adequately the needs of their citizens. Often times the public school boards are insensitive or hostile to Indian educational needs in the past.

2. Recognize that the duty to educate Indian children does not carry a license to destroy cultural patterns. Indian education must be a process of teaching the Nez Perce to live in a foreign culture. This is the best we can hope for. Attempts to blot out the native culture are doomed to costly failure.

3. Make much better provisions for reservation economic development so that educational success does not force the individual to leave his home region. . . . Salvation of Indian educational and related problems can take place only through strengthening rather than weakening reservation tribal government, economic, and particularly tribal control over Indian education. Model schools and research programs associated with them should be expanded substantially and placed under tribal control.

4. Develop integrated educational programs that stress Indian cultures and history, education of the whole family, and special programs for reading skills.

5. Continue to emphasize pre-school training schools that extend into the Indian home. . . with this expand special training programs for all teachers who deal with Indian students or who wish to specialize in this area (similar to the program at the University of New Mexico).

6. Sponsor more research that investigates the place of education in acculturation. . . Employ all agencies and scholars such as anthropologists and other social scientists as well as the professional educator. Continue researching Indian education to discover critical factors separating success from failure.

7. We must guard against those who offer panaceas. Undoubtedly, the problem in overcoming the shortcomings of past Indian education will prove to be as resistant to solution as any social problems we have faced. Those who say they have all the answers are either dangerously naive or proceeding from ulterior motive. Truly, something must be done as soon as possible, but initiation of large remedial projects beyond the present programs should be discouraged until researchers have a chance to discover and verify more facts than we now have available to us.[54]

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[54] Deward E. Walker, Jr., Prepared statement to the Special Sub-Committee on Indian Education. Part 5 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 2001-2.

CHAPTER III

THE SEARCH FOR THE WHITE MAN'S RELIGION

Indian Deputation of 1831

After meeting the white men, one might say that the cry of the Nez Perces throughout the years was: "Bring us the Book." This probably stemmed from the Lewis and Clark journey and visit to the Nez Perce Nation.

While other tribes were crying for scalps and more of the white man's liquor, the Nez Perces, then known as the Chopunnish branch of the Shahaptains wanted the "Black Book."

On the annual buffalo treks to the "Moos-Moos" country, Iroquois Indians had told the Nez Perces of the power of the "Book" among King George's men, attributing the superiority of the Hudson's Bay men to the liberal dosage of this great medicine. The Iroquois Indians had also seen the French voyageurs making signs of the cross, and at various rendezvous they listened to the tales by half-breeds of the mystic rites of the "Black Robes."

The search for the "Black Book" might be hard to trace. The early religious rites of the "Chopunnish" consisted of nature worship with the sun as the father and the earth as the mother. The winds, thunder and lightning, cold and heat, flood and famine were actually

manifestations of angry gods.

The head man of a tribe was often a priest with tremendous power, even of life and death. He was sometimes perceived as a direct relationship of anger of spirit demons not appeased by the Indian.

At the feast in the longhouse along the banks of the Clearwater River on May 11, 1806, were the Chopunnish chiefs, Twisted Hair, Black Eagle (sometimes referred to as Speaking Eagle or Ha-hats-ilp-ilp), Red Bear, Cut Nose, and Broken Arm. While Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clark waited for one month for the thick snows to thaw high in the Bitterroots along the Lolo Pass area, these chiefs learned more of the "Great Chief" and the "Black Book."

From the members of Lewis and Clark's group, they heard that there was a "Great Spirit" who even made the sun to rise and set and who ruled the wind and the waves. While the "Great Spirit" could do this, He could also bring devastating action, everlasting food supply, many game animals, many horses, and many Indian children who could worship Him through the "Book." To these Nez Perces He was a "Hi-as-Til-i-kum," a very, very good friend.

Was it religious fervor or the desire to boast of a superior god that kept this idea afloat with the Nez Perce? In all probability, it was a combination of both. This legend of the "Great Book" of the "Great Spirit" was handed down by the older chiefs to the younger ones for 25 years before the Nez Perces began their journey eastward

in search of this "Book."

In the summer of 1831, a small band of Indian crusaders emerged from the Kamiah Valley and pointed east, led by the old Chief Black Eagle, who had befriended Lewis and Clark in 1806. Two old chiefs and two younger braves on Pinto ponies with a few extra horses and pack animals began their quest over the Lolo Trail and set in motion one of the greatest missionary ventures. The second old priest in the group was Man-of-the-Morning, son of a Nez Perce chief and a Flathead (Indian) mother. Rabbit-Skin-Leggins of the White Bird band, a nephew of Black Eagle, and No-Horns-on-His-Head, a 20-year old Nez Perce youth, completed the outfit for the "Macedonian Cry." Into the charted unknown moved this foursome with nothing more than a hope of coming home again. Not one was ever to return to the beautiful Camas Prairie. According to various reports, some people at General William Clark's Office in St. Louis (Clark of the Expedition) referred to these Indians as Flathead instead of Nez Perces. This myth still prevails in much literature about the four Indians that went east in 1831 for the "Great Book."[1] Confusion probably arose because

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[1] Many writers feel that the Indians were Flathead and Nez Perces.

See: S.A. Clarke, Pioneer Days of Oregon History, Vol. 1 (Portland: Gill Company, 1905).

George H. Himes, "Beginnings of Christianity in Oregon," Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, p. 161.

Man-of-the-Morning's mother was a Flathead, but he himself was one of the many Nez Perce chiefs.

When the four Nez Perces reached the summer encampment in Northwestern Montana, the Flatheads listened intently to their endeavor. The Flatheads were so interested in this venture that some of them joined the expedition. They had been exposed to this "Book of Heaven" probably even more than the "Pierced Noses." (Nez Perce means "Pierced Noses".)

The Nez Perces descended the muddy Missouri River with Lucien Fontenelle of the American Fur Company. These crusaders were similar in many aspects to the Arthurian tales of previous generations in Europe.

General William Clark, Governor of Missouri in 1831. His letter book indicates the visit of these four Indians. These are in the hands of the Kansas Historical Society.

The Christian Advocate, May 10, 1833.

Rev. J. Rothensteiner, "The Flathead and Nez Perce Delegation to St. Louis, 1831-39," St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, Vol. II, October, 1921), pp. 183-197.

Daniel Lee and J.H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon (New York: J. Collard, 1844), pp. 110-111.

Reuben Gold Thwaites, Ed. Early Western Travels. Vol. XXVII (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904-07), p. 229.

Elliot, T.C., "The Evolution of a Lament," Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. II.

Catlin, George, North American Indians, Vol. II, Letter No. 48 (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1965), pp. 108-110.

H. K. Hines, Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest (Portland: H. K. Hines Co., 1899), p. 201.

Vardis Fisher, Idaho, A Guide in Word and Picture (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1937).

The humid heat made the Flathead Indian troopers ill and they turned homeward at Council Bluffs. But the Nez Perces pushed on realizing their goal on October 1, 1831, as they reached the terminal waters of the Missouri and the "City of the West," St. Louis.

The wide-eyed panel of Nez Perces, clad in their best regalia with the chiefs in full array with eagle feathers and beads, attracted much attention as they trod toward the "Red Head" who was now the General in Charge of Indian Affairs in the West. The General and Black Eagle were old friends and recalled the events of hunting bears, eating horsemeat, making boats, and enjoying feasts in the longhouse on the Kamiah banks of the Clearwater in the spring of 1806. General Clark was a very gracious host. He invited the travel weary group to his home and his wife searched the stores looking for food that would please them.

The old chiefs wasted no time in conferring with Clark about a meeting for getting the "Book." Clark tried in a simple way to explain the story of Christ and His Crucifixion as a means to save the souls of all mankind, white as well as Indian. Clark promised that someone would be sent to bring the "Black Book" to the Nez Perce country. The Nez Perce came for the Book, not knowing the difference between Protestant and Catholic. They had simple child-like faith that the "Book" was the "summum bonum" of their religious desires. The group had no opportunity to contact any Protestants' but through the

Iroquois, they had heard of the "Black Robes."

It was a hot autumn and malaria was in the air. The brave band fell ill by the change in diet and smelly stench of the open sewers in St. Louis. Mrs. Clark brought them cool drinks as they lay ill and burning with fever.

Black Eagle died and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Louis on October 31, 1831. Man-of-the-Morning was buried in the same cemetery on November 17. One Bishop Joseph Rosati in a letter written December 31, 1831, gave assurance that these souls had been given rites of religious faith that had been denied them during life. He wrote:

> Some three months ago four Indians who live across the Rocky Mountains near the Columbia River arrived in St. Louis. After visiting General Clark. . . they came to see our church and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it. Unfortunately, there was not one who understood their language. Sometime afterwards two of them fell dangerously ill. Two of our priests visited them and the poor Indians seemed delighted with the visit. They made the sign of the cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. The sacraments were administered to them; they gave expressions of satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them. They took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly and it could be taken from them only after death. It was distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were carried to the church and their funeral was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted very becomingly.[2]

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[2] See Bishop Rosati's letter of December 31, 1831 to the editor of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, in L. B. Palladino, S.J., Indian and White in the Northwest, II (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1894), p. 11.

General Clark arranged for the two young Nez Perces to travel up the Missouri in the new steamer "Yellowstone" that left St. Louis on March 26, 1832. They seemed to be in good spirits as a promise to send a man with the "Book" had been given.

On the same boat was the famous Indian Artist, George Catlin, and when the boat was delayed at Ft. Pierre from May 31 to June 5, Catlin painted the two young braves in the garb of the Sioux. Catlin is the authority for recording the death by disease of No-Horns-on-His-Head shortly after the two Indians reached Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone.

Rabbit-Skin-Leggins of the White Bird band (Nephew of Black Eagle) was left alone to carry the message back to his country. When he arrived at the summer camp he found many had assembled to hear the news. They were sad to hear of the death of the three but were somewhat assured by the promise "a man will be sent with the Book."

Up the rivers, east to the Continental Divide, and over the Bitterroot Mountains to the peaceful valleys of the Clearwater came the news: "A man will come with the 'Book'."

Not one of the original delegation[3] ever returned over the Lolo

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[3] Miss Kate McBeth's Diary--Lapwai, Idaho, dated July 7th, 1894. The four who went to St. Louis in search of the Bible.
1st--Tip-ya-lah-na-jeh-nin (Black or Speaking Eagle was chief.) He died in St. Louis. He was Kip-ka-pel-i-kan's grandfather of

Trail, for Rabbit-Skin-Leggins stayed with the Flatheads and was killed that autumn in a fight with a Blackfoot.

This deputation, which in all probability stimulated educational and missionary activity for the Indians of the Northwest, was brought about by the incident published in the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald,[4] of New York, the leading publication of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A communication from Mr. G.P. Disoway, written in New York, dated January 19, 1833, quoted a letter from a Wyandotte Indian interpreter who vividly described the four Indians, the Nez Perces, and their trip to St. Louis in 1831 on a journey to gain religious and educational instruction.

William Walker, the Wyandotte who was well educated and

Pak-al-is. They went out by the Lolo Trail, the same road that Lewis and Clark came and went.

2nd--Ka-ou-pu (Man-of-the-Morning or Daylight) was one of the two older ones. His mother was a Flathead, his father a Nez Perce. He died in or near St. Louis.

3rd--Hi-youts-tohan (Rabbit-Skin-Leggings) of the White Bird band, part Palouse Indian, was Speaking Eagle's brother's son. Yellow Bull is from the same band. This was one of the two young men. He was the only one to live to return to the buffalo country, Montana, where he met his own people, the Nez Perces. He told all about his visit and that the promised one would be sent with the Book.

4th--Ta-wis-sis-sim-nim (No-Horns-on-His-Head, or Little-Horns-Like-an-old-Buffalo) died on the road home, perhaps in Yellowstone Park. He was about twenty years old when he started. He was a doubter of old beliefs.

[4] Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald, March 1, 1833, Vol. VII, No. 27, Whole No. 339.

had a good relationship with his own tribe, wrote that he had been notified by William Clark in St. Louis that these four Indians had trekked over 3,000 miles to seek knowledge of "a yarn" told them by a paleface that the people from the east had "been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the Great Spirit,"[5] that "they had a book containing direction how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy His favor and hold converse with Him; and with this guide no one need go astray, but everyone that would follow the direction there laid down could enjoy, in this life, the favor and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides and live forever with Him."[6] In this particular story, the Nez Perce Indians called a council in which Indians were dispatched to the fur capital of the West, St. Louis, to see if this information had validity.[7]

The Coming of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

The missionary zeal resulted from the Disoway letter. The Methodists were the first to answer the "Macedonian Cry" by sending Jason Lee to the Northwest with his small band. Doctor McLaughlin

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[5] Christian Advocate and Journal, June 7, 1833, VII, p. 162.

[6] New England Christian Herald, August 7, 1833, IV, p. 178.

[7] H.S. Lyman, History of Oregon, Vol. III (New York: North Pacific Publishing Society [n.d.]), pp. 129-162.

of the Hudson Bay Company strongly insisted that this small body work in the Willamette Valley instead of going into the Nez Perce and Flathead Indian country, an insistence which they obeyed.

Missionary spirit[8] wasn't restricted to the Methodist and Catholic denominations. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions[9] had been interested for a long time in the spiritual and educational welfare of the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. The ABC of FM charged two men to seek out possible locations of labor with these souls. Samuel Parker of Ithaca, New York, and Dr. Marcus Whitman of Rushmore, New York, a lay physician with missionary tendencies, went to investigate the means for spreading the Gospel and educating the strange Redmen. In the spring of 1835 they struck out for the West, traveling with a detachment of the American Fur Company. They journeyed to the Green River Rendezvous where the Rocky Mountain trappers gathered to turn in their year's catch of furs. This is where the Indians gathered, met the missionaries, and asked them to begin teaching and preaching in the high country of the Nez Perces. With this interest displayed, Doctor Whitman turned east to search for more people with the same desire to administer to these

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[8] W. H. Gray, History of Oregon, 1792-1849 (Portland: Harris and Holman, 1870), p. 108.

[9] Hereafter referred to as ABC of FM.

natives. Whitman was a strong-willed individual who could make the most of any situation. Parker did not care for Whitman's mountain man tendencies, such as cupping his hand to drink from a mountain stream or using his hunting knife to cut meat and using it as a fork in eating.[10] W. H. Gray, who was recruited by Whitman as a lay person, stated that Parker was less adapted to the rough life of the West, whereas Whitman was well suited.

Parker continued and surveyed the sites of three missions that, in his judgment, could be fully exploited by the ABC of FM. After choosing these sites, he returned to New York via the Hawaiian Islands and didn't appear on this stage of history again. The site chosen, which we are concerned with, was Lapwai, located on Lapwai Creek, some eleven miles east of present day Lewiston, Idaho.

In the meantime, Whitman returned to the East where he was married. He enticed a recent graduate of a theological seminary, Rev. H.H. Spalding, along with his wife, to join him and accompanied by the aforementioned W.H. Gray, they followed the call to the Northwest. They traveled to the high country again with a band of rugged fur trappers who felt uneasy having women and "people of the cloth" tagging along. This trip brought the first white women over the Great Stony Mountains.

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[10] Ibid., p. 108.

The ABC of FM outfitted this courageous group with blacksmith tools, plows, seeds, implements, and clothing. They traveled on to the main headquarters of the great Hudson Bay Company, Ft. Vancouver. It was here that they settled for the winter of 1836, and where the wives stayed while the missionaries sought out the sites suggested by Samuel Parker. By December 10, 1836, a sun-baked brick hut had been erected at Waiilatpu, the station for the Whitmans. Approximately 100 miles east of this site, the ground chosen was to become the field of labor for the Spaldings' work among the Nez Perces.

Both gentlemen, Whitman and Spalding, struggled but finally built up producing farms of considerable outlay, aided by the natives. Spalding was extremely successful in teaching the Indians the art of agriculture, even though he and the Indians suffered by his non-cooperative temperament. Ground was tilled and fenced, and the Indians were taught how to use strange tools necessary for cultivation. The first grist mill in Idaho was constructed. Reverend Spalding taught the Indians how to breed stock with cattle that had been obtained in the East. Sheep from the Hawaiian Islands were secured and Indians were taught to care for these animals.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROTESTANT MISSION EFFORT

Reverend Henry Harmon Spalding was probably way ahead of his age as he was indeed an optimist in the fullest sense. He had a program. He believed that the Indians could be civilized, educated, and converted to Christianity. Time and time again he exceeded the directives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and fellow workers in trying to move the acculturation process along faster. Spalding had quarrels with most of his colleagues, but he soon developed a temperate attitude as he struggled to overcome the many handicaps.

These were days of transition for the Nez Perces. When the white men appeared on the scene, the old days for the Indians were beginning to fade. The buffalo and other wild game were being slaughtered. Hunting and camas root grounds were being turned into farming plots. Spalding saw that if the Indians were to survive they would need to be educated. They would have to adjust to the white man's ways or death was inevitable. The aids of civilization were not an end in themselves, but a means to the ultimate end--that of conversion to Christianity.

Spalding appeared indefatigable in his physical labors and versatile in his skills. Both he and his wife had many talents. With help from the Indians, he was able to construct and operate a gristmill, a sawmill, a blacksmith shop, and a printing shop. He knew some of the simple practices of medicine. He was able to construct irrigation ditches, build houses, farm, raise his own vegetables and some fruit, and care for his ever-increasing herds and flocks. While engaging in these enterprises, he and his wife were learning an Indian language, translating a portion of the Bible into Nez Perce, teaching in a school, taking trips, and preaching to the Indians every Sunday.

Along the lines of formal education, Spalding and his wife saw the need for book learning. Just two months after arriving in the Nez Perce country, the Spaldings established the first school in Idaho. This was more than 130 years ago, January 27, 1837. The school was begun at the original Spalding Mission house in the Lapwai Valley with more than 100 Nez Perce Indians of all ages as students. Initially the Spaldings had to depend upon an interpreter. They tried to teach in English but found the language was very difficult for the Indians. Consequently, the Spaldings struggled to learn the Nez Perces' vocabulary. After much time and effort, both the Spaldings mastered the arduous Nez Perce language and used it in their teaching.

Some of the hardships of attending the first school in the crude Spalding cabin at Lapwai Mission have been recorded in a letter

written by Rev. Spalding:

> . . . and here a scene commenced, more interesting, if possible, than any we had before witnessed. Nothing but actual observation can give an idea of the indefatigable application of old and young (Indians), mothers with babes in their arms, grandparents and grandchildren. Having no books, Mrs. S., with her numerous other cares, is obliged to supply the deficiency with her pen, and print her own books; consequently, she can spend but a short time each day in school. But her absence does not close school. From morning till night they are assembled in clusters with one teaching a number of others.[1]

Mrs. Spalding taught the willing Indians the simple arts of reading and spelling. She also instructed the women and girls in handcrafts--sewing, weaving, cooking and other household arts.

By 1841 the mission and school for the Nez Perces had progressed to such a level that it was possible to erect a separate school building, classes previously having been taught in the two log cabins occupied by the Spaldings. The new schoolhouse was built of boards sawed at Idaho's first sawmill erected by Reverend Spalding. The attendance, which reached a peak of 234 in that year, averaged about 85.

By 1843 the school had grown to such proportions that it was necessary to divide it into three classes. C. M. Drury relates in his biography on Spalding that "Spalding often found it necessary to work until midnight to prepare the lessons for the next day. Because of

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[1] Lewiston Morning Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, May 3, 1936.

lack of textbooks, both Mr. and Mrs. Spalding had to spend much of their time printing out by hand the lessons to be studied."[2]

Reverend Spalding's longing to have classics was recorded in his letter to Reverend David Greene, who was the secretary in charge of Indian Missions for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Spalding wrote the following on his journey to the Nez Perce country, while resting at the Otoe Agency, North of Great Platte, on May 20, 1836.

> . . .permit me to name a few things. In the line of books send such as you think we need. I shall leave Calvert, Scotte, Dodridge, Barnez, Yahur Hebrew Bible, and a Hebrew lexicon and grammar, Greek lexicon and testament and grammar, Latin Dict., Saxton, collections, Dicks works, several Memoirs, several vols. of Qt. Register, & others.[3]
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> . . . in the line of farming utensils, two or three good bull plough shares with coutters, hoses, scythes, axes, shovels, ch [ains?]. In the line of mechanical tools, a saw for cutting boards for three men and in a few years materials for a sawmill, hand saws, chisels, augurs, etc., etc., also a horse mill for grinding corn and perhaps wheat.[4]

Spalding was unique in that he possessed many talents that were necessary in the field of educating the Indians. He introduced agriculture in the spring of 1837. Spalding was steadfast in wanting

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[2] C. M. Drury, Henry Harmon Spalding (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1936), p. 9.

[3] Lewiston Morning Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, May 3, 1936, p. 10.

[4] Ibid.

to adapt the Nez Perces to a farmer's life. He foresaw the future day when the Indians would no longer traverse the Great Stony Mountains to hunt buffalo in what is now Montana. It was apparent to him that it would be extremely difficult to educate or civilize any people "who were always on the wing." This was probably the major reason Spalding worked so hard to bring about the endeavor of agriculture to the Nez Perces. In the spring of 1837 he traveled to what was called Spokane Falls (Spokane), some 120 miles distant to obtain some potato seed. Reverend Spalding had brought seeds of wheat, corn, oats, barley, peas, buckwheat, and many common garden vegetables up from Ft. Vancouver. In the spring of 1837, he had introduced the Indians to this method of raising foodstuffs so as to plant a full fifteen acres. The summer was very dry. Because of this apparent crisis, which is evident every year in this latitude of Idaho, Spalding had to use his talents again in bringing water to save the tender crop--the beginning of irrigation in Idaho.

Reverend Spalding planted a small orchard of apple and fruit trees along with some grapes and shady locust trees.

At the outset the Nez Perces had no plows, only hoes. Spalding established a blacksmith shop for the Indians in the fall of 1838 and found ways of changing old pieces of iron into hoes. Reverend Spalding traded four hoes for a horse, and this stimulated the Indian to return with a horse to trade for one hoe. In a note Spalding wrote

to the Mission Board, he stated how one Nez Perce came in with an old gun to be melted and formed into a farming implement. Spalding took the weapon, he wrote, not forgetting the scripture: "They shall beat their swords into plow shares and their spears into pruning hooks."[5]

As a result of his teaching, the Indians reaped bountiful crops. In the spring of 1843, Spalding was able to record that the Nez Perce had 140 acres under the plow and that Chief Timothy of the Alpowa band had raised about 176 bushels of peas, 100 bushels of corn, and 400 bushels of potatoes during the season. Drury stated that the Indians were quite receptive and certainly appreciated the advantages of farming over the old method of hunting, digging, and catching fish.

Never to be dismayed by obvious obstacles, Spalding in the summer of 1845, packed in on horses a number of plows from The Dalles, which was located on the Columbia 275 miles west of the teaching station. This spurred him on the following year to go to Oregon City, a much greater distance, to get 20 more plows. All this effort by him seems to give the impression that his desire was to convert the pastoral, nomadic food gatherers to a stable agricultural

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[5] Ibid., p. 11.

community. According to Drury, much of the subsequent prosperity and stability of the Nez Perces was traced back to Spalding's farsighted policy of teaching the Nez Perces to farm.

Continuing in this educative process of farming, Spalding brought in cattle, sheep, swine, and chickens to the Nez Perce domain. The cattle were part of a small herd that he and Doctor Whitman had driven from western Missouri. The sheep were part of a shipment from Hawaii in the summer of 1838. The pigs and chickens came from animal collections near Hudson Bay posts. Spalding constantly endeavored to show the Indians what to do in raising these animals and to tutor them in the practices of animal husbandry. Indians purchased stock from Reverend Spalding.

In the field of practical arts, Spalding was able to design and build a spinning wheel for his wife in the summer of 1841. Some time later, he was able to bring in some weaving machinery and set it up at the mission. In all probability, this was the first loom the Indians had ever seen.

During the winter of 1838-39, just prior to his taking in the first two converts to Christianity, Reverend Spalding had nearly 2,000 Indians dig a mill race for the construction of a flour mill. One of his missionary friends, W.H. Gray, helped him direct the digging of this ditch, which was nearly one-half mile in length. The Indians were offered potatoes as payment for their labors. In 1840, with

many trees lining the hillsides of the Clearwater River, Spalding foresaw the potential of having a sawmill, which could be operated by the water power of the mill race, erected to make lumber. Reverend Spalding was working on his gristmill while he worked on many other projects. Rocks were likely quarried from a nearby spot where the North Fork of the Clearwater joined the main body. In the summer of 1841, the gristmill was completed. (Currently near this spot a high rise dam is being constructed by the Corps of Army Engineers.)

This practical teacher, Reverend Spalding, excelled in agriculture, horticulture, industry, and animal husbandry. He also introduced the use of the loom, the sawmill, the blacksmith's skill, the flour mill, and irrigation.

Whereas Spalding, indeed, had differences of opinion with his white counterpart, there appeared to be sufficient evidence that most of the Nez Perces loved him. This was demonstrated when he returned at the beginning of the 1870's, in his old age, and baptized over one thousand.

In looking over what one frail human being was able to do in those years, we would have to say that no Protestant missionary to the Oregon Country was as successful in changing a people as Henry H. Spalding of Lapwai.

Spalding was more respected by the Indians than Doctor Marcus Whitman. This was due to the fact that the Indians (Cayuse)

looked at Whitman as an evil "Medicine Man" or "Shaman" after the Great Emigration of 1843. He had brought in many emigrants to the Oregon Country. Such actions, along with the smallpox scourge, helped to bring on the Cayuse Uprising and Massacre of Whitman and his party, November 29, 1847, at Waiilatpu (Whitman's Mission Station). Spalding was never a colonizer but was very anxious to get the Indians to adopt the white man's way of farming. The Indians, however, had other grievances against him. His temper and whip lashings did not endear him to many of his followers. Many of the Nez Perces began to feel that the "laws of God" were Spalding-evolved-laws with which the "Deity had naught to do."

Spalding's two-trail Ladder or Chart (see Chapter on Catholic and Protestant Ladders or teaching charts) was no longer considered an object of art by the Indians. They felt, in many aspects, that they could not believe all that the missionary said. This "Ladder" was of Catholic origin, a small, printed chart showing the growth of the Christian religion.[6, 7] Doctor Whitman smeared blood on one of the charts, denoting the Catholic persecution of the Protestants. To counteract the "Catholic Ladder," the Spaldings made a huge drawing

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[6] Ross Browne, "Report in House Executive Document, No. 38, 35th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1858), pp. 18-29.

[7] Drury, op. cit., p. 330.

showing two roads, a narrow one and a wide one. On the broad one, the Pope was selling indulgences and forgiveness of sin, with Catholics passing and at the end of the highway plunging headlong into Hell. Martin Luther was depicted as leaving the broad highway and going after the path of righteousness. Much religious turmoil in the Northwest boiled between these factions.

The Lapwai Printing Press

The works of Shakespeare had not been printed when an Englishman Sir Francis Drake and his motley crew cruised, for the first time, the Pacific Northwest coastal waters and vehemently cursed its "most vile, thick and stinking fogges." The book edition of the Pickwick Papers had been in circulation three years when the first printing press was ushered into the Oregon Country. This time interval between Shakespeare and Dickens was a time span in which the Northwest had to wait for a printed page of its own making.

The first printing press west of the Great Stony Mountains (Rockies) was used to print the Nez Perce Indian language--not English. Why was this so unique? The printed word of the Nez Perces was used to bring about the reciprocal union of the two races--the Nez Perce and the whitemen. The theological members of Spalding's missionary settlement, sometimes lifted out of their religious didacticism by the act of seeking or investigating, made the primitive, but probably

effective, attempts to understand and bring into the Nez Perces' civilization the written Nez Perce language, literature, and culture.

The other missionaries who had preceded Spalding and those who came later had apparently not considered a printing press a necessary part of the job of making converts.

The printing press was taken first from Boston to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands in 1819 by a party of Congregational ministers. One Henry Lang in 1885 wrote in part:

> In the early days, before the colonization of Oregon had been dreamed of, and while its interior was only known to the world through the explorations of Lewis and Clark, a ship departed from Boston bearing with her a party of Congregational missionaries on the way to the Sandwich Islands to regenerate the degraded Kanahas. Among their stores they carried this identical old printing press then, for aught I know, in a condition of brand-newness and unstained by contact with the very roughest corners of a rough world.[8]
>
> In 1819, the vessel entered the harbor of Honolulu, and the missionaries disembarked and began their chosen career of teaching religion to the unclothed and uncouth barbarians. . . .
>
> . . . In 1839, the needs of the missions having outgrown the capacity of the primitive press, a new and more extensive outfit was procured from the eastern states, and the old press, with its original apparatus of type and inking rollers, with a quantity of ink, paper, et cetra, the whole value at $450, was presented by the First Native Church of Honolulu to the then recently established missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[9]

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[8] Lewiston Morning Tribune, Lewiston, Idaho, May 3, 1936.

[9] Ibid.

The press was sent then to the Nez Perce Mission, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Edwin O. Hall. Hall was described by Lang as "a Yankee type of the wandering sort, but a very respectable man."[10] Within the year he had printed the first book west of the Rockies. It was the Nez Perces' first book, a lexicon and grammar in the native tongue of the Nez Perce, entitled Designed for Children and New Beginners. Among the other books following from this humble beginning on Lapwai Creek were: Numipuain Shapahitamanash Timash, Lapwai, 1840 (the first book was printed in 1839); Etshiit Thlu Sitskai Thlu Siais Sitskaisitlinish, a primer in the tribal language of the Spokane to the north, Lapwai, 1842; and Matthewnim Taaiskit, Clearwater (mission moved to the mouth of Lapwai Creek on the Clearwater River), M.G. Foisey, Printer, 1845.[11] These books didn't start a big upsurge in printing. The Spalding Press remained the only one in the Oregon Country for about six years.

The first of the books printed on the press at Clearwater, or Lapwai, was a little eight page booklet in the Nez Perce tongue using an artificial alphabet that was devised by Spalding. Four hundred copies of this booklet were printed by May 24, 1839, the first to be

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Copies of these books are in the library at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon. The Mission Press is being preserved by the Oregon Historical Society in Portland, Oregon.

turned out in the Oregon Country. The new alphabet devised by Spalding was soon eliminated and no copies of this book are known to exist today.

The second book consisted of 20 pages. Both of these early editions were the work of Hall, who came from the Hawaiian church of Kawaiahao in Honolulu.

The next book to come off the press was a Nez Perce reader that was to have been written by Doctor M. Whitman. However, he delegated the job to Cornelius Rogers at the mission. The printing of the book was commenced by Mr. Hall in 1839. After Mr. Rogers had been taught the rudiments of printing, he became the printer and Mr. Hall retraced his steps to Hawaii. Eight hundred copies of this 52-page reader were turned out. Mr. Rogers left the Clearwater shortly after the publication of the book because of a disagreement with Mr. Spalding. No further printing was done until 1842.

The Rev. Elkanah Walker and Rev. Cushing Eells at the Tshimakain Station (located some 30 miles northwest of Spokane, Washington with the Spokane Indians, an ABC of FM mission) had made some effort to reduce the Flathead language to writing in 1840, but not until late 1840 or early 1841 was an attempt made to print the grammar in the Spokan dialect of the Flathead.

On March 8, 1841, Reverend Walker wrote that a journey to Lapwai was made but the press wasn't in "any state of use" and that

Spalding was building a new printing office at that time.

Reverend Walker returned to Lapwai in November, 1842, with his material; and Spalding, with Walker's help, set about to do the printing.. Mr. Spalding gave an account of the printing in a letter to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, dated February 26, 1843, as follows: "Mr. Walker arrived the last of Nov. & with my poor assistance fitted up the press & printed a small book in the Flat-Head language."

Reverend Walker's account of the printing was contained in a letter he wrote a couple of days later:

> Since you were last written to from this station a small book of sixteen pages has been printed in the native language. The printing of this book detained me at Clear Water about eleven days. You will readily suppose that it was slow work as it was wholly a new business both to Mr. Spalding and myself.
>
> Mr. Spalding understood working the press. It required no little time to arrange the press as it had been taken down and laid aside since Mr. Hall left the country. Among the most difficult things to be done was the making of a new roller which we succeeded in after three or four attempts. We not only succeeded in making one, but we made a good one.
>
> The book, as you will expect, is very imperfect in every respect but has been of much service. We were compelled to press it forward as fast as we could and spent much less time upon it than was desirable and much less than we ought to make it correct as we ought; owing to the lateness of the season. It was past the middle of Nov. when I left home for the Clear Water.[12]

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[12] Letter in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Eight different books were printed by this new piece of machinery. Seven of the eight were either written or translated or edited by the Spaldings.

He (Spalding) probably had many faults but, as mentioned previously, he was an extremely versatile man. The missionary practiced some medicine, collected plants for a botanist, Asa Gray, and kept weather records accurately and faithfully. Reverend Spalding translated the Gospel of Matthew into the Nez Perce language. As the Indians liked music, Spalding translated hymns and even composed new ones in the Nez Perce tongue. Some of these songs were used in the 1930's and 1940's, well over 100 years later, by the Nez Perce Christians. The mission press also printed a Nez Perce hymn book.

Clifford M. Drury[13] in writing the book on Spalding and Asa Smith said that four grammars and/or dictionaries of the Nez Perce language were prepared by missionaries. The first was prepared by Asa B. Smith, which is now located in the archives of the ABC of FM. The second was completed by Miss Sue McBeth, who came after Spalding in the 1870's. A copy of this book, which contained 15,000 words, was sent to the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. Dr. James Cornelison, who was a Presbyterian missionary to the Cayuses

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[13] Clifford M. Drury, Henry H. Spalding and Asa B. Smith (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1958), p. 180.

at Pendleton, Oregon, used a dictionary and grammar prepared by some Roman Catholic missionaries.

The December issue of the 1837 Herald contained about 35,000 words from a Spalding letter of February 16, 1837. In this he wrote that Mrs. Spalding opened a school on January 28 with a good response from the Nez Perces. He reported: "Usually about one hundred attend the school. Several are now able to read a little with us, at morning and evening prayers. As soon as one gets hold of a book, who is able to spell but a few words, he immediately searches out the name of God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. . . The beginning certainly appears favorable. . . ."[14]

Readers of Spalding's letters were somewhat misled. A.S. Smith had "swallowed" Spalding's "rosy" account of how the Indians were learning English and the Spaldings were translating the scriptures into Nez Perce. In writing to Mr. Greene on the ABC of FM, August 27, 1839, A. S. Smith stated: "This was a most pleasing and taking idea in the States, but after witnessing what has been accomplished towards instructing the people in the English language for three years, I must say it appears folly in the extreme and I wonder that I should ever have had any confidence in such an opinion."[15]

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[14] Ibid., p. 237.

[15] Ibid.

In all probability Spalding was extremely optimistic in his reports to the Presbyterian Board. The Indians were interested in the new experiences they were having. They seemed to be keenly enthusiastic about having white teachers come and share their territory and live among them. They seemed ready to promise anything. The initial interest faded quickly, however, when they realized the difficulties of learning a new language and readjusting age-old habits to the new ways of the missionaries.

Smith was very critical of the teaching method employed by the Spaldings and considered it very dangerous. In a letter to Greene on the Board, he commented: "Mr. S. mentions the use of paintings in giving instruction. I wish to make a few remarks respecting this mode of giving instruction. I never have employed this method at all but I have witnessed the influence of it on this people. I consider it extremely dangerous for a missionary, while he understands the native language very imperfectly, to make use of this method."[16]

Smith seemed to consider that any interest engendered by the native about pictures was nothing but "mere superstition."

In the minutes of the annual meeting of the Oregon Mission of the American Board, which was held at Lapwai, September 2-5, 1839,

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[16] Ibid., p. 241.

it was resolved:

> That Mr. Rogers be invited to prepare a small elementary arithmetic and Mr. Smith his reviewer. Also, that Dr. Whitman be appointed to prepare a reading book and Mr. Rogers his reviewer. Also, that Mr. Spalding be appointed to prepare a book containing religious instruction from the Old Testament and Mr. Smith his reviewer. . . .Also, that Messrs. Spalding and Smith be a committee to translate the Ten Commandments to be published at the Islands under a cut. Also that Messrs. Spalding and Smith be appointed to prepare hymns in the native language and be each other's reviewers.[17]

In Spalding's diary of January 12, 1840, he wrote.

> Sabbath. Commence a sabbath-school with native helpers. Succeed better than I could have expected. I meet the teachers, 11 in No., last eve and explained to them the creation. I have given each a book scripture cuts which have been sent me from Boston. Will the Lord in great mercy smile upon this undertaking to enlighten these dark minds. about 400 in the school.[18]

Attendance at most mission stations was very irregular. In Spalding's letter to Greene dated April 1, 1840, he stated:

> The school will soon be discontinued, as the children have already, mostly left with their parents in search of provisions and will not be collected in any great numbers, till fall. . . . May the Lord hasten the day when this people shall become settled. Until that time our labors, as teachers are almost lost. Today a full school, tomorrow nearly all absent in search of

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[17] Minutes of the 1839 Annual Meeting of the Oregon Mission of the American Mission Board held at Lapwai, Sep. 2-5, 1839, as in Drury, Spalding and Smith, p. 115.

[18] Ibid., p. 283.

> roots for a subsistence. For a short time, an animating school of 100 or 150 collected, only to be scattered for weeks and perhaps months. . . .[19]

In a communication to Greene, Asa Smith, from his lonely outpost mission station at Kamiah dated February 6, 1840, commented:

> On pp. 387 of the Herald[20] for 1838, it is stated that an alphabet in the Nez Perce language is completed and three books are mentioned as completed or hoped to be during the year. That alphabet has been thrown away, it being found before the reception of your letter, not only "unclassical and outlandish," but also attended with such difficulties, as to render it entirely impractical to use it. Respecting the book sent to the Islands to be printed, it came back as it was sent. Mr. Hall came last spring with a press, which was kindly presented to us by the members of Mr. Bingham's Church, and all the printing that was done during the summer was a small work of 20 pp. prepared by Spalding. Before it went to press, it was sent to me for correction. On examining it, I found scarcely a correct sentence of Nez Perce in the whole of it. I corrected it as well as I was able to at that time and sent it back. Some of the corrections were admitted and some rejected. The book was printed. The result is that the book is so incorrect as to be almost entirely useless and has been used but little. This is all that has appeared of those books. At our meeting in Sept. last year, assignments were made for the preparation of books as you will see from the minutes of the meeting, a copy of which I will send you, among which an elementary reading book was assigned to Dr. Whitman. This of course was the first book to be needed. In Dec. Dr. W. concluded that he was unable to prepare such a work, and applied to Mr. Rogers and myself to do it for him. We have accordingly prepared mattes for some 50 or 60 pages,

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Missionary Herald--the official Church publication.

> which is now in press. Mr. Rogers, with a little instruction from Mr. Hall is printing the work; he has sent me the first 28 pp. and it appears very well. This work, tho' not entirely correct, I think to be generally free from grammatical errors, and will answer our purpose tolerably well. I find my own style quite stiff and frequently not according to the idiom of the language. What Mr. Rogers has prepared, however, is in a more easy style and more according to the idiom of the language. By traveling with the people and being much with them, he is able to speak the language with great ease and propriety. . . .[21]

In a letter from Smith to Greene dated August 31, 1840, Mr. Smith was quite concerned about educating the Indians at Kamiah, his mission station. He began:

> . . . my time has been much occupied in temporal concerns and I have been able to do but little in improving my knowledge of the language or in communicating instruction to the people. The opportunities for communicating instruction would have been indeed small had I been able to devote my time wholly to it. Most of the time for six months there have been few or no people about us. They have been wandering here and there in quest of food, the same as formerly.
>
> The same difficulty is experienced at all the stations, while the people remain in their present situation it seems utterly impossible to keep up a school during the summer, unless it be a boarding school, and whether a boarding school is practicable I have very strong doubts. Such a system of operations must greatly increase the number of laborers and the expenses of the mission. Again I have many doubts whether children to

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[21] The first book to be printed on the mission press at Lapwai was an eight page primer for children. This was published in 1839. This is the book which Smith labeled "entirely useless." The second book to be printed was the Nez Perce reader, 52-pages, which was published in 1840. This is the book which Smith is here writing about.

> any extent would be obtained on this plan. Their children are very important service to them in their present mode of living. As soon as a boy is able to throw a rope and catch a horse, which is while he is very young, he is of very important service to his parents or friends in taking care of horses. As soon as a girl is able to follow her mother and dig roots, she too is of great service and I do not think children could to any extent be obtained. . . .
>
> At present a school can be sustained here only about six months in a year and that liable to numerous interruptions. The prospect that the people will change their habits and become a settled people and thus be a situation to be instructed is not so favorable as you may apprehend.[22]

In a later letter to Greene from Kamiah dated September 28, 1840, A. B. Smith included a report from Spalding as follows:

> With two short interruptions a school has been taught six and a half months, averaging about 4 hours per day; besides which Mrs. Spalding and Mrs. Gray have collected the children in their rooms and done more or less at teaching. The school has varied from 140 to 12. While the people continue to depend on their present sources of subsistence, requiring them to be almost constantly upon the case, schools at this station will be greatly embarrassed. . . . One sawmill built which does a good business, designed to aid in settling the natives. . . and to furnish lumber for school houses. . . .[23]

He continued:

> . . . the printing department, Mr. Rogers, reports as follows: Since I have had any connection with this department, a small book of 52 pages has been printed with the assistance of Mr. Hall, a copy of which

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[22] Drury, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

[23] Ibid., pp. 182-183.

> accompanies this report. 800 copies were printed and 250 have been bound. A room in Mr. Spalding's house has been occupied with the press and type, but it is too small to do anything to advantage.
>
> A large font of Pica type has not been opened. It is the type needed for printing school books, but cannot be opened for want of cases, six pairs of which are needed. In order to do anything to advantage, a suitable building is needed, together with the furniture as recommended by Mr. Hall.[24]

Mr. Smith had many things to comment on including his own attempts at education.

> Our school is now full--sixteen boys and nine girls, 25 in all. The scholars are all doing well; a few of them are shining examples of successful progress.
>
> James Reuben entered the school last June, after two years of wild roaming in the buffalo country. He had, when a small boy, learned the alphabet and to read in words of two letters. This he had nearly lost. This week he was advaned into the Third Reader. He has also made good progress in Arithmetic; is a good penman; and can spell readily in words of four or five syllables. Take into account his imperfect knowledge of the language, and also a long vacation since he entered school, and his progress is worthy of praise. Others in regard to progress and good conduct might receive honorable mention.
>
> For the three months that I have had oversight of the school there has been no case of discipline, no flagrant misconduct,--and, what is noteworthy in an Indian school,--no absconding.
>
> I imposed some new rules and restrictions, unpleasant to them at first, but to these they have yielded submission. They are in schoolfive hours daily and three hours at work. Mr. Fee is a diligent, devoted and successful teacher. He also gives them good training in the Bible and Catechism.

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[24] Ibid., p. 186.

> Mr. Owen, a young man lately employed as farmer, has charge of the boys at work. He is doing very well. Miss Mary E. Fee has the oversight of the girls. I am not quite satisfied with her, but cannot do better at present.
>
> The boys have worship morning and evening in the school room conducted by themselves.[25]

The Sawmill

In the spring of 1840, the sawmill was in operation. In conjunction with this, the crude grinding flour mill was underway. This small, humble beginning turned out whipsawed boards that were used in the building of the schools for the Indians at the mission.

The lumber turned out was put to good use right away. A new school house was built during the summer of 1841, measuring 21' x 17', and was ready for occupancy by October. This was not a log cabin but an actual building made of boards from the sawmill. Mrs. Spalding writing to a friend, Mrs. A. T. Smith, then of Tualatin Plains, Oregon, boasted of the building. She described it as follows: "The frame is of sawed timber, the covering is of boards match. Three 12-light windows, a writing desk extends across one side, a stove in the center, and daily it is well-filled with interested learners."[26]

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[25] Asa Smith, Document No. 331, 1830's (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, [n.d.]), pp. 8-9.

[26] Lewiston Morning Tribune, May 3, 1936.

Wilkes Exploring Expedition

Aside from fellow missionary reports and letters, an interesting account came from an outside government force. In June, 1841, a party, under the title of Wilkes Exploring Expedition, was sent inland by the U.S. Government to look over the Oregon country. The members visited Lapwai and observed the work of Spalding in educating the Indians. The official report was published in 1845, and it painted a glowing account of Spalding's success:

> His efforts in agriculture are not less exemplary, for he has twenty acres of fine wheat, and a large field in which were potatoes, corn, melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, etc., the whole of which were in fine order.
>
> The great endeavor of Mr. Spalding is to induce the Indians to give up their roving mode of life, and to settle down and cultivate the soil; and in this he is succeeding admirably. He shows admirable tact and skill, together with untiring industry and perseverance in the prosecution of his labors as a missionary, and he appears to be determined to leave nothing undone that one person alone can perform.[27]

Code of Laws to Be Taught to the Nez Perce Indians

Dr. Elizah White had been appointed Indian Sub-Agent in the Oregon Country in 1842. The Bureau of Indian Affairs had been set up during John Q. Adams' Administration as part of the War Department

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[27] Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), p. 460.

on March 11, 1824. White's commission was dated, January 24, 1842; his arrival in the Oregon land was noted on April 1, 1842; his tenure in office was ended on April 14, 1846. The Bureau of Indian Affairs functions under the Department of the Interior that was created on March 3, 1849.

Doctor White's visit to the Spalding school and mission was an official one. His arrival was set at December 3, 1843. His visit was probably prompted by growing reports that the Nez Perce had become alarmed by Spalding's lashings and temper problems. A code of laws was formulated and was to be taught by Spalding in the mission school. The code of laws or "Christian Code" was to be enforced by the lash and even the hanging rope. This "Code" was to embrace eleven articles as follows:

Art. 1. Whoever wilfully takes life shall be hung.
Art. 2. Whoever burns a dwelling-house shall be hung.
Art. 3. Whoever burns an out-building shall be imprisoned six months, receive fifty lashes, and pay all damages.
Art. 4. Whoever carelessly burns a house, or any property, shall pay damages.
Art. 5. If anyone enters a dwelling, without permission of the occupant, the chiefs shall punish him as they think proper. Public rooms are excepted.
Art. 6. If anyone steals, he shall pay back two-fold; and if it be the value of a beaver skin or less, he shall receive twenty-five lashes; and if the value is over a beaver skin he shall pay back two-fold and receive fifty lashes.
Art. 7. If anyone takes a horse and rides it, without permission, or take any article, and use it, without liberty, he shall pay for the use of it, and receive from twenty to fifty lashes, as the chief shall direct.

Art. 8. If anyone enter a field, and injure the crops, or throw down the fence, so that cattle or horses go in and do damage, he shall pay all damages, and receive twenty-five lashes for every offense.

Art. 9. Those only may keep dogs who travel or live among the game; if a dog kill a lamb, calf or any domestic animal, the owner shall pay the damage, and kill the dog.

Art. 10. If an Indian raise a gun or other weapon against a white man, it shall be reported to the chiefs, and they shall be reported to Dr. White, and he shall redress it.

Art. 11. If an Indian break these laws, he shall be punished by his chief, if a white man break them, he shall be reported to the agent, and be punished at his instance.[28]

Spalding wrote to Doctor White some time later and indicated that the "Code" was adopted by the Nez Perce people and was even printed in the form of a small school book. According to Spalding, a great many of the Indians in the school read the book fluently. McWhorter[29] related that the "Code and the Bible were the paramount concepts taught in the mission school, and for a time the Nez Perces made an honest endeavor to adapt themselves to the new order of things brought to them from God, and showing a 'better way to heaven.'"

In a letter written to Greene, January 24, 1846, Spalding reported that his gatherings were smaller for religious observances than usual, seldom numbering more than 200. Also, the attendance at school

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[28] L. V. McWhorter, Hear Me, My Chiefs! (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1952), p. 65.

[29] Ibid., p. 69.

had diminished somewhat. Doctor White's attempt to establish a new set of "laws" or code to be enforced by the chiefs had been a complete failure.

Whitman Massacre

The Whitman Massacre occurred during the next year, November, 1847. An enraged band of Cayuses stormed into the Whitman Mission killing the Whitmans and numerous other people. The Cayuses were incensed by the smallpox epidemic brought into their area by the whiteman. Spalding left the field of mission work and did not return to it until the 1860's. At the time of the Whitman Massacre, Spalding had nine buildings at his station, not counting the sawmill. These included the main homes, a schoolhouse, a meeting house, a printing office, and five other structures that were used as a woodhouse, a storehouse, a granary, an outkitchen, and a shop. Spalding's inventory[30] of Lapwai was recorded by him as follows:

> One school house with weaving and spinning room above, 20 x 16, frame, posts 12 feet, Board (Plank) siding and roof, siding matched, under floor matched, upper floor jointed, one partition and closet for Indian goods, valued as follows:

Timber	20.00
Framing	36.48
Inclosing & Flooring	36.48

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[30] Drury, op. cit., pp. 362-363.

Lumber	68.40
Chimney	15.00
3 Windows & 4 Doors	20.00

One Printing Office, 28 x 16 weather boarded, shingled roof.

Timber and framing	92.00
Shingles and putting on	25.20
Lumber and inclosing	67.50
9 windows w/frames & casings	72.00
3 doors	17.50
1 chimney	18.00
1 Box of 140 Inkstands	21.50
400 copies of Gospel of Matthew (not bound, native)	100.00
300 copies small books, English and native	50.00
200 copies Elementary books, native	45.00
300 copies hymn books, native	40.00
140 sheets paste board	16.00
6 Reams Printing Paper	33.00
8 Cases for Type	24.00
1 stand for cases	4.00
Large Shears for paste board	6.00
Stand for Press	8.00
Other Printing Apparatus	8.00

Spalding moved to Oregon following the Whitman Massacre of 1847. In 1848 he closed his mission on the Nez Perce territory. In the fall of 1862 he was appointed as a teacher in a government school established at Lapwai. He was delighted at the thought of coming "home" again, and great numbers of Indians flocked to see him and listen to him preach. He was quite popular because he spoke

their tongue.

A change of administration at the Lapwai agency in 1865 resulted in the dismissal of Spalding.

Agent John B. Monteith

The scandalous conduct of some of the Indian agencies in 1869 caused President U.S. Grant to inaugurate the new policy of calling upon churches to administer Indian affairs. Because of the previous work of Spalding, the government gave the Presbyterian Church the responsibility of the Nez Perces.

Spalding happened to be visiting in the East at this time, and he suggested that Cyrus Walker be appointed Indian agent at Lapwai. Rev. and Mrs. Elkanah Walker, Walker's parents, had worked with Spalding prior to the Whitman Massacre.

The Rev. Dr. Edward R. Geary, who had been appointed supervisor of the whole area, felt that young Walker was "without any tested abilities for so difficult and responsible a place" and decided to nominate for the post John B. Monteith, the son of his friend, the Rev. William J. Monteith. Spalding was disappointed when Mr. Monteith was selected.

Because of Spalding's experience with the Nez Perces, Monteith felt he had no alternative but to appoint Spalding Superintendent of Instruction. Spalding was still in the East visiting various friends;

consequently, he delayed his return and this caused Agent Monteith much concern. The agent then called upon his aunt, Mrs. R. N. Fee, to begin teaching in the Indian school at Lapwai. Major activities, therefore, were already in progress when Spalding arrived late in the fall of 1871.

In the struggle with Agent Monteith, Spalding instigated a trial, which was conducted by the Oregon Presbytery. Many members of the Presbytery arrived from all over the Oregon Country. A newspaper man of the Idaho Signal of May 10, 1873, reported that "six members of the Oregon Presbytery arrived by the last boat and immediately took conveyance for the Lapwai Agency whence, we understand, they have a trial and other business of importance to transact."

After some preliminary reports were given, a judicial committee was formed to review the papers concerning the Spalding and Cowley vs. Monteith case. It reported in part:

1. That Spalding was cleared of all charges.
2. Spalding had to move to Kamiah to work and that he will have the privilege to visit the schools as a missionary (this was one of the big complaints of Monteith--that Spalding taught more religion in school than the 3-R's).
3. Cowley be reassigned.
4. All these being met, Spalding would drop charges.
5. Both parties would abstain from interfering with each other.
6. That a committee be formed to examine and revise the Gospel of Matthew in the Nez Perce language and take measures to secure its reissue and that till a new edition be issued the existing ediction be issued.

Spalding Tried to Exonerate Himself

Spalding had had printed in Executive Document No. 37,[31] 3rd Session of the 41st Congress, letters of rebuttal to Fr. J.B.A. Brouilett, a Catholic priest's charges that were published in 1848 in an Executive Document entitled "Protestantism in Oregon." In this document Brouilett took issue that anything of good was accomplished by Protestant missionary activity in the Oregon Country. Spalding wanted to set the record straight and gathered testimony from many sources as to his effectiveness at Lapwai. Ex-Governor of the Territory of Oregon, George Abernathy, was asked the question:

> Do you believe, from your long acquaintance with the Nez Perce and Cayuse Indians, that the Protestant missions established among them in 1836 were productive of good both in elevating the natives from the wretched condition of want and ignorance of letters, of cultivation, and of God, in which the missionaries found them to be a comparatively high state of civilization and Christian attainments; as also in securing the constant friendship and firm alliance of the Nez Perce nation to the Americans and the American Government?[32]

His answer was:

> I certainly do. I firmly believe that the instructions the Nez Perce received from their missionaries kept them from joining in the wars against the Americans.

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[31] Executive Document No. 37, Senate of the United States, 3rd Session of the 41st Congress (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 15.

[32] Ibid., p. 5.

Also, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Joel Palmer said, "I answer most emphatically yes; and have so expressed myself in my history and on all occasions." In Palmer's book, he relates that "Mr. and Mrs. Spalding have kept up a school and many of the Indians have made great proficiency. The Nez Perce are a quiet and industrious people, and owe much of their superior qualifications to the missionaries."[33]

Another comment from a newspaper explained, "through the self-abnegating labors of this good old man [Spalding], these aborigines, we feel safe in saying, have been benefited more than by all the thousands of outlay by the Government. Their savage natures are changed in his presence. . . ."[34]

In addition to many letters and resolutions were abstracts taken from Wilke's Exploring Expedition around the World, during the Years of 1841, 1842, and 1843.[35] Wilkes had found the Spaldings' instruction in agriculture, skills in the home, and school to be exemplary. Five hundred scholars "were seen attending the school during the winter months."

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[33] Joel Palmer, Palmer's History (Cincinnati, Ohio: J.A. James Company, 1847), pp. 128-131.

[34] Golden Age, Lewiston, Idaho Territory, November 16, 1894.

[35] Wilkes, op. cit., pp. 460-465.

Mr. J. W. Anderson[36] wrote in his letter, concerning Spalding's work, that he had been at Lapwai when Spalding arrived as Superintendent of Instruction for the Nez Perce Indians. Anderson pointed out that the members of the tribe were delighted to see Spalding again and that they seemed very pleased at having a school started for them again. At that time (1862), not having any available space for a school house, Anderson allowed Spalding to use his office as a school room. The office was crowded with young and old alike. Anderson's letter, dated February 22, 1865, from Lewiston, concluded that even "some of the old men would remain till bedtime engaged in transcribing into their language" things Spalding had given them.

Mr. D. S. Thompson, writing to Spalding from Washington, D.C., January 20, 1871, stated that he had been on the Reservation surveying twenty-acre lots. He added that he had traveled in most of the western portion of the United States, among the Indians much of his life, and that he believed "the Nez Perce Indians are by far the most intelligent and susceptible of civilization of any Indians of which I am acquainted."[37]

Dr. Elijah White, who had earlier been a Sub-Indian agent in the Oregon Country, wrote on April 1, 1843, about the new chief, Ellis.

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[36] Governor and ex-officio Supt. of Indian Affairs for Idaho Territory, in Exec. Document No. 37, p. 7.

[37] Ibid., p. 8.

> Ellis was appointed high chief; a sensible man of 32, reading, speaking, and writing the English language tolerably well; has a fine small plantation, few sheep, some neat cattle, and no less than 1,000 head of horses. . . .Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding. . . have a school of some two hundred and twenty-four, in constant attendance, most successfully carried forward, which promises to be of great usefulness to both sexes and all ages.[38]

One document was a set of resolutions that were adopted by the Oregon Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, at their meeting in Linn County (Oregon), in 1865-69. The mission resolution stated:

> It is our deliberate conviction that the Lapwai Mission belongs to the A. B. of C. for F.M. as the mission home of our Brother Spalding. 1st. by the lawful permit of the American Government now before us, dated War Department, March 1836, for the said board, in the person of Rev. H.H. Spalding and family, to enter and settle in said Nez Perce country as a teacher and missionary. 2d by contract of said tribe in council, November, 1836. 3d. By eleven years' residence, and until forced away. 4th. By the acts of Congress in 1848, and in 1852, both of which confirm the title of the land to the American Board. And we heartily concur in the opinions set forth by his excellency Governor Abernathy, by General Palmer, by Colonel Cornelius, and by some 600 of the best citizens of our State, in a memorial to our government praying that they may be allowed to renew the work of Protestant Missions at the old Lapwai Mission. . .that the interests of the Government and of the tribe would be better subserved by the appointment of Mr. Spalding there than by any other man.[39]

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[38] Ibid., p. 13.

[39] Ibid., p. 69.

McBeth Sisters

Sue McBeth was strong in spiritual matters and was adept in teaching, but was quite a frail lady physically. She took up the missionary tasks laid down by Spalding. Later her sister, Kate, joined in the work. After both sisters had died, the labor of teaching the Indians was passed on to a niece, Mary Crawford, who carried on the work for more than 25 years.

Sue McBeth had been a missionary teacher among the Choctaws of the Indian Territory and in the hospitals of the Civil War before arriving at Lapwai in 1873 to teach in the Government Indian School. Then on the passing of Spalding, in August, 1874, she moved to the east to the Nez Perce community of Kamiah, continuing the effort to convert the Indians and to teach them.

General O. O. Howard, who later in 1877 fought against Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce Nation, wrote this about Miss McBeth after visiting her mission station, "her work seems simple. Just like the Master's in some respects. She gathers her disciples about her, a few at a time, and having herself learned their language. . . she instructs them and makes them teachers."[40]

While Miss McBeth was working in the Government School,

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[40] Notes taken in class from Dr. C.J. Brosnan, 1953.

her religious zeal was felt by some to be totally out of place. So consequently, talk was spread around as to what action should be undertaken. General Howard wrote, "I hear that the Indian Department is afraid that Miss McBeth is teaching theology and should order her back to the rudiments."[41]

In 1877, when the Nez Perce War occurred, Susan was forced to go into exile at Portland, but she returned after the conflict, in the fall of 1877, and continued her teaching at Lapwai until it seemed safe to inhabit her place of teaching at Kamiah.

Like most dedicated missionaries, she was actually a driving and unrelenting woman. She was very positive that the Indian ways had to go, the Nez Perces' traditional life had to be eliminated, and the longhouse had to be replaced by single dwellings.

One of her main principles was, "Help anyone in domestic and in spiritual matters, but a book must not be put into the hands of a dishonorable woman, thereby giving her influence, or power, among her people for harm."[42]

In a speech delivered by Miss Crawford, Sue McBeth's niece, at the dedication of a new school at Lapwai in 1914, she related

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

what Miss Kate McBeth said about the Spaldings:

> . . . while Mr. Spalding was teaching agriculture, Mrs. Spalding was giving the women instruction in what you would call domestic science, for she had her spinning wheel and knitting needles with her and she taught them how to cook.
>
> The school on the Clearwater was near where James Moses' house now stands, near the old gnarled apple trees. The school flourished and sometimes there were as many as two hundred pupils, men, women and children. A lesson was put on the board for them and they would print it and recite it and all study aloud. Think of what a school that must have been![43]

Sue L. McBeth was an exceptional scholar in Latin and Greek, a successful college teacher, and a missionary among the Choctaws.

After the death of Spalding, Sue McBeth quit teaching in the Government's Indian School and went to Kamiah to begin the work of training native leadership among the Nez Perces.

Kate McBeth came to the Nez Perces in 1879 and worked with her sister Susan. Her labors were more among the people, visiting in their lodges, and teaching the women to sew, cook, and take care of their homes and their young ones. She insisted on changing the code that women did all the heavy labor. It was a strange form of teaching and presumably hard for the Indians to grasp. One day one of the Indians said to her, "Now, Miss Kate, wouldn't

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[43] Mary M. Crawford, The Nez Perce Since Spalding (Berkeley: Professional Press, May, 1936), pp. 8-9.

you be ashamed to see Peter making the wood." The Nez Perces were apt students; and it was not long until the adult males were "making the wood," going out and catching the horses, putting the necessary gear on the horses, and driving the buggy for the wife and the young ones.

Both Kate and Sue McBeth used the Nez Perce tongue and taught in it at their school work. They liked the smooth flowing expressive phrases. They used the English books until the Indians could master some English. They could have translated everything, but they could foresee that English would have to be learned.

Kate McBeth set up the first Sunday School in 1879, her first year there. There was an English speaking class for youngsters, but all the other classes were taught in Nez Perce and by Nez Perces.

After the death of Sue in 1893, Kate continued her labor of training the Indians for the ministry. The mission was located in Lapwai. She had student cottages constructed on the mission grounds. Her pupils, with their families, could study all winter and work in the summer on their farms to help defray their expenses. The Indians had to pay for their own training. The missionaries were the only salaried individuals.

Later Presbyterian Church Activity

As the Nez Perce churches were served mainly by Nez Perce ministers for many years after the McBeth generation, the only denominational personnel assigned to their area were Christian education field staff; the Indians ran everything else themselves, subject to approval on property matters by the Board of National Missions.

Historically there were six Nez Perce Presbyterian Churches: Spalding, Meadow Creek, North Fork, Stites, and First and Second in Kamiah. The churches had difficulty in keeping full-time pastors or educational workers.

Entering the 1960's, the Board employed Walker to make a definite study of Nez Perce religion as a guide for future planning: he completed this job in January, 1964, and made his recommendations as follows:

1. Give the Joint Session a legal status in Presbyterian government as the central Nez Perce authority;

2. Return title to all Nez Perce Church lands to the Joint Session (they were owned by the National Mission Board).

3. Abandon attempts toward Nez Perce/white integration for the time being;

4. Keep all organizations related to Nez Perce Presbyterianism informed of each other's policies and attitudes on what each regards as problem areas.[44]

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[44] Given to author by interview with Phil Types, present chief, Nez Perce Tribe.

In May, 1964, a meeting was held of representatives of the Board of National Missions, the Presbytery, and the Joint Session, and three major directives for the future were officially agreed to:

1. Nez Perce congregations should seek new unity as one congregation.

2. The Board should find ways to provide better communication and more participation in the structures by Nez Perces.

3. The Board should deed its Nez Perce property to the local congregation.[45]

D. E. Walker felt that the Indians formally agreed because consensus was important in their culture and they felt it was expected. The Board did deed over its property; it is possible that it did not expect to carry out its end of the bargain.

"The Spalding" of the 1960's was Henry Sugden, who thought of himself as the "Mobile Minister to the Nez Perce Indians," serving many congregations. In his first report to the Board, October 1, 1965, he noted that among the Office of Economic Opportunity, the tribe, the BIA, VISTA, and other governmental agencies, many obvious needs were being cared for, so that the role of the church was to help all these agencies interact and to keep everyone informed. He hoped to try this through a luncheon club like the Rotary, perhaps, and/or

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[45] Ibid.

through a newspaper. Sugden encouraged the natives to cooperate more with those "worldly" activities, to improve church attendance and education, and to develop some plan to upgrade housing for the Indians.

Also, Sugden took several steps that helped his relationships with the Nez Perces; he enrolled in Nez Perce language classes at the community building and quickly gained a good speaking knowledge; he frequently visited and counseled with individual Indian families.

Other routine activities included corresponding with Nez Perce servicemen, meeting with the Board, attending both church and secular conferences (BIA, or Indian Education, for example), speaking at school, PTA, and church events. "I use funerals and other opportunities where there are lots of people to try to say something important, and that takes more preparation,"[46] he commented.

He was aware, of course, of the 1964 agreement of goals for the Nez Perce, and in his January, 1966, report to the Board formally agreed that he subscribed to them and would try to implement them.

Sugden had helped the Joint Session push the production and the sale of a new hymn book in the Nez Perce language. He had asked initially for $1,000 from the National Missions Committee, but the committee rejected his request as not being worthwhile. Today

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[46] Ibid.

(1970) the project is locally financed. In his first report, Sugden wrote:

> These projects (Nez Perce hymnal and translation of Romans) put the Joint Session and the Church among the leaders of language preservation and are: (1) definitely a service to the tribe and (2) definitely the church's strongest suit at present. Also they required limited funds, but lots of intelligence.[47]

Perhaps the most successful innovation that Sugden had produced was the various tribal publications. There was a tribal newspaper Coyote Tracks put out with OEO help, but it was government oriented. Sugden stressed personal items in the Coyote Tracks in order to get people to read it and hopefully to absorb the other information about church functions. He was particularly careful to include items about education, such as, Nez Perce children who were graduating or doing well in school. "It takes constant encouragement to keep the kids competing in school activities," he had remarked. "I talk it up all the time, because I believe there will be more opportunities for Indians than for whites with equivalent training in some jobs very soon now, and the kids don't realize this," Sugden commented.[48] A regular column written by one of the Indian women vividly described some of the Nez Perces' legends or interpreted some of their seasonal themes.

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

Sugden was known in general community affairs because of his involvement and his newsletter. He had managed to obtain three jobs for Indians at the state mental hospital in Orofino, Idaho. After the administrator wrote to him to ask for aid in getting Indian workers, Sugden talked with him about people lacking eighth-grade diplomas (a state requirement) but having a good command of English. "It's steady work and they'll keep it awhile; steady work isn't usually in their culture so every month they stay is an advance; you musn't feel everything is lost when they leave; one has been there four months, the other two, three months," Sugden encouraged himself.[49]

Sugden's position as an employee of the Board seemed ambiguous. The fact that he had learned Nez Perce and had not forced anything upon the people was regarded by many as "a good sign"; in fact, one Indian commented, "He's gone more Indian than the Indians." Sugden said that in disputes between the two cultures that he would take the side of the Indian.

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[49] Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CONFLICT

Catholic Ladder

When the Catholic Fathers, Blanchet and Demers, began their ministry with the Northwest Indians of the Oregon Country in 1839, they were handicapped in teaching the Indians their religion in a simple, dignified form that the Indians could comprehend. To solve this problem, Father Blanchet developed the idea of using a square stick or rule on which were marked forty short horizontal bars to represent the centuries before Jesus, thirty-three dots to indicate the years of the life of this man, a cross to symbolize the crucifixion. The centuries and years since the birth of Christ were represented by eighteen bars and thirty-nine points. The chiefs were then given instruction in their meaning and use and were given added help by the missionaries to further the educational process to the masses. The Indians called it a shale stick. Later the shale stick was superseded by a printed chart, which showed, besides the bars and points, simple drawings illustrating some of the main happenings of biblical history, the ark, the tower of Babel, Solomon's Temple, the tablets of stone, etc. The reformation was indicated by a branch off the main line during the sixteenth century bar, and three vertical bars, representing

the three heretics, Luther, Calvin and Henry VIII. The chart then took on the name of "Catholic Ladder." Many editions were printed and each one took on many more symbols and drawings so that it became more elaborate with pictorial emblems.[1]

The "Catholic Ladder" was constructed to show four millenial periods:

1. Adam to Noah
2. Noah to Abraham
3. Abraham to the completion of the Temple
4. Completion of the Temple to the time of the general peace under A. Caesar.

Method of Teaching the Catholic Ladder[2]

1. Begin by running up from the bottom to the top, the column of the ages through which the world has lasted. Next, point out, in succession, the epoch of the 4,000 years, that of 33 and that of 1860. Having done this, locate the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, of the Incarnation and of the Redemption, so as to teach the student how to distinguish them by their names.

2. After this, point out, at the foot of the column of the

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[1] A copy is in the Oregon Historical Society.

[2] Notes taken in class by author from Dr. C.J. Brosnan, 1953.

centuries, the image which relates to God, and teach all that we know of His divine attributes and perfections. You will then proceed to explain the great mysteries.

3. Next, note the Creation in the period of six days, advertising to the sanctification of the seventh day, which God reserved for himself and consecrated to rest. Further on, you will refer to the creation of the Angels, which took place, in the opinion of St. Augustine, when He made the light on the fifth day of creation. Then tell of the rebellion of the wicked angels, a short time after their creation, their fall into Hell, created at the moment of their rebellion, and the faithfulness of the pure angels and their reward in Heaven.

4. Subsequently, you point out the tree of knowledge of good and evil, stating God's command not to touch its fruit; the envy and madness of the cursed enemy of man at the sight of the happiness of Adam and Eve, the resolution which Satan took to work out their ruin and to drag them into the pit along with himself and his rebellious followers; his temptation of the first pair, under the form of a serpent; the wiles of the devil in that work of temptation, the disobedience of our first parents but a short time after their creation; the rejoicing of the devils when they saw Adam and Eve, with all their posterities, involved with one and the same condemnation by the justice of God; the promise of a savior through the means of another woman (Mary, The Virgin Mother, most pure and immaculate) who was to crush the

head of the serpent--that is, to baffle the power of the devil, by bringing into the world the promised Savior to repair the guilt of the first woman).

5. From here, proceed to the fulfillment of the promise, pointing out, in a mere cursory manner, the intermediate events, especially to the beginners, whose attention should be distracted as little as possible from the thread of historical facts, but rather to dwell on the principal object. The rest is but accessory, and may be brought in, further on, with some measure of advantage.

6. When you have reached the period of 4,000 years begin to give an historical sketch of religion, from the birth of Jesus Christ down to our days. You will refer to the 33 years of His life, to the Apostles, to Calvary, to the sacraments, His promise to the church, His death, His resurrection and Ascension, which embrace the whole Christian doctrine. In all that is to be believed, one asked and received salvation. But before you touch this branch of your duty, do, in regard to those prayers, what you had done in respect to the historical sketch of religion; that is, give a general character of them--tell by whom, how, and under what circumstances they were composed or uttered; teach your beginners to retain the title of the sum of the things or articles contained in them.[3]

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[3] Charles D. Schreebeis, Pioneer Education in the Pacific Northwest (Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press [n.d.]).

None of the pictures or accounts of the Catholic Ladder observed have conformed to the account given to Doctor Whitman by members of the Charles Wilkes Expedition in 1841, as recorded in a letter from Whitman to the American Board, November 11, 1841:

> If you see Mr. Hale or Mr. Drayton of the U.S. Exploring Squadron (& perhaps others may tell you the same). They can describe to you the picture of a tree hanging in Chief Factor McLoughlin's room at Vancouver which represents all Protestants as the withered ends of the several branches of Papacy falling off down the infernal society & flames as represented at the bottom. This gives a good idea of their manner of instruction to the Indians as drawn out in manuscript & given to them accompanied with oral instruction of a similar character. The possession of one of these manuscripts by an Indian binds him not to hear any more the instruction of Protestants so far as observation goes.[4]

Protestant Ladder

In the religious rivalry and hostility then existing between the two groups, Protestant and Catholic, the success of the Catholic missionaries in converting the heathen was a matter of great concern to Reverend Spalding and his fellow workers. To counter what he felt were heretical teachings of the "Black Robes," Spalding decided to make an appeal to the Indians through pictures and to devise a chart to show what he considered to be the evils of the other sect. He explained the meaning in a letter to the Board, February 12, 1846, as

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[4] In a ditto sheet given out by Dr. C.J. Brosnan, 1953.

follows:

> Two meetings on the sabbath where I exhibited the Protestant Chart which by the way I will here describe the cause of it. The Catholics in this country have had printed (I suppose in the states) a vast No. of small charts on which the Road to Heaven is exhibited & from which Luther is represented as branching off in a road to hell. These as also brass medals representing Christ on the cross are scattered profusely among the Indians of the Mountains & among as many of this People & Kayuse & the people of Cimakain, as they can induce by the assurance of Heaven promise of worldly gain, threats &c. to accept them. They tell the people that Luther laid down his black gown & cross together & went off in the Road to Hell after a wife & never returned & that all American preachers, i.e. all Protestants are on the same road to destruction. To meet this attack I have planned & Mrs. S. has drawn & painted a chart about 6 feet long & 2 feet wide containing two ways one narrow and one broad. After representing briefly some of the important events of the world before the Christian era & the crucifixion of Christ I come to Paul whom I represent as pointing to one who has turned off from the narrow way where he has left his wife & entered the Broad Road he is represented as the pope with a sword in one hand & torch or fagot in the other, a king kissing one foot & a bishop the other. Further up he is represented with 5 children by his side & again as receiving the bleeding head of Admiral Coligny who was beheaded at the great slaughter of St. Bartholomew & his head sent by Charles IX to the Pope who ordered public thanks to be given to Charles & a jubalee to be proclaimed throughout France. Boniface IX & Benedict XIII are represented as contending with deadly weapons. Tetzel receiving a sum of money from a young man whose father has escaped hell all but one of his feet is represented. A Nunnery is drawn from which a young priest has come out & is paying 18s to get the sin of Fornication pardoned according to "Taxa camarae Apostolicae" of the Chancery court of Rome. The lifeless body of a father killed by his own son for his money, is represented with the mother & sisters weeping on the bleeding

> corpse, & at a little distance the murderer before a priest receiving pardon for 10s 6d according to the same book. Some of these burnt in Queen Marys reign are drawn, the Burning of Bibles in the N of NY state is drawn. Luther is represented as leaving the Broad road and returning to the narrow way. The end of the Man of Sin is represented by his falling back into hell at the approach of the Lord Jesus Christ who is coming in the clouds of heaven with his holy angels. . . . Monday morning proceeded on my journey. . . About 9 o'clock came to a village of some 40 lodges, alighted, wrang a bell although most of the people were already around me, unrolling the Chart & talked about 2 hours. Rode hard the rest of the day to reach another village but found it upon a Island & did not go over till morning. However, several canoes came over to my tent & I explained the Chart to them as long as brush could be found for a fire light.[5]

The ladder was six feet long and two feet wide, made on heavy paper, and fastened to a roller at the top. The colors used in the decoration were green, red, blue, brown, yellow and black. On it were drawn two paths, the narrow one that led to eternal bliss, and the broad road that led to destruction. In the lower half of the chart were pictures portraying stories from the Bible, which were readily identified. In the upper half the artist's efforts were confined to depicting the iniquities of the broad path, culminating in the disastrous climax for those who followed its evil way. So the lessons of the

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[5] Letter to Rev. David Greene, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, from Spalding regarding his chart to counter the "Catholic Ladder," dated Feb. 12, 1846. Item #132, (Cambridge Massachusetts: Houghton Library, Harvard University).

pictures could be more surely impressed, some of the legends were translated into the Nez Perce language.[6]

Pictorially speaking, the scene of the crucifixion showed the aspect of creation by the artist as did the 12 apostles and Saint Paul clothed in the garb of dignity and decorum, modeled probably from Mr. Spalding's best suit.

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[6] Nellie Pipes, "The Protestant Ladder," Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 37, pp. 237-240.

CHAPTER VI

THE CATHOLIC MISSION

Founding the Mission

Work among the Nez Perce Indians by the Jesuits officially began in early November, 1867.[1] To Father Joseph M. Cataldo, S. J., had fallen the job of opening a permanent mission among the Nez Perce. He and Br. Achilles Carfagno, S. J., arrived in Lewiston, Idaho, on the above date. Their ultimate destination was the village of Lapwai, Idaho.

The two Jesuits had instructions to take over the government Indian school at Lapwai. It was assumed that the Jesuits would have no trouble running such a school; as it turned out, they never had a chance to try. The Indian agent at Lapwai, Mr. James O'Neil, met the newcomers with the news that he could not allow them to run the school. He felt that the Indian chiefs should first be consulted. After a few months, Mr. O'Neil returned with the verdict of the Chiefs. Father Cataldo could not open and run the government school.[2]

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[1] George F. Weibel, S.J. Rev. Joseph M. Cataldo, S. J.: A Short Sketch of a Wonderful Career (Spokane: Reprint from Gonzaga Quarterly, March 15, 1928), p. 13.

[2] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

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[2] Ibid., pp. 13-14

Once the plan for running the government school had definitely been blocked, Father Cataldo immediately began to work on an alternate plan. Consultations about the school had brought Father Cataldo into contact with the new Indian agent, Doctor Newell.[3] Cataldo asked Doctor Newell's permission to build a cabin on the land of Stuptupnim in order to establish a minimal Jesuit presence among the Nez Perces. The agent granted permission as long as Father Cataldo assumed all of the costs.

Cataldo quickly agreed and immediately returned to Lewiston in order to begin prosecuting his project. He enlisted the help of three Catholic miners in Lewiston. With perseverance and hard work, the four men finished the first Jesuit mission among the Nez Perces in early 1868.

In the late 1860's, priests were rather scarce in the Pacific Northwest. Therefore, each priest had the responsibility for widely scattered groups of Catholics. Cataldo was no exception. He had the responsibility of establishing a mission among the Nez Perces, as well as the added responsibility of ministering to the Catholics at Lewiston. Father Cataldo chose to live among the Lewistonites and to visit his log chapel at frequent intervals. Amidst the demanding work of his double parish, he found time to study the Nez Perce language. Until he could master the language, Father Cataldo depended

for translation on Stuptupnim, whose common tongue was Kalispell.

Throughout the remainder of 1868 and part of 1869, Father Cataldo ministered to the Indians. He spent many hours instructing them in the essentials of the Catholic faith. He spoke to them about God. He taught them hymns and prayers. He had not had trouble with the Indians until the question of baptism arose. The chiefs were opposed to his baptizing any of their people, because of the difficulty of observing the requirements of the religion.[4] The chiefs felt that the bad example of the miners and gamblers of Lewiston would destroy their people's faith. To counteract the bad example from the town, the chiefs asked for a priest to reside permanently among the Nez Perces.

In 1869 Father Hos. Giorda, S. J., became superior of the Rocky Mountain Missions.[5] As a Jesuit superior of a mission, he wanted to place his priests where they would be most effective as servants of God. He felt that a priest fulfilled his function best by serving Catholics. Father Cataldo had baptized only one Indian by the end of 1879. Therefore, Father Giorda felt that Father Cataldo should leave the Nez Perces and serve Catholic Indians. Consequently,

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[4] William N. Bischoff, S.J., The Jesuits in Old Oregon (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945), p. 144.

[5] Weibel, op. cit., p. 17.

the Nez Perces had to be satisfied with infrequent visits by Cataldo, whenever he could take the time for the long journey from the Coeur d' Alene mission.

The infrequent visits by Cataldo continued for about two years. Eventually the enforced separation caused the Indians to reverse their position on baptism. By the summer of 1871, the chiefs were so desirous of being baptized that they sent a messenger, Joseph Lakoskan, to Father Cataldo. Lakeskan was the only Nez Perce convert during Cataldo's stay. The following statement of the messenger clearly showed the frame of mind of the Nez Perces.

> Blackgown [said he] you know I am the only man whom you baptized among the Nez Perces; that is the reason why the chiefs sent me here. Blackgown, our people did not listen to you, or rather to God, for more than two years, and then you left us; but now all are sorry; they want you back, and they promise to be baptized. You must go at once, or you will lose most of your people; for now at the agency all are preachers; the agent is a preacher, his father is a preacher; Mr. Spaulding, who is expected to return is a preacher; the teacher is a preacher; and all try to have the Catholics turn Protestant; so come at once.[6]

Father Cataldo did return at the end of April, 1872.

In honor of his return, the Indians prepared a very pleasant

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[6] Bischoff, op. cit., pp. 144-145. A quote originally taken from the Cataldo Manuscript, "Sketch of St. Joseph's Mission," p. 32. This manuscript is kept in the Archives of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus; Crosby Memorial Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

surprise. On the first Sunday after his return, a large crowd of Indians congregated at the little log church. In fact, the crowd was too large to fit inside the church. Father Cataldo decided to celebrate Mass outside. After the mass, as many Indians as possible thronged into the chapel. As soon as Father Cataldo began the recitation of some prayers in the Nez Perce tongue, the Indians joined in. It was immediately evident that the adults had spent much time and energy in memorizing the prayers. They learned the prayers from their children, whose more facile memories had retained the teachings of the "Blackrobe" during Cataldo's previous visits.

At last Father Cataldo could begin his spiritual work among the Nez Perces. He finally had a receptive group of Indians, who were almost ready for full incorporation into the Catholic Church. Some obstacles still remained. The job of the missionary was to break down the barriers between the Indian culture and the way of worshipping in the Catholic Church.

One of the major obstacles to incorporation into the Church was the Nez Perce practice of polygamy. Such an absolute antagonism between a dogma of Catholicism and a cultural practice placed a heavy burden on the judgment and fortitude of the missionary. Father Cataldo faced such a predicament.

Within a couple of weeks after Cataldo's return to the Nez Perce tribe, he had to make a journey to visit a family. He took

the opportunity to invite Chief Uyaskasit[7] to accompany him as guide. The chief readily accepted.

Chief Uyaskasit had avoided the missionary's appeals to become a Catholic, because he had two wives. The older woman, his first wife, had borne him a daughter. The younger woman, his second wife, had borne him a son. The chief loved both women very much and wanted to continue living with them. A further complication was his desire to have a male heir. His only possible male heir was the offspring of his second wife.

The Chief greatly respected Father Cataldo. Therefore during the tedious hours on the trail, the conversation quite easily turned to the issue of polygamy. Father Cataldo plainly told the chief that the Indian could only serve God in the Catholic Church.[8] The chief took this warning to heart. He decided that he wanted to be baptized, but he could not decide what to do about his two wives. Cataldo told the Chief to choose one and put the other one out of this house. The chief

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[7] The story of Chief Uyaskasit can be found in an anonymous manuscript dated St. Francis Mission Collville, Idaho, November 28, 1880 located in the Archives of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus; Crosby Memorial Library; Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, filed in Box IV, St. Josephs-Slickpoo (Histories printed).

[8] Ecumenism was not one of Fr. Cataldo's strong points. Yet one should always remember that the end of the 19th century was a time of bitter antagonism among the various religions. Unbending loyalty to one's own Church was considered a very important value.

said that he could not choose. Finally both men decided that the choice should be left to the tribal council of chiefs.

The council, with some prompting from Father Cataldo, decided that Chief Uyaskasit should keep his first wife and send away his second wife. The Chief acquiesced in this decision. The council then summoned the younger wife. When she appeared, the assembled chiefs announced their plan.

Needless to say, the young woman became quite upset. She had never been consulted about so important a change. She had not even been warned. In her rage she grabbed her child and began to leave the council area. At the edge of the meeting ground, she whirled and screamed that she would never allow herself or her child to be baptized. She preferred to have them both suffer eternal punishment.

Father Cataldo responded to her threat by calling all the Indians together for prayer. They prayed and sang hymns through most of the night. He urged them to have faith in the power of prayer.

The next morning just before Chief Uyaskasit was to be baptized, his former wife returned to Father Cataldo. She had calmed down considerably during the night. She agreed to have both the child and herself baptized. Such a complete change was remarkable especially for an Indian. Regardless of the actual cause of the change, the Indians felt that the prayers must have been effective. As a result, Father Cataldo established the value of religion in the minds of the

Indians.

For the next two years, Father Cataldo lived in Lewiston and ministered to the Nez Perces during his frequent visits to the reservation. He spent his energies trying to organize his mission on a permanent basis. His first goal was the building of a permanent church. An obstacle to the building was the Presbyterian Indian Agent, J.B. Monteith. As a minister in the Presbyterian Church, he wanted to prevent the growth of Catholicism among the Nez Perces.

Father Cataldo and the Indians made several fruitless appeals to Washington. At the same time the citizens of Lewiston became quite angry about the treatment given to the Jesuit missionary. They quickly contributed $400[9] to Cataldo for his church. When the Indian Bureau in Washington heard about the reaction of the people of Lewiston, it quickly reversed the prohibition against building a Catholic Church.

Cataldo took the $400 and began building his church on the reservation. He chose a site on a small tributary of Lapwai Creek. Eventually the site was called Slickpoo and the mission was called St. Josephs-Slickpoo. The church was completed on September 8, 1874,

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[9] Weibel, op. cit., p. 19.

and officially opened on November 1, 1874.[10]

The Nez Perces finally had a real church, but still did not have a permanent priest. Father Cataldo still lived in Lewiston but occupied two small rooms in the church whenever he visited. Eventually the repeated appeals of the Indians persuaded the Jesuit superior to the Rocky Mountain Missions to send a permanent missionary. The superior chose Fr. Anthony Morvillo, S.J.,[11] to be the first resident Jesuit at St. Joseph-Slickpoo Mission. He arrived with Br. A. Carfagno, S.J., on November 2, 1875.[12]

The arrival of Fr. Morvillo marked the beginning of a new stage in Jesuit missionary activity among the Nez Perces. The large numbers of baptisms were past. The missionary no longer spent days going to the heathens. He had a parish of recently converted Indians whose faith needed nurturing. The glory of mass conversions belonged to Father Cataldo.

To Father Morvillo fell the job of initiating the long struggle to secure the faith of the 200 to 300 Catholic Indian families that

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[10] Historia Domus (for St. Josephs-Slickpoo) 1901-1915, p. 10. This date is found in a section of facts and dates gleaned from previous house diaries. Oregon Province Archives; St. Josephs-Slickpoo Box II: file St. Joseph's Mission (Slickpoo) Re: Historia Domus, status temp.

[11] Father Morvillo's name was also spelled Murville and Morrillo.

[12] Historia Domus 1901-1915, p. 10.

lived next to the mission. He had the job of developing a parish for the service of the Nez Perces. Life settled down to the regular routine of a Jesuit mission. Mass was celebrated each day for the Catholic Indian families. Catechism classes had to be held both for the children and for the adults. Sunday Mass was said at different places on the reservation.

Another regular, but less routine, service offered by the missionary was the visitation of the sick. Father Morvillo was called at any time of the day or night to visit the seriously ill Indians who might be close to death. On horseback, the visit couldtake as much as two days. The priest would then have to decide whether the patient would die. If death seemed imminent, Father Morvillo would administer the Extreme Unction.

The Jesuit community grew during the next three years until it totaled three priests and two brothers in June, 1877.[13] Father Morvillo was superior and was assisted by Fathers Cataldo and Gazzoli. Brothers Carfagno and Priotto took care of the maintenace and farming. The brothers also helped the Indians build and maintain the village next to the mission.

During these three years of developing a permanent mission

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[13] Historia Domus 1901-1915, p. 11: Oregon Province Archives.

parish, tensions were growting between the whites and another group of Nez Perce Indians. This other group, under the leadership of Chief Joseph, lived near Umatilla. The Government, under pressure from white settlers, wanted to open Indian land for settlement. The Umatilla Nez Perces were ordered to move onto a smaller reservation. Chief Joseph strongly protested because some of his best land was being opened to the whites. After much negotiating, Chief Joseph agreed to move onto the reservation.

Just as Chief Joseph and his followers were about to move onto the reservation, three of his people on June 13 and 14, 1877,[14] attacked and killed four whites along the Salmon River. The Chief's followers feared white retaliation against the whole tribe. The Indians went into hiding and the soldiers pursued. Suddenly both sides were committed to war.

The Jesuits at the Slickpoo mission found themselves running a refuge of sorts. Tensions ran very high among the whites. The people of Lewiston were both frightened and angry. The Catholic Nez Perces from the reservation sensed the mood of the whites and became frightened themselves. They sought the only mediators available--the

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[14] Robert Ignatius Burns, S.J., The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 382.
Father Cataldo was falsely accused by the Indian agent Monteith of stirring the Indians to resist the government.

missionaries. The missionaries, having grown up in the white man's culture, had nevertheless come to the Indians and had taken great pains to learn the Indian culture. Therefore, the Catholic Nez Perces camped around St. Josephs-Slickpoo Mission because they feared violence from the people of Lewiston.[15]

Father Cataldo, who had become superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission on June 16, 1877, had taken the job of visiting all the Catholic tribes. This job included visiting the Nez Perce chiefs. At a time of hostility and tension only Father Cataldo had earned the necessary respect of both whites and Indians. He counseled peace and restraint wherever he went. His advice was heeded by the Catholic Indians.[16]

Meanwhile at the mission, Father Morvillo carried on the job of establishing a real parish for the Indians. One of his major tasks, along with his strenuous priestly activities, was learning the Nez Perce lanauage. Learning the Indian language was the chief contribution of the missionary in promoting better understanding between the cultures. Father Morvillo did such a thorough job of studying the Nez Perce tongue

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[15] Weibel, op. cit., p. 22.

[16] The one possible gauge of the Jesuits' impact on the Nez Perces is the success of Father Cataldo's counsel. The only Catholic Nez Perces with Chief Joseph were some women forced to stay with the band. The other Catholics gathered at the Slickpoo mission and resisted every entreaty of Chief Joseph to join the war.

that he was able to write a dictionary and grammar of the language.[17]

> Later Father Anthony Morvillo, S.J., was made their pastor. He was there for several years, and learned the language perfectly well. He wrote a fine grammar and a dictionary. The Nez Perce is a beautiful language. Father Morvillo found 150,000 words from one active verb.[18]
>
> For a time I did missionary work in Alaska. We found in Alaska the Itnab Indian language which is very near to the language of the Apaches. One of the fathers wrote to the Franciscan fathers among the Apaches for nouns and verbs to compare and we found great similarity. I was astonished when studying (Cataldo knew 20 languages) the Esquimaux language to find the inflections of the active verbs are like those of the Nez Perce.
>
> "In the Nez Perce language the verb has more than 150,000 inflections," Father Cataldo stated.
>
> Their grammar looked like an encyclopedia. Some of the Indian languages have 14 inflections--both singular and plural.[19]
>
> He had arrived at the Nez Perce mission and in a few days Fr. Cataldo arrived to begin teaching Fr. O'Malley. He said to Fr. O'Malley, "Come in, we'll study Indian." He took Fr. O'Malley to his room and took a book off the shelf which was prayers, hymns, and catechism in the Nez Perce language. He said,

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[17] File: "Letter of Willebrand," St. Josephs (Slickpoo) Mission Box I; Oregon Province Archives. In 1914 Father Cataldo wrote Jesus-Christ-Nim The Life of Jesus Christ from the four Gospels in the Nez Perce language. Several copies are also in the Oregon Province Archives.

[18] Laurence E. Crosby, "Kuailks Metatcopun," (Black Robe, Three Times Broken [Cataldo]), Wallace: Wallace Press Times, 1925, p. 14.

[19] Michael O'Malley, S.J., "Flocks that I Watched," Manuscript, Gonzaga Archives, I. Father O'Malley's Papers.

"We'll not begin with the grammar, we'll start with the prayers. This language is very philosophical, much more so than the English language, to which it is superior."

One day Father O'Malley asked Father Cataldo, "How do you say in Indian, "Give me bread." He said, "Never say that." "Why? What would you say if you did want bread?" "To say, 'Give me bread' would be offensive, as it would suggest that the host was stingy. To say "Where is your bread? (mineh wesh imeem ipegh?) suggests the excuse that he just forgot his usual hospitality. Oh, indeed, the Indian mind is subtle, and this language shows that it is so.

In the church services Nez Perce was always used for sermons, public prayers and hymns, when adult Indians were present. These prayers were recited in common, under a leader. Rhythm and vowel sounds gave these prayers a musical quality. When adult Indians were not present, the children sang and prayed in English.

Fr. O'Malley mentions that the Nez Perce language had many qualities. Fr. Anthony Morvillo, a gifted linguist from Sicily, spent much time in studying the language and he felt that it was the equal of Latin or Greek for its "regularity, its inflections, conjugations and declensions, and the readiness with which spirited ideas could be expressed in it. Concrete ideas can be expressed easily by the addition of certain terminations. There was even a word for 'holy' (howtnin).

Fr. Morvillo used his knowledge of the language to write a small dictionary, a grammar of the language, which was printed at the St. Ignatius Mission in Montana. Some of the books he wrote were printed at DeSmet Mission in Idaho.[20]

The daily routine of Jesuits was strenuous enough. The

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[20] Ibid., p. 17.

following letter of Father Morvillo to Father Cataldo shows clearly that perseverance and endurance were the key traits of the Jesuit missionary.

> I have been occupied from Nov. 21st to Dec. 14th [1882] as you are aware, in the grand mission given to the Indians Umatilla. The fruit was abundant, and I may add as a remarkable fact that to reach the place, we had to make a journey of three hundred miles. I reserve details for another letter. On my return home, I had to begin the Christmas novena, and being alone, as usual, was obliged to fulfill [sic] not only my priestly duties, which of themselves might well occupy two men, but also to become sacristan and decorator. The following is the daily order of exercises:
>
> In the morning, Mass and Rosary, followed by a catechetical instruction, ending with a hymn. In the evening, we have Benediction, catechism and a sermon, followed by another hymn. The Indians are very fond of these hymns. In the course of the novena, I was called to the bedside of a sick man and had to make a journey of forty miles in one day. Christmas eve and the night previous, I was in the confessional till a late hour; on the first novena day I was up till midnight from early morning, with scarcely a moment to take my meals. From the confessional I went to the altar without a moment's repose and sang midnight Mass. All present, save a few who had not been able to get to confession, approached Holy Communion with a fervor of devotion that delighted my heart, as I thought how agreeable we must have been to the infant Jesus in the Grotto, in spite of our exterior poverty; for we had done all in our power. For my own part, certainly I would not have changed for the most renowned cathedrals with their magnificence this sight so edifying to the recitation in choir of prayers before and after communion, the short instruction in Indian with the sermon on the Gospel, then the hearing of second Mass, followed by prayers and other canticles. . . .[21]

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[21] Father A. Morvillo, S.J., "Indian Missions the Nez Perces, Letter of Father Morvillo to Father Cataldo; Lapwai, Idaho Territory, January, 1883," Woodstock Letters. XIII, No. 1 (1884), 14.

On June 29, 1892, Father Al. Soer, S.J., took the office of superior of the St. Josephs-Slickpoo Mission.[22] He was well known among the Indians for his inept navigation. It seems that very often on his journeys to visit the sick, he would lose his way. His wanderings probably gave the Indians a constant source of amusement. The only problem arose when he missed saying Mass for the Indians on a major feast day.

By way of example, one incident in Father Soer's career should be told. It shows both the work of the mission priest and Father Soer's tendency toward calamity. On November 2, 1893,[23] Soer departed from the mission to give the sacraments to Monica and Mary Iswala, who were both very old and feeble. Because of their trust in the missionaries, they decided that they would rather die at the mission. (Father Soer's reaction is not recorded, but he probably had little to say about where they would die.) Thus on November 4, 1893, the two women left their home for the mission and spent eight days traveling.

On the same day, Father Soer left for Keuterville, a German settlement near Slickpoo. He promptly lost his way in the mountainous

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[22] Historia Domus 1901-1915, Oregon Province Archives; St. Josephs-Slickpoo, Box I, p. 1. A list of all the superiors of the mission up to 1932 can be found on pp. 1-2. The list includes the dates of office changes.

[23] Ibid., p. 15.

wilderness. He wandered around for the rest of the day trying to find a familiar landmark. That night, as he slept, his horse ran away. By luck the next day he stumbled onto a friend, who took him to Keuterville. Finally, on November 6, 1893, after four days of traveling, Soer returned to Slickpoo. It is clear that the early missionary spent much of his time "traveling to his people." Today the same trip could be finished in a few hours.

The Founding of the School

Father Soer must have become increasingly distressed by the sources of education open to the Nez Perces. In order for the children to receive a Catholic education, they had to go to the mission school at DeSmet, Idaho. The resulting separation from their families greatly upset the children. The structure of the family was weakened. An alternative was to send the children to the Government school on the reservation or to a public school in one of the towns. The children would not have proper instruction in their religion and would be exposed to the influence of the Protestants.

Soer must have begun plans for a mission school in the late 1890's. Such plans called for the collection of funds with which to build a school. He also had to secure land on which to build the school. On top of securing material resources, Soer had to seek the permission of the Bishop of Boise and of the Provincial of the California

Province.[24]

All of his efforts began to show results in 1901. On October 2, 1901,[25] Father De La Motte, provincial of the California Province, met with the Bishop of Boise to discuss the opening of the school. The Provincial was willing to have a school opened but did not want to be responsible for the finances. Therefore, he agreed to permit the building of the school on the condition that the Bishop would assume the expenses. The Bishop agreed to the condition.

An interesting agreement concerning the erection of a Catholic School at Lapwai Mission came from 25 Nez Perce Indians in document form as follows:

> We the undersigned Nez Perce Indians in consideration of the great favor which the Rt. Rev. Bishop A.J. Glorieux and the Jesuit Fathers intend to do us in building at their own expense a school at Lapway Mission for the benefit of our children-to wit. for girls between 5 and 18 years old and boys between the ages of 5 and 13 years. Do hereby agree:
>
> 1st. To furnish all necessary clothing and bedding to said children.
>
> 2nd. To provide in a suitable manner for the Catholic education of the boys above 13 years of age by either sending them to DeSmet Mission or if District (White) School is preferred by sending them faithfully to Lapway Mission the 1st Sunday

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[24] The Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus was not established until February 2, 1932. Prior to that date the Pacific Northwest was part of the California Province.

[25] Historia Domus 1901-1915, p. 16.

> of each month where ample opportunity will be furnished them for the completion of their Religious Instruction as well as for the approaching of the Sacraments.[26]

None of these Indians could write as the agreement did show their names which were followed by only their marks.

By the agreement, the Bishop was not assuming as great an expense as it first appeared. Father Soer had already collected $2,000[27] from Mother Drexel and from some of their own relatives. He also acquired 14 acres of land, probably from the Mission. With the help from the Bishop, Father Soer began the work of building the school.

On November 1, 1901,[28] Father Provincial spoke to the Indians about the school. The school would accept all girls and all boys who applied under the age of 13 years. All boys after the age of 13 were to be sent to the DeSmet mission school or to the public school. Under no circumstances were any boys to be sent to the Government schools. The Government schools were still controlled by the Presbyterians. Provision was also made that boys not attending a mission must come to the Slickpoo mission once a month for catechism. At least minimal religious instruction was provided for all the Indians.

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[27] Historia Domus 1901-1915, p. 16. Mother Drexel was a generous benefactor from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[28] Ibid., p. 16.

In the year following Father Provincial's announcement about the opening of the school, Father Soer put in many hours trying to build the school. His anguish was seen in a letter to Father Provincial in 1902[29] pleading that lumber be delivered as soon as possible. He could not proceed without the building materials. Soer cited the promise of a Protestant Indian as his reason for haste. This Indian said that he would send his children to the school and have them baptized. Besides that, the Indian promised to receive baptism himself. With such inspiration, Father Soer managed to build the school in 1902.

The school had been operating for about two years when Father Cataldo returned for his second stay at the mission. The school was in good condition but the staff was inadequate. One sister and two novices, who were obviously getting some in-service training, were trying to teach all the classes, as well as trying to keep house for themselves. It is little wonder that one of the sisters fainted while cooking one day.

Father Cataldo decided that more sisters were needed as soon as possible. He wrote to Father Provincial requesting more sisters. The answer referred him to Bishop Glorieux of Boise. The Bishop in turn referred him to Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia. Cataldo appealed

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[29] St. Josephs (Slickpoo) Mission Box I; File: Correspondence, Documents, etc.; Oregon Province Archives.

to the Archbishop for some sisters from the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. There were none to spare. As an alternative, the Archbishop gave permission to recruit postulants from various parishes in the area of Philadelphia.

Cataldo set about the task of recruiting with great zeal. He soon found twelve young ladies who were willing to start a new order of sisters to serve the Indians. This order would serve the Nez Perces at St. Josephs-Slickpoo Mission. With plenty of sisters to staff the school, its success was assured.

Sometime before Father Cataldo's third arrival at St. Joseph's on August 13, 1915[30], the sisters decided to open an orphanage. They took in not only Indian orphans put also white orphans from the surrounding area. There were some misgivings among neighboring whites about mixing the white and Indian children. To Father Cataldo fell the task of securing Bishop Glorieux's approval. The Bishop readily approved.

The Fires

On a very hot Sunday, August 27, 1916,[31] the announcement

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[30] Weibel, op. cit., p. 35.

[31] St. Josephs (Slickpoo) Mission Box I; File: Sketch, notes, etc. Oregon Province Archives. A story by Sister Maureen of the Sacred Heart, "A Short Story Only Too True," September 13, 1916.

for the opening of school on the following Friday was made. It was a normal Sunday during which everyone relaxed after the hectic Mass schedule of the morning. As the heat of the afternoon built up, one of the out buildings caught fire. The flames quickly spread to the other wooden buildings and consumed the entire school and orphanage. All was lost but the church and the old mission building. Fortunately, no lives were lost.

Neighbors responded immediately with food, blankets, and shelter. A load of lumber came from benefactors of the mission. Soon temporary shelters were thrown up for the sisters and the children. They occupied these shelters for the next six years.

Father Cataldo faced this disaster with his usual determination. He decided that the school and orphanage would remain at the mission. He then put all his energy to raising enough money for better school buildings. Improvements were slow in coming and the missionaries bore many hardships. The sisters and the children had the worst of it.

Just as the mission and school were getting back to normal, disaster struck again. On the night of October 3, 1925, one of the sisters was working late in the dormitory.[32] The children were asleep. About 10:30 at night the sister smelled smoke and discovered a fire in

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[32] St. Josephs (Slickpoo) Mission Box IV: File; clippings, Oregon Province Archives. "Slickpoo Fire," Lewiston Morning Tribune (October 5, 1925), p. 1 also "Six Fire Victims in Single Grave," Spokesman-Review (October 5, 1925), p. 1, col. 1.

the dormitory. She sounded an alarm and began arousing the children. She had time to get all of the children out of the building and away from danger. Unfortunately, six of the children became frightened and for some unknown reason crept back into the burning dormitory. Their bodies were found huddled behind a door. Such a tragedy far outweighed the loss of buildings.

Again the neighbors responded with great generosity. Food and clothing arrived immediately. The Jesuits also began a vigorous campaign to raise funds for a fireproof building. The children had to have protection. Eventually a concrete school was built at the mission and education was continued. The physical hardship of the mission during the days after the fires seemed to inspire the tenacity necessary to continue the work among the Indians.

The Mission Declines

Life at the mission began to change during the 1930's. A routine had settled in among the Jesuits and the Indians. The school continued to serve, but the number of children began to decrease. The excitement and newness were long gone and the Indians were back to a routine of struggle with the white man's customs. This struggle called for leadership and training that the Jesuits did not have. Father Willebrand described the situation very well in the following excerpt from his letter of 1842:

> At present we are still living in the old mission house built in 1880 and having two Masses. . . every Sunday and holiday. Many of the old Catholic Indians have died, and the village around the mission has become smaller, but there are still about a dozen families of Indians around near the mission.[33]

In the same year, another description of the mission was carried in the Oregon Province Newsletter. The following excerpt of it confirmed the message of the above quote.

> The sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, who conduct the school at St. Joseph's Mission, have an enrollment of about 80 of whom about 60 are boarders. There are 20 Indians among the boarders. The school has been open since September 8.
>
> Father Boll says Mass every Sunday at Lapwai where a goodly number, both Indians and whites, assist at Mass. The sisters have a Christian Doctrine Center here.[34]

Today the children's home and school have been closed. The original church is a tourist attraction and the mission has been moved to Culdesac, which is next to the old mission site. One Jesuit living in Lapwai serves the community of Culdesac. The congregation is principally white, and most of the Indians have moved away or stopped going to church. A 100-year cycle finished.

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[33] St. Josephs (Slickpoo) Mission Box I; File: Letter of Willebrand 1942; Oregon Province Archives.

[34] "St. Josephs," Oregon Province Newsletter, Mt. St. Michael, Spokane, Washington; Vol. 12, No. 3 (November, 1942). A copy can be found in the Jesuit Novitiate Library on the second floor of Crosby Memorial Library, Gonzaga University.

The early Jesuit missionaries to the Nez Perces were obviously dedicated men. They suffered numerous privations and underwent many hardships in order to bring the "Good News of Jesus Christ" to the Indians. They worked very hard to learn a strange language in a land some 5,000 miles from their homes in Europe. They learned and practiced the various customs of the Indians. They spent hours on horseback trying to care for the Indian people.

The early missionaries accomplished their task with one or two generations of Nez Perces. They built a church and convinced the Nez Perces of the truths of the gospel.

The missionaries also brought Catholic education. In schools, they bridged the gap between the Indian culture and the white culture. In fact, they placed the Indian in a white culture and trained him to live in a white world.

Yet, it would appear that the missionaries failed to build a lasting bridge between the Indian and the white cultures. They seemed to have failed in planting the "Good News of Christ" among the Nez Perces, as they merely tolerated the Indian way of life until they could teach the Indians to be good white men.

The missionaries of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries came from Europe with the idea of bringing civilization to backward peoples. They believed that every custom of these backward people

had to be wrong, as the European life style was the only way to live. Along with the gospel, came an European church that directed that worship follow a rigid pattern. The first two generations of converts were allowed "to be Indians" most of the time. Only later were they forced into the white man's world, where competition was the guiding value. The Indians never learned how to compete. They were accustomed to sharing their possessions with the rest of the tribe. Therefore, they accepted the role of failure and retreated to the reservation. Withdrawal from the white man's church took place, also.

Later missionaries compounded the problem by never learning the Indian language or customs. The parish priests had little to say to the Indians as Indians. No wonder the Slickpoo Mission is part of the past.

CHAPTER VII

U.S. GOVERNMENTAL REPORTS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND EDUCATION

Early Beginnings of Governmental Control of American Indians

During the Administration of George Washington, Congress, at the suggestion of the President, authorized the creation of Government trading posts to maintain fair prices and combat the increasing tendency of traders to sell liquor to the "Redman."

As these trading outposts became areas of settlement and as newly acquired lands enticed more and more white settlers, the Indians were induced, by various means, to give up lands that they held under treaties and move still further westward.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs--sometimes called the Indian Service--came into being in 1824 during the Jacksonian Era. It was located first in the War Department, and its functions acquired the characteristics of military service. Military means were increasingly used to remove Indian groups. It was during these times that many Seminoles departed from Florida for land west of the Mississippi; and most Cherokees were driven across the mountains, over the "trail of tears," to settle in the Indian Territory that is now the state of Oklahoma. The Indian Territory, carved from the Louisiana Purchase, was

the creation of Jefferson who felt that the removal of Indian groups from heavily settled eastern regions would contribute to their advancement.

By 1849, with the creation of the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs passed from military to civil control. Its work consisted of attempts at "civilizing" the Indian people by training them for farming or trades. In 1862, Secretary of the Interior Caleb Smith recommended a "radical change in the mode of treatment of Indians" to regard them as "wards" of the Government. Consequently, the Bureau's efforts were often in conflict with the military policy, and the Bureau became the uneasy and unhappy buffer between the Indians and the U.S. Army.

Beginning at the turn of the nineteenth century with the period of energetic land acquisitions from foreign powers, and accelerating during the gold rush, the U.S. Government attempted to relocate all, or nearly all, Indian groups in the Indian Territory. This effort succeeded, in large measure, with the Five Civilized Tribes of the Southwest because they envisioned an Indian nation, fully sovereign and federated. But many of the Plains Indians resisted all military moves to circumscribe them--and the period of bitter Indian wars and tragic Indian defeats (the Nez Perce War of 1877, as an example) reached its height. The continued resistance of the Indians and the reports of military campaigns that victimized women and children created a battle

cry for cessation of military action. The reservation system then expanded.

The history of the Indian Bureau in the latter part of the nineteenth century was characterized by paternalistic policies. One law (the General Allotment Act of 1887) provided for the individualizing of tribal land holdings as a step toward assimilation of the Indian population. The allotment system, together with congressional authorities for sales of Indian land, made it possible for individual Indians to sell their land for badly needed cash, and some did just that.

It was inevitable then, as the "wild west" filled with white settlers, the various tribes would be asked to curtail their ranging habits or at least continue them to a much smaller region. East of the Mississippi River the Indian policy had been one of removal before the advancing groups of emigrants, and the tribes had been shoved in a westerly direction. John Q. Adams' administration hoped to eliminate the Indians east of the Mississippi. There evolved, what was at the time thought to be a permanent solution, the policy of placing the Indians on reserves west of the Mississippi. There, according to reports by Long and Pike, the Indians would never come in contact with the white man. In the West, the plan of setting aside reservations for the "Redman" was adopted. As the white emigrants continued to head west, they demanded more suitable land. The reservations were reduced again and again in size.

Before treaties had been made with any of the Indian tribes, there had been many cases of encroachment of white men to occupy many good farming terrains. As long as fish and game remained plentiful for the Indians, there seemed to be very little trouble. But as the settlers grew in numbers, the amount of buffalo and food supply became exhausted, and soon the Indians began to see what many whites were doing to their very existence. The Indians started stealing cattle from the whites, rather than face total extermination. The whites demanded severe punishment. Naturally retaliations resulted. By 1853 the whole area of the Northwest became involved in Indian uprisings. Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the area of Oregon, proposed a program of separating the two races by putting the "Redman" on reservations and giving him foodstuffs until he could be taught to till the soil and become self-sufficient.[1]

This was the period of railroad expansion throughout the country. The thought of projecting a railroad to the Pacific was evolved. A survey was ordered to locate a possible route through the northern territories of America. Isaac Stevens, who was the Governor of Washington Territory, was named the man in charge of the task early in

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[1] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1858), pp. 566-67. Hereafter reference will be cited as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for [year involved].

1853 (the year Washington became a territory).[2] The survey was finished and a report was made in June, 1854. In his report to the Government, Stevens suggested the elimination of the title to any lands that might fall in the right-of-way of this iron-horse coming west. He also recommended that all the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains be placed on reservations, which could be done rather easily by a display of a small military attachment and this was also "essential to the construction of the road."[3]

Accordingly in August, 1854, instructions were given Governor Stevens and Joel Palmer to enter into talks with the Indians where white settlers were living to bring about some settlement in claims and to push hard for a reservation life for the Indians. The sole purpose was to bring about good relations of amity between the "Great White Father" and the Indians of the Northwest and procure a general cessation of the violent uprisings which had plagued Indians and whites alike.[4]

Soon the Nez Perces, a once free and prosperous tribe, were to be relegated to reservation life. One comment made by Captain

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[2] Isaac Stevens, "Report of the Northern Pacific Railway Survey," 33rd Congress, First Session; House Document No. 129, pp. 1-3.

[3] Ibid., p. 96.

[4] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1855, pp. 332-334.

Mullan was:

> A fine young Indian, who was present, made an eloquent speech to the others. He told them that long ago his father was chief of the tribe, and owned all this country. They were then far more numerous, rich, and powerful, than now. His father extended the hand of friendship to the first white man who was seen in that country, and they must must follow his example.[5]

The Nez Perces Under the Treaty of 1855

It was not until June, 1855, that Stevens and Palmer met with the Indians east of the Cascade Mountains. Here they entered into treaties with the Nez Perce Nation, the Yakimas, the Cayuses, the Palouses, and the Walla Wallas. The Indians with the exception of the Nez Perces were not ready to enter into any white men's treaty. Bancroft says that "But for Lawyer (head chief of the Nez Perces) and the numerical superiority of the Nez Perces, no treaty could have been made."[6] Looking Glass and Joseph, Nez Perce chiefs, were not in favor of the treaty but signed it when the promise was made to assign lands separately to those who could not come on the reservation.

Governor Stevens estimated in 1853 that the Nez Perce population was 1700 in the Washington Territory as some were living in the Oregon Territory due to the boundaries of the political areas. Lewis

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[5] Ibid., I, Part 1, p. 428.

[6] Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, XX (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886-1890), pp. 364-65.

and Clark had estimated in 1806 that the Chopemnish (Nez Perce) numbered 8,000 Indians. Captain Wilkes estimated, in a pamphlet on western America, the population as 2,000. This seemed to be an incorrect estimate, as was the one by Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, R.N., in 1849, when they lumped the Walla-Wallas and Snake Indians in with the Nez Perces at 3,000 braves.[7]

The Treaty of 1855 with the Nez Perce stipulated that their former region would be curtailed and a reservation surveyed, upon which, within one year, the Indians would move and remain. Any improvements that had to be given up were to be compensated for by the Federal Government. No whites were allowed on the reservation without permission of the agent in charge, and all liquor was barred. In addition to the various gifts, they were given $200,000 and it was to be spent as follows: $60,000 the first year after ratification for expenses to move the Indians, to plough, to build fences, to build dwellings, to supply foodstuffs, etc. The Government promised to establish two schools within one year and provide three teachers; to build a flour mill and a sawmill and to provide teachers in the use of these two industries; and to build a hospital and to maintain a doctor for 20 years.

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[7] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., pp. 460-461.

The head chief was to be given a house and $500 per annum.[8]

The area given the Nez Perces was described as:

> Undoubtedly fertile, and yields throughout a luxuriant growth of highly nutritious grass, for which animals manifest a great fondness. It is commonly called bunchgrass. The country, in consequence, is well adapted to the raising of stock; and the Indians have accumulated large herds of horses and cattle. The former is of a very superior breed, to which they are much attached, and devote a large portion of their attention. The. . . Nez Perces. . . have immense numbers and may be considered wealthy. The horse represents wealth to them.[9]

It was mentioned in this same report that the Nez Perces were considered to be the most intelligent Indians west of the Rocky Mountains.[10]

Stevens traveled on and made other agreements with various tribes. While on one of his trips, Stevens was threatened by hostile Indians. The Nez Perces came to his aid. Spotted Eagle, Looking Glass, Three Feathers, and eleven companions offered to accompany Stevens' party and, in Stevens words, to "protect us with their lives against any enemy."[11] Sixty-nine Nez Perce warriors then rode escort to Walla Walla as a protective force and then returned home. Stevens

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[8] Charles J. Kapper, Ed. Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 1778-1902, II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government P.O., 1904), p. 531.

[9] Ibid., Report for 1854-55, I, Part 1, p. 489.

[10] Ibid., pp. 490-491.

[11] Secretary of War, Report for 1856, p. 4.

remarked, "The Nez Perces are staunch and entirely reliable."[12] In face of many obstacles in making these treaties, Stevens was able to assure Commissioner Manypenny in August, 1856, "The Nez Perce are, as they were last year, satisfied, and determined to maintain their friendship with the whites."[13]

Congress was slow to respond to the treaties concluded by Stevens and Palmer. For years, 1856, 1857 and into 1858, Congress had failed to comply with the ratification. Consequently, the Nez Perces remained free to roam while the whites continued to encroach upon Indian lands. Many problems were evident from the report of J.W. Nesmith, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington and Oregon Territories, to John Mix, Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> Every consideration to justice to the whites as well as humanity to the Indians, urges that the present condition of things should be terminated, that the treaties should be confirmed, and the long deferred promises made to the Indians complied with; that the whites should be relieved of their annoying presence by their location upon reservations and the constant feuds and alarms terminated by the separation of the two races: Until this is done there can be no permanent prosperity in the country. . . .
>
> The whites ought to be protected from the Indians, and the Indians should be protected from the rapacious conduct of the dissolute and unprincipled whites engaged

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[12] Ibid., pp. 6-10.

[13] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1856, p. 743.

> in supplying them with whiskey. . . . Nothing will terminate the present unfortunate condition of things but the prompt clarification of the treaties negotiated with these people by the late Governor and Superintendent Stevens.[14]

The non-ratification of the treaties, while the whites were going ahead and occupying Indian country, naturally put the Indians in a complaining mood and led them to believe that their lands were to be taken without compensation.[15] Their confidence in the Federal Government was diminishing as time passed, and no action was taken except by white settlers who were squatting on Indian land.

The Nez Perces were beginning to wonder what happened to all the white man's promises of schools, industries, and teachers. In a letter to the Commissioner, Nesmith wrote:

> They [Nez Perce] have been great sufferers by reason of the occupation of their country by the whites, and have never received any compensation. I would therefore earnestly recommend that the treaty entered into between these people and late Superintendent Palmer on the 25th of June, 1855, be immediately ratified and funds appropriated for its execution.[16]

A considerable number of the Upper Snake River Indians, as well as Chief Joseph's group in the Wallowa country in Oregon, opposed the Treaty of 1855. The big complaint was that those who didn't

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[14] Ibid., Report for 1858, p. 570.

[15] Ibid., p. 356.

[16] Ibid., Report of 1857, p. 608.

reside on the reservation still did not want to move to the reservation.

The slow moving Government's failure to ratify the agreement led to a great many assertions that the Indian had been duped and justifiably so. The treaty was finally ratified in 1859, but the big question mark was the money that was going to do things for the Indians. The first appropriation was not made until 1861, and due to the Civil War, only a partial one in 1862. After this, the United States Government seemed to forget all about its promises under the treaty but expected the Indian to live up to the "letter of the law."[17]

Finally when the treaty was ratified, the Indian Agent on the Nez Perce Reservation, A. J. Cain, explained the treaty to the Indians. He said:

> . . . with a single exception, the Nez Perce Chiefs have all expressed much gratification at the ratification of the treaty, and look with interest to the time when it shall be carried into effect. Under its ample provisions, it may justly be expected this noble tribe will make rapid advancement in civilization.[18]

Agent Cain wrote that the Nez Perces needed to be pacified. "The Nez Perce tribe is not only the largest, but most influential and important tribe in Washington Territory [Idaho at this time was part of Washington Territory until 1863]. They hold the balance of power; and

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[17] Bancroft, op. cit., XXXI, pp. 490-491.

[18] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1859, p. 783.

as long as they remain friendly, the smaller tribes can effect no formidable combination to make war."[19]

The Nez Perces were located on an immense reservation with varied natural resources. They had adopted civilized dress and their conduct was very good, although no white teacher had been among them since the Whitman Massacre (1847) and Spalding's departure in January, 1848, some 13 years before.[20] In fact, so highly were they regarded by neighboring Indians of their area that sometimes various elements of tribes went to live with them.[21]

The Nez Perces had learned much from Spalding during his 11 year stay.

> They have large herds of horses, and begin to give attention to improving the breed. A few of them also own cattle. Many of the young men annually hunt the buffalo on the waters of the Missouri. A few can read and write their own language, which is said to be copious, flexible, and expressive.
>
> The Nez Perces are characterized by mental vigor, energy, bravery, and docility, and are larger and more muscular than most surrounding tribes. The loathsome diseases, common among the coast Indians, are almost unknown.[22]

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[19] Ibid., p. 784.

[20] Ibid., Report for 1860, p. 23.

[21] Ibid., p. 209.

[22] Ibid., Report for 1860-61, I, p. 402.

Charles Hutchins, the next agent after Cain, wrote his annual report from the Lapwai Indian Agency on June 30, 1862. He was thoroughly disgusted with the Government's inability to follow through on the treaty (as mentioned before, the Civil War occupied most of the appropriations forfunds at that time). Money had not been appropriated for the school buildings.

> This want is more particularly felt in the school department as there are no buildings for any purposes connected therewith. Hence but little has been done towards effecting the organization of this department. . . . The farming operations of the reservation were . . . immediately superintended by Mr. Robert Newell. The attention and zeal displayed by him in encouraging the Indians to industry, and the well-directed council that he imparted to them at all times to pursue useful occupations, were aided and rendered more effectual by his long residence and favorable acquaintance with them; and the result is, that this year the Indians are attending to their farms with increased vigor. During the past spring I have issued a quantity of agricultural implements to this tribe, and it is gratifying to observe that they are intelligently and profitably using them.[23]

Farming education was increasing to such proportions that in his annual report as Superintendent of Farming, P.B. Whitman said, "The Indians on this reservation, who have directed their attention to farming, seem to get along with it very well. There are quite a number of Indians who seem anxious to raise large crops, and appear thankful

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[23] Ibid., Report for 1862-63, II, pp. 566-571.

for any instruction given them in that line."[24]

Just prior to Spalding's coming back to the reservation in charge of education, a report was given by D. H. Dillingham, Superintendent of Teaching on the Nez Perce reservation in 1862. His report was not very encouraging, as he said that facilities were "in a very meagre and insufficient state." Also, he commented on the situation of structures. "There is not a building of any description erected for such purpose on this reservation, nor is there any for the accommodation of teachers. . .

> . . . it would be a matter of impossibility for a large majority of the children belonging to the different bands to attend a school. . . unless provision should be made by the United States government. . . I find, . . . with few exceptions, they express not only a willingness but an earnest desire to acquire knowledge. This nation are [sic] of the totally ignorant and debased order of savages, but possess a large share of intelligence and self-respect. With the keen perception of the Indian, they combine some of the more refined impulses of the white man, and the task of instructing them will be rendered thereby a comparatively easy one. . . But in the absence of school-houses, books, and other requisites connected with this branch, the Indians are gradually giving up their anticipations in that line, and are becoming more and more careless as to other moral necessities.[25]

After many promises to improve Indian education, the Government again asked the Nez Perces in 1863 to reduce their reservation.

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[24] Ibid., pp. 3-5.

[25] Ibid., Report for 1862-63, II, pp. 573-574.

The educational report of the previous year accounted for what our government had done, or should say, not done. The whites were pouring onto the reservation because gold had been found in abundance in 1860. The Agent asked the Army to protect the Indian lands, but his pleas fell on deaf ears.

The new treaty was not long in being produced. On June 9, 1863, Superintendent Hale with new Agents Howe and Hutchins began negotiations with Chief Lawyer and some fifty sub-chiefs. The reservation was reduced to about one-sixth its former size. Our government was to give $262,000 in compensation. Of this amount, $50,000 was to go for school land. The head of each family was to receive twenty acres for a permanent home, and the remainder of the lands was to be held in common.[26]

This treaty was not popular with a large segment of the Nez Perce Nation as many Indians had to give up their land. The government was reluctant again to carry out its part of the Treaty. Annuities were not paid, schools were not constructed, and teachers and farm equipment were never sent to the Nez Perces.

Agent James O'Neill commented in 1865 that the Indians were greatly disturbed over these "so-called" promises. The whites were

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[26] Kapper, op. cit., II, pp. 644-48.

coming on the reservation in droves (more whites on the reservation than Indians at this point).

Finally (promised since the 1855 Treaty), a new school was going to be erected in 1870. According to a report of Captain D. M. Sells, of the U. S. Army (the Indian Agent), "I am erecting a new school building, 26 x 50 feet, two stories high, which will be large enough to accommodate all the scholars that will attend."[27]

Presbyterians Assigned to the Nez Perces by the Government

After U.S. Grant became President of the United States on March 4, 1869, the Government attempted a new program known as the Peace Policy. This policy was adopted for administering the programs of the Indian tribes. The legislative branch enacted a law that would not allow any army personnel to serve in civil positions. Prior to 1870, army officers often served as American representatives called Indian Agents. Grant, who was anxious to solve the Indian problem, saw the opportunity to turn the administration of Indian reservations over to missionary socieites of various faiths. Many denominations were already serving in different tribal areas. This procedure then gave much latitude to the various missionaries in selecting the Indian Agent and teachers for the reservations.

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[27] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1870-71, 3rd Session, pp. 36-37.

John B. Monteith, Indian Agent

The Presbyterian Church was assigned to the Nez Perce Tribe. In the East the ruling body, which was known as the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, had the authority within that body to oversee the Indian missions. John B. Monteith, the son of a Presbyterian minister of Albany, Oregon, was placed as Indian Agent. Monteith then traveled to the Lapwai Reservation and served from February 8, 1871, to March 3, 1879. He was well thought of as both an administrator and a teacher. He also served during perilous times in 1877 when Chief Joseph led a segment of the Nez Perces in an uprising against the U.S. Army.

Henry H. Spalding, Superintendent of Instruction

When H. Spalding was in the East during this time of 1870-71, he tried and became successful in securing the nomination from the Presbyterian Church for the position of Superintendent of Instruction at the Lapwai Agency. His return was delayed, somewhat, because of illness in his family. Finally, however, he was able to resume his earlier work with the Nez Perces under the auspices of his church while the Federal Government paid for his services.

Once in Lapwai, he returned also to preaching. The Indians seemed to be quite enthusiastic to hear Spalding speak in the Nez Perce language.

Spalding's Dismissal

Spalding, as would be suspected, was really more interested in preaching than setting up or conducting a school. His hiatus in duties performed caused Agent Monteith much concern. Finally, out of desperation, Agent Monteith said that Spalding would be relieved of his duties as Superintendent of Education in the fall of 1872. Another Presbyterian minister by the name of Rev. George Ainslie replaced Spalding in that position. Spalding moved then to Kamiah and in his diary or the record book of the First Church wrote: "Labored through the winter till Feb. 20, 1873. Preached every Sabbath to a crowded congregation averaging 320."

A battle evolved over whether the Agent Monteith could in effect release Reverend Spalding from his job as an employee of the Government for teaching the Nez Perce Indians. In a series of letters written by Spalding from 1872 to 1874, Spalding argued his case. In his letter to Dr. John C. Lowrie of the Board, written on February 15, 1872, he pleaded his cause.

> I am steadily kept out of my place in the great work of instruction--the only channel through which honest, effectual work can be done for the Christianization and civilization of this people. They are taken out of my hands and put under the watch of the interpreter where the children hear no prayer but profane language, see no Christian example but quite the reverse, who is

> totally unfit to be in the Indian Country much less to be a representative. . . .[28]

In his letter, he stated that he and Reverend Cowley would ask that the work of the missionaries be separated from the Government as widely as possible if a change were not made.

Spalding wrote to a Mr. Colzer the next month. According to Spalding, the educational and religious departments were inseparable in working with the Nez Perces. He continued to say that Mr. Monteith refused to give him any buildings to use for schools or for worship, to give any religious instruction at the school, or to have anything to do with the school. Spalding lamented, "What instruction I do give these lambs of the flock, I have to snatch opportunities before and after school hours."[29]

The argument, which had ensued in the instructional as well as the religious aspects of most Northwest tribes, had centered around the differences of the Catholic and Protestant faiths. In this letter Spalding related, "Mr. Monteith has put the school under the watch and care of that CATHOLIC, drunken, profane Whitman [not Marcus Whitman] where they never hear prayer."[30] Then he mentioned some major

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[28] Letter written by Spalding, Feb. 15, 1872, Document No. 53, The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

[29] Letter written by Spalding, March 7, 1872, Document No. 83 (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society), p. 1.

[30] Ibid., p. 2.

problem areas.

> . . . your positive order not to divert any of the teachers from their labors in the Indian school to teach the children of whites is steadily disregarded in that a portion of the time of the teachers (the Indians say a very great portion of it) is devoted to white children, that is to white men's children who are like wily beasts among the Indian children, pinching, kicking and terribly annoying them. The other family of white children, quiet, amiable are turned out of the school.
>
> Very much of the employment pledged to the Nation is shamefully diverted.[31, 32, 33]

One year later, Spalding again wrote to Lowrie to ascertain why the Board accepted the testimony of Mr. Monteith that Spalding had accomplished nothing at the mission. In quite a series of defense statements, Spalding attempted to justify the Nez Perce Indians.[34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40]

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[31] Ibid., p. 3.

[32] Letter from Spalding to Dr. Lowrie, dated April 20, 1872, Doc. No. 137, p. 3.

[33] Letter from Spalding to Dr. Lowrie, dated May 31, 1872, Doc. No. 178, pp. 1-2.

[34] Letter from Spalding, dated Nov. 26, 1873, Doc. No. 292, pp. 1-16.

[35] Letter from Spalding, dated Feb. 28, 1874, Doc. No. 271, pp. 1-100.

[36] Letter from Spalding, dated Mar. 22, 1873, Doc. No. 91, pp. 1-2.

In November, 1873, Spalding received an injury while chopping some wood. His health during the next six months gradually failed; and in July, he requested to be moved back to his mission site at Lapwai. A few days later, Monday, August 3, 1874, saw the termination of this controversial figure in mission and educational history among the Nez Perces. He was buried nearby in a small plot of locust trees where today the Lapwai Creek empties into the Clearwater River. Not far away were the mission house and the school. Today this whole area is a National Park called Nez Perce National Historical Park.

In the August 22, 1874, edition of the Portland Oregonian an obituary of this pioneer educator and missionary read: "Perhaps it is to his influence more than to any other single cause, that the Nez Perces are indebted for the distinction they enjoy of being regarded as the most intelligent, and the least savage of all our Indian tribes."[41]

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[37] Letter from Spalding, dated May 1-, 1873, Doc. No. 129, pp. 1-2.

[38] Letter from Spalding, dated August 1, 1873, Doc. No. 198, pp. 1-4.

[39] Letter from Spalding, dated October 14, 1873, Doc. No. 267, pp. 1-4.

[40] Letter from Spalding, dated October 29, 1873, Doc. No. 276, pp. 1-6.

[41] Oregonian, Portland, Oregon, August 22, 1874.

Mary M. Crawford

Miss Crawford, who spent 41 years among the Nez Perces as a teacher and missionary, arrived at the Nez Perce Reservation in 1895 and worked with her two aunts, Miss Sue L. McBeth and Miss Kate C. McBeth, who had arrived many years earlier.

At first Miss Crawford was employed by the Government as a teacher. She and her sister Elizabeth, who had preceded her in the work at the Government Boarding School on the Lapwai Reservation, worked at both teaching and missionary endeavors. The boarding school was first established for teaching the Indians. Its population numbered about 200. Later, it was turned into a sanitarium for tubercular Indian children. In 1899, Miss Crawford left the Government service of teaching to become a missionary under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.

Review of Nez Perce Education by the Government

Some administrators of the Bureau of Indian Affairs believed that the Indians should have been taught English. The old governmental schools, both on and off the Reservation, had a meager supply of equipment and materials but were sufficient for teaching a "new way of life." After the allotment system was devised by the Government, the schools closed their doors as the youth in most cases began attending public schools. One Commissioner of Indian Affairs called the

new schools "special denaturing plants" to instruct the Indians in trades and other forms of endeavors.

The Government gave the American Indians their land in severalty and advanced them initially along agricultural lines. In some cases, the Severalty Act of the U.S. Government did not function well; but it was successful for the Nez Perces. The Nez Perces generally lived on their own land and farmed enough to keep their families. They were good farmers, but many of them sold some of their plots to white people.

After the school construction and the Peace Policy of President Grant, changes occurred in the formal education of all Indians. The official report of 1871 stated,

> In all of these missions there are Day and Boarding Schools. The condition of the Nez Perce is very remarkable, and the encouragement is marked. The old missionary, Mr. Spaulding [Spalding], has gone back and been received with open arms. In the education of the Indians I think both the English and Indian tongue should be taught. If possible, teach them in their own tongue, but not exclusively. You have greater access to the mind of a people through their own tongue than through a foreign one.[42]

In 1873 a special group of commissioners--Shanks, Bennet, and Reed--were to investigate the conditions of the Indians in Idaho. Their report to Commissioner Edward Smith agreed to the new policy of allowing various religious groups to run the educational program for the Indians.

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[42] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1871, p. 169.

The Commissioners mentioned that one Cataldo, a Catholic priest, procured authorization from the Office of Indian Affairs to construct a church on the Nez Perce Reservation. They felt that the strife of these two groups would be detrimental to the education of the Nez Perces. The report indicated that:

> If the Catholics are allowed to build a church on the reservation, it will measurably destroy the schools on the reservation, or compel the establishment of other schools than those provided for by treaty, as it is well known that the priests will not permit the children of Catholics to attend Protestant schools.[43]

The Commission also visited the Indians who didn't sign the Treaty of 1863, who were labeled "non-Treaty" Indians, to check with them on schools. They asked Chief Joseph of the Wallowa Reservation. Joseph answered, "No, we do not want schools or school houses on the Wallowa Reservation. . . .they will teach us to have churches."[44] Joseph added that the Wallowa Nez Perces did not want churches to teach them to quarrel about God, as the Catholics and Protestants did on the Nez Perce Reservation and at other places. "We may quarrel with men sometimes about things on this earth, but we never quarrel about God. We do not want to learn that."[45] (Old Joseph, Joseph's

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[43] Ibid., Report for 1873-74, p. 526.

[44] Ibid., p. 527.

[45] Ibid.

father, was one of the first two converts to Christianity at the Spalding Mission at Lapwai in 1839 but later forsook Christianity. The Biblical surname Joseph was given to him by Spalding.) In 1877 Joseph fought the Army in the only war with the whites by the Nez Perce.

The Annual Report in 1875 from the Nez Perce Agency indicated that advances had been made by the Indians in farming and industry. One hundred Indians had learned how to read and quite an interest was shown in schooling. "Two boarding-schools and one day-school have an attendance of 90 pupils. All the Nez Perce raise stock."[46] The total Nez Perce population was estimated at 2,807, there were four teachers for 90 students. Sixty Indians had learned to read that year.[47]

The Agent's report stated that Agent Monteith was having difficulty in teaching the Indians a trade. Monteith had three young men working in a blacksmith-shop. Before the Indians learned the trade, they left to gather roots or to fish. The same problem occurred in the flour mill as well as in the sawmill. Agent Monteith wrote, "I think the only way to succeed in this business will be to take boys from the school as soon as they have learned enough of the English language to meet the demands of their position."[48]

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[46] Ibid., Report of 1874-75, p. 365.

[47] Ibid., pp. 414-415.

[48] Ibid., pp. 593-594.

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[46] Ibid., Report of 1874-75, p. 365.

[47] Ibid., pp. 414-415.

[48] Ibid., pp. 363-364.

In 1875 the Agent in his account seemed quite concerned with an age-old problem--salaries for teachers. Also, the Superintendent of Teaching resigned; therefore, Monteith abolished that position and allowed each teacher to run his or her own school building.

> One cause of the teachers leaving is the reduction of the salaries, which took place at the beginning of the last fiscal year. The scholars have made steady progress in their studies, and show that they do not care to fall back into their old manner of living, from the fact that during vacation they would not go off on the hunting and fishing excursions with other Indians. Some of the scholars have remained at the school-house during vacation (schools were closed the 1st of July for a vacation of two months) and have worked in the garden, assisted in thrashing, and performed other work.[49]

Yet Monteith was concerned that the speed at which the Indians were learning the English language was not, he felt, great enough. He did indicate, however, that all the Indians understood what was said to them and could read, as well as write, fairly well. Monteith was really worried about the Indians' learning to speak English and to use it freely. The program of on-the-job training in the various shops was continuing, and the Agent seemed pleased about the progress.

The "Treaty Indians" adapted to the white man's culture rather rapidly. In 1876 very few left for the buffalo country as their crops and animals seemed to suffice for their needs. The educational policy seemed to be effective.

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[49] Ibid., Report for 1875-1876, pp. 763-765.

A Mrs. McFarland passed away in 1875, and her husband Reverend D. F. McFarland took over her chores at the Lapwai school. He was helped by James Reuben, a full-blood Indian, who was able to help in the teaching tasks. Monteith was still concerned about the use of English. The Indians still answered in native tongue even though they fully understood the language. Monteith was very happy over the fact that a full-blooded Indian in the blacksmith shop was doing so well helping the Indians, plus the fact that he possessed more "application and ingenuity and learned faster than the half-breeds."[50]

The year 1877 was quite a landmark in the history of the Nez Perces as Chief Joseph was pushed into conflict with the U. S. Army. This uprising also had quite an effect on the two schools in the "Treaty" Indian area of Lapwai and Kamiah. As soon as the struggle broke out, the excitement spread across the whole region. The Kamiah school was closed about the last of June, and the teachers were brought back to Lapwai as Kamiah was just a short distance from the "non-Treaty" Indians who were on the warpath. All the students at Lapwai were kept there as the excitement prevailed; studies were stopped and trades were stressed to keep their minds off the conflict. Such things were emphasized as gardening by the boys and sewing and general housework by the girls.

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[50] Ibid., Report of 1876-1877, p. 449.

Monteith wanted to keep both schools going throughout the period in order:

> . . .to keep the children away from their parents and the influence of those who do not live as the more civilized do. My idea was, by keeping them under the care and influence of the matrons and teachers continually, they might be advanced the more rapidly in speaking English, which is a very difficult thing to do. They will read and write the English language very readily, but it is a hard matter to get them to speak it.
>
> Most of the girls can and do make their own dresses and underclothing, and render considerable assistance in general housework. The large boys can plow and do general farm work very creditably.[51]

The Non-Treaty Indians

What caused the "non-Treaty" Indians to not want schools and churches? An Indian called Smohallah fostered a cult called "dreamers." This mystical belief was widespread among most of the Upper River Country Indians. The "dreamer" taught that the earth was created by God, was not to be disturbed by man and was not to be cultivated. Any voluntary submission to the control of the Government and any improvement in the way of schools and churches were considered as criminal offenses. This fanaticism was kept alive by the superstitions of these "dreamers."[52] A leader was to come from the east. He would

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[51] Ibid., Report of 1877-1878, p. 476.

[52] Ibid., p. 607.

restore all the dead Indians to life, would unite them in expelling the whites from their country, and would again enter upon and repossess the lands of their ancestors.[52] Joseph and his comrades in arms were definitely influenced by this belief and readily declined to enter into any negotiations or to make any arrangements to settle the questions pending between them and the U. S. Government.

Charles D. Warner, Indian Agent

Another change occurred in administration of the Nez Perce Reservation in 1879 as Monteith was replaced by Charles D. Warner as the new Indian Agent. Warner arrived at an inopportune time insofar as schooling was concerned. At Lapwai the boarding school and school buildings themselves had burned to the ground. This naturally hindered the educational efforts as makeshift quarters had to be utilized. Mr. and Mrs. P. B. Whitman, the teacher and the matron, maintained some semblance of school; but the number of students attending dropped from 90 to 12. School was in session from nine to ten months. The other school on the Reservation, Kamiah, was under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Campbell. An official report was written stating, "the scholars have made wonderful progress, children not ten years of age, their first year of school, reciting or writing the multiplication tables without a single error and as quickly as any white child could do the same. They all write good plain hands, and in all

respects would compare with any white school; and when one realizes this is taught and recited in English, the progress seems greater."[53]

Warner also commented that an equal number of Indian students had to be turned away for lack of accommodations. He wanted to build a bigger school in Lapwai to serve 90 to 100 students. A day school was set in motion at Lapwai under Miss Sue McBeth. It was basically a lay minister education with eight young men in daily attendance.

After his first year, in his annual communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Warner related, ". . . the condition of the Nez Perces is all one could ask . . . Some uneasiness was manifest about stores set afloat by renegade whites. . . they are well civilized, but one mistake on the part of the government in this would destroy the efforts of the past thirty years' teachings; but to give them time and attention, they will astonish their most zealous friends in their progress toward civilization."[54]

The next year, 1880, Warner was disappointed that the contracts to rebuild the industrial school building at Lapwai had been rejected, creating a bad teaching situation. Finally, Warner was successful in persuading the BIA to supply funds to construct the new building

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[53] Ibid., Report for 1879-1880, p. 162.

[54] Ibid., p. 163.

in 1881. Warner felt it would be the finest school structure of its type in Idaho Territory. The main building, 32' x 80', three stories high, was plastered throughout. The new school was to accommodate 150 boarding students.[55]

As with most governmental jobs, agents come and go or are transferred periodically and the Lapwai Agency was no exception. In 1882, a new Agent came on the scene. In addition to the large boarding school being finished, a new saw and grist mill were erected for industry as well as to train Indians. Congress made no provision to provide a blacksmith, a carpenter, or other skilled tradesmen; consequently, all the shops had to be closed. Young Indians were anxious to enter the shops as apprentices, but there was no one to teach them.[56]

In 1883, the Agent's annual communication seemed to be very flattering, pointing to the good aptitude and attitude of the Nez Perce students. One new procedure evolved as 27 of the brightest youngsters were transferred to Forest Grove Training in the spring, plus seven more in July.

The boarding and industrial school at Kamiah was closed May 1, 1883, under the wishes of the BIA. The Bureau felt that a school 64 miles distant from the agency could not be supervised properly by an

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[55] Ibid., Report for 1881-1882, p. 124.

[56] Ibid., Report for 1882-1883, p. 113.

agent. The new boarding school at Lapwai accommodated all the students that wanted to attend. Many bright youth, however, were kept out of school by their parents. Prior to 1883, the agent was powerless to compel the attendance of Indian children. The new "policy of the Department in withholding Government aid from those who refuse to send their children when called upon by the agent will. . . prove a satisfactory measure with these Indians."[57]

Writing about the tribe a year later, the Agent remarked, "this tribe has reached that point in civilization where it will not advance until some important change takes place in the Indian policy."[58] During that year, the Lapwai Agency received a visit from an inspector of Indian Affairs who stated "the Nez Perces are as far advanced in civilization, as a tribe, as any one of the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory."[59] The Agent then concluded that the Indians should have power granted them to enact laws for themselves and a "court of Indian offenses." He felt that a practical education for the Nez Perce student was of more benefit than an academic one. "If he can read and write English understandingly, and understands the first four rules of arithmetic, he is sufficiently educated for all practical purposes for

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[57] Ibid., Report for 1883-1884, p. 115.

[58] Ibid., Report for 1884-1885, p. 111.

[59] Ibid.

generations to come."[60] However, the Agent did mention that a few Indians wished to continue their education further and were to be encouraged.

Missionary G. L. Deffenbaugh writing to the Indian Commissioner in 1884 tried to minimize the reopening of the industrial school at Kamiah. He felt that it would be a waste of money, time, and effort for the tiny results.[61]

President Cleveland commented on the Indian situation in his inaugural address.

> The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated, as wards of the Government, and their education and civilization promoted, with a view to their ultimate citizenship.
>
> Land and law seem to come into play quite regularly in forcing any policy for educating Indians. Land and law appear to act as agents in the process of educating the Redmen. To get land, by any means, seemed to be the aim of most settlers. Thus, the Indian problem, ever since it began to be a problem, has been working itself out on an area ever shifting westward, with the steady surge of white infiltration. There has been a regular cycle of border life, of land seizures, of new settlements, and the eager strife of the frontier. Land has been and is a powerful agent in the education of the native.
>
> The power of law is generally felt because men have so often felt its absence. In that day and age

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., p. 114.

> the law was to begin its educating influence upon the Indian. And one of the first offices of law for the Indian must be to secure a fair amount of land to the Indian, and gradually, but surely, to teach him that he must use that land wisely and thereby prosper.[62]

One source, writing in the 1880's, denounced the reservation plan as counter to civilizing the Indian. Such a plan was designed to preserve the degrading customs and low moral standards. The report stated that the American legislation "perpetuates these sinks of iniquity," the Indian reservation, "where human beings are pauperized by unearned and unnecessary rations, and are condemned to association with barbarous armed criminals who became perforce the heroes and examples of the young."[63]

BIA School Programs

It was a known fact that the policy of the Government was to assimilate the Indians to the ways of the white men's culture. The following is a list of the types of schools that contributed to the Indians' acculturation.

1. DAY-SCHOOLS

There were three kinds:

> Government day-schools are established by the Government, the teacher being appointed by the

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[62] Ibid., p. 116.

[63] Ibid., Report for 1885-1886, p. 33.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs upon the nomination of Indian Agents. All the expenses incident to the establishment and the maintenance of these schools are paid by the Government.

Contract day-schools are established by religious organizations, under authority obtained from the Secretary of the Interior, the teachers being appointed by the religious organizations establishing them, each of which organizations pays all the expenses of the schools it has obtained authority to conduct, and receives from the Government an agreed upon sum of money for each child taught in such schools. All contract day-schools are supervised by public officers, and report through the Indian agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Mission day-schools are established by and are conducted under the supervision and at the expense of religious associations.

2. BOARDING-SCHOOLS ON RESERVATIONS

There were four kinds:

Agency reservation boarding schools are established and conducted by the Government. . . .
Contract reservation boarding schools are established by religious associations, under authority obtained from the Secretary of the Interior, these religious associations entering into a contract to educate a certain number of Indian pupils for considerations specified in the contracts. . . . Independent reservation boarding schools are on reservations, but are not under the supervision of Indian agents, Mission reservation boarding schools are established by religious associations and are conducted by them. . . .

3. BOARDING-SCHOOL NOT ON RESERVATIONS

None of these are Government schools, and they are all independent of the Indian agencies. They report directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

4. TRAINING SCHOOLS

> These are Government training-schools and what may be called semi-Government training schools. . . .
>
> Government training schools are established by the Government; the buildings are erected by the Government, and all the expenses of maintaining and instructing Indian pupils at these schools are paid by the Government out of special appropriations made for the purpose. . . .
>
> Semi-Government training-schools are established by educational or religious organizations for general educational purposes, special attention being given by their managers to the education of Indian children, for which schools Congress makes annually an appropriation to pay a certain amount per capita for maintaining and educating at each a specified number of Indian pupils. . . .[64]

Another interesting note came in a report of 1885 by Paul Brodie who suggested a uniform school building plan. Brodie had been asked by the Superintendent of Indian Schools, John H. Oberly, to develop plans for a suitable accommodation for teachers and pupils, so arranged that the space could be increased or diminished without changing the basic plan and with economy in arrangement and construction. He prepared a plan for a two-story frame structure to be used as a boarding school to accommodate 50 to 100 students. He used the military method for the second floor with an open room instead of small bedrooms. He claimed it was healthier and more economical to heat

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[64] Ibid., pp. 109-111.

the open area. ". . . these are well-lighted; the exposure can be so regulated that on every clear day the sun's rays shall penetrate into every room, thus promoting health and comfort."[65] Also, he felt that less mischief could be carried on in such a pattern. No laundry or toilet facilities were included as he probably had outhouses in mind.

In the Agent's annual review of 1886, he indicated 60 students were in the boarding school with the average daily attendance set at 58. The average cost per capita for that year was $183.[66]

In the year 1887, a new approach was attempted by George W. Norris, the BIA Agent. His philosophy was that "education of a single generation does not necessarily make it better or lead it to endure more easily the restraint of civilization."[67] The school was changed from the Clearwater River location to Fort Lapwai. Attendance had increased from 60 to 123 students. Then Norris decided to make the building at Fort Lapwai a boy's school and the one on the Clearwater River a girl's school, a distance of four miles separating them.

In Norris' report for 1888, he indicated that the apprenticeship programs at the mills were good; and production had increased. The sawmill turned out 100,000 feet of lumber, and the flour mill ground

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[65] Ibid., pp. 128-129.

[66] Ibid., Report for 1886-1887, pp. 330-331.

[67] Ibid., Report for 1887, pp. 153-154.

flour from 200,000 pounds of wheat and another 5,000 pounds of corn for the Indians. Mills were also in operation at Kamiah but on a lesser scale. The blacksmith and the carpenter shops each had two apprentices assigned to take care of the Agency and the school.[68] He was happy to separate the sexes into the two schools. He claimed that the "promiscuous character of intercourse between the sexes gave rise to the necessity for their separation. The advantage thus derived in the inculcation of lessons of morality and virtue is obvious, and should be maintained."[69]

(At this time, Joseph and his captured band were living on a reservation with the Colville Indians. He demanded a boarding school which, he said, had been promised. Both he and Chief Joseph refused to send their children to a day school.)[70]

During the year 1888, a special Government Commissioner visited the Nez Perce Reservation for securing the consent of the Indians to an allotment of land in severalty and examining the conditions of the Roman Catholic School existing on the Reservation. The Commissioner found such defects and faults in the school that the policy was adopted of abandoning all missionary schools and of establishing

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[68] Ibid., Report for 1888-1889, p. 87.

[69] Ibid., p. 88.

[70] Ibid., p. 223.

one boarding school only under the auspices of the Government.[71]

At Fort Lapwai, the annual summary in 1891 was compiled by the Superintendent of the Schools, Ed McConville. This review was probably the most complete because it was principally McConville's job on the reservation, whereas an agent had many tasks and functions to perform.

The Fort Lapwai buildings were erected by the War Department in 1861-1862, and in 1885 all the property belonging to the War Department was transferred to the Interior Department under an Act of Congress. By the 1890's the girls and boys were back on the same campus. The building used by the boys for boarding was the oldest on the grounds, and during the winter the roof had to be reinforced with props. The girls lived in a dormitory one-quarter mile away from the basic school buildings. The girls' dormitory had previously been a military hospital (the only building that had not been condemned). Sixty girls were ready to enroll, but only thirty girls could be accommodated in the building.

An addition of a two-story 30 x 60 foot structure was added to the girls' building so that up to 80 girls could use the facilities. The upper floor was used for sleeping quarters. Also, a new school was constructed of four rooms and a large assembly hall. The school enrolled up to 150 students graded into four departments. Attendance

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[71] Ibid., p. 770.

as usual in the 1880's and 1890's was very good.

"One of the greatest difficulties met with in the Indian Service is in securing good and efficient employees who are interested in the education and advancement of the Indian children and who can work harmoniously together,"[72] wrote Superintendent McConville.

"Our school session closed on the 4th of July, with a literary and musical entertainment given by the children, which was witnessed by several hundred Indians (among whom were the parents of the school children), who were assembled to celebrate the Fourth of July. They all seemed well pleased with the exercises and with the progress the children had made, and signified their appreciation of our efforts to please them. The exercises closed with fireworks in the evening, which pleased the children and parents alike. Their feelings were expressed by loud cheers. The higher the rockets the louder the cheers."[73]

One agent, Warren D. Robbins, in making out his account for 1892, considered the Indian schools to be most vital. The Nez Perce Agency boarding school had been in operation for two years. The capacity was 60 students in the primary grades. The average attendance during the ten month period was 53 children. Mr. Robert Larimer,

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[72] Ibid., Report for 1891-1892, pp. 561-562.

[73] Ibid., pp. 562-563.

who was Superintendent of the boarding school, was lauded by Agent Robbins for the cleanliness and operation of the school. One interesting note was that the "essential feature is harmony."[74] Later Robbins received orders to convert the boarding school into an industrial school similar to the one at Fort Lapwai.

As young Indians became fluent with English they were encouraged at times to enlist in the Army. In one year, fifteen Indians qualified physically and mentally. They enlisted as cavalrymen. As they were all good horsemen, they mastered the difficult tactics exacted in the cavalry service. The reports that came back about these "Redmen" had been satisfactory, and in some cases quite complimentary.

The following excerpt was found in the report of a special investigation conducted by Special Agent James A. Leonard.

> An impression was abroad that this school was to be permanently closed and the scholars transferred to the larger school at the old fort. This latter school was in excellent condition. Mr. McConville, the superintendent, allowed no interference with his plans, and, being heartily supported by his assistants, had one of the best disciplined and most enthusiastic schools of all we had visited. The studying was practically finished, but we attended an evening entertainment by the Indian scholars, consisting of declamations, recitations, dialogues, and singing, which was very enjoyable; the affair would have done credit to any school anywhere. The brass band is also an interesting feature of the school; the semi-military drill and marching of the scholars to and from their meals and to and from the chapel were good features.[75]

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[74] Ibid., Report for 1892-1893, p. 236.

[75] Ibid., pp. 1294-1295.

The Indians continued to farm, to graze their cattle, and to raise their famous horses, to improve their 20-acre tracts, and to build homes. They showed interest in education and in religion and in less consumption of whiskey.

To take care of Indian misdemeanors, a court of Indian offenses was established in 1882. It provided an Indian Tribunal which, under the guidance of the agent, would teach respect for the law and some little knowledge of legal processes.[76]

BIA Indian policy was not achieving the desired results. It was becoming apparent that the only way to make responsible citizens of the Indians was to give them responsibilities by giving them land as well as by teaching them how to farm.

How was this to be accomplished? Congress enacted the Dawes Act of 1887, sometimes referred to as the Allotment Act. It provided for allotting the reservation lands in severalty as follows: to the head of a family, one-fourth section and to each single child, one-sixteenth section. The Indians could make their own selections. However, if the selections were not made within four years from the time designated, the agent would make the decision for them. All Indians who took out allotments were automatically citizens of the United States.

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[76] Ibid., Report for 1889, p. 26.

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[75] Ibid., Report for 1892, p. 26.

(All Indians received citizenship in 1924.)[77]

Again, on October 31, 1892, the President (Harrison) authorized another treaty with the Nez Perces for the purpose of disposing of surplus land on their reservation. Many stipulations were to be met by both the Indians and the whites before settlement was made. The treaty was ratified by Congress on August 15, 1895; and the ceded lands were opened to white settlement on November 28, 1895, by a proclamation of the President.[78, 79] The amount of land ceded was 542,064 acres. Thirty thousand acres of timber were reserved for the Indians.

By 1894, the Indian farms ranged from five to 160 acres each, scattered throughout five villages. Many fine homes were constructed; excellent gardens were planted. The crops consisted of hay, flax, oats, barley, corn, potatoes, and wheat--10,000 acres. Wheat yielded 25 bushels per acre (which by today's use of hybrids and fertilizer doesn't seem like much, but at that time it was a good crop).[80] The education the Indians received in farming also included animal husbandry, especially horses and cattle.

The next year saw a sizeable increase in attendance as 203 students were enrolled in school. It seemed that finally the different

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[77] Statutes at Large, Vol. XXIV (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895), pp. 388-390.

[78] Ibid., XXVIII, pp. 325-332.

[79] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report for 1896, p. 29.

[80] Ibid., Report for 1894-1895, pp. 133-134.

preceding generations were beginning to have increased confidence in the benefits of education and in the management of schools. The agent estimated that 2,000 Nez Perces were on the Reservation with only about 25 of school age not attending school in the remote areas. Children were brought in willingly and promptly. Only two runaways occurred. One Indian teacher was employed for a number of months and was put in charge of the intermediate department. It was thought that her work was above the "common standard."[81]

McConville, who had done an outstanding job according to official reports, said that his shoe and harness shop had been turned over completely to Indians throughout the school year. In addition, most of the work of the carpenter and wagon-making shop was done by Indians. Three apprentices were placed in the shop for the year.[82]

By 1897, agent S. G. Fisher's account stated that he had seen a tremendous growth in the education of the Indians who had operated the two steam sawmills. The mills sawed 1,500,000 feet of lumber, the bulk of which had been used for rustic homes and flooring. Out of the 154 students attending, 108 were enrolled in the boarding school. It was estimated that the cost per capita of educating them was put at

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[81] Ibid., pp. 371-372.

[82] Ibid., pp. 492-493.

$14.87.[83] This report was by far the shortest in the long series of BIA annual reports.[84]

The Reservation was then composed of several tracts of land under the Dawes Act. Over 1,997 trust patents were issued to the Nez Perces.[85] Just prior to the turn of the century, almost 16,000 acres were being tilled by Indians.[86] Mix blooded children, as well as Indian children, attended the same schools. In C. T. Stranahan's report of 1900, education was not even mentioned. William H. Smith, who was then at the helm of the Fort Lapwai school, was disappointed at the attendance record. Only one-third of the students were attending regularly. He blamed payments to Indians, leisure, hunting, fishing, dances, and visiting as the probable causes of this problem.[87]

Voorhies, Superintendent of Schools

After the turn of the century, reports of what was happening at Lapwai in the schools appeared in the newspapers. Many problems plagued the superintendents with truancy becoming a serious problem. Superintendent Voorhies visited a family to serve papers requiring the attendance of an Indian child at the government school. Mr. and Mrs.

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[84] Ibid., Report for 1897, pp. 132-133.

[85] Ibid., Report for 1898, pp. 147-148.

[86] Ibid., Report for 1899, p. 269.

[87] Ibid., Report for 1900, p. 485.

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The Reservation was then composed of several tracts of land under the Dawes Act. Over 1,292 over Indians were listed on the Nez Perces.[65] Just prior to the turn of the century, alcohol problems were being billed by Indians.[66] This problem children, as well as Indian children, attended the same schools. In C. C. Covington's report of 1900, education was not even mentioned. William H. Smith, who was then at the helm of the Fort Lapwai school, was disappointed at the attendance record. Only one-third of the students were attending regularly. He blamed payments to Indians, disease, moving, dishing, dances, and visiting as the probable causes of this problem.[67]

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[64] Ibid., Report for 1897, pp. 123-124.

[65] Ibid., Report for 1898, pp. 147-148.

[66] Ibid., Report for 1899, p. 269.

[67] Ibid., Report for 1900, p. 465.

Eugene Rowley, Nez Perce Indians, threw Voorhies to the ground and beat him with clubs and stones, until he managed to seize one of the Indians' long hair. Voorhies finally escaped with his face, head, and body bruised and his right arm mangled. On the ground were his papers and pocketbook, which Mr. Rowley promptly tore into little bits. Mr. and Mrs. Rowley were arrested and placed in the county jail to stand trial.[88] The next day the parents promised to see that their boy was sent to school. Voorhies stated that he intended to compel all Indians to send their children to school. He said:

> The government has expended a large sum in building and equipping school buildings for Indian children at Lapwai. There are 11 teachers employed and last year the expense of conducting the school was over $12,000. Yet the enrollment at present is only 46. This is a disgraceful condition. These Indian children can be civilized and made self-respecting citizens only through education. This fact is understood by the state and the last legislature passed a compulsory education act for Indian children in schools provided by the general government and the state.[89]

The Rise of Integrated Schools

Many years before the total integration of Indians and whites in school (the first one was probably at Lapwai), Judge Steele from Lewiston, announced his decision requiring the Spalding school directors

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[88] The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington, Sept. 24, 1901.

[89] The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington, Sept. 25, 1901.

to admit Indian children to a public school. Judge Steele's ruling was based on the school law that all residents of the state between six and 21 years of age were entitled to attend the public schools, regardless of race or color. It was felt that the effect of the ruling would be to open the public schools of the country to all Indian children on the Reservation.[90]

It was stated by Voorhies earlier that the previous year saw only 46 Indians in attendance in school. He reported in November, 1901, that the attendance was 160. This attendance was "fully 80 per cent of all Indian children of school age on the reservation in physical condition to be admitted to the school."[91] It was Voorhies' ambition to "make this the leading farm and dairy school for Indian youths in the United States."

The Indian council meeting at Spalding (now a small town on the Clearwater River where Spalding had his second mission station) on Tuesday, January 28, was attended by 40 Indians, several of them being men of influence in the tribe. One major point discussed was the circular letter from the Indian Department calling on all Indian agents to endeavor to induce Indians to cut their hair and wear "citizens' clothes." This regulation greatly angered the Indians. Agent Stranahan,

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[90] Ibid., October 28, 1901.

[91] Ibid., November 26, 1901.

in addressing the council, stated that he had no intention of enforcing the order.[92]

The Indians prepared a letter to be sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding Mr. Voorhies, Superintendent of Schools, saying that they did not want Voorhies to be connected with the schools as he fought bodily with parents, beat children and used abusive language. The Indians' letter dated January 28, 1902, stated that the "superintendent is a man that drinks and his reputation here is a man of bad temper and mean disposition, and he is greatly inclined to fight. He has already fought several parties here--Indian and whites. . .If the government wishes to see this tribe made an advance toward civilization, this superintendent should be removed from this reservation."[93]

The Indian Department decided to investigate Voorhies and his conduct as Superintendent of Schools at Lapwai. Charges were filed later. A court of inquiry held a session at Spalding under the charge of Edwin L. Chalcroft, supervisor of Indian Schools. The examination was held behind closed doors; Voorhies was the only other person allowed besides the witnesses. Allegations included drunkenness and

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[92] Ibid., February 3, 1902.

[93] Ibid.

cruelty to children under his control. Between 40 and 50 witnesses, nearly all Indians, were summoned and questioned. Voorhies made a general denial of all the charges against him.[94] He was found guilty and relieved of his duties. A fight started when Indian boys attacked Voorhies and two teachers. Supervisor Charlcroft appointed N. E. McClardy as Acting Superintendent until a replacement for Voorhies arrived. The day after the fight, the report was that many of the children refused to eat and several ran away. Many pupils were taken from the school by their parents, but the parents promised to return their offspring as soon as Voorhies left.[95]

Carlisle Industrial School

Many of the Nez Perce Indians attended the Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania. In 1902, agent C. T. Stranahan took five Indian children, Phillip Weaskus, John Kane, Lizzie Hayes, Elizabeth Penny, and Agnes Corlett to the school.

Rev. C. M. Deffenderfer, pastor of the First Lutheran Church at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and chaplain of the famous Carlisle Indian School, visited the Northwest and spoke to a large audience of the First Presbyterian Church near Spokane, Washington. He spoke as follows:

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[94] Ibid., February 13, 1902.

[95] Ibid., February 19, 1902.

> The school [Carlisle] is checking up on the life work of the Indians who are graduated there and I am in the northwest to look personally after the graduates who have settled here. The work of checking up is somewhat new. It has shown that about 25 per cent of the graduates make excellent citizens; 50 per cent are of the middle class, while 25 per cent go back to their tribal customs. We are well satisfied with the showing.
>
> I just came up from the Lapwai reservation, where I saw many Nez Perce Indians who went to school at Carlisle. The Nez Perces are the best Indians who go to Carlisle, and are the only tribe who can be called civilized in the northwest. I found one graduate, Charley White, who had taken a course of carpentry. He was living in a fine, two-store frame house, with a porch and a bay window, which he had planned, built and painted himself.[96]

He went on to say that:

> . . . the friends of the school feel that the government is making a mistake in sending the graduates of the school back to the reservations, where tribal relations are maintained, and where the young Indian has every incentive to go back to his old life, rather than maintaining white men's standards. I feel that instead of sending the Indian back home to the tribe and putting him on an allotment the government should sell his allotment, give him the money and then have him make his way in some middlewest town, where he must need work for his living or starve. Under those conditions we feel the results from the graduates would be even more gratifying than they are now.[97]

E. D. Knight, who had accompanied Stranahan on his trip to Carlisle, made the following remarks.

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[96] Ibid., August 14, 1902.

[97] Ibid.

These Indians have been pupils at our school at Lapwai. Being among the brightest of our students, and also being desirous of obtaining the superior advantages that Carlisle offers, we have recommended them for admittance. Three of the children are full blooded Nez Perces, while the other two are halfbreeds. All of them have money or property in their own right. When the reservation was thrown open to settlement several years ago every Indian received a certain amount of money from the government as a recompense. While many soon squandered their allotments still others have carefully saved theirs and are quite wealthy.

The superintendent of the Carlisle School is most anxious to have a large number of Nez Perce Indians in attendance, for he stated that no tribe is their superior in intelligence and application. Upon graduating from the school the students, unlike many of those of other tribes, do not return to their old customs. Although there are 1,100 pupils, there is always room for Nez Perce Indians. We have eight there at the present time and 20 have graduated.

> Carlisle has one of the greatest football teams in the country, and there is always one of our Indians on the team. It is the only team in the east, outside of the universities, that plays all the big elevens. . . .[98]

McArthur, Superintendent of Schools

At the end of the Lapwai school year, the closing exercises were attended by many parents. The school attendance that year had been good. There had been no necessity of coercing any of the parents to bring their children. Superintendent McArthur had been in charge, replacing Stranahan. Many whites felt that in one year McArthur had

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[98] Ibid., September 20, 1902.

secured, to a large extent, the confidence of the Indians. The school buildings had been repaired thoroughly and the grounds had been kept in perfect order.[99]

During the fall term at the Government School, the attendance was small. Many of the Indians were putting a winter's supply of salmon in on the Grand Ronde River. Others were pulling sugar beets in Oregon or picking hops in Yakima, while others were in the mountains hunting.[100]

Other Non-Reservation Indian Schools

In addition to Carlisle and Forest Grove (Chemawa) schools, some of the children traveled to Lawrence, Kansas, to enter Haskell Institute, an industrial school for Indian children (still in use today). In 1906, nine boys and four girls, ranging in ages from 11 to 19, were newly enrolled at Haskell Institute. The school at that time had 775 Indian students, gathered from all corners of the United States. The girls were taught domestic science and art, housekeeping, and music. The boys were taught trades. The courses consisted of three to four years. Of the 13 Indians in the 1906 group, 12 were full-blooded Nez Perces and one was a half-blood.[101]

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[99] Ibid., June 21, 1903.

[100] Ibid., September 25, 1903.

[101] Ibid., March 28, 1906.

During that school year, Camille Williams, one of the better educated Indians spent much time at Kamiah obtaining a consensus to have the old school reopened. Forty-two youngsters were to be without education unless they were sent to Lapwai. The Government decided to reopen the Kamiah school the next fall.[102]

Going off to school had become quite a trend with the Indian children. Twenty-seven students boarded a special car in 1907 headed for Carlisle; they traveled on a special sleeper provided at Government expense. The party consisted of 15 boys and 12 girls, all but five being over 12 years of age. The students were required to spend five years at Carlisle in order to graduate. During that time, they were not allowed to visit their parents. The parents usually were very happy to have their child selected to go; but, of course, the long absence was a source of grief.[103]

Lipps, Superintendent of Schools

Lipps, the new superintendent of schools, stated that the Indians were, without any pressure, enrolling their children. The students returned to pick hops, to fish, and to hunt after their annual migrations. The Lapwai School expected to have over 200 in attendance

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[102] Ibid., April 4, 1906.

[103] Ibid., August 31, 1907.

by the time the "snow flies."[104]

The continuance of the school at Kamiah was assured by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Leupp. He was an advocate of day schools. The BIA erected a school and a cottage for a teacher. The instructor's wife was employed as a matron.

Camille Williams' petition, signed by the Nez Perces at Kamiah, guaranteed an average daily attendance of 25 pupils. The Indian children lived in their own homes and were taught the usual curriculum. If the school proved to be successful, it would sound the "death knell" for the boarding school at Fort Lapwai as other day schools would be built at convenient points on the Reservation. White children were admitted upon payment of small tuition fees.[105]

Agent Lipps purchased a ten-acre site for the construction of a one-story frame school building near the location of the Kamiah Ferry. The land was bought from Kentucky Corbett, a full-blooded Nez Perce.[106] As the school construction was in progress, Indian Agent O.H. Lipps spent time canvassing the schools to ascertain how many Indian childrent were attending white schools on the Nez Perce Reservation. Commissioner Leupp wanted Indian children to attend white schools; he

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[104] Ibid., October 23, 1907.

[105] Ibid., February 17, 1908.

[106] Ibid., April 4, 1908.

thought the young scholars would lose their tribal habits.[107]

In the white schools, the Indian children mingled well with their counterparts and the best of feelings existed. The teachers reported very little conflict with the "wards of the Government." On one occasion, a teacher complained about cleanliness and dress, but a word to the parents of the Indian child was all that was necessary. The Indian children were seldom unruly and very easily disciplined. It was frequently found that the children's lack of knowledge of the English language was a handicap.[108]

In the summer of 1908, a Bureau circular was issued that reservation schools were not to be "recruiting grounds" for other Indian schools. The Nez Perce Agency, in common with all others, had sent its quota of students to non-reservation schools, mainly Carlisle and Haskell. The circular stated that Indian agents were not allowed to recommend a school. If Indian parents decided to send their children to outside institutions of learning, the parents were to select the school, although the agent was allowed to explain the "standing" of all the schools. Where a large number of youths desired to attend a non-reservation school, the Indian agent was permitted to send a chaperone.

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[107] Ibid., April 19, 1908.

[108] Ibid., April 25, 1908.

In 1908, more than 30 students were at Carlisle, 20 at Haskell, and others at non-reservation schools. Administrators of the small non-reservation schools felt their schools would be unable to operate without recruiting students from the reservations.[109]

Integrated Lapwai School

Just after the turn of the twentieth century, a few prominent white people and Nez Perces at Lapwai started to improve the white and the Indian schools there. Actually, the group wanted to give the children of both races a better chance in life. They established in the State of Idaho the first rural high school, the first integrated white and Indian school in the United States.

The integrated school movement began when Dr. John N. Alley arrived at the Indian Agency at Lapwai, where he had been transferred from New Mexico, as a physician among the Nez Perces. Mrs. Alley, a former school teacher, was deeply interested in education and was not satisfied with the conditions she found at Lapwai. The Government school for Indian children was quite well equipped, but Mrs. Alley thought the Indians should be allowed to enter into the activities and to mingle with the white children. The white children's school at the time was a shack about the size of a garage and had no facilities

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[109] Ibid., June 17, 1908.

whatsoever.

Mr. and Mrs. Tom Barton, who operated a store at Lapwai, and Kate McBeth and her niece, Mary Crawford, Presbyterian missionaries, shared Mrs. Alley's concern for the Indians.

About 1903, Mrs. Alley was elected to the Board of Education. The School District was very poor, but it managed to purchase some property across the road from the Government buildings. In 1906 a two-room school, with a separate teachers' home, was constructed as the white children's school. The Indian children continued their educational pursuits on Government lands.

With that much finished. Mrs. Alley and others set about constructing a high school. It was evident that a high school would be justified only if all the school age children of the district--white and Indian--were in attendance. The Board of Education met with the Government and a group of prominent Nez Perces. By the spring of 1909, the details had been worked out for a combined white and Indian school to be supported by a joint effort of the local district and the Federal government.

In the meantime, a number of states had passed laws permitting school district to combine forces to build consolidated schools; and the Lapwai Board asked the Idaho Legislature to do the same. The law in Idaho was passed in 1909.

Mrs. Alley recalled what occurred:

> We were ever alert to the prevailing trend in educational matters and the rural high school law found us ready. . . .I and other members of District 57 had literally stumped the area in anticipation of this. When Doctor went on his sick calls I went along to talk about the high school.[110]

Eight districts of the area eventually agreed to go together and build a common high school. An election in July, 1909, ratified the plan and provided a tax levy for it.

The National Government agreed to furnish support for the school in proportion to the number of Indian children in attendance and gave the district permission to use the four-room Indian school building and gymnasium.

At that point, the Lewiston State Normal School, which had begun in 1896 (now called Lewis and Clark college), decided to establish a practice teaching program at Lapwai to help ease the teacher problem. For the first year, the practice teachers lived in tents on the school property.

Lapwai Rural High School No. 1 opened its doors in September, 1909, the first rural high school in Idaho and the first integrated school of its kind, apparently, in the United States. Instruction was offered in music, agriculture, domestic science, and manual training.

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[110] Lewiston Morning Tribune, August 13, 1961, p. 10.

in addition to the regular high school curriculum. (After more than half a century that school is still in existence, although not in the same building.)

The year 1909 was one of historical significance. Prior to 1909, some Nez Perce children had attended white schools, as mentioned earlier, but then the Nez Perce Reservation had been selected by the Indian Department as the place for an innovative program.

The Nez Perce Reservation was selected for the new program because of ideal climatic conditions, the fertility of the soil, and the possibilities of fruit and vegetable culture. Instead of the big boarding school heretofore maintained at Fort Lapwai, the Government established schools throughout the Reservation, where ten-acre tracts were devoted to school purposes. Aside from the necessary buildings for schools, the Government established workshops and set out fruit and vegetables in the available acreage. The students were given regular school hours but also were given instruction in the shops, the gardens, and the orchards.

The schools were opened to healthy Indian children of the neighborhood, who were allowed the advantages of the Government school without expense to their parents. It was the purpose of the Government to cooperate with the state in this educational endeavor; and, where convenient, the Indian youth were educated in the school maintained for white children.

The military hospital was a two-story structure of 160' x 40', with wide covered porches surrounding the building at each level. It was to be converted into a school. The plans called for the establishment of wards on the upper floor. The wide porch was to be divided into sleeping quarters. The lower floor was to be devoted to school rooms, dining rooms, and kitchen.[111]

While the integration of the schools was being developed, another program was initiated which received much enthusiastic support from the Indian Commissioner Leupp. Portable school houses were to be placed on the Reservation (similar to many city schools today), and the Nez Perce Reservation was selected to test the experiment of having the school follow the children, instead of the children traveling to school.

Large Indian settlements at Lapwai, Spalding, Kamiah, and Ahsahka requested portable day schools. The Indians indicated that they were anxious to educate their offspring but disliked boarding schools because the children were gone from home.[112]

The ten-acre sites for day schools at Kamiah and Ahsahka were purchased, both in the Clearwater River area. Two buildings, the school

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[111] Ibid., January 6, 1909.

[112] Ibid., February 18, 1909.

house proper and a teacher's cottage, were erected on each site. The day schools were innovations on the Reservation, but they had proved to be more successful than the boarding schools.[113]

The opening of the day school was the inauguration of a system of education that was intended to eliminate the boarding school for the Indians. It was the purpose of the Indian Department to provide all of these schools with gardens, orchards, and industrial buildings where the Indian children would be taught all branches of farming in addition to their regular education. The plan also called for establishing a hospital school at Fort Lapwai, where all Indian children afflicted with contagious diseases would be quarantined and at the same time would be provided with all the advantages of education.[114]

An interesting sidelight occurred that year at Fort Lapwai. Once a year, a BIA board met and condemned old furnishings and school equipment. About $3,000 worth of old blankets, clothing, brooms, and hundreds of odds and ends, which had been worn out in service, were destroyed by a big bonfire.[115] The reason for the "big push" in education was that the Indian Department wanted to prepare the Indians for the management of their own affairs. A few years later, the Govern-

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[113] Ibid., March 8, 1909.

[114] The Evening Chronicle, Spokane, Washington, April 2, 1909.

[115] The Spokesman-Review, May 6, 1909.

ment was to issue the allottees patents to their lands. The Government felt that the younger Indians were not prepared to protect their interests against unscrupulous traders.[116]

This new plan called for five public school districts to merge the high school education of the white children with those of the Indians. The Government offered to supply the necessary buildings of modern architecture and conveniences, with all the advantages of the manual training departments, nursery, gardens, and irrigation system, if the five county school districts would agree upon that plan for joint education. The Government proposed to place the administration entirely in the hands of the state (forerunner of the Johnson-O'Malley Act), asking only for one place on the board of trustees; but the Government was willing to pay its proportion of the expense for teachers and general maintenance.[117]

The plan was approved at local elections and even enlarged to include eight school districts. A chairman of each district board was selected as a member of the board of education for the consolidated districts, and Supervisor O. H. Lipps of the Indian Department was selected to represent the Indian interests.

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[116] The Evening Chronicle, Spokane, Washington, May 9, 1909.

[117] Ibid., June 11, 1909.

The course of study was determined by a committee composed of G. H. Black, president of the Lewiston State Normal School; County Superintendent, Miss Etta Brown; and Supervisor O. H. Lipps. The results of the plan were watched by officials of the Indian Department, so that, if successful, the plan could be developed on other reservations of the Northwest.[118]

This new school used the Fort Lapwai school reserve, 1300 acres of land. About 200 acres were fine bottom land under irrigation, 300 acres were wheat land, and the remainder was pasture land. The water supply was pumped from big springs into a reservoir on the hillside above the buildings. From there, the water was distributed for domestic use. The irrigation water was taken from Lapwai Creek and was carried in open ditches around the foothills on either side of the valley, bringing practically all of the bottom land under irrigation. On the school farm was approximately 150 acres of alfalfa, along with a nursery of choice fruits. A beef herd and cows and horses were included. Plans were made to raise poultry and hogs.

The idea of consolidation of the eight districts was very popular. When the election for this new proposal was put to the test on July 31, only one vote was cast against the plan and only three votes against the special tax.

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[118] Ibid., August 13, 1909.

The Agent felt that the new plan was an excellent idea. He stated:

> The government has expended more than $500,000 in the support of Fort Lapwai Indian School during the last quarter of a century with very unsatisfactory results. The boarding school, run as a charitable institution, is bad at its best. The government is now beginning to realize that to take the Indian child away from its parents for 10 months in the year and force him into a life repulsive to his nature, and feed, clothe, and instruct him free of all cost or effort on his part, and often against his will, is to undermine his character and take away from him all incentive to be self-supporting and independent. Besides, it absolved the parent from any responsibility in the matter of the support and education of his offspring, a thing which in itself would pauperize any race or nation of people.[119]

In order for the Indians to regain some of that "independency" characteristic of the race of former years, the Government decided the Indians should enter the public schools with the whites.

Some questions were raised over the mixing of the two races in the schools. What would integration do for the Indians? Would the two races be agreeable in their associations? Could the Indian pupils keep up in their classes? Would the two races, after a number of years, intermarry?

Many officials of the public schools felt there would be no riots as the very nature of the Indian was to avoid quarrels. The Indians played fair (not overbearing or abusive) and resented unfairness

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[119] The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington, September 5, 1909.

or insults. The Indians would keep silent and leave if they were abused.

In art, penmanship, handicrafts, and industrial training, the Indian children would, as a general rule, far excel the white students; while in mathematics and languages, the white children would excel.[120]

Many people of both races felt that intermarriage would naturally occur. They also felt that it would be very strange and unnatural if there were not some intermarriages between the two races under such conditions.

A proposal was made to make the school the social center of a large community (hinterland). Entertainment was brought in to afford cultural recreation and relaxation from the drudgery of farm life for the rancher and his family and workmen.

The curriculum was similar to most Indian schools. The philosophy was geared more to meet the vocational needs rather than the academic. Most of the classroom work was to be "dove-tailed" into the work done in the industrial departments.

Agent Lipps saw in the experiment much to be learned by both the whites and the Indians. He commented that the Nez Perces were:

> . . . moral, law-abiding, almost intemperatedly religious, own large areas of the finest land to be found anywhere and we find few criminals, and there are no paupers

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[120] Observed in teaching Indian students of the Spokane Tribe in 1956-1959.

> among them. They are in no sense a burden on society and they possess many racial characteristics that are worth preserving, and it is our duty, as an enlightened and civilized people, to use our best endeavor to make good citizens of them. We can best do this by admitting their healthy children into our schools where they will move readily and learn our language, customs, and laws, and something of the industry and economy of the better class of their white neighbors.[121]

No Indian children who were not physically fit or clean were allowed in any white schools on the Reservation. At the Fort Lapwai school, the buildings were equipped with baths.

In the fall of 1909, 25 Indian children from Kamiah were enrolled at the school at Fort Lapwai. Indian boys and girls were entered in the higher grades as their work progressed satisfactorily. One Indian girl, who entered school three weeks after school opened, led the class in Latin. Teachers reported that the grades of the Indians were equal to those of the white children.

Five pianos were placed in the school and music courses were offered. Vocal music was taught in all the grades, while instrumental music was taught to older pupils at an extra cost. Even a football team was organized.[122]

The Indian Department issued an order for the sale of all Government beef stock and for a model dairy barn to be built. Twenty

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[121] Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington, Sept. 5, 1909.

[122] Ibid., October 13, 1909.

head of Jersey dairy cows were to be purchased for the Indian children to raise.

The Government also ordered the establishment of a poultry department with thoroughbred chickens to be raised by the children. A diet of pure milk and eggs was to be used for sick Indians at the model tuberculosis sanitarium.

The first enrollment figures, since the new plan, had risen to 250. As winter "set in," the attendance greatly exceeded the expectations of those who were instrumental in the organization.[123] The school was closely supervised by people from the Lewiston State Normal School of Lewiston, Idaho. Student teachers were not provided with palatial homes. They preferred to "rough it," as they said, in "canopy-covered houses." Forty-six student teachers from Lewiston State Normal worked in the school.[124]

One of the many diseases common to the Nez Perces was tuberculosis. As a precaution against tubercular infection, all school books used at the Government boarding school at Fort Lapwai were disinfected at frequent intervals under directions issued by Commissioner Francis Leupp. A few weeks later, instructions were issued to disinfect all band instruments.[125]

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[123] Ibid., November 17, 1909.

[124] Ibid., November 18, 1909.

[125] Ibid., November 30, 1909.

By December the enrollment reached 300, with the population 40 per cent Indian.[126]

The innovation proved so successful that the Indian Commissioner rewarded the Lapwai-Consolidated High School for white and Indian children by appropriating $8,000 to be used in improving the educational facilities at the institution. The Indian Department then took steps to provide the institution with the best equipment available. The appropriation was to be segregated for three distinct purposes: $3,000 for an electric power station; $3,000 for the construction and the equipment of a manual training and domestic science building; and $2,000 for new equipment for the laundry building.[127]

As a result of the successful year of mixing races, the Lapwai school was made the model school of the Indian educational services. If the results were similar the following year, the Indian Department was to encourage the organization of such schools wherever conditions were favorable.[128]

The Indian schools from 1910 to 1912 received very little appropriations from Congress.[129]

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[126] Ibid., December 7, 1909.

[127] Ibid., April 8, 1910.

[128] The Evening Chronicle, Spokane, Wash., August 20, 1910.

[129] The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington, September 4, 1912.

Roaring Twenties

During the summer of 1925, Charles H. Burke, new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, concluded a two-day visit to the Indian Agency at Lapwai. He recommended, after his inspection, that a new girls' dormitory be built at Lapwai, with the cost approximately $50,000.[130] Construction started in September under Ray Bradley, superintendent of construction, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Bradley had just left a three weeks' project where he supervised the conversion of the old Government fort (Fort Wingate, New Mexico) into a school for Indians.[131]

In 1926, Congress allocated $60,000 to Lapwai for the construction of a hospital and a boy's dormitory. Agency officials felt that with such an approval, the Government definitely had accepted Lapwai as one of the sites where a permanent school and a tuberculosis hospital would be developed.[132]

The girls' dormitory was finished, under Bradley's supervision, in 1926. The dormitory had accommodations for 80 girls, had wards for the more advanced tubercular cases, but was intended only for the curable patients.

Bradley started the boys' dormitory project, as well as the

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[130] Ibid., August 7, 1925.

[131] The Evening Chronicle, Spokane, Washington, Sept. 7, 1925.

[132] The Spokesman Review, Spokane, Washington, Feb. 5, 1926.

hospital building, and planned to finish the job before the year ended.[133]

General Concern

In 1928, a group headed by Lewis Meriam published a report entitled The Problem of Indian Administration that outlined conditions in the Indian Service. The Meriam Report, more than anything else for decades, led to sweeping reforms in the 1930's.

Agent O.H. Lipps (Superintendent at Chemawa School, Oregon) in 1928, while addressing the Commercial Club of Lewiston, Idaho, stated, "The Indians have shown progress, as much as could be reasonably expected under the circumstances, since it has been found cheaper to educate them than to exterminate them."[134]

After the Meriam Report was published in 1928, in compliance with a request of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a committee of citizens of Lewiston investigated the conditions at the Lapwai School. The matter was in the hands of O. C. Upchurch, agent at the Lapwai Agency. Dr. Henry L. Talkington of the Lewiston State Normal School, Mayor E. G. Braddock, and Bert F. Savage, the local newspaperman, were appointed to the committee.

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[133] Ibid., November 14, 1928.

[134] Ibid., February 9, 1929.

Some of the national criticism that arose was perpetuated by the King Committee of the United States Senate and the report of the Institute of Government Research on the conditions of the wards.

There had been no general criticism of the Lapwai School; but, because of the general charges, the Government decided to have investigations conducted at all of its Indian schools.[135]

The citizens' committee from Lewiston found there was no basis for any criticism of the Fort Lapwai Indian School or the sanitarium at Lapwai. The committee sent copies of its report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the United States Senate, and the Indian Conference Committee at Washington, D.C.[136, 137]

Johnson-O'Malley Funds

Since the 1930's, considerable interest had been shown in Indian education, with more emphasis on interest than action. Funds had not been made available. Indian education in Idaho for 35 years had been built around the following basis: Local taxation and funds from local sources was the principal method of financing the educational programs of Idaho's public schools. Local taxation funds were considered

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[135] Ibid., February 15, 1929.

[136] Ibid., February 15, 1929.

[137] The full text of the report was published in the Sunday paper (The Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Washington), following the report.

to be funds from the school district and funds from county taxation for school purposes. A local school district could levy up to thirty mills on its assessed valuation by board of trustee approval. A levy above 30 mills for maintenance and operation was permissible if approval by two-thirds vote of the real property owners was secured for each year the additional levy was made.

The second principal method of fund receipts by local districts was by the State Foundation Program. Twenty-two mills of the total school district levy was considered the local contribution to the State Foundation Program. A levy of up to eight mills in the county adjusted assessed valuation was the county contribution to the State Foundation Program of school districts of the county. The balance to complete the funds necessary for the State Foundation Program was to be paid by the State.

The balance of the funds received by a school district came from many sources. These sources are listed below. (All the fund sources listed were considered as local funds except those marked with an asterisk.)

1. Sale of Property
2. Fines and Forfeitures
3. Receipts from Insurance (claims and dividends)
4. Rent
5. Tuition*
6. Public Law 874 Funds*
7. Indian Education Funds*
8. Other Federal Funds*

a. Title VIII
b. Title V-A
c. Vocational Education
9. Forest Funds* (used for capital outlay)
10. Fees Received

State Foundation Program

The State support for the education of public school students was provided by a Foundation Program. The support was based on the following:

1. An A.D.A. (average daily attendance) adjusted by a sparsity factor.
2. State allowable cost per student
3. Allowable transportation cost
4. Handicapped unit A.D.A.

The sparsity factor adjustment was a set figure determined by the legislature. The figure varied in relation to the school district's A.D.A. and in relation to the distance between units within the school district. Secondary school attendance was also weighted.

The weighted handicapped unit A.D.A. was determined by the average daily attendance multiplied by three.

The State allowable cost per student was determined by the amounts of funds appropriated by the legislature for each year of the State Foundation Program. For the school year 1967-1968, the figure was $267.93.

The transportation allowance was determined by the allowable cost of the total school district transportation costs. Limitations of

costs were placed on driver salaries, contract buses, payment in lieu of transportation, and bus depreciation. From the total allowable costs was subtracted a one mill levy on the district's adjusted assessed valuation. Ninety per cent of the balance was added to the State and county share of the Foundation Program.

The 1969-1970 State Foundation Program was summarized as follows:

TOTAL A.D.A. ADJUSTED BY SPARSITY FACTOR

x

STATE AVERAGE COST PER STUDENT

+

TRANSPORTATION ALLOWANCE

+

HANDICAPPED UNIT ATTENDANCE

-

22 MILL LEVY IN ADJUSTED DISTRICT ASSESSED VALUATION

-

8 MILL LEVY ON ADJUSTED COUNTY ASSESSED VALUATION

balance was

STATE FUNDS

If State funds appropriated by the legislature were decreased by the State, the difference was made up by a levy on the county assessed valuation.

Assessed Valuation

The 1957 legislature recognized the inequality of assessed valuation among counties of Idaho State. Funds distributed from the State were distributed in relation to the ratio of the county assessed valuation to the average State assessed valuation. The effect of the regulation was to increase the county school tax in many school districts and decrease the tax in other districts.

Forest Funds

Because of the tremendous resource of timber in Northern Idaho, the receipt of forest funds and the use of these funds by school districts had been considered in the distribution of the Johnson-O'Malley funds. An explanation of the action of the 1957 Legislature was thought to be necessary. Forest funds received by school districts were placed in a separate account, according to State law. Those funds were only to be used for the purchase of school sites, minor remodeling, and classroom construction. Periodic accounting to the proper county officials was mandatory.

Capital outlay expenditures had not been considered in requests for Johnson-O'Malley funds. Neither had the capital outlay been considered as an expenditure of the school district in determining allotment of Johnson-O'Malley money. Therefore, Forest Funds, as they were being used by school districts, were not considered unless such

were used as a maintenance and operation expense.

Government Funds

The Superintendent of Public Instruction in Idaho contracted annually with the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide educational services to Indian students. The authority for negotiation came from the Federal Act of April 16, 1934 (Johnson-O'Malley). The administration of Johnson O'Malley funds was thus based on operational criteria outlined in Volume I, Part II, Chapter three, Bureau of Indian Affairs Manual and the Idaho State Plan.

The primary function of the Indian Education Program in Idaho was to assist the public school districts with categorical grants-in-aid to meet extraordinary needs that could not be financed by available revenue, to bring about a better understanding of Indian education in affected communities, to encourage new programs or approaches of learning that met the needs of the Indian students.

Funds distributed to Idaho were allocated to school districts that had a sizeable number of Indian pupils living on or near the Reservation. The distribution of funds was made according to the number of Indian youngsters enrolled, the financial ability of the district to provide adequate education, and the special needs of the Indian children.

In addition to providing district funds for instruction, transportation, and school lunch, money was provided for special programs, such as counseling, liaison personnel, summer kindergarten, library books, special needs of Indian pupils in extracurricular activities, remedial reading, workshops and in-service training for teachers of Indian students, and publications distributed to educators of Indian children. These were some of the ways Indian children benefited from the Johnson-O'Malley Program on the reservation in Idaho.

"Many services are provided that wouldn't be provided otherwise. There have been many positive results."[138]

Monies from the Johnson-O'Malley Program were provided in a program in the Pocatello School District to employ a special counselor to work specifically with the Indian children and the Indian parents to decrease the Indian dropout. Dropouts had decreased greatly after just one year under the program. In the second year, the results were again very encouraging, so much so that a similar program was instituted in the Blackfoot, Idaho area. Again, the dropout rate decreased. The counselors worked closely with the Indian Education Committee, the Indian parents, the students, and the Tribal Council at the various Reservation headquarters between the two school districts.

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[138] An interview with Max Snow, Director of Indian Education for the State of Idaho. Capital Building, Boise, Idaho, August 1969.

A supplement to those two programs was the addition of an Indian lady from the Reservation to work primarily with Indian girls and parents. Expectations were very high that such a program would be successful.

As monies became available, two additional counselors were hired to work with the school districts in Northern Idaho (Lapwai was included).

Another facet of the program bore fruit in the summer of 1969. The State Department of Education in Idaho sponsored two workshops during June and July, 1969, for teachers of Indian pupils (similar to the one used at the University of New Mexico). The first workshops were held June 23 to July 3 at the Lapwai High School on the Reservation, with the facilities provided by the Lapwai School District. Credit for the workshop was granted by the University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho. The selection of Lapwai was made at the request of the Tribal Council and the Indians living on the Reservation.

An enrollment of 50 teachers of Indian children participated in the program, each of whom taught in public schools located on or near the Nez Perce, Kootenai, and Coeur d'Alene Indian reservations. Several Indians were asked to audit the class and to serve as resource personnel. The Indians were not teachers--only parents of children attending school, members of the Tribal Council, or members of the Education Committee.

The second workshop was held on the campus of Idaho State University at Pocatello, Idaho, during July for the teachers in southern Idaho who had Indian youngsters in their classes.

Public Law 874

Another Federal program that affected the Reservation, to some extent, was a law passed by the 81st Congress in 1950 to aid school districts having Federal activities within their areas. The principal basis on which payments were made to local education agencies was the existence of Federal property, in or within a reasonable commuting distance of the school district, on which school children resided with their parents or on which their parents were employed. Most Indians were Federally connected because of Indian Trust Land or because of land held by individual Indians or tribes.

The Annual Report 1967-1968 for the State of Idaho in Indian Education stated that the enrollment of Indian children at Lapwai was equal to the preceding year, as was the attendance. There seemed to be less shifting of Indian families during the school year. The free meals to Indian students dropped somewhat (no explanation).

The Johnson-O'Malley Program provided $36,000 to the Lapwai School District to assist them in paying the cost of transportation and instruction. Funds were also provided in the amount of $5,200 to assist the School District in maintaining a school lunch program.

The Lapwai School graduated eight of the nine Indian students enrolled that year in grade twelve.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY

The role of the Federal Government and the missionary movement educating the Indians was probably summed up by the following statement made by a Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education:

> Perhaps the most descriptive and valid generalization concerning the history of Indian education is that the aims and efforts made to educate Indian people through the years have reflected the prevailing attitudes of the majority of non-Indian people toward the American Indian.[1]

Prior to 1870, most efforts to bring education to the Indians were made by religious groups. The BIA was set up in 1824 and was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior in 1849. During this 25-year interim, the Federal Government acted in a limited fashion. The national policy toward the Indians during this era was one of isolation and of suppressing uprisings, while the various religious denominations exerted efforts to Christianize the Nez Perce Indians and to teach them some vocational skills, farming, and basic reading and writing skills.

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[1] Senate Document, "Quality Education for American Indians, a Report on Organizational Location," 90th Congress, 1st Session, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 2.

If any year could be established as the real beginning of reservation life, it would be 1870. This was the beginning of the various policies by the Federal Government and the role playing of big "White Father," called paternalism. With the exception of the religious efforts, the role of Government in Indian education was growing after 1870 with similar goals to those of the preceding fifty years and with about the same amount of success. The new policy commitments of 1889 included the intention to "absorb Indians into our national life." Such a procedure was manifested in education through the practice of separating Indian young people from their home environment and shipping them off to boarding schools.

The Meriam Report, which pointed out many pitfalls in the structure of Indian life and education, was published during 1926-1928. After this report (1926-1928), much emphasis was placed on an improved system of schools and the decentralization of Indian affairs to the State and local agencies.

The decades following this report had seen a gradual assumption of responsibility for education of the Indians by the State of Idaho, aided by the provision of Federal funds. This trend had aroused much suspicion amongst the Indians that the Federal Government was gradually withdrawing its relationship to the Indians; and this fear continued to have a dominant influence on Indian reaction to changes in the extent, nature, and administration of Federal programs. Since 1960, the

Nez Perce Indians had been the beneficiaries of many new Federal programs that had come into being as a result of the increased national awareness of the problems of disadvantaged citizenry. Among the agencies administering such programs were the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Economic Development Administration, and the Housing Assistance Administration.

The big "push" on the BIA's educational program was to provide a high level of education that would prepare Indian youth for life in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This includes the teaching of communication skills, vocational training, and the giving of guidance and counseling for cultural adjustment. The Bureau is trying to attain a goal by the late 1970's, where most youths would graduate from high school and from there continue formal training in either a vocational and technical school or in a college or university.

The President of the United States in 1968 sent a message to Congress in which he called for a $500 million outlay in fiscal year 1969 for education, job training, economic development, and improved health services for the Indian minority. The message proposed a "new goal--a goal that ends the old debate about 'termination' of Indian programs and stresses self-determination; a goal that erases old attitudes of paternalism and promotes partnership self-help." It continued:

Our goal must be a standard of living for Indians equal to that of the country as a whole; freedom of choice--an opportunity to remain in their homeland, if they choose, without surrendering their dignity, and an opportunity to move to the towns and cities of America, if they choose, equipped with skills to live in equality and dignity; full participation in the life of modern America, with a full share of economic opportunity and social justice. . . .[2]

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[2] "Bureau of Indian Affairs: Annual Report," Indian Affairs 1968, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

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Box II: Histories of the House, contains the day by day accounts of the running of the mission and the names of the men who staffed it.

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