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Ethnocentrism And Off Reservation Indian Boarding Schools

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Ethnocentrism
And
Off Reservation Indian Boarding Schools

By:

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August 2014 Graduation

A thesis submitted to the Department of Education and Human Development of the State University of
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fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science in Education

Abstract

Ethnocentrism is a force to be reckoned with. The idea that one's culture is morally and intellectually superior to another is a concept that has followed expanding civilizations for ages. The saga of the United States is no different. A society in a stage of expansion may think from a place of grandeur, and apply their cultural values to conquered people. This research will focus on three categories that will illustrate a holistic mindset of ethnocentrism from the point of view of the expanding United States to the original inhabitants of the continent. First, an exploration of federal government Indian policy. Second, an investigation into the personal memoirs of Richard H. Pratt, the originator of the first off-reservation boarding school. Finally, and possibly most effective, the voices of the students, and their decedents, of off-reservation boarding schools will be interpreted. The research is applied to high school social studies classrooms through analysis of primary sources via collaborative learning.

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Historiography
Off Reservation Indian Boarding Schools

Ethnocentrism is a force to be reckoned with. The idea that one's culture is morally and intellectually superior to another is a concept that has followed expanding civilizations for ages. The saga of the United States is no different. A society in a stage of expansion may think from a place of grandeur, and apply their cultural values to conquered people. The only choice is death or assimilation. Death is the simpler solution, it has a finite goal, and it is quantifiable, and easily assessed, but what of the other choice, assimilation? How is culture, or race assimilated? In a detailed description of a four week trip west to report about life among the Sioux, Henry Pancoast illustrates these sentiments in his own words: "We must either butcher them or civilize them and what we do we must do quickly" (Adams, Education, 2) . What becomes of Pancoast's recommendation to "civilize them" is through the system of Off Reservation Boarding Schools (ORBS) or Indian Boarding schools. The first Indian boarding school was the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle Pennsylvania started in 1879 (Hoerig, Remembering, 642). Off Reservation Boarding Schools continued to be federally funded into the 20th century (Hoerig, Remembering, 642). The literature and discussion surrounding ORBS centers on similar themes of ethnocentrism, implementation of instruction, effectiveness of the schools, effect on the students, effect on the tribal system, and resistance.

A most influential book written by David Wallace Adams is Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience. Adams' book has three main areas of focus. First, an investigation into the creation of policy the reasons for the inclusion of education as a focal point in new Indian policy. The second area of focus is an analysis of the process of "civilizing" Indian children, and the third is an evaluation of how students responded to the off reservation boarding schools as well as what happened when they returned home. Adams' organization of these three subjects makes for a very informative text on the subject of Indian

boarding schools. Great pains are taken by the author to present the information in a lens that displays the ethnocentrism of the times. He chooses to use words like “savages”, “Indians” and “civilized” to illustrate this to the reader. This tactic is effective in harnessing the accepted view of Native Americans of the time.

The first three chapters shape Adam’s first focus of investigating the creation of policy. When reading the first chapter, emotions of discomfort and anger start to bubble up as offensive applications of the words “savages”, “Indians” and “civilized” are used. An understanding of Thomas Jefferson, paraphrased by Adams’, was that “Indians having land in abundance, needed civilization; whites possessed civilization but needed land” (Adams, Education, 6). This idea of a convenient trade, land for culture, is just one example of the ethnocentrism that surrounds the issue of Indian Boarding Schools. Also in the first chapter Adams analyzes the painting “American Progress” by John Gast. It pictures the goddess Columbia moving westward across the U.S. pushing the Native Americans west and leaving in her wake western civilization. Adams interprets the book in the goddesses hand to symbolize education, and that this is what reformers saw as an opportunity to present to the fleeing Native Americans in order for them to survive (Adams, Education,8).

In the second chapter, Adams easily traces the lineage of the off reservation boarding school starting with a discussion of the failures of the “day school”. The “day schools” were on-reservation schools in which students attended during the day then returned home each evening. The hope was that in educating Indian children on the reservations they could then go back and pass on the white cultural values to adults in the tribe. The close geographic location to the tribe was found to neutralize the intention of the day schools (Adams, Education, 31). Policy makers needed to devise a way to create distance between the Indian children and tribal influence; here

the idea for boarding schools was conceived. The first boarding schools were on reservations but again the same issue resulted of too much tribal interference. Adams introduces Lt. Richard Henry Pratt, who would become the founder of the first Off Reservation Boarding School. Pratt's idea for the Off Reservation Boarding School comes from a prison transport of Indians from the frontier to a military prison in St. Augustine Florida in May of 1875 (Adams, Education, 38-39). Pratt, acting independent of his orders, decided to turn the prison into a school to civilize his captives. Pratt begins the process of "civilizing" the Native Americans by cutting their hair, providing surplus military uniforms, teaching English, and introducing the captives to the surrounding white community, Pratt then devised a way to create private property, which is an integral part of white society (Adams, Education, 41). The Native Americans made jewelry and artwork that was sold, and the money was kept in individual savings accounts for each captive. What I find interesting is that Pratt uses traditional Native American artwork and jewelry to begin the transformation from tribal mentality to that of an individual. Operating with their native skill sets, the Native Americans were able to begin to transform into white culture. Adams doesn't make this distinction but it is one worth noting. This process that Pratt developed in St. Augustine served as his model for the off reservation boarding school of Carlisle Indian School that opened in 1879 utilizing staff and prisoners from his first experiment. At this point, it is interesting to see that Adams is not adding much additional interpretation of Pratt's actions. Instead he allows the actions to speak for themselves as being, again, ethnocentric. Pratt is an interesting character. From reading this section of Adams book it seems that he is being portrayed as incredibly self-motivated and has a true belief that his mission of civilizing Native Americans is honest and good.

The third chapter of the book is dedicated to the sculpting of the system of education for the Indian Schools. Adams inquires about how these schools would be organized. The ideal plan constructed by Thomas J. Morgan (commissioner of Indian affairs 1889-1893) was to have the on-reservation schools teach primary school, and the Off Reservation Boarding Schools to teach grammar school and eventually high school (Adams, Education, 62). This never did occur, most reservation boarding schools only educated up to the eighth or ninth grade and not in the systematic fashion Morgan had envisioned (Adams, Education, 63). It is strange that since so much expectation was being placed on the education of Native Americans that there was no formal systematic order created. This is not elaborated upon by Adams but in my opinion it could be attributed to the wide spread corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With a system that was well regulated and organized, plans intended to undermine the education process would be more difficult whether this be through embezzlement or intentional harm to the advancement of Native Americans.

On March 3, 1891, compulsory education for Native American students was legalized (Adams, Education, 63). This would ensure the “Indians surest path out of savagery” (Adams, Education, 63). This was enforced through withholding of food rations from Native American families who refused to allow their children to attend school (Adams, Education, 63). Adams does not elaborate on the effectiveness that this threat had on the willingness of Native Americans to send their children away to Off Reservation Boarding Schools. It would seem beneficial for the Native Americans to see whites in a more positive light, especially if the same whites were advocating for the removal of the Native Americans children from tribal life for, possibly, years at a time. Could the threat of loss of rations really provoke a more willing response? If the Bureau of Indian Affairs was willing to starve families on reservations, what

would boarding schools do to Native American children once removed from their parent's protection? These questions are not raised by Adams. One point Adams does make is that Indian Agents needed to have the full permission of parents to take their children to Off Reservation Boarding Schools (Adams, Education, 65).

Later in the third chapter, Adams analyzes the teachers that made up the front lines of the Off Reservation Boarding School effort. Adams poses multiple questions about his group including: What was the makeup of this group? Where did they come from? Why did they want this job? Why did they keep or leave the job? (Adams, Education, 82). Adams says that most teachers were female, in their late twenties from the Midwest and western territories. Possibly most importantly teachers, were appointed after taking the civil service exam, and this distinction is made so as to show that the schools were trying to avoid nepotism (Adams, Education, 82). Female teachers, Adams suspects, took this job to fulfill their perceived societal responsibility to spread Christianity and domesticity through the frontier or as Adams puts it; "lift Indian children out of savagery, to save a race from extinction" (Adams, Education, 84). Adams made another analysis as to the character of women who accepted positions as teachers at Off Reservation Boarding Schools. He paints the picture of a woman who wanted to rebel against the common conceptions of the place women at this time, in America, were expected to occupy. This is the case of Estella Brown, an Off Reservation Boarding School teacher; "I early came to resent the hamlet's smug assumptions that women were not really members of the human race but merely appendages to it, to be waged by men. I wanted to do my own wagging... I wanted a purse of my own." These are not the words of a woman who is looking to embody the expectation of domesticity. She sounds quite radical and wants to control her own destiny. It would seem that

this is the real identity of the American spirit, the very culture that Pratt and others were trying to impose, individualistic mentality driven toward success.

This section of the book concludes with Adams reflecting on the bureaucracy that had been created to support the Indian school system. He comments that though it was “not perfect in all respects, it was surely capable of civilizing the savages” (Adams, Education, 94). Again, savage is being used to keep the reader in the realm of ethnocentrism. Adams did a thorough and diligent job explaining the rationale that went into creating this system that would exist for another hundred years. One conversation that was lacking in this book, was the impact of the poor relationships between whites and Native Americans and how that contributed to ORBS enrolment. Adams, however, is systematic in setting the stage for the second phase of the book which discusses the process of assimilation.

Policy makers called it a civilization process, Adams refers to this as “the assault on cultural identity” (Adams, Education, 100). Whatever the title for the action was it was a two prong mission discussed in Chapter Four. First to eliminate all outward identifiable evidence of tribal life, second the culture and values of white American society had to be injected into the student. This would occur simultaneously “As the savage’s selves gave way, so the civilized selves would emerge” (Adams, Education, 101). The first step in removing tribal influences was to cut the Native Americans’ hair. The long hair was a symbol for savagism which had to be removed in order to make way for their new identities. The second change that occurred was the uniform of the students. All native clothing was discarded in exchange for suits for the boys and dresses for the girls and for each a nicer set of cloths for church (Adams, Education, 103). Next was the loss of the name. Attempts were made to change the names of Native Americans in ways that allowed them to keep some of their tribal identity but in most cases name were too

difficult for whites to pronounce. Adams quotes one Indian Official as saying that “whites would be at a disadvantage in trying to be either affectionate or disciplinary with an eight syllable girl like Sahgah-ge-way-gah-bow-e-quay” (Adams, Education, 108). The logic of the Indian Official is a message of intolerance. Here is a group of children completely being removed from everything they know and experiencing feelings of fear, confusion and anxiety and he is worried about the difficulty of pronouncing a name. This may also lend to the notion that “civilizing” Native Americans may not have been done for their benefit but for the sole comfort of the whites. The renaming of Native Americans served another necessary purpose of Americanizing. It was needed for Native Americans to have surnames in order to hold personal property (Adams, Education, 108). Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morgan said “When Indians become citizens of the United States under the allotment act the inheritance of property will be governed by the laws of the respective states, and it will cause needless confusion and, doubtless, considerable ultimate loss to the Indians if no attempt is made to have the different members of a family known by the same family name on the records and by general reputation” (Adams, Education, 108). Beyond the use of renaming as part of the indoctrination process Adams says that renaming could have dealt a critical blow to the Indian identity. He elaborates on this idea by using the work of George A. Pettit in his study called Primitive Education in North America, saying that a name was more than an identifier but it pronounced the position in life a person was in, it also provided for incentive to move on to adulthood or reward for distinctive actions (Adams, Education, 111). Names provide identification and reflection upon personal or family past. To remove that from someone can cause a loss of identity that is not easily replaced, certainly not by a casually applied Christian name to simply make pronunciation and land ownership possible.

An interesting argument that Adams makes as he describes the process of civilization is the contrast between the basic views of the world through the eyes of the Native American versus whites. Native Americans saw the world and themselves as interacting with the “sacred hoop”, many parts of Native Americans lives were in the form of a hoop; sky, sun, moon, tepee (Adams, Education, 113). The opposite is true for white culture, everything in square; dormitories, classrooms, desks, beds. Black Elk, a Sioux, commented “...we are vanishing in this box” (Adams, Education, 113). In the eyes of whites this was normal and part of the assimilation process but to the Natives Americans it must have been as dramatic as trying to maneuver in zero gravity.

Adams continues on to discuss the food situation in broad terms. Indian policy said that “good and healthful provisions must be provided in abundance and it must be well cooked and properly placed on the table” (Adams, Education, 114), this was not always the case and in multiple situations it was the exception not the rule. This statement is an instruction as well as a lesson, students were fed in this way but this also meant that they had to be able to prepare food and eat it in acceptable ways. Think about a child eating new foods for the first time; are they excited and eager to take the risk? Or, apprehensive and reluctant? Complaints of children going hungry were common but one cause of this in this writer’s mind is that it could be because students didn’t like the culturally different foods that were being forced upon them. However, Adams supports the food shortage idea with evidence from Pratt’s Carlisle School, where Pratt has his school placed on military food rations because the rations he received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs was inadequate (Adams, Education, 115).

Enforcing the imposed assimilation was a question as well. Would school officials be allowed to utilize corporal punishment? Policy said “no” and also outlawed “abusive language,

ridicule... and other forms of degrading measures” (Adams, Education, 122). Policy didn’t reflect action, there were multiple accounts of corporal punishment and degrading activities. These included beatings with belts, whips and yard sticks to boys marching in girls’ clothing, and girls forced to cut the grass of the institution with a pair of scissors (Adams, Education, 123). When reports of these activities surfaced the Indian Affairs office did investigate and in some cases removed the superintendent of that school. Pratt, at the Carlisle school, had a particularly interesting way of dealing with behavior issues. He would hold a peer court where older more “civilized” students would judge the offender and hand down punishment (Adams, Education, 124). This proved effective, it also kept the administration from looking like the disciplinarian because the students themselves were applying punishment. Compliance with rules and lessons of white culture were assured with these techniques, at least on the surface. Resistance was constant and came from students at the Off Reservation Boarding Schools as well as the parents back on the reservations, this is part of Adams’s third and final section of the book.

Resistance was common at every turn as can be imagined. Resistance came from both students and parents in a multitude of ways. Parents both actively and passively resisted the off reservation boarding schools. One tactic used by parents was to hide their children during recruitment times. Parents would send their children away into hiding so not to be discovered by the Indian Affairs agents (Adams, Education, 211). If the agents were forcibly taking students and the tribe had to give children to the agents then they would give children who were less smart, disabled, or orphaned (Adams, Education, 211). Parents would also influence mass withdraws of students from schools or instigate runaways as well as undermine education during vacations and visits back to the reservation (Adams, Education, 212). The need for parents to keep their family unit together was a powerful force for the boarding schools to battle.

Resistance equaled negative results and fewer recruits. Students also operated independently of their parents in their resistance techniques. Adams begins this discussion by discussing the purpose for resistance he states three, first resentment for the institution for separating them from their family and tribe. Second, was politically because students realized the true purpose of the schools was to remove their tribal identity. Third was what anthropologists call “acculturation stress” (Adams, Education, 223) this is when a person is asked to adjust to a new culture that is equally complex as their native culture, this can affect the inability to adhere to either culture (Adams, Education, 223). The most common form of resistance was running away in most cases the escapees were caught, but runaways were a problem at all ages of the education process (Adams, Education, 225).

Finally the remaining subject that warrants discussion and is a common theme in other books and articles is the event of graduation and returning home to the reservation. One commencement speech from the Carlisle School sounded like this spoken by Rev. J.A. Lippencott “The Indian is DEAD in you, let all that is Indian within you die!...You cannot become truly American citizens, industrious, intelligent, cultured, civilized until the Indian within you is DEAD” Pratt solidified this opinion with “I never fired a bigger shot and never hit the bull’s eye more center” (Adams, Education, 274). Unfortunately there is no message of acceptance into American culture. Students spent years of their life being pushed into the conformity of white culture without ever being welcomed into it, only told that their native identity had to die. Most had already sacrificed this when they attended the boarding school. The biggest question facing the Off Reservation Boarding School system was how the civilizing process would hold up to the temptation to return to tribal culture. The return of students to the reservation was as individual as was each experience at the boarding school. Some were rejected

by their families (Adams, Education, 275), most were affectionate but disappointed by either their child's appearance or the child's new view of their family (Adams, Education, 277). Some tried to teach lessons they learned at boarding schools to their tribe but this was slow progress. Most often the sensation of the returning students was the feeling of being lost between worlds. A sense of failure implementing what they learned at boarding school and loss of acceptance from their tribe (Adams, Education, 280). Adams supports this with congressional reports and Indian Affairs reports.

Adams concludes that the of reservation boarding schools failed in their attempt to actualize the beliefs of reformer. That is to make Native Americans acceptable members of white society. However he does say that boarding schools were responsible for creating a Pan-Indian identity (Adams, Education, 336). How interesting it is that while trying to replace one culture with another a third unintended identity emerged. Adams' book is tremendous in scope and fully comprehensive of the entire boarding school experience from conception to impact. His analysis of each step is intimidating to interpret. However, his messages are clear that boarding schools were ethnocentric institutions bent on destroying the Native American identity.

The Art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School by Hayes Peter Mauro is another interesting book. It discusses multiple topics, two that are relevant are Off Reservation Boarding School's practice of before and after photography to illustrate the work accomplished, as well as perspective into racial understandings in late 19th century America mainly employing the understandings of phrenology and polygenesis. Mauro understands the mission of the Carlisle Indian off reservation boarding school as taking Native American children and transforming their savagery into civilized American citizens (Mauro, Art, 2). This is the same understanding that Adams applied to the entire off reservation boarding school system. The

American citizen is defined at the time as Christian, competing, hygienic and mentally disciplined (Mauro, Art, 2) so this is the standard that Native Americans had to aspire to. First the Native American had to be shown to be savage and this was proven through phrenology. The book does not discuss the process of the transformation to the civilized white culture but does illustrate its results through the use of photography.

Samuel Morton, a respected doctor and craniologist “proves” savagery using phrenology. Morton is also a contributor to the theory of polygenesis, or the theory that each race has independent origins. He uses phrenology to distinguish between races and the abilities of each, used polygenesis to theorize the independent origin of Native Americans and that they will never catch up to white culture without help (Mauro, Art, 27). Through his study of skulls Morton and fellow phrenologist George Comb claim that Ethiopians and Native Americans “had the lowest cultural attainment” compared with Caucasians, Mongolians, and Malay (Mauro, Art, 30). Both of the claims had far reaching impacts in how Americans perceived Native Americans (Mauro, Art, 30).

Richard Pratt’s (founder of Carlisle Indian School) personal beliefs were that Native Americans lacked “viable history and culture and past compared to whites” (Mauro, Art, 37). Between Pratt’s opinion and the claims of Morton and Comb one can see why Pratt become convinced in his idea for the off reservation boarding school. These ideas must have held some bearing on his decision to try and “civilize” the captives in St. Augustine Florida discussed in Adam’s book. Pratt’s beliefs were against the reservation system and genocide (Mauro, Art, 38) this left only education as a vehicle for change.

Pratt believed in savagery and he believed that savagery could be tamed. He needed to have a way to show this to the wider public. Pratt looked to photography as a tool to show the

transformations he actuated. The Carlisle Indian School employed a local photographer Nicholas Choate from the town of Carlisle, he become the official school photographer from 1879-1902 (Mauro, Art, 56). Due to Choate's photography Pratt was able to increase federal funding for all Off Reservation Boarding Schools from seventy-five thousand dollars in 1880 to three million dollars in 1900 (Mauro, Art, 56). A huge part of the expansion and perceived short term success of the schools can be credited to Choate. Choate's photos of Native Americans in traditional dress opposite a civilized version of the same person in a suit or dress are captivating. Surly others at the time would see this picture and think that miracles were being performed. The most popular images were of Tom Torlino and White Buffalo. Both men's before and after images were used for recruitment and proof that Pratt's methods were working and deserved wider use (Mauro, Art, 56).

Mauro concludes with some very interesting thoughts. First the action and symbolism of the photograph itself is an exercise in power, just taking a picture of these men displayed dominance of once culture over another (Mauro, Art, 134). Pratt effectively used the images as propaganda to convince white society of his supposed success. Also, in the big picture, Pratt did not succeed in transforming Native Americans he succeeded in making it look like he did (Mauro, Art, 136). Another conclusion that Mauro comes to is the paradox of exploitation of Indian culture. As Pratt was trying to assimilate and end Native American culture society began exploiting the culture for political and economic gain giving Native American culture a romantic nostalgia (Mauro, Art, 137). Mauro's final thought is a comment on the purpose of America's future as a nation builder, and he questions how long the U.S. will be able to support the efforts to lift up other groups before it starts to destroy the U.S.

Mauro speaks from a much more opinionated place than Adams does in his work. However Mauro's work is much more focused on specific pieces of the Off Reservation Boarding School experience. His applications of phrenology and polygenesis are unique analysis of the time period and lends context to the question of why the Off Reservation Boarding Schools were employed.

In They Called it Prairie Light Lomawaima views the experiences of sixty previous students of the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School one of them being her father. The book focuses on the individual voices of these sixty students and is structured in a semi interview fashion. This makes the book readable and personal. The book is full of firsthand accounts that corroborate the information presented in Education for Extinction by Adams.

The opening chapter is a summary of the history of off reservation boarding schools in the U.S. It also focuses on Chilocco's efforts to be a successful trade school that would help students to be profitable once they left Chilocco (Lomawaima, Prairie, 18). Lomawaima keeps her focus centered on the personal experiences of the sixty interviewees in order to illustrate a richer experience for the reader. Adams and Mauro both included primary sources in the form of letters and official reports but they do not convey emotion and reflection as do those that Lomawaima interviews. Those interviewed for this story are almost all happy with the time they spent in Chilocco but one can see that their upbringing in an institution and not a home has created some emotional blocks to negative feelings for example Edgar a Creek student who attended in 1929 said "the school was certainly a great thing for me...we may have lost out on some [things]...I went to sleep at night crying, for various reasons, busted nose or lips...just so many things, you didn't have anybody to tuck you in bed, or whatever all that was" (Lomawaima, Prairie, 166). He reflects positively but gives negative details including evidence

that shows he may not have an understanding of ways to show affection or love via his comment about being tucked in. It would have been interesting had the interviews continued and discusses the effect of the school on the student's later life. Were they able to have healthy relationships with others? Did they have children? How do their children feel about their own upbringing and does their parents experiences at Chilocco affect their life? I think to get a full picture of Chilocco these questions should have been raised.

Published in *American Anthropologist* the article titled *Remembering Our Indian School Days: The Boarding School Experience* take the reader through a tour of a museum exhibit at the Mountain Apache Cultural Center and Museum demonstrating the purposes, impact, and experiences of off reservation boarding schools. The article begins with a very brief summary of the history of boarding school quoting Richard Pratt "A great general had said that the only good Indian is a dead one.... I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill in Indian in him and save the man" (Hoerig, *Remembering*, 643). The tour continues describing what the museum goer will experience as they proceed through the exhibit. Just like an entering student the first experience in assimilation is the outward appearance and for this reason the barber chair is the first exhibit. Hoerig review of the exhibit is focused in the negative until a discussion of an exhibit on the art program at Carlisle. Two art teachers at Carlisle are credited with creating awareness and inspiring future native artists, Angel de Cora and Dorothy Dunn (Hoerig, *Remembering*, 644). Hoerig reflects on the importance of the exhibits value to the families of attendees of boarding schools. He comments how a fellow museum goer could have looked up pictures of their family members in the yearbooks that accompanied the exhibit (Hoerig, *Remembering*, 645). This interaction between exhibit and viewer is special in making the events become tangible and valuable. Hoerig criticizes that lack

of attention paid to the government policy which created the Off Reservation Boarding Schools as well as how the schools created a Pan-Indian identity. The museum exhibit would be valuable to see and to gain perspectives into the actual experience of students who attended the off reservation boarding school.

Histories and Memories of the Indian Boarding Schools in Mexico, Canada, and the United States by: A.S. Dawson is a comparative analysis of boarding schools in the Mexico, Canada and the U.S. Dawson launches interesting reasons for the differences between the three systems. The Arrangement of boarding schools in these three countries are very different. Positive experiences in Mexico result from a weaker central government. Negative experiences in the United States and Canada because tactics for assimilation are based in ethnocide.

Canadian boarding schools were subcontracted to Catholic and Protestant missionaries (Dawson, *Histories*, 82). U.S. schools were not operated by Christian groups but those employed by the school were almost exclusively Christian (Dawson, *Histories*, 84). Dawson goes on to explain the same purpose for the U.S. and Canadian Schools as has been describe multiple time in previous sources and blatantly establishes that both forms of schools failed. Problems that contributed to this were shortages in supplies, food, medical treatment, and overcrowding (Dawson, *Histories*, 82).

Mexico opened its version of Indian Boarding Schools in 1926 in the country's largest city (Dawson does not say which city this is) it was known as the Casa del Estudiante Indigena (Dawson, *History*, 83). From the start the boarding school system in Mexico was conceived in a completely different light. Casa was not based on the idea that indigenous Mexican were culturally or racially inferior but part of the national culture. Dawson says the reasoning for this is because the "vast majority of Mexicans had indigenous ancestry and as many as 30 percent

lived in indigenous communities” (Dawson, History, 83). Indigenous culture was incorporated into the assimilation process and this created cultural pluralism similar to the policies John Collier of the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1933-1945) tried to enact in the U.S. Collier attempted to safeguard Native American culture, religion and politics (Dawson, history, 84) in an effort to enact change from the Meriam Report (a report shining light on the shortcomings of the American off reservation boarding school system).

Dawson continued his analysis by discussing the impact the Canadian system of boarding schools had on its students. Canada’s mission, for what they called residential schools, was the opposite of Mexico’s. Canada illustrated aboriginal culture as racially and culturally inferior and one that must be eliminated. Once the boarding schools closed in the 1980’s students started to come forward and speak out about the abuse they sustained at the hand of the Catholic and Protestant run schools. Abuses like dishonest recruitment as described in the film Where the Spirit Lives where Indigenous Canadians are practically kidnapped and taken to boarding schools (Dawson, History, 88). Students also reported cases of sexual abuse and in a report published by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Affairs in 1996 “Canadians could make a seamless connection between residential schools and sexual abuse” (Dawson, History, 88). These abuses, needless to say, have cast a terrible legacy on the school system and have caused detrimental outcomes to students. These include high rates of alcoholism, suicide, sexual abuse, loss of language and culture, low self-esteem and pride, the breakdown of families, the loss of parenting skills, dependency on others, and loss of initiative (Dawson, History, 89). The Canadian government made an effort to right the abusive wrongs of its residential school legacy by offering conciliatory payments to living survivors of abuse, estimates predicted that there were 86,000 people who would qualify for these payments that exceeded \$5 billion (Dawson,

History, 92). With negative experiences came negative results, Canadian residential schools didn't not create positive change (Dawson, History, 91).

In Dawson's closing arguments he comments that the relative success of the Mexican boarding schools was due to a weaker central government and a larger population of indigenous people. This made it possible to create a unity between European and indigenous cultures. Dawson also credits boarding schools throughout the continent as creating a Pan-Indian Identity, however, each location is due to different incidences. For Canada it is the abuse of the residential schools and in the U.S. the prolonged mistreatment of Native Americans (Dawson, Histories, 96). Dawson's article is unique because of its comparative properties. Scholarly work has been conducted on the boarding schools of Canada and the U.S. but little is attempted on Mexico. Mexico's approach to its indigenous population was more accepting and did not base itself in ethnocentrism and did The U.S. and Canadian programs. Dawson extends his argument to include the impact of Indian boarding schools after students had left, listing the multiple problems each faced with identity and substance abuse, a topic missing from They Called it Prairie Light.

Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder's book American Indian Education: A History is a comprehensive history of Indian education in America; it does not have a single focus on the off reservation boarding schools. Because of this distinction the book gives more freedom to include information about the process of education not just the experience of the boarding school. A great portion of the book is spent discussing the same origins of the boarding school that are described in other works like Adam's Education Extinction. Reyhner and Eder make a clear point in the introduction that this book will discuss the advantages of an "English Plus" "education which accommodates the free flow of cultural exchange between teacher and student

(Reyhner, American, 13). Also in the introduction there is a connection between to the measurements of abilities of Native American students and other current minority students as being low because schools are presenting information in a biases and Eurocentric way (Reyhner, American, 9).

The evolution of Indian education is investigated in this book in chronological order from colonial mission school through the twenty-first century. Due to the books purpose of describing how an “English Plus” education is more effective most of the book seems to be opinionated and attempting to convince the reader of the negativity of the Native American education process before all the evidence has been presented. Reyhner does do well describing the fluctuating opinions of Native American autonomy over their education in chapters four through ten which discuss the change from reservation to allotment and dependency to self-determination. The book is valuable on the subject for this purpose however it fails to evoke the emotional connection to the issues that Lomawaima in They Called it Prairie Light does so well. The book is somewhat sterile in this way but is very clear and effective in proving its thesis.

Sources dealing with Indian Off Reservation Boarding Schools deal with similar issues of ethnocentrism, ethnocide and euro centrism. The sources included here have unique ways of presenting supporting evidence. The deeply person approach of Lamowaima is effective in putting a face on the off reservation boarding school experience while Adams deeply analyzes the entire system of the boarding school. Hoerig walks the museum goers through an exhibit that envelops the learner in the experiences of the boarding school student and conveys emotion effectively. Dawson’s comparison of the boarding schools of Mexico, Canada and the U.S. is fascinating as all three countries created different system that resulted in multiple outcomes. Other sources exist on this topic but these represent the consistent message that the U.S. Off

Reservation Boarding School system was created to strip the Native American of his culture and identity, but resulted in a Pan-Indian Identity that has nurtured a new interest in keeping Native American culture alive.

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Ethnocentrism
&
Off Reservation Indian Boarding Schools

Introduction:

Ethnocentrism; the belief that one's ethnicity and culture is superior to others. This perception is what pushed the native tribes of the United States continually west, eventually onto reservations. Once on the reservations it was necessary, by the federal government, to assimilate the savages and civilize them. In a final blow to the future of these cultures, children were removed from their homes and placed in on-reservation boarding and day schools then eventually to off-reservation boarding schools. The purpose of this was to enforce the notion of ethnocentrism and commit cultural genocide. The cultures of the diverse tribes of the United States were to be dismantled, banned and replaced with that of white America. The purpose of this research is to trace the multiple ways ethnocentric ideology was used to achieve the goal of destroying Native American culture in an effort to "civilize the savage". A note to the reader; throughout this research terms such as "Indian", "Civilize", "Savage" are used to demonstrate the ethnocentrism in America during the time period under investigation.

This research will focus on three categories that will illustrate a holistic mindset of ethnocentrism from the point of view of the expanding United States to the original inhabitants of the continent. First, an exploration of federal government Indian policy. Indian policy is defined as "a course of Action pursued by any government and adopted as expedient [best interest of the government] by that government in its relations with any of the Indians of the Americas" (Tyler, History, 2). Second, an investigation into the personal memoirs of Richard H. Pratt, the originator of the first off-reservation boarding school (The Carlisle Indian School located in Carlisle Pennsylvania), and the culture that surrounded Pratt and the Carlisle Indian School. Finally, and possibly most effective, the voices of the students, and their decedents, of

off-reservation boarding schools will be interpreted. There can be no better gauge of the use of ethnocentric ideas than on those who endured the schools and the effect of these institutions.

Chapter1: Ethnocentric Indian Policy

The federal government has been creating and implementing Indian policy since “1789 and can be traced through in recognizable form to the present” (Tyler, History, 1). Indian policy has been the hammer shaping a once vibrant cultural network into fragmented, isolated reservations where being Indian made some residents feel shame. Since 1789 there is evidence exemplifying the ethnocentrism of Indian policy showing its one sided intentions and belittling of Native American culture.

One early policy displaying ethnocentrism is the Act of March 3, 1819. This act established what came to be known as the Indian Civilization Fund. The act “provided \$10,000 per year to promote cultural assimilation among the nation's Indians” (Frank, American, 1). The Act reads as follows:

The president may in every case where he shall judge the improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable , and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct in the discharge of their duties. A report of the proceedings adopted in the execution of this provision shall be annually laid before congress (Rev. Stat.-March, 3 1819, 3 Stat. L., 516) (Schmeckebier, Office, 480).

This Law is ripe with ethnocentric innuendoes. Primarily the personal liberties of Indians are being replaced with dictatorial actions of the President. The law says the President can

“judge improvements in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable...to employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and to teach their children...” This law is setting the precedent that the Federal Government would be the judge of Indian character and evaluate who would be allowed to engage in agriculture. However, the law does say “...with their own consent...” making the concession that the Indian under direction would have a choice, but this remains something to be proven. By the Federal Government assuming judgment and placing Indians in assigned roles in agriculture illustrates the opinion that American culture is superior to Indian. It also creates a caregiver role for the United States, making Indians firmly dependent and powerless.

The Indian Civilization fund came years before the first off-reservation boarding school which was established in 1879. However, this law placed power in the hands of those that could use the selection of those who had “good moral character” to be subjective to personal opinion thus impacting the rest of a student’s life. By 1906 off-reservation boarding schools had been in operation for twenty seven years, in this year a law concerning Indian reform schools was passed, here is the law in its entirety:

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby authorized and directed to select and design some one of the schools or other institution herein specifically provided for as an “Indian Reform School,” and to make all needful rules and regulations for its conduct, and the placing of Indian youth therein: Provide, that the appropriation for collection and transportation, and so forth of pupils, and the specific appropriation for such school so selected shall be available for its support and maintenance: Provide further, that the consent of parents, guardians, or next of kin shall not be required to place Indian youth in said school. (June 21, 1906, 34 Stat. L., 328) (Schmeckebier, Office, 481).

This law is clearly stating that the Commissioner of Indian affairs can create “Indian Reform Schools” (aka off reservation boarding schools), control them how he wishes and can collect students for these schools without having the permission of that child’s guardian. The Federal Government was exercising ethnocentric ideology when the law was passed. The law legalizes kidnapping and cultural genocide. The law exemplifies that it was a benefit to assimilate Indian children to American culture even if the process was traumatic for the student. To take this a step further, how could the Federal Government hope to improve relations with Indian nations if it operated under a law which allowed the removal of children without consent? The law was passed to introduce students to a “superior civilization” but this action to gain students is deplorable and does not help to improve relations between the United States and the many Indian Nations. This piece of legislation is an example of the one sided tactics used to try and achieve Indian assimilation to American culture.

The final law that will be discussed which expresses U.S. Government ethnocentrism is the Dawes Act passed in 1887. The Dawes Act attempted to make individual land owners and farmers of Indians. This legislation attempted to assign land to Indians without regard to tribe or any sort of heritage (Tyler, History, 95). The law would allow Indians to become citizens of the U.S. and in trade end his tribal affiliations. There are multiple reasons for this legislation being implemented they include a need, by the U.S. government to replace tribal life with white civilization (Tyler, History, 96), protect Indians from further land loss by more predatory business groups (Tyler, History, 96), to break up tribal groups due to the perception that white individualism lead to progress (Tyler, History, 96), the act seemed to expedite Indian assimilation (Tyler, History, 96-97). All of these reasons draw from and emphasize the idea that American culture is “superior” to tribal society.

Legislation regarding Native Americans is resoundingly one sided. The purposes of these laws are designed to favor the U.S. These three examples encompass nearly seven decades and demonstrate the degree to which the U.S. attempted to assimilate Indians through the lens of ethnocentrism. The Act of March 3, 1819 allowed the President to have total control over the future of Indians by applying the needs and wants of the U.S. to Indian society. Combine this law with the legislation of 1906, allowing superintendents to remove Indian children from their families on reservations and move them to boarding schools without consent completely robbed the Indian of any sense of self determination. Even a law like the Dawes Act which, in part, was marketed as a plan to help Indians have liberties similar to citizens of the U.S. was really a ruse to assimilate at the cost of Indian culture.

Chapter 2: Ethnocentric Society & its Effect on Capt. Richard Henry Pratt & Carlisle

A great general has once said that the only good Indian is a dead one, in a sense I agree with the statement, but only in this: That all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian, save the man.” -Capt. Richard Henry Pratt, 1892 (Givens, Indian, 00:15).

The first Indian boarding school was the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle Pennsylvania started in 1879 (Hoerig, Remembering, 642). Richard Henry Pratt established the Carlisle Indian School, and his personal beliefs were that Native Americans lacked “viable history and culture and past compared to whites” (Mauro, Art, 37). The psyche of Pratt could not have been achieved without evidence from other schools of thought. One system of ideology that was acceptable during the nineteenth century was phrenology. In Head Masters, written by Stephen Tomlinson, an argument is made that phrenology played a major role in the idea that children of varying racial and socioeconomic groups need to be “normalized” through a system of public education (Mauro, Art, 93). By analyzing the memoirs of Pratt, investigating some thoughts and principles of phrenology and analysis of eye witness accounts from traveler Henry Pancoast a link can be made that will illustrate a holistic mindset of ethnocentrism from the point of view of the expanding United States to the Indians as being the cornerstone of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

The memoirs of Richard Henry Pratt are appropriately titled Battlefield and Classroom. Pratt details his involvement in Indian affairs after the Civil War between the years 1867-1904. Pratt’s first experience with Native Americans was in 1867 in Indian Territory (today the state of Oklahoma) when providing escort between Fort Gibson to Fort Arbuckle. Pratt describes two

interactions with Indians where his preconceptions of their intelligence are incorrect. The first was during conversation with Cherokee scouts who accompanied the escort. Pratt says of the encounter: "...most of them had received English education in their home schools conducted by their Cherokee tribal government. They had manly bearing and fine physiques. Their intelligence, civilization, and common sense was a revelation, because I had concluded that as an army officer I was here to deal with atrocious aborigines" (Pratt, Battlefield, 4-5). Notice how Pratt mentions that the Cherokee had received education in English language before he complimented them on their intelligence and civilization. This is early evidence of Pratt's ethnocentric perspective, and demonstrates interest in education as the tool of civilization. The next encounter Pratt discussed early in his memoir is how a difficult night which included a horse stampede, a near snake bite, and an intense thunderstorm brought him great confidence in his Cherokee scouts because he depended on them for recovery after each incident (Pratt, Battlefield, 7). From these two encounters Pratt's conviction in the potential of Indians is planted. As long as Natives Americans had the opportunity to prove their loyalty to America and become educated in American ways, Pratt could "...Kill the Indian, save the man" (Givens, Indian, 00:15).

Nine years later in 1876 Pratt had experienced the Washita Campaign in 1868, the prison at Fort Sill 1870-72, and the Red River War. His next assignment in 1875 (Pratt, Battlefield, 109) was to transport 72 of the most hostile Indians from these conflicts back east to Fort Marion, in St. Augustine Florida, "...so that they can never regain power to perpetuate conflict" (Pratt, Battlefield, 107). In 1876 Pratt corresponds with General Sherman (the same General who gives him the orders to imprison the 72 hostels at Ft. Marion). These letters refer to the prisoners having been "cured" of their behavior and recommends their release. During the year

the prisoners spent at Ft. Marion they were educated and trained as soldiers on Pratt's initiative. From this letter Pratt expresses belief in his work as an educator for the Indians in American culture and credits that as reason to have the prisoners released.

Once Pratt had gotten the approval to commence with the creation and enrollment of the Carlisle school he needed to gain pupils. For this, Pratt traveled to the Rosebud and Pineridge reservations to retrieve his first class. Pratt spoke to the parents of the children he wanted to enroll at Carlisle for education. Through his speech he spoke regularly in ethnocentric tones. First, Pratt says that living on the reservation isolated tribes from each other and speaking different languages puts them at a disadvantage to opportunities being offered by the federal government so to provide for themselves and not burden the government (Pratt, Battlefield, 221-222). Pratt discusses with Spotted Tail, the Chief of this group, about not being ignorant of white education because learning the white man's ways will help him to be more capable in future land dealings (Pratt says this because of the recent loss of the Black Hills) (Pratt, Battlefield, 223). Pratt is being very misleading with his statements. He doesn't condemn whites for cheating Indians out of their land instead he turns the table and said it was tribes fault for not knowing white ways and not being educated. This rational is highly evident of the ethnocentrism of the day. To say that it was alright to cheat a group of people because they were too ignorant is deplorable. Pratt obviously holds that American culture and language is superior to the Indians. Regardless of this parents allowed their students to travel out of their care and to be educated in a culture they resented, Carlisle had its first students.

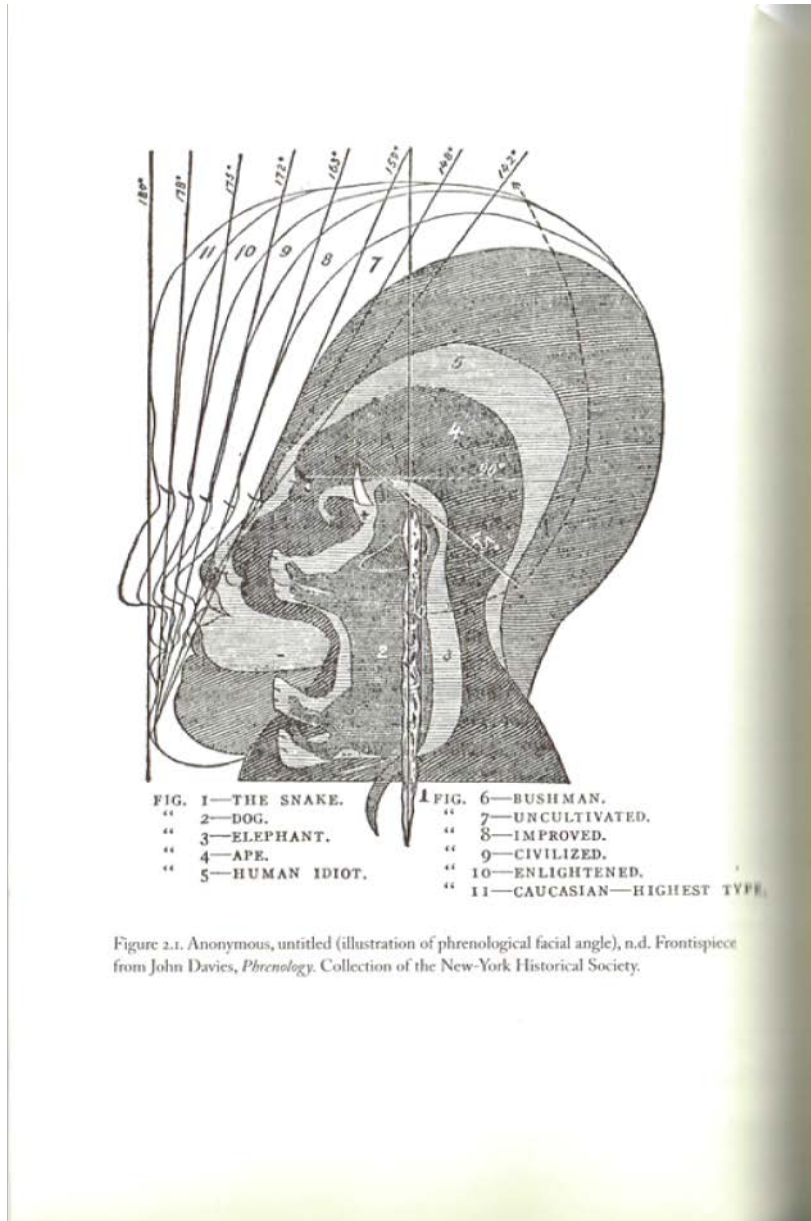
"To Civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay" (Pratt, Battlefield, 283). This was the slogan of the Carlisle school. To analyze this statement will unlock even more evidence of the schools ethnocentric ideals. The first sentence in the

slogan enforces the idea the Indians are a group without civilization and culture. The second sentence advises against the student ever returning home, because home would be a return to a place without civilization. There is no evidence that Pratt told the parents of his students this plan but it was surly hammered into the students once they began their experience at Carlisle. The idea that Indians were inherently inferior and void of any complex civilization came from an, now expired, ideology that attempted to assign intelligence based on the shape of the skull.

Phrenology is a theory based on the belief that the shape of the skull can illustrate specific characteristics held by different races and socioeconomic classes. This idea was applied to Indians. Tomlinson writes: “Prisoners need to be reformed through productive enforced labor, something that would reorient their phrenological faculties and allow them to return to society as socialized, civilized beings” (Mauro, Art, 94). This statement is a veritable summary of the purpose of off reservation boarding schools; remove the Indian from his/her culture and reprogram them to function in American society through a physical and mental transformation of values. The reformed Indian was then officially “civilized”.

Samuel Morton, a respected doctor and craniologist proves savagery using phrenology. Morton is also a contributor to the theory of polygenesis, or the theory that each race has independent origins. He uses phrenology to distinguish between races and the abilities of each, used polygenesis to theorize the independent origin of Native Americans and that they will never catch up to white culture without help (Mauro, Art, 27). Through his study of skulls Morton and fellow phrenologist George Comb claim that Ethiopians and Native Americans “had the lowest cultural attainment” compared with Caucasians, Mongolians, and Malay (Mauro, Art, 30). Both of the claims resulted in major impacts in how Anglo-America perceived Native Americans (Mauro, Art, 30). The following illustration demonstrates the ratio of skull shape to intelligence

as viewed by phrenologists of the day. Native Americans were ranked just above Bushman (Mauro, Art, 30).



(Mauro, Art, Fig 2.1)

The image here is quite insulting in contemporary times but in the late nineteenth century its implications were seen as truths. Phrenology could be used as evidence to prove the lack of civilization in Indian society and the superiority of American culture. Between Pratt's opinion

and the claims of Morton and Comb one can see why Pratt become convinced in his idea for the off reservation boarding schools. These ideas must have held some bearing on his decision to try and “civilize” the captives in St. Augustine Florida discussed in Adam’s book. Pratt’s beliefs were against the reservation system and genocide (Mauro, Art, 38) this left only education as a vehicle for change.

In a detailed description of a four week trip west in 1882 to report about life among the Sioux, Henry Pancoast illustrates these sentiments in his own words: “We must either butcher them or civilize them and what we do we must do quickly” (Adams, Education, 2). The view that most Americans of the time were most likely similar to Pancoasts’s, after all stories of the great battle of the Indian Wars and especially the Battle of Little Big Horn were fresh in the consciousness of the nation. The message back east was that Indians were savages and uncivilized. Pancoast demonstrates his ethnocentric point of view as he views Indian children at the Yankton and Santee Mission School:

“...In front of a school house, a ring of Indian children playing Jacob and Rachel. I can see now the free and unconscious giggles and screams of laughter, and the funny little accent with which they shouted ‘Jakup’ and ‘Rashel.’

I look at these children and thought of the hideous record of unrighteous greed and bloody retaliation that makes up the sad story of their race, and of the lives that lay before them that they thought of so little. Yet to look at them is to hope. Mournful and oppressed as the condition of their race is, it may be that out of the darkness and the bondage ‘a little child shall lead them.’” (Adams, Education, 2)

In the first paragraph Pancoast is viewing the children play a game and comments on the accent of the children calling it a “funny little accent.” His view of their language is demeaning because his labeling of it as “funny” and “little.” He may think that the sound of these children playing is humorous, however, funny may also be a synonym for odd or strange. Also calling the accent “little” may allude to his prejudice that the influence of the language and the society it belongs to has little significance and importance. In the second paragraph the ethnocentric views are easily recognized. Pancoast sees the children in the shadow of the conflict between the cultures. He calls Indians greedy, bloody and being void of thought for the future. Through his statements it is evident that Pancoast is not an impartial observer. He already made his judgment on native people, which is that they are inferior and in order for them to be saved they must be educated and removed from their “little” society.

Nineteenth century America was laden with ethnocentric ideas of American superiority. Pratt and Pancoast exemplify it in their writings and plans for the future of the Indians. Also the superiority of Caucasians was being perpetuated by phrenologists who attempted to justify attitudes toward other races. Combining these elements shows that there was little choice for Native Americans, they could remain on the reservation or go to schools and be educated by those who wanted to destroy the remnants of their culture.

Chapter 3: Voices of the Students and their Decedents

In 1895 nineteen Hopi Fathers we imprisoned in Alcatraz. The San Francisco Call, a local newspaper stated. "Nineteen murderous-looking Apache Indians were landed at Alcatraz Island yesterday morning...All because they would not let their children attend school." (Givens, Indian, 5:30).

Between the years of 1877 and 1900 48,835 Native Americans attended some version of boarding schools (Adams, Education, 58). This number just represents a twenty three year period, as boarding schools continued throughout 1980's. Students of these schools have varied experiences but what is common between all of them is that their tribal culture and identity was forcibly and intentionally removed due to the ethnocentric agenda of the time. Life would be ever changed for students coming from traditional backgrounds, the sacred hoop would be exchanged for the square white way (Adams, Education, 113). In a film titled Indian School a Survivor's Story alumni and descendants of alumni express memories of their experiences and the effect the boarding schools had on their lives.

Edith Young a Tlingit and Tsimshian Alaskan spoke of her time in the boarding school. Her first response to the discussion was the memory of her work and efforts never being good enough (Givens, Indian, 9:22). She said that even when she had good marks she was criticized. Edith also brings up a memory from one of her classes. The topic was the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. She asked the question: "Why teach American discovery by Columbus when Indians were here first?" The answer was public humiliation, in the form of a slap across the face and her being forced to stand facing the corner for a long time (Givens, Indian, 10:05). Edith's stories exemplify the ignorance of the boarding schools. The school was

sending the message that Indians were insignificant and would never be successful and were not a part of American society, their culture and contribution to the nation were being deleted.

The Mother of Gloria King, a Saginaw Chippewa, told her daughter many stories of her time at the boarding school in Haskell Kansas. One that is most disturbing yet demonstrates, again, the ethnocentrism of the boarding schools describes a situation of two boys pushing each other in line for lunch. Upon being pushed one boy said something in his tribal language to the other boy. The Schoolmaster heard the boy speak in his native language and ripped the boy out of line by his hair and kicked him down three flights of stairs. The boy was not seen again (Givens, Indian, 10:26). The abuse in this story is distressing, but it demonstrates again the lengths to which the administration would go to remove tribal culture from the students of boarding schools.

Doctor of anthropology Kay Givens says that the nature of boarding schools, having children being removed from their families, is a violation of basic human rights (Givens, Indian, 5:20). The purpose of the schools she says were to separate “Native Americans from their land and to denigrate their identity” (Givens, Indian, 32:43). The result she said was “generational trauma” or damage done to a person that impacts their descendants. This comes in the form of alcoholism, drug abuse, neglect, inability to love, and hatred of themselves for being Indian (Givens, Indian, 32:43).

Conclusion: There is still an “us and them” mentality

This research has shown the permeating nature of ethnocentrism and its role in creating off reservation boarding schools. The evidence to support the racial inferiority of Native Americans was accepted by the wider public and unquestioned. Laws were passed that were wholly one sided and did major damage to Native American culture and way of life, making them dependent on the federal government. With science and legislation in cahoots to destroy Native Americans the only option for survival was assimilation. Pratt saw this need and enlisted support to establish the off reservation boarding schools which were designed to be the nail in the coffin of Native culture.

The focus of this research was to prove a holistic mindset of ethnocentrism from the point of view of the expanding United States to the original inhabitants of the continent. The research was based on the investigation into three arenas; Indian policy of the U.S. Government, the personal memoirs of Richard H. Pratt and the voices of the students of off-reservation boarding schools. The results show that ethnocentrism was an unescapable ideology that unquestionably influenced all facets of society. Indian policy was created with only the best interest of the U.S. government in mind. This is proven with the Act of March 3, 1819 which allowed the President to have total control over the future of Indians, The Legislation of 1906 which allowed superintendents to remove Indian children from their families on reservations to boarding schools without consent. Finally with the Dawes Act, which was really a misleading way to assimilate at the cost of Indian culture. The Memoirs of Pratt and the writings of Henry Pancoast show how public ideology can be influenced by the accepted science of the day, phrenology. The effects on students of boarding schools is also an example of ethnocentrism. As stated previously, the commonality between all students is that their tribal culture and identity was

forcibly and intentionally removed due to the ethnocentric agenda of the time. The stories of abuse resulting from using native languages and the lifelong effects on the individuals feeling of self-worth are clear illustrations of the damages done in the name of ethnocentrism. The focus of this research encompasses multiple spheres of society and proves that ethnocentrism was fundamental to the time period. It justified the actions of the U.S. government and civilian population and the consequences of those actions on Native Americans.

As adults and professionals we know about ethnocentrism. We know that it is not appropriate to rank cultures, or promote one culture as weaker than another. Yet this still occurs daily. Prejudices and stereotypes are casually inserted into humor, conversation and politics. In social studies we learn about the conquering civilizations and events of the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Mongols, Crusades, Napoleon, and Nazis to state a few. The common thread through each of these is that each culture felt superior to those it subjugated. The U.S., and its relationship with Native Americans, is no different. So where does this leave us? How can this chain be broken? Who needs to start the change? As with most questions the answer is education. Ethnocentrism must be incorporated and explicitly taught in schools. Awareness is the best way to change. This quote from Dr. Wayne Dyer helps to explain this “if you change the way you look at things, the things you look at change.” If ethnocentrism is seen as a philosophy that leads to conflict and disunion then it will be an inherently useless ideology.

This chapter in U.S. history is difficult to learn about and is still an open wound in the Native American community. Ethnocentrism was used as a tool for progress but it has not had that effect. Yes, the U.S. had moved forward in its expansion of territory and influence but it has come at great cost. As future generations learn about these events increased scrutiny of government policy will follow. This saturation of ethnocentrism must not be repeated.

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Ethnocentrism
&
Indian Boarding Schools

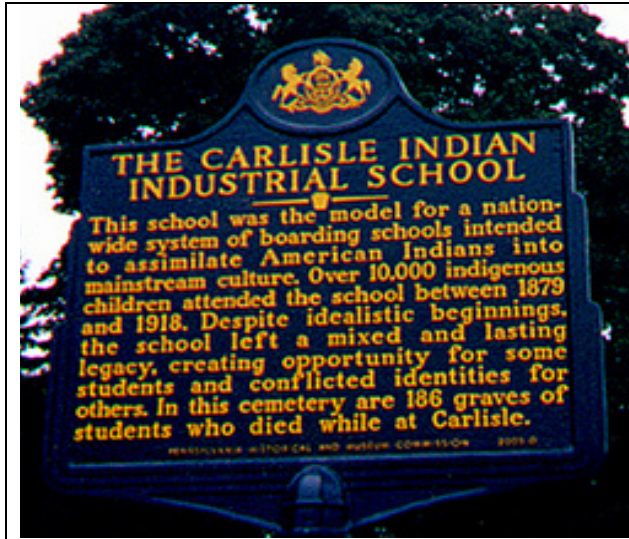
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I. Background:

Ethnocentrism is a force to be reckoned with. The idea that one's culture is morally and intellectually superior to another is a concept that has followed expanding civilizations for ages. The saga of the United States is no different. A society in a stage of expansion may think from a place of grandeur, and apply their cultural values to conquered people. The only choice is death or assimilation. Death is the simpler solution, it has a finite goal, and it is quantifiable, and easily assessed, but what of the other choice, assimilation? How is culture, or race assimilated?

In a detailed description of a four week trip west to report about life among the Sioux, Henry Pancoast illustrates these sentiments in his own words: "We must either butcher them or civilize them and what we do we must do quickly" (Adams, Education, 2) . What becomes of Pancoast's recommendation to "civilize them" is through the system of Off Reservation Boarding Schools (ORBS) or Indian Boarding schools. The first Indian boarding school was the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle Pennsylvania started in 1879 (Hoerig, Remembering, 642). Off reservation boarding schools continued being federally funded into the 20th century (Hoerig, Remembering, 642). The literature and discussion surrounding of ORBS centers on similar themes of ethnocentrism, implementation of instruction, effectiveness of the schools, effect on the students, effect on the tribal system, and resistance.



Navajo student Tom Torlino before attending Carlisle and three years after.



Pupil's at the Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle Pennsylvania (c.1900)

II. About This Lesson-

A. Citation's

This lesson is based on the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Today the grounds, of what used to be the school, serve as the U.S. Army's War College. In this lesson students will be using multiple primary sources including personal correspondences, images, interviews and the internet. This lesson is created by using the format from the National Parks Service's "Teaching with Historic Places" and Dr. Mary Corey's "Teaching With Historic Markers." The primary sources were taken from the following sources.

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Cooper, Michael L. *Indian School Teaching the White Man's Way*. New York New York: Clarion Books, 1999.

Givens, Kay. "Indian School a Survivor's Story" Recorded 2011. American Indian Services 2011. DVD

Mauro, Hayes Peter. *The art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011.

Pratt, Richard Henry, and Robert Utley M. *Battlefield and classroom: four decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.

B. Standards

This lesson has the ability to be incorporated into the curriculum at multiple points. It could be used when learning about manifest destiny, immigration, or civil rights. The lesson will aid in the student's ability to witness the effects of ethnocentrism in the United States. The following standards are from the New York State Common Core 9-12 Social Studies Framework

11.4 POST-CIVIL WAR ERA (1865 – 1900): Reconstruction resulted in political reunion and expanded constitutional rights. However, those rights were undermined and issues of inequality continued for African Americans, women, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and Chinese immigrants. (NYS Standards: 1, 4, 5; NCSS Themes: ID, TCC, CIV, ECO)

11.1a Contact between Native American groups and Europeans occurred through cultural exchanges, resistance efforts, and conflict.
(NYS Standards 1, 5; NCSS Themes MOV, GOV)

C. Objectives

Students will define ethnocentrism.

Students will predict how ethnocentrism is used in education.

Students will analyze primary source documents.

Students will evaluate the effect of ethnocentrism.

Students will design and create a plan for greater cultural understanding in our school.

III. Visiting the Carlisle Indian Industrial School:

The grounds of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School are now occupied by the U.S. Army's War College. The school cemetery is on the grounds and some building are still standing although most evidence of the school is now gone.

Address: 122 Forbes Ave. Carlisle, PA 17013

More information can be gained by attending the Cumberland County Historical Society.

Address: 21 N Pitt St, Carlisle, PA 17013

Phone: (717) 249-7610



IV. Setting the Stage

Ethnocentrism; the belief that one's ethnicity and culture is superior to others. This perception is what pushed the native tribes of the United States continually west, eventually onto reservations. Once on the reservations it was necessary for the federal government to assimilate the savages and civilize them. In a final blow to the future of these cultures, children were removed from their homes and placed on reservation boarding and day schools then eventually to off reservation boarding schools. The purpose of this was to enforce the notion of ethnocentrism and commit cultural genocide. The cultures of the diverse tribes of the continental United States were to be dismantled, banned and replaced with that of white America.

The Carlisle Indian School was the product of these events. From 1879-1924, supported by federal law, the school worked to assimilate Native Americans into American culture. On the surface it seemed successful but this practice had seeded long term problems for the alumni of these schools and their decedents.

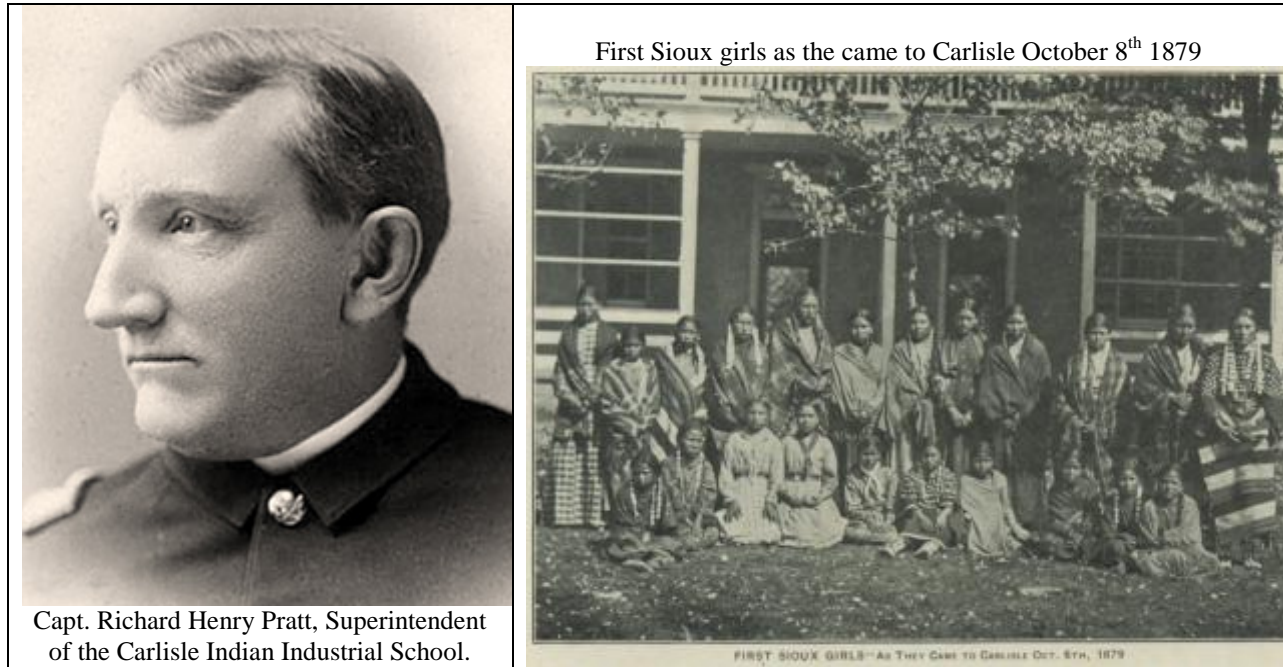
V. Directions:

The following is a step-by-step plan to use the upcoming documents, guided questions, and activity. The eight documents are arranged to have students work in groups of three. The document are grouped so as to have four stations. Station1: Documents 1 & 2, Station2: Documents 3 & 4, Station3: Documents 4, 5, 6, &7 Station4: Document8. The accompanying questions for each grouping will be answered by the group of students.

- 1.) Teacher will create groups of student not to exceed 3 per group before the class begins. Teacher will title each of the four groups a name of an off reservation boarding school. Group 1: Carlisle, Group 2: Haskell, Group 3 Phoenix and Group 4: Chilocco. This may require the teacher to duplicate stations to keep the groups to this size.
- 2.) Teacher will arrange classroom desks into groups of three and place the name of the group and a folder containing the documents and questions on each group of desks.
- 3.) Students will receive group assignments as they enter the classroom.
- 4.) Teacher will project the images of Capt. Pratt and the Sioux girls on their first day at Carlisle. And ask the Discussion question: “What do you think you see in these pictures that no one else does?” Teacher will have students wait sixty seconds before they start responding, responses will be recorded on the white board.
- 5.) The teacher will read the quote below the images and ask the students to interpret via discussion.
- 6.) Teacher will ask for volunteers to read the paragraph below the quote. Teacher will select new readers as needed to perpetuate participation and on task behavior. Students will be given 1-2 minutes to define ethnocentrism individually. Students will share with their groups their definitions.
- 7.) Student in each group will select one of the following roles so that they can facilitate their own investigation into the documents.
 - Role 1: A time keeper- keeps group updated on time and on task.
 - Role 2: Materials manager- Responsible for each member having their materials and returning them to the folder for the next group to use.
 - Role 3: Discussion director- Make sure each member adds to discussion.
- 8.) Teacher will now instruct students that they will get ten minutes with each folder of documents. Students will be responsible to analyze and interpret the documents then record answers to the questions. Every ten minutes the students will rotate folders to the next group, this process will repeat four times.

VI. For Students: Documents & Readings

Discussion Question to students: What do you think you see in these pictures that no one else does?



Capt. Richard Henry Pratt, Superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

“A great general has once said that the only good Indian is a dead one, in a sense I agree with the statement, but only in this: That all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian, save the man.” -Capt. Richard Henry Pratt, 1892

Captain Pratt was a Civil War veteran who received a commission to command the 10th Cavalry Buffalo Soldier (and all black unit). Pratt fought the plains Native Americans in multiple campaigns and was eventually assigned to transport prisoners to St. Augustine Florida where he was to imprison 72 of the most resistant Native American leaders and fighters at Fort Marion in 1875. Here he took it upon himself to instruct his prisoners in the ways of American society. He taught them to read write and speak English, he drilled them as soldiers, instructed them in effective farming techniques and was able to release them to work in the community. Pratt saw this success and believed he had solved the “Indian Problem” he would educate them and make them “civilized” in the ways of white America. As a result in 1879 the Carlisle School was established and received its first class of students from the Rosebud and Pineridge reservations. Native Americans could only be part of America if they were not Native American. The boarding schools were created to remove tribal tradition, culture and civilization from students. This practice is ethnocentric, Americans believed that their culture was superior to that of the Native Americans and so it needed to be eradicated.

Discussion Question to students: In your opinion how would you define ethnocentrism?

Document 1 & 2

<p>Document 1: The president may in every Case where he shall judge the improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable , and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct in the discharge of their duties. A report of the proceedings adopted in the execution of this provision shall be annually laid before congress</p> <p>(Rev. Stat.-March, 3 1819, 3 Stat. L., 516)</p>	<p>Document 2: The Commissioner of Indian Affairs under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby authorized and directed to select and design some one of the schools or other institution herein specifically provided for as an “Indian Reform School,” and to make all needful rules and regulations for its conduct, and the placing of Indian youth therein: Provide, that the appropriation for collection and transportation, and so forth of pupils, and the specific appropriation for such school so selected shall be available for its support and maintenance: Provide further, That the consent of parents, guardians, or next of kin shall not be required to place Indian youth in said school.</p> <p>(June 21, 1906, 34 Stat. L., 328)</p>
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- 1.) List specific actions that document one gives the President the right to do?
- 2.) Using document two, describe how students were collected for “Indian Reform School.”
- 3.) Compare these two documents and evaluate their impact on Native Americans.
- 4.) Interpret these two documents and decide what they convey about American society in the 19th and early 20th century.

Document 3



First Sioux boys as they came to Carlisle October 6th 1879

Document 4



First Sioux girls as the came to Carlisle October 8th 1879

1.) Choose either Document 3 or 4 to answer the following:

a.) What do you see? What is happening in the photo?

b.) Look at the faces what emotions are being conveyed? In your opinion explain why?

c.) Create two questions you would ask to someone in the photo.

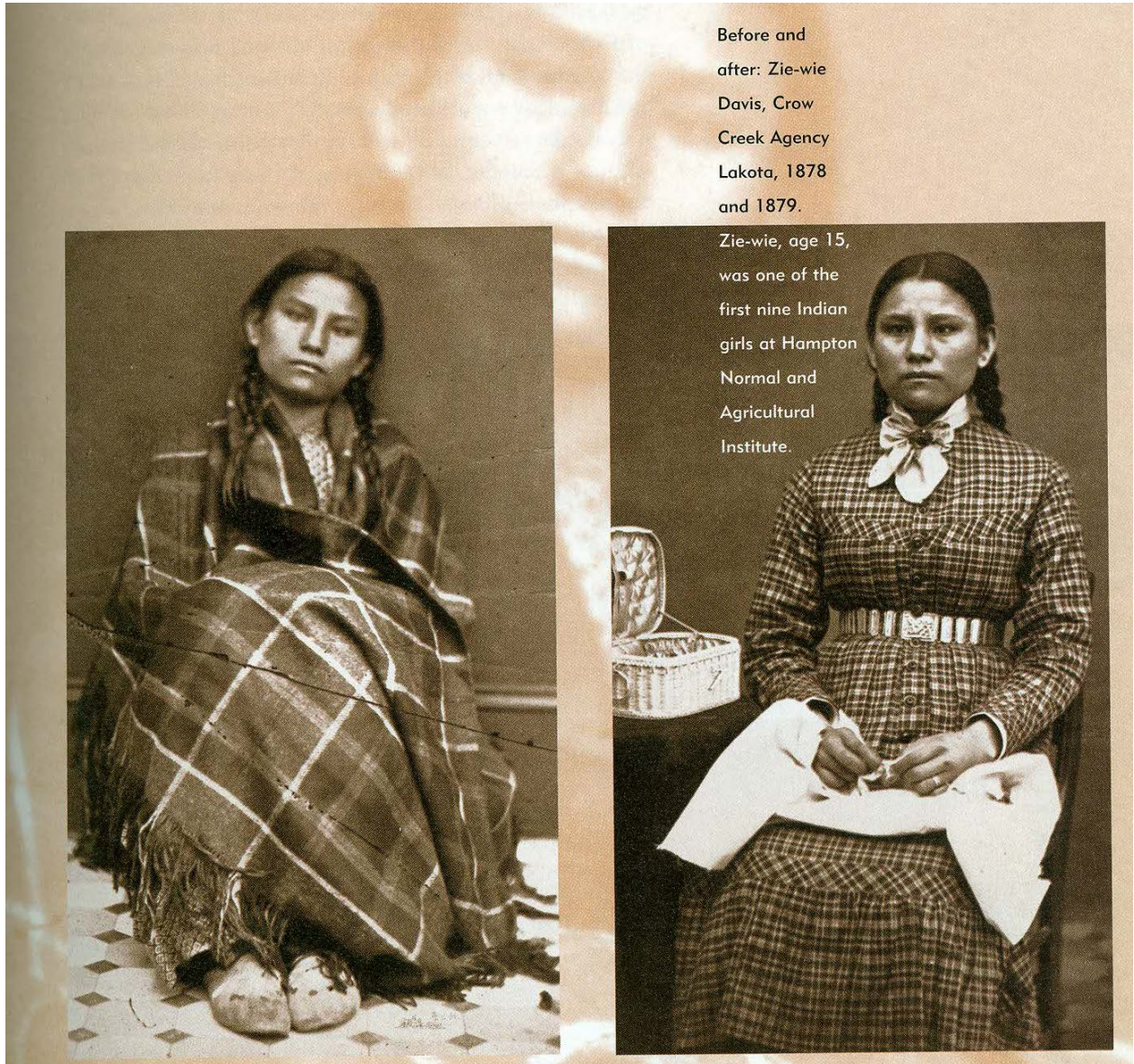
2.) Looking at both document 3 and 4, contrast what the clothing in the picture with the buildings that the children are in front of. What does this tell you?

Document 5



Tom Torlino, a Navajo Student at Carlisle the Picture to the right shows his transformation after just three months

Document 6



Document 7



"Before" and "after" photographs of three Navajos, a girl and two boys.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Documents 5, 6 and 7 demonstrate the physical transformation of Native Americans, who boarding schools, into what was acceptable to American culture.

1.) Look again at these photos titled document 5, 6, 7. Select one person that has significance to you. What changes have occurred between the “before” picture and the “after” picture? Why did these changes need to happen?

2.) What was the reason for having these photos taken? Who would the school administration want to show these photos to?

3.) If you were the parent of one of these students and you received the “after” photo in the mail how would you interpret it? What might you write in a letter to your child?

Document 8: Names By: Laura Tohe

T H E N A M E S

B Y L A U R A T O H E

Lou Hon,
Suzie,
Cherry,
Doughnut,
Woody,
Wabbit,
Jackie,
Rena Mae,
Zonnie,
Sena,
Verna,
Grace,
Seline,
Carilene

“Virginia Spears,” the Algebra teacher calls roll
(Her name is Speans)
And Virgie winces and raises her hand.
“Here.” Soft voice
She never corrects the teachers.

“Leonard T-sosie.”
(His name is Tsosie.) Silent first letter as in
ptomaine,
Ptolemy.
Silent as in never asking questions.
Another hand from the back goes up. No voice.

“Mary Lou Yazzy.
Are you related to Thomas Yazzy?”
Yazzie is a common Navajo name,
like Smith or Jones.
She rhymes it with jazzy and snazzy.
Mary Lou with puzzled expression. “No.”
“Oh, I thought you might be. He’s quiet too.”

I start to tense up because I’m next
with my name that sticks out
like her sensible black high heeled lace-ups,
clap, clap, clap down the hall.
“Laura Toe.”
And I start to sink,
to dread hearing it on the bus tossed around
like kids playing keep-away.

Suddenly we are immigrants,
waiting for the names that obliterate the past.
Tohe, from T’óhii means Towards Water.
Tsosie. Ts’ósí means Slender.
And Yazzie, from Yázhí,
means Beloved Little One/Son.

The teacher closes the book and
we are little checkmarks beside our names.

Roanhorse,
Fasthorse,
Bluehorse,
Yellowhorse,
Begay,
Deswod,
Niilwod,
Chee,
’Átsidí,
Tapahonso,
Háábaah,
Hastiin Néez.

Document 8: Names By: Laura Tohe

1.) Reflect on your full name. Does it carry with it any evidence of your identity, family, character, achievements?

2.) Describe your reaction when someone mispronounces your name or confuses you with someone else? What if someone decided to rename you without your permission, how would it effect you?

3.) Summarize the poem, what does the author want you to know about names?

4.) How does the author demonstrate that names carry identity?

VI. Activity: Interpreting documents and connecting to modern issues



Description:

This activity is designed for students to connect the previous documents use of ethnocentrism and unite these ideas to a modern and local issue. This is a vital skill, often a connection is not made between curriculum and contemporary events.

A recent article published in the Democrat and Chronicle (Sunday, August 3, 2014) titled [Less than 3 percent of Rochester students end up with college degrees. Why?](http://www.democratandchronicle.com/story/news/2014/08/02/city-students-get-college-degrees/13501959/)

<http://www.democratandchronicle.com/story/news/2014/08/02/city-students-get-college-degrees/13501959/> The article attempts to label the barriers to success of city school students after high school. As students are now familiar with ways Carlisle used ethnocentric ideas, they can now make connections between documents 1-8 and modern issues that may have their roots in ethnocentric ideas.

Objectives:

Students will interpret multiple sources to arrive at a conclusion.

Students will select evidence from the D&C article that connects with the Carlisle School.

Students will evaluate the barrier facing city school students and decide whether or not they are caused by ethnocentrism

Materials:

1.) Documents 1-8

2.) Democrat and Chronical Article: Less than 3 percent of Rochester students end up with college degrees. Why? By Justin Murphy

3.) Student Activity Sheet

Directions:

Students will read the Democrat and Chronical article with their group. While reading each group member is responsible to underline evidence that shows ethnocentrism may be a part of the problem. Once students complete the reading and underlining they will take five minutes to create a master list of the things they underlined in the article. Each student will create this list, then as a group they must attempt to connect the article to a specific document, this will be done on the student activity sheet. Students will then evaluate and respond to the conclusion questions.

Finally students will apply these connections in an individual essay that proves that ethnocentrism could be one reason why Rochester students have a difficult time earning college degrees. If the student does not believe that ethnocentrism is a cause, they must explain why not. Despite the stance each student takes they must offer two suggestions to make the situation better for Rochester graduates.

Few city students get college degrees



A recent report shines a spotlight on just how few city students who graduate high school go on to earn a college degree. Video by Annette Lein and Justin Murphy



Justin Murphy, Staff writer 6:09 p.m. EDT August 3, 2014

(Photo: Getty Images/iStockphoto)

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- For city students who graduate and enroll in college, fewer than one out of 10 manages to get a degree
 - Factoring in those who never make it to college, barely one in 40 Rochester ninth-graders ends up with an associate's or bachelor's degree
-
- The statistics paint a distressing picture for a district striving for college- and career-readiness

Miranda Charlton has stayed up many nights wondering what went wrong at college. Only 53 percent of her class at John Marshall High School managed to graduate in 2011,

but she was among them. A three-sport athlete, she enrolled in Cayuga Community College to play basketball and become one of the first among dozens of siblings and cousins to get a degree. The first year went well, but the second year didn't. A combination of stressors forced her out of school and back to her parents' house, where she's now cutting hair and doing makeup, scrounging money together for another attempt at finishing her two-year degree.

She's not sure when that will be, or how to go about it. Is it her fault? If not, what happened?

Charlton's case is not unique. According to newly released data, of all the city students who get their high school diploma and enroll in college, fewer than one out of 10 manages to get a college degree. Factoring in separate data on those who never make it to college, barely one in 40 Rochester ninth-graders ends up with an associate's or bachelor's degree.

Part of the problem is academics. Charlton didn't know which classes to choose, or how many of them, and no one told her.

Part of it is finances. Money was tight at home, so instead of calling to ask for help, she skipped meals and lost a lot of weight.

Part of it is family support. Her parents both worked long hours and neither had been to college, so they didn't understand the pressure she was under, or how helpful a daily phone call would be.

"I was trying so hard to do something that I didn't know how to do," Charlton, 21, said. "It was like trying to learn to ride a bike without someone holding the handlebars for you until you get it."

It's a sobering story for a district that doesn't need any more of them, but a broad-based effort to make a change is underway.



Nadine Charlton gets her hair styled by her daughter, Miranda, in their Rochester home. (Photo: LAUREN PETRACCA/@LaurenPetracca/ STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER)

Report shows pattern

The college success data is included in a recent report by the Rochester Education Foundation, an independent, nonprofit organization that provides programs and resources for Rochester students. It sheds light on the disturbing pattern, all the more troublesome because it affects the already-too-small portion of students who manage to get a high school degree.

Of Rochester students who were high school freshmen in 1999 and enrolled in a two-year college in 2003, just 9 percent had graduated by 2006. The state average was 24 percent. The national average was 32 percent.

At four-year colleges, the six-year graduation rate for those 2003 Rochester alumni was 5 percent in 2009, compared to 64 percent statewide and 57 percent nationally.

When factored in with the number of students who never get to college — the 2013 city high school graduation rate was 43 percent, and only about two-thirds of those graduates enroll in college right away — the new statistics paint a distressing picture for a district striving for college- and career-readiness.

In fact, having the numbers at all is fairly progressive. Representatives from several suburban districts in Monroe County and Syracuse said they do not track how many of their alumni end up graduating from college. A spokeswoman said the Buffalo district does track, but she did not provide statistics when asked for them.

They're our kids. If they fail, what happens to our area? What happens to our country? Who's going to come to our school? If they can't come to our school or get a job, what are they doing? That impacts us, too.

Chandra McKenzie, RIT

The Rochester data was obtained by the district from the private National Student Clearinghouse and provided to the Rochester Education Foundation.

Leaving college before graduation doesn't necessarily indicate failure — some students may have gotten a job, or bypassed an associate's degree in favor of pursuing a bachelor's degree. But the discrepancy between the local, state and national figures shows that something is wrong.

The Rochester College Access Network, created in 2013 through the Rochester Education Foundation, is looking at the numbers as a benchmark, however sobering, against which to measure future progress. It also hopes to increase completion rates of the Free Application for Federal Student Aid, used to determine a student's eligibility for financial aid, as a precursor to college.

"There's nothing surprising there," said Patricia Braus, Rochester Education Foundation executive director. "We knew there was a problem. Now, we have to do something."

That "something" has been the topic of discussion for the last year among leaders in the school district, local colleges and nonprofit organizations. They've identified the main reasons why city high school graduates struggle in college — financial burdens, lack of academic preparation, inability or unwillingness to seek out help — and are planning ways to rectify them.

The reason for the attention is more than philanthropic. Chandra McKenzie, assistant provost for academic affairs at Rochester Institute of Technology, said the success or failure of today's city teenagers will partly dictate the future of the region as a whole.

"They're our kids," she said. "If they fail, what happens to our area? What happens to our country? Who's going to come to our school? If they can't come to our school or get a job, what are they doing? That impacts us, too."

Planning, support problems

Fewer than half of Rochester students get their high school diplomas in four years. Shavonne Noble got hers in three and went to Alfred State to study business management in the fall of 2012 at age 17.

But even in her precociousness, the seeds for trouble had been planted. She focused so intently on finishing her high school courses at Edison High School that she dedicated little time to planning for the next step.

She hoped to attend fashion school, but by the time she got around to applying, the deadlines had passed. She chose Alfred State because her sisters had gone there.

There was no one to say, 'You should be taking this and this,' ... I spent all that money, I wish I knew I was doing it the right way.

Miranda Charlton

"I didn't have time to get my stuff together and make myself look good for colleges," she said. "(A guidance counselor) was on me, telling me to start applying, but I was lollygagging thinking about graduating. Then after that, I was like, 'Oh, shoot, it's June, it's July, I've got to get on something.' "

She did well her first semester at college, but in the spring, several challenges arose. She took too many classes and couldn't manage the workload, including balancing school with her social life; she struggled to pay for tuition, books and food, and didn't have time for a part-time job; her family in Rochester stopped calling to check on her, leading to a sense of isolation.

Noble left school after that semester, returned to Rochester and started working overnight shifts at Walmart for \$10 an hour.

"The second semester, I just wasn't myself," she said. "Maybe I stopped working hard because I was stressed out. ... But no one was calling asking if I was stressed, if my financial aid was OK. I thought, 'I need to be home working.' "

The lack of support that Noble and Charlton received is a common denominator among city students, and a major reason they often fail to succeed at college.

It starts in high school, where [a recent study found](#) only 6 percent of Rochester students get high-enough marks on standardized tests to indicate college readiness.

Academic standards in city high schools are a large part of that. So is the dearth of college and career counselors; Mary Gilbert, a counselor at East High School, said most counselors have about 300 students on their caseload.

"You can imagine if your family isn't familiar with the whole college process, you almost need someone who can step in and fill the role of the parent: nagging them on completing applications, getting essays done on time, registering for the SATs," Gilbert said.

Parents who didn't attend college are less likely to appreciate the pressures their children are under. Even if they do, they may not have the means to send extra cash for food or books.

"My parents are great parents, but I never had that one person who told me to keep going, that really understood that," Charlton said. "Neither of my parents went to college, so they didn't really understand how it could be."

According to surveys conducted among students leaving Monroe Community College before graduating, 21 percent left for "personal reasons," and 19 percent left for a variety of financial troubles, including needing a job or difficulty finding child care or transportation. Another 9 percent cited home conditions and 7 percent cited academic difficulty.

The lack of support happens on college campuses as well. Most schools are well-equipped with people and services available to struggling students, but those students often don't realize what help exists, or are ashamed to ask for it.

"I was making mistakes and dropping out of classes and trying to figure out my schedule, and there was no one to say, 'You should be taking this and this,' " Charlton said. "I spent all that money, I wish I knew I was doing it the right way."

'High expectations for myself'

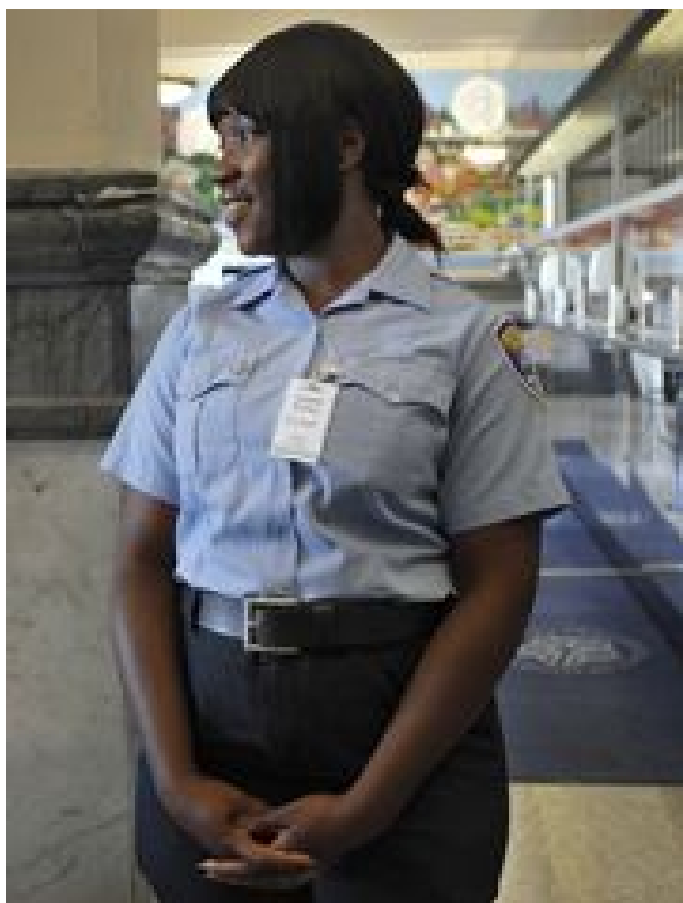
Leslie Beard was six months pregnant when she graduated from Wilson High School in 2010. Her daughter, Samyra, was born that September, and it didn't take long for the pressure to overcome Beard, forcing her to drop out of Monroe Community College after a few months.

"I had high expectations for myself," she said. "But it's hard being a full-time student and a full-time parent with a full-time job."

She got certified as a nursing assistant and worked full-time, but never stopped wanting to finish school. For help, she reached out to Hillside Work-Scholarship Connection, through which she'd worked during high school, and got connected with college navigator Ashley Jackson, herself a city schools graduate.

Jackson's job is to work with Rochester students on college campuses, providing the support they otherwise lack. When Beard re-enrolled in MCC last fall, Jackson hooked her up with tutors, signed her up for a note-taking seminar and encouraged her to visit the writing center for draft after draft of her college papers.

This spring, Beard had a 3.6 GPA. She is interning this summer with the Rochester Police Department and hopes to pursue her bachelor's degree and a career in criminal justice.



Leslie Beard, an MCC student and city grad who dropped out of college then re-enrolled, is currently working at an internship at City Hall. (Photo: ANNETTE LEIN/@bikebizzle/, staff photographer)

"There's a ton of resources students can tap into to be successful," Jackson said. "The biggest problem is getting them there. ... I try to get them to understand the classes are there to help you, not to break you."

Among the 50 MCC students getting help through Hillside, 97 percent stayed enrolled from fall 2013 to spring 2014, and 34 of them kept up part-time jobs on the side, according to data from Hillside.

The Rochester College Access Network includes Hillside, the City School District and every local college among its members. In response to the numbers in its new study, it is pushing a number of initiatives to help students like Beard.

A small sampling of them: The Urban League of Rochester holds [college workshops](#) in the spring and fall to help with college selection, admissions tests and applications. The Ibero-American Action League provides scholarships and guidance. Another umbrella group, ROC The Future, supports a variety of initiatives aimed at younger students, with the goal of starting the college and career preparation process earlier.

At Monroe High School, the classes of 1960 and 1963 have funded "[Last Dollar Grants](#)," awards of \$500 meant to help Monroe graduates cover the small expenses that can be an obstacle for some.

Several local foundations and benefactors, including the Rochester Area Community Foundation, pay for students to attend college. Monroe Community College and some community partners [recently unveiled Save For Success](#), where students can get eight-to-one matching dollars for college savings, for up to \$3,000. Participating students also get financial literacy mentoring.

We need to build on kids who are successful, not just throw up our hands in true Rochester fashion and say, 'We're going to fail again.'

Patricia Braus, Rochester Education Foundation executive director

RIT has its Rochester City Scholars program, which provides free tuition to city school students.

"The young people who made it (through Rochester City Scholars) look a lot like the kids who didn't even fill out the FAFSA," Braus said. "We need to build on kids who are successful, not just throw up our hands in true Rochester fashion and say, 'We're going to fail again.' "

Rochester's leaders are in fact looking elsewhere for inspiration. For example, a similar coalition in Cleveland got underway in 2011 on the same two goals of college success and FAFSA completion rates.

Maggie McGrath, the director of the Higher Education Compact of Greater Cleveland, mentioned one small step that led to a prominent improvement.

Cuyahoga Community College began mandating that incoming students take a practice test before sitting for the actual placement exams. That change, designed to make the students more comfortable with the test, cut placements in remedial English classes by 50 percent.

The main takeaway in Cleveland, McGrath said, has been getting students on college campuses sooner and making more support services mandatory rather than optional. Some local colleges also agree to pay for a student's last few courses if they can't otherwise afford it, preferring to spend the few hundred dollars rather than seeing another dropout.

Making changes

Shavonne Noble, now 19 years old, never did get hooked up with extra services or funding. But six months of working overnight shifts at Walmart gave her the time to think about her future and the motivation to make a change.

She re-enrolled at Alfred State this spring with enough savings to help her through tight spots. She cut down on partying in favor of more time studying. She got over her fear of looking dumb in class and started asking questions when she got confused.

To her surprise, other students followed up with questions of their own. They didn't get it, either.

"I had the impression that in college, you're on your own. The professors teach the material, you get your work and you go and do it," she said. "But as I've progressed, I've noticed it's not really like that. They don't leave you hanging. ... I just had to let down that guard."

She's now planning to graduate with an associate's degree in business management in the spring of 2015. After that, she'll likely continue for a bachelor's.

"When I was working and not going to school, I felt like, 'This isn't me. This might be someone else, but it's not me,' " she said. "If there's anything in this world I'm good at, I know I'm good at conquering school and chasing my dreams. I know I'm good at that."

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Twitter.com/CitizenMurphy

About the data

School districts generally do not track how many of their alumni go on to graduate from college. The Rochester School District pays an outside organization, the National Student Clearinghouse, to gather that information. Because of limitations with the clearinghouse data, the Rochester Education Foundation statistics for 2003 college enrollers are based on overall college graduation rates for 2006 and 2009, without regard to year of college entrance.

The college entrance rate among high school graduates of 64 percent is from the 2012 high school graduating class; earlier numbers are not available.

The national and state college completion statistics come from the National Center for Education Statistics and the New York state Education Department, respectively.

The U.S. Department of Education reports how many students from each school complete the Free Application for Federal School Aid (FAFSA). Those raw numbers can be compared with high school graduation rates compiled by NYSED.

Evidence of Ethnocentrism	
Documents 1-8	D&C Article

Conclusions:

1.) What connections between the ethnocentrism do you discover between the Carlisle School and the reason for low success after high school in the city? Why do you think that ethnocentrism is still effecting modern society?

2.) Hypothesize and design a solution to limit the influence ethnocentrism has in our school. How can all cultures be valued and not ranked as superior and inferior?

Off reservation boarding schools was a topic completely foreign to me. Before this research I had never even heard a whisper of these events. This is what drew me towards to topic and eventual selection of the topic. I thought about my current students and how many times they wanted to talk about secrets in history like the stone masons, the illuminati, and conspiracies of 9/11. What if I could drop on them a series of events that happened under the nose of the entire country for over one hundred years? Events that attempted cultural genocide, the destruction of families and lifelong troubles for children and grandchildren. The hook was already there, but the question was where does it fit? What can students take away from learning about this chapter in U.S. history? Off reservation boarding schools deal within the themes of Movement and Interaction of Cultures as well as Time, Continuity, and Change. As the topic fits into these themes it is appropriate that students learn collaboratively about this topic this is the strategic approach I took in transforming my research in to teachable material.

The essential understanding that students needed to come away with was to comprehend and evaluate ethnocentrism. My research demonstrates that ethnocentrism was at the core of the movement to “civilize the savage”. Being able to identify ethnocentrism is a significant part of being a historian. It is necessary to remain objective and not judge events, people, and civilization from a point of view that assumes you are superior. Being able to see when others, in history, make decisions based on ethnocentrism can help students view history in a more accurate lens.

To achieve comprehension and evaluation of ethnocentrism an activity was created based on the National Parks Service’s “Teaching with Historic Places” and Dr. Mary Corey’s “Teaching With Historic Markers.” The Carlisle Indian Industrial School is the focus of the lesson though some primary sources are utilized from other off reservation boarding schools like

The Haskell Indian School in Kansas. To implement these objectives eight documents were selected, which include images, legislation and poetry. Each grouping of documents includes its own scaffold questions and is separated in to four different folders to be rotated through the groups. Students will be organized into groups of three, select roles for each member of the group. These roles include a time keeper who will keep the group updated on time and on task, a materials manager who is responsible for each member having their materials and returning them to the folder for the next group to use and a discussion director who will make sure each member adds to discussion. Each group will analyze and evaluate the documents included in the folder and answer the included questions, this will generate discussion and further understanding of the documents.

Next each group will connect what they learned about the ethnocentrism occurring at off reservation boarding schools to a current event. The issue presented to students is a recent article published in the Democrat and Chronicle (Sunday, August 3, 2014) titled Less than 3 percent of Rochester students end up with college degrees. Why?

<http://www.democratandchronicle.com/story/news/2014/08/02/city-students-get-college-degrees/13501959/> The article attempts to label the barriers to success of city school students after high school. As students are now familiar with ways Carlisle used ethnocentric ideas, they can now make connections between documents 1-8 and modern issues that may have their roots in ethnocentric ideas.

Finally students will apply these connections in an individual essay that proves that ethnocentrism could be one reason why Rochester students have a difficult time earning college degrees. If the student does not believe that ethnocentrism is a cause, they must explain why not. Despite the stance each student takes they must offer two suggestions to make the situation better

for Rochester graduates. This essay will be assessed using the New York State Regents U.S. History Thematic Essay Rubric.

Cooperative learning was strategically chosen to enhance student learning of the concept of ethnocentrism. It was this educator's opinion that to better understand the relationship between Native American and American Society it was necessary for students to work within an interdependent group. While students learn about ethnocentrism via off reservation boarding schools they demonstrated the five basic elements of cooperation as outlined by David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson in their article "Learning Together And Alone: Overview And Meta-Analysis." The first element is positive interdependence. It is demonstrated by providing complimentary roles to group members (time keeper, materials manager, discussion director) as well as divided resources (Johnson and Johnson, Learning, 96). The second element is individual accountability. Each individual in the group is required to complete sections of the task in order for the group to succeed (Johnson and Johnson, Learning, 96). The third is element is face to face interaction. This is achieved through the discussion of each document. "There are cognitive activities and interpersonal dynamics that occur only when students get involved in promoting each other's learning" (Johnson and Johnson, Learning, 97). This activity strongly relies on this element of cooperative learning, through discussion students will listen to each other's interpretations and respond to the opinions of one another. The fourth element is social skills. Students are learning and demonstrating social skills by taking the responsibility to enforce their chosen role. This will help students without positive social skills to learn appropriate ways to work with others. The authors of this article have stated that long term exposure and increased skills of this element contribute to greater learning in the future (Johnson and Johnson, Learning, 97). The final element is group processing. This element is achieved via

peer review of the student's essay. As a final activity each group member will create their own essay explaining whether or not there is evidence to suggest ethnocentrism is a cause for low college graduation by Rochester students. The student must also create two suggestions to improve college graduation. The subsequent peer review will provide reflection and evaluation of group performance.

The decision to utilize collaborative learning was to keep the lesson student centered and content centered. Students were meant to learn about ethnocentrism and its effects, this lesson achieves this. The research of Johnson and Johnson supports the effectiveness of collaborative learning and justifies its use. I have used this method of instruction numerous times and feel that the results justify its continual implementation.

Works Cited:

Johnson, David W., and Roger T. Johnson. "Learning Together And Alone: Overview And Meta-analysis." *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 2006, 95-105. Accessed August 22, 2014. <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy2.drake.brockport.edu/doi/pdf/10.1080/0218879020220110>.