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SHOSHONE INDIAN EDUCATION: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY BASED ON
CERTAIN INFLUENTIAL FACTORS AFFECTING ACADEMIC
ACHIEVEMENT OF SHOSHONE INDIAN STUDENTS,
WIND RIVER RESERVATION, WYOMING

by

Severt Robert Rist

B.S. Eastern Montana College, 1952

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

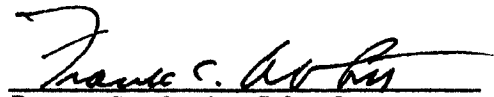
Master of Arts in Education

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1961

Approved by:


Chairman, Board of Examiners


Dean, Graduate School

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Vonnie, his wife, for her encouragement and assistance in the preparation of this thesis and to Matt, his son, for his forbearance.

He is thankful to Dr. Kenneth V. Lottick, thesis director, for the patience and guidance which he so generously gave and for the aid and advice given by Dr. Carling Malouf and Dr. Aaron W. Harper.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Indian education has followed many paths; these various methods of educating the Indian have been discussed and at times completely denounced. Many questions have arisen pertaining to the academic achievement of these people in respect to their capabilities, interests, desires, attitudes and their socio-economic status. There is some thought that the cultural background and the assimilation into the non-Indian culture tends to retard their academic achievement in schools which follow a course of study based on the non-Indian society; and that the level of their achievement is below the level of the non-Indian student in the same school.

I. PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Progress in all societies is based on the learning process of individuals within a society. With this thought in mind, it was the purpose of this study to establish some of the influential factors affecting achievement in the educational process of the Shoshone Indian student in two public schools on the Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyoming; and the relationship of these factors to their academic achievement comparative to the non-Indian student in the same schools.

Specifically these purposes are:

1. To give a brief historical-cultural background and the present between-culture situation of the Shoshone Indian in perspective to present day accomplishments.

2. To give a concise background of Indian education in general and of the education in particular on the Wind River Reservation.
3. To introduce the present day status of the Shoshone Indian relative to their educational background and as conditioning factors of present day student achievement.
4. To present and evaluate the prevalent attitude of the parents of the students tested towards the public school educational process.
5. To present and evaluate the opinions of teachers of Shoshone students in relation to their learning process.
6. To establish the academic achievement of the Shoshone student in comparison with their non-Indian schoolmates in whose society they exist and must continue to survive and progress.
7. To furnish criteria to public school officials for the purpose of evaluation and possible revision of the philosophy and course of study to the needs of the Shoshone student whom it is their duty to educate.

II. IMPORTANCE OF THIS STUDY

The detailed responsibility of educating the Shoshone student, as of the non-Indian, lies with the public school in general and the classroom teacher in particular. The public school enrolls more Indian students than does any other agency. They are confronted with the problem of how to educate the Indian student so his school achievement and standard of living will be equivalent to the non-Indian. They must have equal opportunity of competition in the complex American way of life. Chapters Three, Four, and Five are an uncovering of certain basic underlying factors which tend to influence the academic achievement of the Shoshone student. Periodically these and other factors have been discussed by school officials and teachers, including the writer, but little has been done in attempting to compile and analyze them for a more complete understanding of the problem. The Shoshone enrollment in

the two schools used for this study is 73 percent of the total enrollment of the grades tested. School officials need a complete understanding of these people in order to offer them a more complete education.

Courses of study in public schools are based on the non-Indian needs and background and can only be expected to educate the non-Indian student. "The major criticism against the public school has been its failure to meet specific Indian needs", relates Evelyn C. Adams, long time Federal employee, "particularly with reference to language difficulties, vocational training, and economic adjustment".¹ These courses of study should be revised to meet the Indian society needs as well as the non-Indian needs if the Indian student is to be educated. Willard W. Beatty, Director of Indian Education, wrote in 1942, "The school program is only valid when it satisfies the needs of the people being educated."²

The intelligence of the Indian has been debated in relation to their ability to learn. Falacious attitudes and beliefs of the non-Indian makes this an important point in correlating intelligence and achievement. John Collier who had twenty-six years of working directly with Indians, twenty as U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, has this to say about Indian achievement:

. . . in ethnic groups of low prestige the apparent inferiority (acquired or innate) may mask an actual superiority. In most Indian groups the academic lag of children is pronounced, but if these children were given non-language tests that have been standardized on

¹Evelyn C. Adams, American Indian Education (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946), p. 82.

²Harold E. Fey, and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 118.

whites, they excel, even to a sensational extent.³

Any lingering doubt of the native ability of the Indian people was removed by studies jointly undertaken by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Chicago in intelligence testing of Indian children and non-Indian children of a rural area in the Middle West.⁴ The tests used were performance tests and drawing tests and required a minimum acquaintance with the English language. The higher average I.Q.'s of children ages six through eleven were made by Indian children with one group having an average I.Q. of 112 and a second group had 111, both on the Arthur Scale. These two groups measured 111 and 117 on the Goodenough Test. The Middle Western children, non-Indian, scored an average I.Q. of 103 on the Arthur Test and 101 on the Goodenough Test. Another group of Indian children had a range from 101 on the Arthur to 114 on the Goodenough. A third group of Indian children ranged from 100 to 112 on these two tests and still another Indian group ranged from 100 to 109. Every Indian group had a higher average on the Goodenough Test than the non-Indian children. It is concluded that Indian intelligence parallels that of the non-Indian, therefore, academic achievement should parallel in public schools with enrollment of both races.

³John Collier, Indians of the Americas (New York: The New American Library, 1947), p. 171.

⁴Robert J. Havighurst and Rhea R. Hilkevitch, "The Intelligence of Indian Children as Measured by a Performance Scale," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 39:419-433, 1944; Robert J. Havighurst, Minna Koral Gunther, and Inez E. Pratt, "Environment and the Draw-a-Man Test: The Performance of Indian Children," Ibid., 40:50-63, 1946.

The kind of research necessary to reveal information pertaining to Indian needs, as recommended by the Indian Education Sub-Committee, is to send into the Indian school and the Indian home trained social scientists who can observe and record Indian attitudes; and trained educators who can observe and appraise the values and deficiencies of the present system. It is the writer's opinion⁵ that these trained social scientists and trained educators would have to spend considerable time living in the community and mingling with the people in order to gain the rapport needed to go into the home and talk intimately with the people. It has been found that scholarly researchers have tried and failed because of not gaining the confidence of the Shoshone people before attempting any type of investigation.

A foundation for a useful and effective future program need be laid. School officials need criteria to lay this foundation; therefore, this study is important in presenting certain factors affecting the academic achievement of the Indian student and may serve as a segment of the criteria needed.

III. ASSUMPTIONS, DELIMITATIONS, LIMITATIONS, DEFINITION OF TERMS

Assumptions

If the achievement of Shoshone students is not comparable to the non-Indian, and education is not preparing them for non-Indian society, the factors lie within the culture, or merging culture, of the Shoshone

See Appendix A, Writer's Experience.

people; the attitude of the parents towards education and the non-Indian; the students' home environment; and the curriculum and methods of teaching used. These are underlying assumptions which the writer feels must be made to justify the study.

Specific assumptions made for this study are:

1. The instruments chosen and constructed are valid for the purpose of analyzing and evaluating.
2. It is assumed the tests used, Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, are suitable instruments. The norms for this test are based on extensive and heterogenous sampling of areas throughout the United States.
3. An assumption is made that the technique of interviewing the parents or guardians of the students tested was the best method of gaining information of parental attitudes.
4. The writer assumes that the use of a questionnaire for teachers of students tested, though items are personal opinions, were valid because they drew on the teachers' experience and their attitudes in themself are a factor in Shoshone education.
5. It is also assumed that in order for the Shoshone people to equal the societal status of the non-Indian, which they must ultimately do, the academic achievement of the Shoshone student should equal that of the non-Indian.

Delimitations

The testing program was restricted to two public schools on the Wind River Indian Reservation in grades three through eight. The Shoshone Indian student enrollment in these two schools is a little more than ninety percent of the total school age children in grades one through eight of the Shoshone tribe. The enrollment in the grades tested was: grade three, 45 students; grade four, 32 students; grade five, 46 students; grade six, 25 students; grade seven, 45 students; grade eight, 46 students. Of these 239 students, 152 were Shoshone Indian students of

one-fourth quantum of blood or more. The remaining 87 students are classified as non-Indian including a few being Shoshone Indian with less than one-fourth quantum of blood, that is, being less than one-fourth Shoshone Indian.

This study is based on a three year testing program with tests administered the last part of April or the first part of May during the years 1959, 1960, and 1961. Accordingly, all students in grades one through eight during the 1958-59 school year were tested once, while the majority were tested twice and three times during this three year period. The total number of tests administered for the three year period to both Shoshone and non-Indian students in grades three through eight was 478, with 351 Shoshone students tested and 127 non-Indian students tested in the same two schools. This study was delimited to the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, which test the skill subjects only.

Parent interviews were delimited to Indian parents or guardians of students tested. A representative cross section of all parents were interviewed and in most all cases both parents were present. Questionnaires were sent to thirty teachers who were teaching or who had taught Shoshone students some time during the three year period in the two schools tested and in one school which enrolls Shoshone students, but test data for that school was not available.

The historical-cultural background and between-culture situation, along with the present day status of the Shoshone Indians will be presented as descriptive evidence of certain factors which influence the academic achievement of the Shoshone Indian student.

Limitations

The study is limited to grades three through six in the Crowheart School as it is an elementary school with only six grades. The students upon completion of these grades attend the Morton High School which has a six-six plan. The Crowheart School is small and necessitates one teacher for two grades. A control situation is limited because of these and other factors. The study is limited to grades three through eight in the Fort Washakie School. They have self-contained rooms in the third through the fifth grades and grades six, seven, and eight are departmentalized.

Parent interviews are limited in that it is difficult to converse with parents with whom there has been little previous contact. This delimits the scope of the sample. The writer selected parents whom he had gained confidence and rapport with previously, and feels this system did gain more valid answers.

Some of the teachers in these school systems will have had little experience in teaching and associating with the Shoshone people. There are no tools to measure the qualitative values of the underlying factors which tend to influence achievement. The inferences made are accepted as valid, as they would be within any society.

Definition of Terms

Non-Indian. For the purpose of this study, any individual or group with no, or with less than one-fourth quantum of Shoshone blood. Most are descendents of Caucasian origin with various background nationalities.

Shoshone Indian student. For this study Shoshone students are classified as having one-fourth quantum or more of Shoshone Indian blood. To be recipient of tribal benefits and on tribal census, in accordance to tribal regulations, they must have one-fourth quantum or more of Shoshone blood.

Off-reservation boarding school. A school operated by the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is located off the reservation restricted to Indians and until 1928 included the first through the twelfth grade. After this date it was lessened to include only the four high school years. Children from all tribes were integrated in these schools with no parental or reservation influence whatever.

Community day school. A school located near or in the central part of a particular community on the reservation. The philosophy here was based on the school being a community center. These schools contained grades one through eight, plus a beginners grade.

Beginners' grade. Pre-first grade for five and six year olds for the primary purpose of teaching the use of English in the community day school.

Mission school. A school operated through the efforts and finance of a religious denomination. On the Wind River Reservation these were operated by the Catholic and Episcopal faiths. They consisted of a girls' boarding school at Roberts Mission;⁶ an Episcopal grade school at Ethete; a Catholic grade and high school at St. Stephens.

The history of Roberts Mission was submitted by Miss Gwen Roberts, daughter of the late Reverend John Roberts, and may be found in Appendix B.

Per capita payment. A monthly payment of funds accumulated through tribal resources, derived primarily from land leases and oil royalties. Each individual on the tribal census receives an equal share, regardless of age. Payments are handled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

General Council. The General Council consists of mass meetings where everyone may speak and the majority rules. The meetings are conducted by a chairman.

Business Council. This administrative body consists of six members elected by popular vote every two years. This council conducts most of the business for the Shoshone Indians.

Acculturation. The changing and diffusion of the Shoshone Indian aboriginal culture into the dominant culture of the non-Indian society - the position of being between two cultures.

V. PROCEDURES

Collection of Data

For nine years the writer has been an active observer of Shoshone Indian life; seven years in the Fort Washakie School and one year in the Morton School. Much of the subjective data for the historical, cultural, and present day status was procured through conversation, observation, and participation in community life. Certain of these data were further obtained by academic research.

Parents of the Shoshone students were interviewed by the writer during the school year 1960-61. Questions asked of interviewees appear in Appendix C. Questionnaires were sent to teachers who, during the span of the testing program, taught in the three schools on the reservation.

Answers to questions related to Shoshone achievement were sought, based on the teachers' experience within the school and community. Questionnaire appears in Appendix D.

Achievement data of the Shoshone and non-Indian students were obtained by Donald D. Wolcott, Wind River Indian Reservation Guidance-Counselor, for the Department of Public Instruction, State of Wyoming. Mr. Wolcott administered the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills to all students represented in this study during the spring of 1959, 1960, and 1961 and submitted the raw score class sheets for this study. This assured a consistency in test administration.

Treatment of Data

In most instances the data are presented in descriptive form; this is dictated by the nature of the study. The answers to the questions posed to the parents are used to establish their attitude towards their childrens' education. Answers to the teacher questionnaire are employed to reveal some underlying factors which are believed responsible for the students' progress in school and society.

Test data are presented statistically in a series of tables and figures. The data are grouped by grades only and not by schools. Each test is presented by a table showing the range of scores, the 75th percentile, the 25th percentile, and the median score. A figure illustrates the data of each test in graphical form showing the total range, the middle fifty percent and the median score. The figure also contains the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills norms.

VI. RELATED LITERATURE

Much has been written on academic achievement and the usefulness of standardized achievement tests in public schools. Little has been written on Indian achievement and factors affecting that achievement. A brief summary of related literature will be given here.

Literature on Testing Indian Students

The first Indian Service educational service wide survey, beginning in 1944, covered a period of three years. Results of this survey were written and summarized by Shailer Peterson. In 1945 and 1946 selected tests were given to all pupils in the fourth, eighth and twelfth grades in Federal Indian schools, and to pupils in the same grades of many cooperating mission and public schools. The number of students tested was 7,409, of which 2,573 were attending public schools. Dr. Shailer Peterson, of the University of Chicago, actively directed the administration and evaluation of the tests during these three years and prepared the monograph⁷ which summarized the findings of the study.

A follow up study was made in 1950, of the previous testing program of 1944-45-46. The results of the 1950 Service-Wide Testing Program are contained in the monograph⁸ written by consultants of the

⁷ Shailer Peterson, How Well Are Indian Children Educated? (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute Print Shop, 1948), pp. 9-19.

⁸ Kenneth Anderson, E. Gordon Collister, and Carl E. Ladd, The Educational Achievement of Indian Children, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, Monograph (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute, 1953), pp. 1-17.

Indian Research and Testing Programs of the University of Kansas. The testing program was supervised by L. Madison Coombs, Education Specialist, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The same areas were tested; such as, Alaska, Dakota, Mountain, Navajo, Oklahoma, Pacific, Pueblo, Southeast and Southwest, in this 1950 study as were in the 1944-45-46 study.

Pupils at the fourth and eighth grade levels in 1946 were now, assuming normal progress, at the eighth and twelfth grade levels, respectively, in 1950. It was thought the retesting at these last named grade levels would provide much illuminating data. Yet, this showed no great change in the proportion of retarded students. Both studies showed that the Indian children attending public schools with non-Indians achieved higher than Indian children in other types of schools. The studies revealed a slight but significant difference in favor of non-Indian children in all of the standardized tests. It also revealed that the younger Indian children did better academically than the older Indian children as compared by differences in norms. A basic conclusion made by Kenneth Anderson was, "As the cultural and educational backgrounds of Indian children become more like those of white children, the more closely will the educational achievement of Indian children match that of white children."⁹

The Bureau of Indian Affairs again carried out an achievement testing program but on a much larger scale than the two previous studies. A third monograph¹⁰ was printed as a result of this testing program.

⁹ Ibid., p. 77.

¹⁰ L. Madison Coombs and others, The Indian Child Goes To School, Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute, 1958), pp. 1-9.

A population of 23,608 students were tested in six areas of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in Federal, mission and public schools. The non-Indian population was 9,922 and 13,686 Indian population in these same schools and grades four through twelve were tested in both groups. Several factors were presented as being an influence on school achievement. Mr. Coombs found that the non-Indian in public schools achieved highest, followed by Indian pupils in public schools, Indian pupils in Federal schools, and Indian pupils in mission schools.

Conclusions

The previous testing programs and evaluations, although wide in scope, point only to generalities of factors affecting school achievement. Problems peculiar to certain Indian groups and to individual schools were not brought out in these studies. Although these testing programs gave valuable data for a basis of comparing Indian and non-Indian groups, these data need to be supplemented by further studies of individual localities.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

Education has always been considered a basic tool in helping the Indian people accommodate their lives to the world of the white man. The question was: How educate? By what means? For what purpose?¹ These questions have been posed as problems to schools responsible for educating the Indian student and especially a problem to the United States Government.

This chapter will give the reader a basic understanding of what has been done in an attempt to find the answers to the preceding questions. A general history from the time of the first real attempts to educate the Indian, about 1870, to the present, 1961, will be covered.

I. THE EARLY PERIOD--1870 TO 1933²

"So long as the waters flow, so long as the grass is green, so long as the sun will rise, the Government will provide education for the Indian." This statement is an Indian interpretation of one of the provisions stipulated in the scores of peace treaties negotiated with the Indian Nations since colonial times. This thought prevails in the minds of many Indians today.

¹Harold E. Fey, and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 5.

²The end of the "early period" actually began in 1928, but did not reach its full significance until 1933, with the appointment of John Collier as Indian Commissioner.

Actually, Indian education is as old as Indian life, or fifteen to twenty thousand years in America. In primitive times education and religion were the basis of life itself. The beginnings of the European colonial rule in the New World brought about violent shocks to Indian spirit and culture, which no earlier age of Indian life had needed to undergo. A radically different civilization not only alien to, but actively hostile toward, Indian powers and values confronted the Indian. In the introduction of Adams, American Indian Education, John Collier states:

Indian education at the hands of Europe and later at the hands of the independent republics south of the Rio Grande, the U. S., and Canada, appears as an attempt to substitute through the school as an institution, a new autonomous, total environment and into this environment to transmigrate the individual Indian child and so to remake him into a European personality. Always there were exceptions but thus was the overwhelming trend of Indian schooling after conquest. It was the trend in the U. S. until twenty years ago and the trend is not wholly stopped yet.³

Volumes could be written on Indian education, but the intent of this chapter is to give a brief historical summary of Indian education; this may be presented as follows:

In 1870 Congress authorized the first annual appropriation for Indian education and so the "long hope" began. The Federal Government, at least since the Civilization Act of 1819, has maintained that education must play a significant role in helping Indians adjust to the society of the non-Indians in whose midst they live. From the time of the first off-reservation boarding school, established at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania in 1879, until the Meriam Report in 1928 and the Indian

³Evelyn C. Adams, American Indian Education (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946), p. xii.

Reorganization Act in 1934, emphasis was placed on the off-reservation boarding school. It aimed to equip the Indian children, especially the most gifted, for life away from the reservation. About 25,000 children were taken annually to boarding schools where food, clothing, shelter, tuition, books, medical care, and transportation were provided for them.⁴ The course of study was centered on the teaching of the English language.

The Indian Bureau followed a policy dedicated to incorporating the Indian as quickly as possible into white society. At first little concern was felt as to whether this rapid incorporation was desired by the Indians, or, if imposed against their will, what the results might be. The following statement by James E. Officer indicates the harsh practices followed by the Indian Bureau:

Ignoring completely the tribal differences, the infant representatives of hundreds of tribes were thrown together indiscriminately. The better to encourage the learning of English, the speaking of tribal languages was forbidden. The ban was enforced through corporal punishment--occasionally of brutal nature. Little children barely seven years old were torn from their parents, shipped sometimes thousands of miles from home, without understanding what it was all about, and then housed in vast ugly, friendless dormitories where 60 to 100 and more children shared a single room. Bathing and toilet facilities were inconvenient and unsanitary.⁵

Thus, we undertook to "civilize" our wards.

Most of the vocational training was the washing of piles of clothes and stacks of dishes, making hundreds of beds, cleaning acres of floors, which amounted to nothing more than forced child labor.

⁴H. K. Burton, The Re-establishment of the Indian in Their Pueblo Life Through the Revival of Their Traditional Crafts (New York: Columbia University, 1936), p. 6.

⁵James E. Officer, Indians in School (Series I of American Indian Series; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1956), p. 17.

Not until after World War I did home economics and agriculture enter into the course of study. By this time, vocational courses offered for girls consisted of home economics and, for the boys, agriculture, carpentry and shoemaking. These courses varied slightly from school to school. Never were the vocational subjects correlated with the academic. The "training" consisted of half a day in the academic class and a half a day in the vocational class.

During the "early period" in Indian education the principal educational tool was the off-reservation boarding school, but some mention must be given to other types of schools involved in this educational process. In some areas the on-reservation boarding school was used with the philosophy being the same as in off-reservation schools. Here, though, parents did occasionally see their children, which helped the youngsters bear the time away from home.

With the passing of time some recognition was given to the day school located in Indian communities, in which the children spent only a part of the day away from home. These day schools were concerned primarily with elementary grades and were very rarely of secondary nature. Standard courses of study, adopted from the public schools, were practiced. On completion of these grades, if no on-reservation high school existed, the youngsters were sent to the off-reservation boarding school. In these early day schools little effort was made in considering the cultural heritage of the people.

During this time also, and up to the present, church sponsored mission schools have done much pioneering in the field of Indian education. The Federal Government encouraged the participation of religious

sects in its school program during the 1870's, not only because it felt that missionary influence would speed up the civilizing process, but also because missionary teachers could be more easily persuaded than their lay brethren to work for the low wages and under the difficult conditions with which Indian service personnel were confronted. The Meriam Report in 1928 listed four areas in which it felt mission schools contributed importantly to Indian education. These areas were: (1) to furnish needed supplementary aid to existing facilities, (2) to furnish pioneer work not so likely to be done by public or Government schools, (3) to furnish denominational-sponsored education for those preferring it, and (4) to furnish religious leadership for the Indian people.⁶ From time to time the mission schools were subsidized by the U. S. Government, but for the most part the sponsoring sect was responsible for their own financial support.

Because the public schools contributed little during this early period, their importance will be discussed later in the chapter.

II. THE MIDDLE YEARS--1928 TO 1955⁷

By 1928, some Federal officials were beginning to question the value of the off-reservation boarding school as an agent for "civilizing" the Indian. In numerous cases Indians so educated had returned to their reservation and, at least outwardly, "gone back to the blanket".

⁶Ibid., p. 110.

⁷The end of the "middle years" varied in different states and localities. 1955 was the end on the Wind River Reservation as the Federal Government's responsibility was concerned.

In 1926, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work authorized the Brookings Institute of Washington to carry out a survey of conditions among American Indians and make recommendations as to how Indian administration might be improved. Emerging from that study was the Meriam Report which was completed in 1928 and included suggestions pertaining to Indian education. It recommended increasing the number and quality of day schools. Abolitions of the uniform school curriculum were called for and urged the raising of personnel standards. Where boarding schools were retained, it declared they should provide the Indian child with better physical examinations, better food, and more space, and should demand of him less heavy productive work. The report recommended that Indian children be placed in public schools wherever possible, and encouraged to continue their education to high school and college levels. Scholarships and student loans were proposed to make secondary and university education possible for Indian boys and girls.

The Meriam Report⁸ recommendations did not achieve their full impact until after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act⁹ in 1934. This act itself contained only one provision specifically related to education. The provision called for scholarship loans to Indians to continue their education beyond the elementary level. Congress appropriated \$175,000 for educational loans to Indians under the Indian Reorganization Act. Of this amount, \$35,000 was set aside for use in

⁸Lewis Meriam and Associates, The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1928).

⁹Jay B. Nash, Oliver LaFarge, and W. Carson Ryan, The New Day for the Indian (New York: Academy Press, 1938), pp. 13-17.

universities and colleges, the remainder was earmarked for trade and vocational schools. In setting up a new policy for the Indian Bureau, the Indian Reorganization Act outlined new roles for Indian education. Principal among these was the ascription of greater importance to reservation day schools and to public schools located near reservations. Boarding schools declined and were regarded generally as "last resort" facilities.

In 1933, President Roosevelt appointed John Collier as commissioner of Indian Affairs and he held this office until 1945. When the Collier regime assumed control of the Indian Bureau, it carried the onslaught against the boarding schools vigorously forward. In every possible instance, these institutions were replaced with what came to be known as "community schools". From 1933 to 1943 there was a loss of sixteen boarding schools and a gain of eighty-four day schools, making a total gain of sixty-eight schools; enrollment had shifted from three-fourths in boarding schools in 1933 to two-thirds in community day schools in 1943. By this year there were two hundred and sixty-five Government schools with an enrollment of thirty-four thousand. Indian public school enrollment exceeded that figure, and more than twelve thousand eligible Indian children were not in any school. During these ten years, the off-reservation boarding school enrollment dropped from nearly ten thousand to a little over fifty-seven hundred.

Early in these middle years the course of study in the boarding schools was bent towards vocational training based on the prospects of employment off the reservation. In a few schools some time was given to native arts and crafts, tribal dances and customs, but the purpose, of

course, was to keep the children occupied and these activities did help to ease the situation of being away from home. Very little of this activity was done in the community day schools at that time because the children lived at home.

By 1943 there were two hundred and sixteen community day schools and, during the ten years preceeding, the enrollment had risen from 6,836 to 21,559. All of these community day schools offered elementary courses and twenty-seven offered full or partial high school work.

The problem of educating the Indian was reinterpreted under the Collier administration and due to the Meriam Report. The traditional course of instruction was transformed and vitalized by relating it to the Indians interests, aptitudes and aligning it with local and national economy. In the elementary schools, academic courses with a pre-vocational slant pertained to projects close at hand. For example, students learned in late autumn about harvesting crops, storing vegetables, or curing meat; and in spring about pottery, gardening, or prairie dogs. The three R's could be learned in marketing surplus vegetables, or in the preparation and sale of wild rice, wool, craft products, or fish. Poultry raising, plant life, birds and bees, timber and saw-mills, and the tanning of hides became fruitful school subjects in various localities.

After this reinterpretation non-reservation schools provided diversified vocational training, with the reservation schools holding closely to agriculture, land use, and stock raising. A few secondary schools offered work preparatory to entering colleges and universities. In the boarding high schools, agriculture, stock raising and native arts

and crafts occupied a prominent position in school instruction to promote Indian self-maintenance. Some schools arranged to share in the proceeds of sales, or to acquire livestock with these proceeds for the students. In a few schools Indian art was incorporated formally and informally, ranging from projects in puppets and pageants to the painting of murals. An excellent vocational art program was developed in one Government school at Sante Fe, New Mexico. Some students were engaged to paint murals and others succeeded in the field of commercial art. Craft skills for commercial production were taught in some schools and in some instances handicraft articles were turned out in marketable quantities.

Schoolroom equipment, textbooks and library services were altered and improved. General schoolroom equipment, similar to that used in public schools, and the use of native material was desired. Media such as clay, wood, birch bark, grass, reeds, natural dyes, quills, and leather were not only highly adaptable for teaching purposes, but the Indians had and have a wide knowledge of them. Bilingual books printed in English and Navajo, English and Sioux, and English and Spanish were designed. Stories pertained to Indian life and ranged from the primer to the high school grades. Anthropologists collaborated to establish authenticity in detail and Indian artists designed the attractive illustrations.¹⁰ With a reinterpretation of Indian education and a revision of the course of study in the off-reservation boarding schools based on the needs of the Indian, the new policy also emphasized the closing of these same schools, and the transfer of Indian education into the hands of the

¹⁰Burton, op. cit., pp. 84-89.

public schools.

Public school systems have influenced the Federal program of Indian education and, at times, adversely. There was a long period when the Government school imitated the public school so closely that it failed to meet Indian needs. Enrollment of the Indian in the public school has been advocated since the early period. The provision of funds to maintain the Indian student in the public school and the irrelevance of public school instruction to Indian requirements have been the chief difficulties. Federal Indian land was, and still is, tax exempt. Consequently, the use of Federal, state and local funds for Indian public school students was legally limited. This problem has been met by the payment of a Federal per capita fee calculated on current costs, contracts authorized by the Johnson-O'Malley Act¹¹ of 1934. Through this act, Congress enacted legislation to arrange with state or territories for the education, medical attention, relief of distress and social welfare of Indians.

Indians enrolled in the mission schools were then maintained by the Federal per capita fee. In contrast to the Government policy, as with the public school, mission schools had a tendency to emphasize the academic program rather than the vocational phase. Much credit must be given the mission and public schools for shouldering the burden in being responsible for their "share" in Indian education. Were it not for these agencies, the Government's problems and expense would have been three-fold or more.

¹¹C. T. Loram, and T. F. McIlwraith (eds.), The North American Indian Today (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943), p. 279.

Towards the end of these middle years the Government's education withdrawal program was evidenced with the closing of numerous schools in the northwest, both boarding and community day schools. It can be agreed that these segregated schools did little to aid in the assimilation of the Indian into the complex society of the non-Indian.

III. THE MODERN ERA--1955 TO THE PRESENT (1961)

Because this study is concerned primarily with the Shoshone Indians on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, the historical aspect of this modern era will be confined to three public schools on this reservation. These three public schools with enrollment of both Indian and non-Indian pupils are: (1) Fort Washakie School, (2) Crowheart School, and (3) Morton High School.

Fort Washakie School

The modern era had its beginning in the Fort Washakie School in 1955. This school is located on a paved highway two miles from the U. S. Indian Agency headquarters, the central place of business at Fort Washakie, Wyoming, (population: unincorporated, elevation: 5,800 feet), on U. S. highway No. 287, sixteen miles north of Lander, Wyoming. Before 1931, this school was an Indian Service on-reservation boarding school which included nine years elementary (a beginners' grade for five year olds), and four years high school. The philosophy and course of study offered was quite the same as any other boarding school previously mentioned. Prime concern here was to train the students for a vocational life on the reservation with emphasis on agriculture, and home economics as the main courses.

The middle years concept of Indian education rendered this school down to a nine year elementary community day school, retaining the beginners grade because of the language barrier. At this time a large percentage of the youngsters entering school could not speak English. This beginners grade then was devoted, for the most part, to teaching the English language.

This school began to experience a state of "decay" beginning in the early forties and lasting until 1955. The first official step of withdrawal was made in 1953 by eliminating the eighth grade. This move sent the eighth grade pupils into public schools. The final move of complete withdrawal of the Government was made in 1955 when the Government school plant was turned over to School District No. 21, giving them complete responsibility for the education of the Indian. With the aid of Title IV of Public Law 815¹² the public school was built into a modern plant on existing Government school land.

This school now enrolls approximately 243 pupils of which approximately ninety percent are Indian children. It includes the eight elementary grades and follows a standard type course of study. The philosophy of this school is as "modern" as almost any urban school of the same size and in no way, except location, can it be thought of as a rural school. The facilities are desirable, such as, a new school building and gymnasium, spacious rooms with modern furniture, up-to-date textbooks and teaching materials, average of twenty pupils per

¹²Title IV states that if, in any instance, as many as 100 Indians living in territory not organized into a school district--are being, or will be, provided free public education, the districts enrolling them are eligible for construction aid from the Government.

teacher and acres of lawn for playgrounds. The course of study is enriched with band instruction in grades four through eight; singing instruction begins at the third grade level. General shop and home living is offered in the junior high program. This school also participates in inter-school athletics. Generally speaking, there is little more to be desired in material conditions. Professionally, the school is well staffed with the superintendent holding a master's degree with eight years teaching and administrative experience. Of the fourteen teachers employed, ten have degrees of which one holds a master's and four have two years or more professional training. Teaching experience ranges from one to twenty-two years with most experience being in grades one through five. The Fort Washakie School meets all necessary requirements for an accredited school and is accredited by the Wyoming State Department of Public Instruction.

Crowheart School

The Crowheart School is located thirty-one miles northwest of Fort Washakie on U. S. highway No. 286 and 26. A few more miles to the northwest is Crowheart, Wyoming, (population: unincorporated, elevation: 6,078 feet). Crowheart consists of a store which serves as a post office and a filling station.

The Crowheart School is the result of four consolidations.¹³ About 1949, a school at Burris and the school at Crowheart, two small communities, were set on the present site consolidating those two

¹³ Information for the Crowheart School was submitted by Mrs. Robert Nation, principal and third and fourth grade teacher.

districts into School District No. 40, Fremont County. For approximately three years the buildings were used as two units accommodating eight grades. During 1952 a well was dug between the two units and a center portion built to connect the two units and form one building.

In 1955, this district was again consolidated with the Morton School District No. 26. This is when the seventh and eighth grades began attending the Morton School, about twenty-six miles distant. At the present, the old building is being used for three classrooms with two grades in each room. A brick dual purpose building was built in 1957. It houses the kitchen, combination dining room and gymnasium, two shower rooms and a furnace room.

There are three teachers with teaching experience from four to twenty-two years. All three hold their degrees, with one holding a master's degree. The school employes two Shoshone men, one as a bus driver and the other as custodian. The president of the P T.A. is Shoshone and attended the University of Wyoming.

The music teacher and the school nurse from the Morton School spend a half day each week for music instruction and health service. Twenty-eight families were represented in the school enrollment in 1961, of which twenty-two had some degree of Shoshone blood.

Morton School

Students in the Morton School were not used in this study as test results were not available, but the teachers in this school submitted questionnaires because this school is responsible for the education of part of the Shoshone students on the Wind River Reservation.

Morton School District No. 26 was established in the early 1900's.¹⁴ The school existed as a one teacher school with a small enrollment in grades one through eight until 1934. In this year, and due to two events, the enrollment began to grow rapidly. The first was the opening of lands on the Riverton Reclamation Project and the other was a prolonged drought from Texas to the Dakotas which forced farmers in these areas to seek new homes.

District No. 26 attempted to provide for these newcomers who were generally quite poverty stricken. The district had little money to meet its needs. The housing situation for the school was at first met by holding classes at various locations where empty buildings were available. Teachers were paid with warrants which were discounted heavily. During these years a tenth grade school was established which was soon expanded to a twelve year school. The curriculum was necessarily limited to a few basic courses.

During World War II, oil activity increased in the district and the homesteaders began to get more securely established. This made more money available for schools and a building program was initiated which finally provided an adequate number of classrooms. Consolidation with other districts further enlarged the enrollment. The school is now well financed from a \$6,000,000 tax base and the state foundation program.

The curriculum has been enlarged to include vocational agriculture, home economics, commercial subjects, besides a full program of science, mathematics, English and foreign languages usually taught in high school.

¹⁴Mr. William Skelton, Superintendent of the Morton School, submitted the information on the Morton School.

Besides these, the school also offers such extra-curricular activities as music and a complete athletic and physical education program.

The school district is on a ceded portion of the Wind River Reservation and has always had a number of Indian children in its classes. The consolidation with other districts has increased the percentage of Indian children in the school. These children are well integrated into the schools' program.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY-CULTURE AND ACCULTURATION

Any study of the Shoshone Indians of the Wind River Reservation must be set against the background of their previous Indian culture and their historic adaptation to the western non-Indian way of life before any sound evaluation of the present activities and problems of the Indians can be meaningful. These people are in the process of changing from a simple hunting life with all its associated social institutions and religious beliefs to the non-Indian complex and radically different concepts of economics, family life, law, social organization and political structure.

The historical-cultural aspect of this chapter is briefly presented. Acculturation of the Shoshone is important and is presented to determine certain factors which tend to influence school achievement. Further, it is of prime importance in understanding the Shoshone of today in perspective to their status of tomorrow.

I. HISTORY AND CULTURE

Pre-Reservation

The Wind River Shoshone of Uto-Aztecan linguistic stock,¹ originally dwelt in the Great Basin between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada.

¹Robert H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 2-4.

Dr. Carling Malouf states in an article in American Antiquity the following:

. . . the Shoshone began to move northward from southern Nevada and southern California . . . eventually supplanted the Promontory culture in the Great Salt Lake area . . . then continued northward into Montana and through the Wyoming Basin to the Great Plains, where a branch of them became the Comanche.²

They entered the Plains about 1500, according to Dmitri Shimkin's doctor's thesis for the University of California in 1939, and condensed in Bureau of Indian Affairs, Report 106³ of which most of the characterization of tribal history and adaptation is based. They began wearing plains type garments and moccasins and by 1700 these Indians had received their first horses. They adopted a considerable plains complex⁴ and began a cultural change which made their way of life more patterned after that of the Indians of the Plains than that of the Shoshone of the Great Basin, at least superficially.

The Wind River Indians received manufactures of white people through tribes to the south and east in the eighteenth century, but it was not until the turn of the nineteenth century that they met white explorers and fur trappers. Their relationships and trade with the famous mountain men were, for the most part, pleasant and profitable.

²Carling Malouf, "Thoughts on Utah Archaeology," American Antiquity, Vol. IX, No. 3 (January, 1944), p. 325.

³United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, "History and Economy of the Indians of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming" (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Staff, 1950), pp. Appendix 1-4. (Mimeographed.)

⁴Julian H. Steward, "Native Cultures of the Intermountain Area," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 100 (Washington: The Smithsonian Institute, 1940), pp. 454-455.

In 1870, the tribe under Chief Washakie,⁵ who reigned supreme for sixty years, settled on their reservation in the Wind River Basin, commencing the change from a life of nomadic hunting to one of sedentary farming.

Their pre-reservation life was characterized by an annual migration to and from the Wind River Basin to the Green River Basin across the mountains to the west. The summer was spent west of the mountains for the tribal or inter-tribal Sun Dance and visiting relatives, but the spring and fall on the Plains of Wyoming hunting buffalo. The winter was passed on or near the Wind River Basin, hunting elk, deer, and other game. This life brought a concentration of the tribe for buffalo hunting and the annual Sun Dance Ceremony, and a dispersion by bands and families the remainder of the year to have sufficient grazing for their horses. They were unable to allow the horses to graze far from their camps because of the threat of horsestealing raids from their enemies, the Crow, Cheyenne, Arapahoe,⁶ and Sioux against whom they waged war.

Economy

The economic pattern of concentration and dispersion of the people had a definite effect upon the social structure. The tribe was loosely organized. The economy, in which the man did much hunting on foot, developed individualism. The buffalo hunt, on the other hand, which demanded strict control of all hunters in a body, developed some

⁵Marshall C. Keith, An Indian Odyssey (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1935), p. Forward.

⁶See Appendix E, Northern Arapahoe Placed on the Shoshone Indian Reserve.

measure of collective discipline. Their hunting was not always successful and, therefore, the people experienced times of scarcity and times of abundance. These factors of movement, discipline, and food supply had very marked effects upon the habits and attitudes of the people.

There was a separate war chief who led raiding parties and defense, and a civil chief who determined much of the organization for buffalo hunting and led the people to hunting grounds. Men could become prominent through hunting skills, achievements in war, or both. The boys and men had fraternities in which they competed for social prestige through honors, won in games and mock raids for the boys, and war for the men. These fraternities withdrew the boys and young men from their families and gave them a certain degree of independence. Girls, on the other hand, were kept at home and trained to perform household duties. Though women as a group held an inferior position, Dr. Carling Malouf relates, "They gathered lots of seeds, roots, berries, etc., and were not as dependent as one would think."⁷

Religion

In religion the Wind River Shoshone maintained a very practical outlook. Their religion was primarily the securing and use of supernatural power for skill in hunting, war, curing, gambling, love, and other things. Power was necessary to give one superiority over another in manly pursuits, and over his enemies. A man without power could

⁷Dr. Carling Malouf, Associate Professor of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Welfare, University of Montana. Quoted from a conversation. Permission to quote secured.

excuse his failures of inferiority on the basis of his lesser supernatural power. The securing of special supernatural power gave individuals the ability to cure the sick. Medicine men were, like the chiefs, important for perserving stability and security in the tribe.

The great annual ceremony, the Sun Dance,⁸ was performed under the guidance of tribal leaders and medicine men for the general welfare of the people, the securing of food and success in war. The blessing and strengthening of the people through the calling down of supernatural power were the basic functions of prayers and dancing. The Sun Dance served also as a social force in bringing together the members in the tribe and relatives in other Shoshone groups for greater solidarity and re-emphasis of the objectives of the tribal culture. Individual participants gained personal power and increased status of the tribe.

Education

Education of the young people to conform with and participate in the fairly simple society of the Wind River Shoshone was not highly formalized or intense. Parents and some of their relatives trained the children in the rudiments of making a living and good social behavior. The children were allowed to experiment widely and to make rather direct emotional responses to situations. They developed from training and experience in small living groups a large degree of independence and matter-of-factness. The boys and young men were allowed a greater amount of independence than the girls and therefore required, later on, greater

⁸Virginia Cole Trenholm and Maurine Carley, Wyoming Pageant (Casper, Wyoming: Bailey School Supply, 1951), pp. 54-57.

pressures to conform and participate in the family group after marriage. Sex discipline was not strict and marriage took place with no ceremony and only parental consent was necessary.

No dramatic rituals marked the coming of age of Shoshone young people. A boy arrived at the full status of manhood when he counted his first war and hunting honors. With age and accomplishments, he moved through military societies to leadership in the councils of the tribe. His status in and rewards from society came from his skill as a hunter and horseman, his accomplishments in war and his acquisition of supernatural power to advance his personal abilities. When he became too old to fight and hunt actively, he held respect for his experience and wisdom and his old age.

Society

Shoshone society was characterized by having few incentives to high accomplishment or leadership and few strong pressures for conformity. People lived at a fairly common level and the social structure offered little or no opportunity for marked social or economic advancement. Nomadism and warfare kept personal possessions few in number. The country could not support great bands of horses in close proximity to camps, which kept bands separated. The ideal of generosity, practiced by giving away property and sharing food, also kept individuals or families from rising to a position of great wealth.

Non-Indian Relationships

The Wind River Shoshone had been on friendly terms with white people since their first direct contact in 1803. Each summer they had come to the rendezvous of trappers and Indians established at Fort Bridger in Utah Territory to trade their furs for white men's goods. This tribe had never waged war on white people, but it is related by Dr. Malouf⁹ that two trappers, W. A. Ferris and Zenas Leonard, did not think the Shoshone were so friendly and peaceful all the time. In treaty negotiations, the commissioners gave tribal leaders their choice of lands for their reservation. They selected the Wind River Basin and were fully settled there by 1870.

Reservation Life

The settlement on the reservation by agreement and without military conflict did not bring the easy adjustment that one might expect at first glance. The enormous resources for raising livestock and farming, the water supply for irrigation, and the peaceful life did not carry the promise to the Indian that they did to the non-Indian. The Indian saw the loss of the buffalo and the loss of the two great hunts and gathering of the tribes, the restrictions upon his annual cycle of travel and hunting. The young men felt a lack of incentives to achieve the old skills. The suppression of warfare closed the avenue of prestige and honor among their own people. Farming was a foreign type of labor and produced foreign foods. Raising livestock was a new kind of work and

⁹Malouf, idem.

demanded concepts regarding business and domestic animals unknown to the Indian. But more important, the new activities meant nothing in terms of success or ways of achieving the values which the Shoshone society held significant and uppermost. The White man's work had no appeal or meaning beyond acquiring cash for food or clothes. As a result, Shoshone society began to shatter. The people entered a period of conflict and confusion. Individuals broke off to try the White man's ways of living and then returned to the Indian's.

II. ACCULTURATION

As a prerequisite to understanding the opposition which lead to the cultural accommodation of the American Indian toward the domination-subordination status categorized to them by the whites, let us review briefly some of the interaction which occurred.

When various societies, each with its own culture, come in contact, social and cultural interaction occur. . . . Minimum direct interaction takes the form of distant (i.e., rare and brief) social interaction with very few members of another society, and the diffusion of a few customs or artifacts from the latter's culture. . . . Maximum direct interaction takes the form on intersocialization and acculturation. "Intersocialization" is direct and close (i.e., frequent and lengthy) social interaction between a substantial proportion of the members of different societies. "Acculturation" is diffusion of many customs resulting from direct and close social interaction between a substantial proportion of the participants in different cultures.

. . . There is opposition (i.e., competition or conflict) when one or both societies expect to exclude, or be excluded, or be excluded by the other society from the goals they are trying to achieve. . . . When opposition exists, it eventually leads to accommodation in order to establish a modus vivendi [mode of living].

This accommodation is based either upon equality or a domination-subordination relation. . . . the subordinate society is usually at the mercy of the dominant one, and is coerced into submitting to whatever accommodation requirements are imposed upon it.¹⁰

This was the acculturation situation of the Indian-White relation after the Indian conquering and this writer believes the same relation of accommodation to their status of subordination, although modified through time and new government policy, exists today and reflects in the educational process of the modern generation.

Suppression of Indian Culture

The independent sovereign society of the Indian was lost, never to be regained, with the advent of the non-Indian spreading across the plains as a last frontier. The government's previous policy of expulsion was no longer possible and the government then adopted a policy of segregation instituting reservations for socially isolating the Indians.

In the early days of the reservation, many peace policies were adopted to accommodate Indian opposition, which furthered the domination role of the non-Indian society, crushing the ethnic culture of the Indian and submitting him into acceptance of a subordination relation. Let us review briefly a few examples of Bureau regulations which furthered the catastrophe of a suppressed, "dying" culture.

Reservation segregation. All tribes were segregated on reservations - by force if necessary - so as to minimize Indian-White conflict.¹¹

¹⁰J. S. Slotkin, The Peyote Religion (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 1-2.

¹¹Ibid., p. 10.

This was in direct contrast to their ethnic culture of nomadic hunters. Slotkin¹² relates an interview stated in J. Creelman's, On the Great Highway, that Sitting Bull, noted chief of the Sioux, aptly expressed the Indian's feeling toward confinement thus:

This land belongs to us, for the Great Spirit gave it to us when he put us here. We were free to come and go, and to live in our own way. But white men, who belong to another land, have come upon us, and forcing us to live according to their ideas. This is an injustice; we never dreamed of making white men live as we live.

White men like to dig in the ground for their food. My people prefer to hunt the buffalo as their fathers did. White men like to stay in one place. My people want to move their tepees here and there to the different hunting grounds. The life of white men is slavery. They are prisoners in towns or farms. The life my people want is a life of freedom. I have seen nothing that a white man has, houses or railways or clothing or food, that is as good as the right to move in the open country, and live in our own fashion.

Feeding system. Indian revolts arising from inadequate subsistence available on reservations were minimized by providing relief in the form of government annuities ("feeding system").¹³ The culture pattern of Plains Indians, which was based upon the buffalo, was completely suppressed by the non-Indian extermination¹⁴ of the buffalo and forced the Indian into dependency for subsistence, which was often inadequate. Even under the feeding system, government relief was usually irregular and insufficient because of official incompetence, dishonesty, or both.¹⁵

¹²Ibid., p. 93.

¹³Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁴Malouf, idem, "The Indians did their share to exterminate buffalo too. For example, many tribes moved to the Plains after 1600 who had no prior business there. This included Shoshoni."

¹⁵Slotkin, op. cit., p. 13.

In the U. S. Indian Peace Commission Report, 1868, the following statement appears: "The records are abundant to show that agents have pocketed the funds appropriated by the government and driven the Indians to starvation", as related in Slotkin's Peyote Religion.

Tribal sovereignty destroyed. A Congressional rider to the Indian Bureau Appropriation Act of 1871, prohibited further Indian treaties, another rider in 1877 provided direct distribution of annuities to individual families in substitution for the previous indirect distribution through chiefs. By Bureau regulation in 1883, Courts of Indian Offenses were appointed by reservation agents to take over the judicial functions of the chiefs.

Through the above policies, the tribal sovereignty was destroyed, the chief who was their executive leader was stripped of his previous influence and authority, destroying the tribal political organization. In the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, the following statement appears: "The tribal relations should be broken up, socialism destroyed, and the family and the autonomy of the individual substituted."¹⁶

Indian values. The Indian value system, and social status had been based upon success in intertribal warfare. The government prohibited all warfare. Warriors with highest status were usually killed or imprisoned. Thus, the traditional value system no longer could function adequately. The customary repository of value was the horse and wealth was accumulated through raids. The government prohibited raids, thus cutting off the chief source of obtaining wealth. The situation was

¹⁶Slotkin, op. cit., p. 10.

aggravated by the fact that non-Indian horse thieves stole a large proportion of Indian wealth, while the government neither protected the Indians nor permitted them actively to protect themselves.¹⁷

The men in the tribe lost their former prestige of hunters and warriors and they could no longer find customary life goals and careers on which to base their lives, resulting in personality disorganization and eventual maladjustment. A noted author and Indian authority remarks, "According to the testimony of one who came to manhood during this period, many young men were so overwhelmed by the vacuity of the new life that they took to suicide or other less direct ways of throwing their lives away."¹⁸ It could be further added that the mortality rate from suicide, auto accidents, drunkenness and murder on the Wind River Reservation is comparatively high today.

Education. The non-reservation boarding school was established by regulation in 1878 as an institution for detaching young Indian hostages from their tribes. In 1891 Congress, by means of a rider, declared white education compulsory for Indian children.¹⁹ In U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Regulations, 1884, the following appears: "Agents are expected to keep the boarding schools filled with Indian pupils, first by persuasion; if this fails, then by withholding rations or annuities or by such other means as may reach the desired end."

¹⁷Slotkin, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁸Clark Wissler, Societies of the Plains Indians (Vol. XI of Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, ed. Clark Wissler; New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1916), p. 869.

¹⁹Slotkin, op. cit., p. 11.

Non-Indian cultural uniformity was emphasized throughout the government schools by prohibiting native language, instituting white citizen dress and traditional white male haircuts, and in other ways furthering the destruction of the social organization of the Indian. The location of the schools at distances far removed from the reservation from which children were selected was deliberate policy. Children were often no more than five or six years old when they arrived at these schools. If the child could be taken young enough and moved far enough away from the influences of family and tribe, the odds against his ever again becoming a part of his environment were considered remote. The schools were dedicated to the ultimate eradication of all traits of Indian culture.²⁰ Slotkin relates another statement²¹ recorded in W. S. Campbell's, New Sources of Indian History, that in 1882 Sioux Chief Sitting Bull states, "I have seen the results of school. The children who return are neither white nor Indian."

This above list could continue indefinitely, not to mention the non-Indian diseases, guns, liquor, greed, which the Indian had no knowledge to cope with, but it is only intended to give a few points of early interaction between non-Indians and Indians and aims to acquaint the reader with the coerced Indian cultural inadequacy and social disorganization which resulted in individual personality disorganization and maladjustment and is reflected in our young people of today.

²⁰Harold E. Fey, and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 110.

²¹Slotkin, op. cit., p. 94.

Chief Washakie of the Shoshone, beloved and wise leader of long standing from 1840 to 1900, sums up the Shoshone situation and attitude toward non-Indian domination at a conference called by the governor of Wyoming in 1878. The impact of his words far more aptly relates the situation than the writer's foregoing coverage.

We are right glad sir, that you have so bravely and kindly come among us. I shall, indeed, speak to you freely of the many wrongs we have suffered at the hands of the white man. They are things to be noted and remembered. But I cannot hope to express to you the half that is in our hearts. They are too full of words.

Disappointment; then a deep sadness; then a grief inexpressible; then, at times, a bitterness that makes us think of the rifle, the knife and the tomahawk, and kindles in our hearts the fires of desperation -- that, sir, is the story of our experience, of our wretched lives.

The white man, who possesses this whole vast country from sea to sea, who roams over it at pleasure and lives where he likes, cannot know the cramp we feel in this little spot, with the undying remembrance of the fact, which you know as well as we, that every foot of what you proudly call America not very long ago belonged to the red man. The Great Spirit gave it to us. There was room enough for all his many tribes, and all were happy in their freedom. But the white man had, in ways we know not of, learned some things we had not learned; among them, how to make superior tools and terrible weapons, better for war than bows and arrows; and there seemed no end to the hordes of men that followed them from other lands beyond the sea.

And so, at last, our fathers were steadily driven out, or killed, and we, their sons, but sorry remnants of tribes once mighty, are cornered in little spots of the earth all ours of right - cornered like guilty prisoners and watched by men with guns who are more than anxious to kill us off.

Nor is this all. The white man's government promised that if we, the Shoshones, would be content with the little patch allowed us it would keep us well supplied with everything necessary to comfortable living, and would see that no white man should cross our borders for our game or for anything that is ours. But it has not kept its word! The white man kills our game, captures our furs, and sometimes feeds his herds upon our meadows. And your great and mighty government - oh, sir, I hesitate, for I cannot tell the half! It does not protect us in our rights. It leaves us without the promised seed, without tools for cultivating the land, without implements for harvesting our

crops, without breeding animals better than ours, without the food we still lack, after all we can do, without the many comforts we cannot produce, without the schools we so much need for our children.

I say again, the government does not keep its word! And so, after all we can get by cultivating the land and by hunting and fishing, we are sometimes nearly starved, and go half naked, as you see us!

Knowing all this, do you wonder, sir, that we have fits of desperation and think to be avenged?²²

The preceding government policies did impose an inadequacy and disorganization of the Indian traditional culture and new customs were not substituted for means of adjustment, resulting in social and personal maladjustment which has been handed down from generation to generation, lessening some, but still prevalent today.

Change in Government Policy

In 1862, Secretary Stanton described the administration of Indian Affairs as a "sink of iniquity", and President Lincoln declared: "If we get through this war, and I live, this Indian system shall be reformed."²³ For years the friends of the Indian and Indian leaders themselves agitated for reform. In the late 1920's a thorough factual study of the whole system was made by a committee under the Institute of Government Research headed by Dr. Lewis Meriam.²⁴ Publication of the Meriam report in 1928 was followed by a lengthy investigation by a committee of the U. S.

²²Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940), pp. 227-228.

²³Jay B. Nash, Oliver LaFarge, and W. Carson Ryan, The New Day for the Indians, (New York: Academy Press, 1938), p. 7.

²⁴Lewis Meriam and Associates, The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).

Senate whose voluminous hearings and exposures heralded the reforms to come. President Hoover appointed to the Indian office commissioners of a wholly new type, pledged to a reform program. Under their administration the ground work was laid for a new policy, embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.²⁵ President Roosevelt, in urging the enactment of this measure wrote:

Certainly the continuance of autocratic rule, by a federal department, over the lives of more than 200,000 citizens of this nation is incompatible with American ideals of liberty. It also is destructive of the character and self-respect of a great race.²⁶

The underlying change in government policy which had been developed in the previous administration found its expression in law in the Reorganization Act. This reversal of an old and disastrous policy and the adoption of a new one was supported almost unanimously by friends of the Indians, by Congress, and by large numbers of Indian tribes and leaders themselves. The task of reforming the administration of Indian Affairs was made easier under the new administration and act. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the new law is that the act does not apply to any tribe or band which votes not to accept it. Major changes were made in the policies of the Indian Bureau itself, all adhering to the same two basic principles of the new program: first, to protect Indian property and enable the Indians to support themselves; second, by building up the Indians' own inheritance of pride and culture, to enable them to work out an adjustment to our civilization so that in the end they will become truly competent, and Federal guardianship will

²⁵Nash, LaFarge, and Ryan, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

²⁶Nash, LaFarge, and Ryan, op. cit., p. 7.

become unnecessary.

Not until the machinery of the Indian Reorganization Act was put in motion did the "paternal" government begin to handle the Indian as an individual within an ethnic society. With the "destruction of a race" some one hundred thirty-one years after the first direct non-Indian influence on the Shoshone people, the government changed their policy from an autocratic ruler of the Indian to one of a brother counselor. Less than a generation has passed, then, that the Indian has had the opportunity of being an individual within a society whose problems of his personal and family life can be planned for democratically. With billions of dollars spent and some fifteen decades later; with the crushing of culture and societies; with strange forced customs and regimentation in educating the children; with treaties and broken treaties, Wissler comments: . . . "the Indians are, for the most part, civilized, but for all that they are not Americanized."²⁷

The present school age generation of Shoshone children are under indirect influence of the "old rule" by means of their parents and are not far removed from attitudes which were formed during the above bureaucracy. In short, these people are "neither white nor Indian" and are faced with underlying conflicting factors causing a barrier in their educational process which the dominant society, or non-Indian student, need not overcome.

²⁷Wissler, op. cit., p. 287

III. ACCULTURATION: INFLUENCE ON SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

Certain of these acculturation factors will be described as they pertain to the Shoshone student of the present. These factors are chosen as important influences on achievement in school. Factors which are presented are discernible and close at hand, they do not include major cultural factors pertaining to the complete Shoshone society. It is obvious that the following factors are but a few, and could be expanded, almost ad infinitum. The descriptions presented are of average situations and do not apply to the entire population.

Parental Control

Little has changed from their original culture in respect to parents' control of their children. As stated previously, the children were allowed to learn through experience more than by parental guidance. Too many times today Indian children are allowed to make their own decisions, large or small, too early in life. Often as early as ten years old, sometimes younger, they make major decisions which contrasts to eighteen years or older in the non-Indian society.

Quite often during a trip to town after "Indian payday", the writer has observed children with anywhere from fifty cents to twenty dollars in their possession, even pre-school children who have no understanding of money whatever, and they are allowed to spend the money at their own discretion. Children are allowed to decide where they should attend school. If they should desire to change schools, even during the school term, they do so with little consultation of, or direction by, the parent. Cases are almost negligible of parents coming to school to

consult with teachers or the superintendent in matters concerning their children. Even though the Shoshone, children and adults, possess great ability to control their emotions much more than the average non-Indian, should their child be punished by corporal methods they go to extremes sometimes in showing their resentment, such as, bringing in the tribal council, taking their children out of school and occasionally threatening a teacher.

It was related to the writer that during their youth the parents use fear as a tool of discipline by telling their children that "Moobeech", the old owl, will get them or "Toya numbi", little men in the mountains, will steal them away. These fears and superstitions are carried into later life, as the writer was told many times by students as old as sixteen of stories of creatures, such as, "water babies, dog with a man's head, one eyed man", and others in which they express true belief.

During a ceremonial dance where many are gathered and the children are in great numbers, the emblem of authority is the medicine man with a big stick which he waves at the children but never uses and they in turn run to their parents seeming to respect this authority. During school functions, children are allowed to run at random which is a disturbance to the non-Indian but rarely to the Shoshone parent and restriction or correction of this disturbance is infrequent. Many hold to the old customary conviction that if they strike their own, a "spell" will come over them and misfortune will befall them. In one instance of remembrance, this superstition was actually blamed for the death of a family's daughter. They claimed she had struck a brother and the spell resulted in her death.

The Shoshone student is handicapped by a lack of parental guidance and parental urge for achievement. The parents do not demand that their children do homework, be active in classroom participation, nor do they urge them to prepare and actively compete and excel in the non-Indian society, the basis of which lies in education.

Often misunderstandings, harmful predicaments, near tragedy and tragedy could be prevented by the control and guidance of the parent. Some of these parents do see the advantage of making decisions for their children, as one parent related after her son of sixteen spent a very perplexing and "mixed up" year which nearly resulted in his quitting school: "I have learned my lesson. From now on I'll not let them [children] make the decisions. I'll do it myself."

With little or no control and guidance which results in many trial and error situations, with lack of encouragement for competition and achievement, with necessity for more decision making for the inexperienced young, the Shoshone student has little incentive to compete with and actually excel in school achievement with his classmate, the non-Indian student.

Language Spoken in the Home

Only in the past few years have most of the Shoshone children, upon entering school, been able to speak the English language; occasionally now there may be one or two unfamiliar with English. This trend is subsiding due to the dwindling of the full blood Shoshone, although in some of the homes where the parents are considerably less than full blood quantum, the native tongue is still predominately spoken.

This situation presents a language barrier with the younger students in laying a sound foundation for their future education. This bilingual problem is noted too, by some of the more "progressive" Shoshone parents. A tribal council member and mother of a recent eighth grade graduate and a high school graduate who plans to attend college, has this to say, "They [children] have a hard time to learn because they and their parents speak Shoshone. They learn Shoshone first, then English."

The language barrier becomes greater with each progressing year. If a child returns from school to a home where English is not spoken, he will get no help and scant encouragement there in developing English skills. Up until grade four all pupils are developing verbal and numerical skills which are very basic to their everyday needs and common experiences. In the higher grades, however, the learning experience involves concepts which are more abstract and farther removed from the everyday needs of the learner. If the home can not keep pace with the learning of these basic language skills, then the child has little use for them and they are lost.

With a better understanding of Shoshone than the English language, the child tends to translate ideas in his mind from English to Shoshone. One teacher with thirteen years experience teaching Shoshone students relates, "Even though the children speak English, they think in Shoshone." The writer does not dispute this method of learning, as it is commonly used by non-Americans learning the English language, but, according to Dr. Malouf²⁸ Shoshone is a synthetic language and different ideas are

²⁸Malouf, idem.

expressed by compounding words in a more complex fashion than is done in English. This process of compounding words and ideas would make it difficult to translate subject matter from English to Shoshone, in the mind, as it is given in any classroom experience. Consequently, the Shoshone students drop behind. Should they be able to translate fast enough, the problem then is governed by the method in which Shoshone words are used and put together which may affect the accuracy of translation. The language barrier then appears to be a dominant factor which has much bearing on the achievement of the Shoshone student.

Home Environment

Children of all races begin to learn in the home, whether or not part of their education is ultimately transferred to some formalized institution, such as the American public school.²⁹ It is assumed that the average child entering the first grade has a core of common knowledge on which the schools instruction can be based. Shailer Peterson states the following:

Many Indian children begin school without the background experiences which are common to most white children of the same age. Experiences and skills that are taken for granted by the teacher of white children in the kindergarten or the first grade cannot be taken for granted by the teacher of Indian children.³⁰

²⁹ Willard W. Beatty, "Culture is Learned at Home," Indian Education Education Branch, United States Indian Service, Circular 216 (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute, 1951) pp. 1-3.

³⁰ Shailer Peterson, How Well Are Indian Children Educated? (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Institute Print Shop, 1948), p. 10.

In contrast to an average non-Indian family, the Shoshone family does not expose its children to the same home experiences as are quite "common" in the non-Indian home. What is learned during this pre-school period is dictated by the Shoshone way of life. To exemplify, the average Shoshone home is quite small, one or two rooms, furniture is sparse and used only by necessity, often five to ten people will live in this small house; water is usually hauled from the community center or obtained from a stream; very little, if any, reading matter, such as, newspapers, magazines, books, and the like, are bought or subscribed to; time is not an important factor in Shoshone life and the clock is not a "god". These and many more such examples could be shown which are in definite contrast with the average non-Indian home.

Many of these home experiences of the Shoshone are descended from their original culture and some are outgrowths of their between-culture situation. In any case, they are considerably different than that of the non-Indian. These home experiences, as an influence to learning, do not end with the pre-school child, but are a continuum as the child progresses through school.

The home does not appear to be the center of society for the family as with the non-Indian, but serves more or less as a shelter in time of need. Little is done to improve the internal or external appearance of the home. In recent years one modern appliance, television, has found its way into the Shoshone home and is believed to be beneficial to learning; even though it keeps the children up late, it does have an educational value of new experiences which they would not normally find in the home. Most Shoshone families have electric washing machines,

which sit out of doors for lack of space inside, and the washed clothes are usually hung on a barbed wire fence to dry. During the summer months tents may be used as sleeping quarters and quite often the family will erect a "shade" made of tree branches which is used for sleeping and other various purposes. Cooking is done on wood stoves and during hot weather some will cook out of doors.

Clothing worn by the average Shoshone is quite simple, but adequate. Often the older Shoshone women will dress, in part, traditionally Indian. Many of the older men wear braids and the younger men usually let their hair grow quite long. For the most part, the Shoshone people are not "social" conscious of their mode of dress and consequently do not try to "keep up" with the non-Indian.

Shoshone students enter and proceed through school with much less worldly knowledge than do most other average children. They miss learning experiences resulting from travel. Long trips that are taken are usually to another reservation in Idaho or, occasionally, Oklahoma. Here they will visit friends and relatives or attend such Indian ceremonies as the Sun Dance. This results only in exposure to like conditions at home. On the other hand, few ever leave the state and many rarely leave the county, at least until they are older. Their traveling, then, follows a geographical stereotyped pattern. Such common experiences as riding a street car, bus or train, visiting a large city zoo or museums of science, industry or nature, amusement parks, libraries, stage plays, big league ball games, seeing a university campus or city air terminal or riding a ferry boat across the bay, and numerous more educational observations, are not a part of the Shoshone way of life and their

children are not broadened by similar experiences. Other experiences closer to home, not part of the school program, are rarely participated in, such as, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, summer camps, youth organizations, church activities, clubs, recreation programs and others common to the non-Indian child.

The foregoing are part of the criteria for learning away from school. These learning situations vary, of course, with different families, but in general, the experiences the Shoshone child starts school with and what he is exposed to throughout his schooling, are quite different than the home experiences of the average non-Indian child and, consequently, he is not as well prepared for the conventional public school education. What he is taught in school about living in the home simply reinforces and expands what, it is presumed, his own parents have taught him about these things at home. But if the Shoshone child has not learned about the average non-Indian home and society, on which textbooks and courses of study are based, then the learning experiences in school carry considerable less value to him. In a school which follows a standard course of study and textbooks are geared to the non-Indian society; the teacher, the Shoshone student and the educational process is handicapped by these substandard non-school experiences and further, in agreement with Beatty, "few teachers ever reach the Indian child's level, even in imagination."³¹

³¹Beatty, op. cit., p. 4.

Economic Complacence

The Indian society of old had no use for money as there was little need for a medium of exchange. Some goods were traded, some were obtained by other means but, for the most part, the Indian actually made whatever he needed. The use of money by the non-Indian was confusing, but he soon realized what money could do and that it was necessary to obtain the needed non-Indian goods. At the present, he accepts the fact that he must have money, but after all this time he has not completely accepted the fact that he must be gainfully employed most of the year to assure him enough income to maintain himself and parallel the economic status of the non-Indian. Shoshone Indians receive per capita payments each month which are obtained through tribal oil royalties, land leases and a few other tribal enterprises. These per capita checks amount to sixty dollars of unearned income per month for each individual on the tribal census. For the average Shoshone person this is enough money to eke out a subsistence, such as, food, clothing and other essentials of basic needs, but leaves little else for improvement on his home, buying of stock, digging a well, and so forth. He is satisfied with this income and does little else in the way of receiving earned income. The Indian material wants were few and simple during pre-reservation life and the accumulation of material wealth was not practiced due to their nomadic life and their generosity of sharing with relatives and friends. This characteristic is carried over into their cultural pattern today. Their social organization does not require them to buy things they don't need with money they don't have to impress people they don't like, as the case often is in non-Indian society.

In contrast to the preceeding, children are urged in school to obtain needed education to secure steady employment and, consequently, earn and enjoy a higher standard of living. The complacent attitude of the parents towards earning a living because of per capita subsidy is reflected in the Shoshone child, subsequently he does not conceive the schools' theory for need of education.

The non-Indian society is in contrast to this complacent attitude and receiving a good education to better themselves economically has become one of their goals. This thought was conveyed to students on numerous occasions and the answers received were generally thus: "We don't need an education, we have the per capita payments." Going further, the writer would explain the possibility of not receiving per capita payments in the future because of oil reserves being depleted, land leases ending, even the possibility of all tribal interests being dissolved. This being the case, unless his allotment was being leased or exploited for minerals, he would have no unearned income at all. But young students do not visualize the future and if this is not instilled by the parent, the idea is lost.

This negative attitude towards earning a living can only be changed by a positive and prolonged practice on the part of the parent so that the child grows with a positive attitude. Therefore, economic complacence is another definite adverse influence on school achievement of the Shoshone student.

Response to Formal Education

The Indian of pre-reservation life lived close to nature and his

educational process was far less formal than it is today. Characteristics of this early education are passed down from ancestors and, with varying degrees, are acquired by the modern school age generation.

The first barrier to formal education is set up by containing the Shoshone student between four walls. This confinement is in opposition to his daily life as most of his waking hours are spent out of doors. The home, not being the center of family society, is used more by necessity than for socialization and family living. His behavior changes and is a complete opposite when he enters the schoolroom from out of doors. On the playground, in the gym or in non-formal situations away from school, he expresses himself freely and with logical sincerity. In the formal classroom situation he does little to outwardly express himself and enter into the learning experience.

The average Shoshone student will put much effort into his classwork, providing it does not necessitate talking and being heard by his classmates. Usually in a situation of oral expression, he may say, "I don't know", although he may very well know the answer. On occasion he will give no response at all. Rarely he will respond, but when he does, his words are not audible. Should the teacher ask him to repeat and speak louder, he will usually answer in the same tone, "I don't know", or again, not speak at all.

Another trait followed by the Shoshone student occurs during a teaching experience of which he has opportunity to ask questions about anything presented. Rarely will he respond and ask, although he may not understand. Consequently, he falls behind trying to analyze what was said and in the meantime the teacher and the rest of the class continue

ahead. Usually this results in loss of interest in the classwork and the student shows little progress. In this same line of thought, when assignments are given there are no questions, but after class and when all are gone, he will come to the teacher and ask, "What do I have to do?" On many occasions the writer tried to examine this particular behavior with the student. When the student was asked why he did not respond during class, generally he would say sincerely, "I don't know why I didn't ask."

These attitudes exist with the non-Indian student to a certain degree, but usually he will respond anyway as he realizes what his teacher, family, and the pressure of society expect of him. Homework was very seldom assigned by the teacher as it was found that little value resulted as home conditions were such that school work at home was near impossible.

This behavior pattern of response to formal education does not noticeably begin in the lower grades as the Indian and non-Indian student at this age are less cognizant of each other. Somewhere in the intermediate grades and progressing with each year this feeling becomes more pronounced, while in the junior high grades it becomes so prevalent it is detrimental to learning. This progressing attitude correlates with the achievement results as illustrated in Chapter Five.

The reasons for this behavior on the part of the Shoshone student are almost as many as there are reasoners. Examples heard by the writer are: shyness, bashfulness, inferiority complex, backward, slow, not interested, antagonistic, not responsible, meanness, and even low intelligence; and even by some "intelligent" reasoners, dumb.

Certain of these reasons pertain to individual students, as they would for any non-Indian group, but for the general Shoshone student population, as a whole, this line of reasoning has proven itself false to the writer during his nine year tenure as an "Indian teacher".³² The real reason can be logically stated, if not definitely, as a carry over of their cultural pattern towards education and their present maladjustment, or "between-culture" situation. This cultural condition has resulted in an inimical attitude towards the non-Indian and to all of his societal customs. There remains a "divided unity" in the American way of life between Indian and non-Indian which presents itself as an obstacle to harmonious thinking. Wissler points out the relationship thus:

We think we are superior to them; they think we are inferior, and they regret to see their young folks adopting still more white ways. They recognize the value of our mechanical devices and our technical knowledge, but as to our real life ideals, etc., they have serious doubts that there is anything worth copying.³³

The response to formal education shown by the Shoshone student is a dominant barrier and another influential factor of academic achievement. According to the Fort Washakie Relocation Officer, the preceding descriptive response to formal education is the main factor responsible for drop outs after sixteen, or the eighth grade. He also says, "most Shoshone students don't succeed in high school because they have gotten so far behind in grade school."

³²See Appendix A, Writer's Experience.

³³Wissler, op. cit., p. 287.

Summary

Acculturation as an influence on school achievement, coupled with other factors which enter in, could be examined at great length and would present a voluminous report in itself. It was the intention of this chapter to describe only a few of the factors, which overlap as the reader can see, but are felt to be the more dominant characteristics affecting Shoshone Indian achievement in school. Chapter Five points out the teacher response to factors which tend to influence achievement and a parallel can be made with this section.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENT DAY STATUS OF THE SHOSHONE INDIANS

The Wind River Indian Reservation is located in west-central Wyoming. The Bridger and Shoshone National Forests and the rugged Wind River Mountains border the reservation on the west. Near the northern boundary, the Owl Creek Mountains lead from the Rockies east to the Wind River Canyon. Behind Boysen Dam, constructed across the canyon, the water of the reservoir forms a large lake which follows the eastern edge of the reservation for a distance of approximately twenty-one miles. Settlements are near Fort Washakie, Crowheart, Arapahoe, St. Michael's Mission and St. Stephen's Mission. Located on the eastern slope of the Wind River Range affords the reservation a comparatively dry climate. Winters are not severe and only occasionally is there heavy snowfall or severe cold weather. Altitude ranges from 4,300 feet in the east, to Gannett Peak in the west, which is 13,785 feet. The nearest shopping centers adjacent to the reservation are Lander, population 4,182, and Riverton, population 6,845.¹

The Wind River Reservation is occupied by two distinct tribes, the Eastern Shoshone and the Northern Arapahoe.² Each tribe has its own business council of six members, elected by popular vote every two years. On certain matters of business affecting both tribes, the

¹U. S. Census, 1960

²See Appendix E, Northern Arapahoe Placed on the Shoshone Indian Reserve

business councils meet in joint session. Neither tribe accepted the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934³ and hence are not chartered tribes within the meaning of the Act. The business councils conduct most business, but certain matters of major importance are reserved for action by the General Councils which seldom meet oftener than once a year. The General Councils are mass meetings of the people, where everyone has equal right to speak and the will of the majority prevails.⁴

Electricity is supplied to the reservation and, in some areas, natural gas. Good television reception can be had from Boysen Peak near Thermopolis, Wyoming. Radio reception from two stations is good any place on the reservation with the exception of in the mountains. Most of the homes are situated near a stream in fertile valleys. Small portions of the land are irrigable in contrast with the dry land areas which abound with sagebrush but afford some feed for stock. The mountains supply an abundance of summer range land for Indian cattle. This summarized picture of the Wind River Indian Reservation can be likened to other rural areas in our western states. To give this picture a more significant meaning, certain facts of conditioning factors of Indian life such as population, education, employment, material conditions, lands, resources and tribal finances are herewith presented.

³Privileges originally granted only to tribes organized under the Act of 1934 have gradually been extended to all tribes with the result that all councils have similar functions and responsibilities.

⁴United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Population and Income Census, Wind River Reservation Wyoming" (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, 1960), p. 3. (Mimeographed.)

I. POPULATION

In 1868 the total population of Shoshone Indians on the Wind River Reservation was 1,351 Shoshones.⁵ Table I gives the population in 1957 which shows an increase of 348 in 89 years. Prior to revision of the requirements for tribal membership, 327 Shoshone enrollees of less than one-fourth Indian blood were admitted to membership. Table I gives the enrollment status of the family members including 173 Shoshone children ineligible for enrollment though at least one parent was an enrolled member of the tribe. Of these, 161 Shoshone children were less than one-fourth Indian. Many of these children who are ineligible for enrollment have older brothers and sisters of the same quantum of Indian blood who were enrolled prior to the enactment of the resolutions requiring one-fourth Indian blood. Twelve of the Shoshone children ineligible for enrollment are more than one-fourth Indian but do not meet other membership requirements. The Shoshone families included eight children whose applications were pending at the time of the census.

Intermarriages with Indians of other tribes occur most frequently for the Shoshone with the Western Shoshone of Fort Hall, Idaho. Children of unions where the father is an enrolled member of these related tribes can not be enrolled in either of the Wind River tribes. Intermarriages with Indians of other tribes account for inclusion in the population enumeration of 146 Shoshone family members enrolled in other tribes.

⁵ Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, Indians of the United States and Alaska, Serial No. 30 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 745

TABLE I

TOTAL ENUMERATED POPULATION AND QUANTUM
OF BLOOD OF SHOSHONE INDIANS
DECEMBER, 1957*

Description	Number
Enrolled in Shoshone tribe	1,699
Indians enrolled in other tribes	146
Indians ineligible for enrollment	173
Enrollment in Wind River tribe pending	8
Non-Indian spouses	230
Total number of family members	2,256
Number enrolled under 18 years of age	714
Number of full-bloods enrolled	353
Number 3/4, less than 4/4 enrolled	308
Number 1/2, less than 3/4 enrolled	271
Number 1/4, less than 1/2 enrolled	440
Number less than 1/4 enrolled	327

*Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, op. cit., pp. 9-10

Non-Indian spouses total 230 in Shoshone families. The non-enrolled family members constituted 25 percent of the Shoshone population tabulated. This is due largely to the frequency of intermarriage with non-Indians among the Shoshone. By observing blood quantum in Table I, we find that only 353, or 21 percent, are of full blood status. Shoshones with blood quantum of less than one-fourth degree comprise 19 percent of the total enrolled population.

II. EDUCATION

The achievement in the number of school graduates are as follows: elementary school graduates--2,000, high school graduates--150, and college graduates--2.⁶ In comparison to the population figures in Table I, this appears to be a significant conditioning factor of Indian life. There are seventy adults who are not able to read and write and sixty unable to speak the English language. The number of years of schooling of adults, over eighteen years of age and out of school, is shown by Table II. The median years for younger persons is higher than for older persons, reflecting a trend toward more years of schooling.

Table III shows the number of resident Shoshone children who were attending school by age and grade. The large number of children seven years of age in the first grade indicates that many Shoshone children do not enter at age six or that they repeat the first grade. The number of children in each grade retarded one or more years in

⁶Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, op. cit., p. 746.

school is shown below the short horizontal line in Table III. The number retarded to this extent totaled 91, approximately 22 percent of the total number enrolled in grades one through twelve. The table shows 50 students enrolled in Grade 1 compared with 12 students in Grade 12. Though some of the differences may be due to an increase in the number of children born in more recent years, the data also reflect a dropping out of school before completion of the twelfth grade. The educational facilities which are now available to these people are four elementary public schools, one Catholic parochial combination elementary and high school, one elementary and high school at Kinnear, Wyoming, a high school in Lander, Wyoming, and one in Riverton, Wyoming.⁷

TABLE II

NUMBER YEARS OF SCHOOLING ATTAINED
OF ADULTS OVER EIGHTEEN
WIND RIVER RESERVATION
1957*

Age	Highest Grade Attended							Total Adults	Median Yrs. in School
	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	More than 12		
60 or over	4	7	13	9	2	1	1	37	6.1
59-68	1	9	21	16	5	6	1	59	6.9
49-58	1	4	14	34	14	14	5	86	8.4
39-48	0	2	10	20	25	29	11	97	10.3
29-38	3	7	10	36	40	55	15	166	10.3
19-28	0	2	6	49	29	49	9	144	10.0
Totals	9	31	74	164	115	154	42	589	9.2

*Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, op. cit., p. 36.

⁷Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, op. cit., p. 33.

TABLE III

AGE-GRADE PLACEMENT - SHOSHONE STUDENTS - 1957*

Age in Years	Elementary School Grades								Senior High School				Over 12	No Report
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
6	25													
7	<u>22</u>	22												
8	2	<u>23</u>	18											
9		6	<u>15</u>	14										
10		1	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	13	1								
11			1	<u>5</u>	<u>18</u>	12								
12	1		1	3	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	14							
13					2	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	9						
14							<u>10</u>	<u>21</u>	10					
H.S. Ages						11	1	7	<u>10</u>	5				
15								1	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	7			
16								1		<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	4		
17								1			<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>		
18									2	2				
Over 18											5	1	13	2
TOTALS	50	52	48	34	43	27	35	40	29	19	21	12	13	2
Average Percentage	6.0	13.4	31.2	23.5	27.9	14.8	31.4	25	31	21	33.3	8.0	--	--

*Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, op. cit., p. 33.

The Tribal Council of the Wind River Shoshone Tribe in a resolution dated May 7, 1958, voted to budget a sum of not less than \$10,000 annually to provide partial financial assistance to students desiring to continue their education beyond high school. An amount not to exceed \$750 annually may be approved by the Educational Committee to any student who is an enrolled member of the Shoshone Tribe so long as he is enrolled and doing average work in an institution of higher learning. Students are expected to make use of their per capita funds and possibly earn some money to cover the expenses which exceed \$750 per year.⁸

In most societies education is the determining factor of economic and societal conditions. Because of the dominant non-Indian society standards it does not differ in the Indian society, and is inevitable that the Shoshone understand this relationship.

III. MATERIAL CONDITIONS

Homes of the Indian people, for the most part, are inadequate particularly in respect to size. Families range from two to twelve people and a large percentage of the homes consist of one or two rooms with very meager furnishings. Anywhere from two to eight people may eat, sleep and live in a single room. Very few families have wells for an immediate source of water and water must be hauled either from streams or water supplies near the community center. Fewer still have bathroom facilities which makes bathing difficult, not to mention the health hazard of outside facilities.

⁸Ibid., p. 35

Some individuals, even whole families, have no permanent residences and, because of this, houses that could shelter an average family with only minimum standards of comfort are often made uncomfortable for all by the addition of another family or sometimes several who not only share the shelter but consume the food and use the bedding and clothing.

Log and frame house construction comprise 95 percent of all types of houses.⁹ During the warmer months, tents are used in addition to the house for sleeping purposes. Occasionally old car bodies are used for this same purpose. Automobiles are a popular mode of travel, not always for necessary purposes but, in many cases, used to get away from home. The largest part of the Shoshones income is invested in new cars.

The nature and sufficiency of clothing is adequate, with wardrobes being very simple. The male Indian usually follows the traditional western mode of dress and almost always can be seen in blue denim trousers and western shirt; the older or full bloods cling to the braids and black "stovepipe" hat. The young and middle age women, in general, are not fashion conscious and dress in everyday type clothing. Often, the young women dress western style for more dressy occasion; again the older or full blood women will dress traditionally Indian with blanket and legging moccasins. Girls in school have a tendency to dress fashionably and in some instances have very complete wardrobes; the boys generally wear the blue denim trousers and sport shirts which corresponds with the average non-Indian western student.

⁹Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, op. cit., p. 745.

Material conditions in respect to the home are generally inadequate for wholesome and healthful living. A few of the more progressive Shoshone families are enlarging or building new houses and equipping them with more modern appliances. Some are installing plumbing for indoor bathroom facilities. But, generally, the small house satisfies the basic need of the Shoshone Indian.

IV. EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

The number of Shoshones fully employed compared to the total population is a little less than five percent. The Indian Bureau policy is to employ Indian personnel wherever possible and this policy is being carried out at the Indian Agency Office at Fort Washakie, Wyoming. Other sources of employment are farm labor, occasional construction projects, and the oil fields, a uranium mill, and small minor business places on the reservation. The chief occupational skills are agricultural, mechanical and clerical.¹⁰

It is estimated that only 330 of the total population of 2,256, or 15 percent, are considered employable adults. Unemployed females with minor children, housewives not seeking work, unemployed males over 64 years of age, unemployed adults who reported some physical disability and males serving in the armed forces at that time were not included among the employable. This report did not include individuals under 20 years of age. Employable adults worked an average of 979 hours,¹¹ or 43

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹One dollar of productive income was estimated to equal one hour of work and 2,000 hours was computed to equal full time employment.

percent of full time employment, each during 1957. There were 250 adults who produced income from employment in agriculture, or from wages, or from wages and agriculture combined. These 250 adults constituted 75 percent of the total number of employable persons. In agriculture, 32 employables, or 10 percent, reported full time employment. Twenty-two adults reported full time employment from agriculture and wages combined, or seven percent of the total employables. Fifty-eight were reported to be fully employed for wages only. This number amounted to 18 percent of the total employable adults. The number of employable adults fully employed through agriculture, agriculture and wages, and wages combined, amounted to 112, or 35 percent, of the 330 employable adults. Forty-one percent, or 118 adults, were employed less than full time in the above mentioned productive labor during 1957. The remainder of the employable adults were 80 individuals, or 25 percent, who showed no productive labor for 1957.¹²

Prosperous families who have utilized their land for crops and the raising of livestock, are few and this potential source of employment lies dormant. Much could be done in raising the standard of living if the value of self-employment, by utilizing existing resources, could be seen.

Total average income reported by Shoshone families which resulted from wages and self-employment in agriculture and per capita payments (\$777 per each individual on the tribal roll), was \$3,846 for each family unit in 1957. Unearned income, per capita payments, amounted to \$2,307,

¹²Missouri River Basin Investigations Project, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

or 60 percent, of the total average income. Income from self-employment in agriculture and income from wages amounted to 40 percent, or \$1,539. Total Shoshone payments from tribal income totaled \$1,311,696 in 1957. The production of oil, and more recently, uranium on tribal land on the reservation has yielded an exceptionally large annual return to the tribe during recent years, making this the principal income source of Wind River families.¹³

V. LANDS AND RESOURCES

Much good land under irrigation lies on the reservation and the majority of this land is operated by non-Indians either through leases or deeded rights. Indian land is tax free, consequently not a source of revenue of the school districts on the reservation. Large amounts of land are tied up in heirship status so that no one gets benefit from them. Table IV gives some information as to the amounts of land on the reservation¹⁴ and how this land is being utilized.

The total amount of estimated gas and oil mineral resources is \$600,000,000. This estimate was based on total production for 1949, with an expected productive life of forty years. This being one of the main sources of income, it can not be depended on for meeting future security benefits. The volume of timber cutting in 1950 was seven hundred eighty-two million board feet per year. The Fish and Game Department is another resource with an approximate intake of \$80,556.

¹³Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁴See Appendix F, Treaties and Determination of Reservation Boundaries

TABLE IV

AMOUNTS AND UTILIZATION OF LAND ON THE
WIND RIVER INDIAN RESERVATION*
SHOSHONE AND ARAPAHOE

<u>Amounts in Acres</u>	
Restricted land	2,079,631
Restricted land per capita.	618
Alloted land.	139,309
Tribal ownership.	1,940,322
Heirship status (1222 allotments)	106,314
Indian operated	883,232
Non-Indian operated	1,196,399
Owned by Federal Government	994

<u>Utilization in Acres</u>	
Wheat	785
Oats.	1,625
Barley	550
Other crops	134
Forage.	1,413
Grazing	878,725

*Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, op. cit., p. 745.

Coal is a resource of potential importance and known coal deposits on the reservation are relatively deep, but at a considerable distance from railroads. Accessible deposits near the railroads have precluded large scale mining of coal on the reservation.¹⁵ Therefore, the resources for economic betterment are present. Only too often do the Indians lease their land for small sums and, in turn, the non-Indian makes a profit from it.

VI. HEALTH

Health standards are low primarily due to conditions in the home, such as, over-crowded rooms, no bathing facilities, and no ready water supply. Up until 1953, the Indian Bureau maintained a hospital with one full time doctor and seven nurses. These facilities were free of charge to any enrolled Indian. In July, 1953, the hospital was closed and a clinic was maintained with contract doctors from Lander and Riverton on a part time basis which afforded much free medical service to the Indian people.¹⁶ On July 1, 1955, responsibility for providing medical care and health service to the Indians was transferred from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Public Health Service, which is part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This transfer of responsibility

¹⁵United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, "History and Economy of the Indians of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming" (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Staff, 1950), p. 8. (Mimeographed.)

¹⁶Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Pamphlet on Activities of the Indian Service on the Wind River Reservation, Fort Washakie: 1958, p. 15. (Mimeographed.)

was changed by Public Law 568, 83rd Congress.¹⁷ Under this system, a full time dentist is being employed to care for the Indian dental needs and doctors are contracted as previously mentioned.

The principal diseases currently seen are diseases of infancy and childhood, upper respiratory infections, influenza, pneumonia, malnutrition, gastro-intestinal disturbances, conjunctivitis, dental caries, cardiovascular conditions, tuberculosis, cancer, impetigo, and pediculosis. The principal causes of death are diseases of infancy, tuberculosis, pneumonia, cardiovascular conditions, and, directly or indirectly, alcohol.

Major items in the Indian daily diet are bread, meat, potatoes, and canned fruit. From personal observation in the cafeteria of the Fort Washakie School, green vegetables are not eaten by the youngsters because, evidently, they are not eaten at home. Sweets are popular and rarely are Shoshone children seen not chewing gum.

Good health is one of the cardinal principles of education and an important factor in the progress of a people. Here, again, educational achievement is a desirable tool in improving the health status of the Shoshone.

VII. TRIBAL FINANCE

Indian tribal trust funds, as of June 30, 1949 figures, show that of one hundred and fifty-three tribes and sub-tribes, the Indians of the Wind River Reservation have a total of \$3,078,490.98. This figure is

¹⁷United States Department of the Interior, Answers to Your Questions on American Indians (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956), pp. 21-22.

exceeded only by two Oklahoma tribes, the Choctaw with \$7,376,442.45 and the Osage with \$3,791,402.94. Individual tribal distribution was Shoshone \$2,109,922.00 and Arapahoe \$968,568.38.¹⁸

Individual Indian accounts, as of March 31, 1949, showed the Wind River Reservation Indians with a total of \$673,733.75 on deposit in the U. S. Treasury. Investments on these deposits in the U. S. Treasury amount to \$573,084.50. This total of \$1,246,818.25 belongs to 2,383 individual accounts. With additional miscellaneous collections of \$174,035.49, the proof total amounts to \$1,420,853.74. Out of a total of sixty-four tribes with accounts in the U. S. Treasury, the Wind River Indians are only exceeded by four tribes with the total amount of moneys of individuals on deposit. The revolving credit activities handled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs shows tribal loans to individuals at a sum of \$24,783.84 and loans to cooperatives at \$3,300.00, for a total of \$28,083.84.¹⁹

VIII. SUMMARY

The population is growing, but the quantity of Shoshone blood is decreasing due to intermarriage with non-Indians. The amount of education obtained by adults is increasing with each generation, but drop-outs are frequent after the eighth grade or sixteen years of age and few actually finish high school and obtain higher education. The age-grade placement shows a considerable retardation on the part of Shoshone

¹⁸ Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, op. cit., p. 877.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 877-879.

students. Certain material conditions are inadequate, especially in relation to housing. Employment among adult employables is low, but income is adequate because of unearned income, per capita payments, in addition to earned income. The use of land is limited because all lands are not irrigable and, further, much of it is tied up in heirship status. Health standards could be higher considering the facilities made available to the Shoshone by the Public Health Service. The tribe, as a whole, has considerable finances to work with and have much money on reserve in the U. S. Treasury. It can be concluded that some of these conditioning factors are present or obtainable, which should tend to promote social maturity and economic stability and the standard of living of the Shoshone could parallel that of the non-Indian society.

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES OF PARENTS AND OPINIONS OF TEACHERS

Persons directly responsible for the rearing and education of the student in our society are the parents and the classroom teacher. The groundwork for the learning process is the burden designated to these people, as individuals and as an organized unit. Each has his special responsibility to fulfill in this learning process which is only a subdivision of the whole. Each has his general responsibilities which are directly, or indirectly, a continuous, combined effort. Without the expressed feelings of these individuals, a study of this nature would certainly be incomplete. This chapter is devoted to the attitudes of parents and opinions of teachers who are directly responsible for the education of the Shoshone Indian students about whom this study is being made. They are being included in the same chapter because of the nature of their relationship.

I. PARENTS

Personal interviews were made with Shoshone parents during which ten specific questions were asked.¹ These questions were directed to their attitude toward schooling and to the education of their children in general. Parents interviewed represented a cross-section of the parents who had students in school sometime during the three year testing

¹See Appendix C, Questions Asked During Parent Interview

program. Interviews ranged from: (1) one-fourth quantum Shoshone Indian blood to full blood quantum, (2) younger parents with children in the first grade (some had pre-school children) up through older parents with children in their sophomore year in high school (some had older children), (3) parents or families who subsisted entirely on per capita payments to parents who were quite prosperous aside from their per capita payments, and (4) parents living in all parts of the school districts.

Importance of Education

The question, "Do you think education is important to your child and why or why not?", was asked. All parents responded with an affirmative answer. In most of the cases the reasons for their answer were basically sound. Only two of all the respondents did not give a reason why. The consensus was, though wording of their answers varied, that education was important to obtain a job and to provide for them and their family in future years. Some examples of the reasons given were: "It helps you to know people"; one parent who did not have an education used himself as an example by saying, "I know education is important from my own experience, I rode my horse all day - didn't go to school"; another with a humorous repartee, "Yes, it's important because Kennedy [President John F. Kennedy] might dissolve our reservation and turn us loose"; "Best to have education - comes first - to get better jobs"; "Is important, because everything we do we need it"; "Very important for future"; "It's important to help teach others and younger ones"; "Should have an education. No one can steal it from you". Other answers were basically the same as the preceding quoted statements

and all were in unison that education is important.

Quantity of Education

In responding to how much education should your child get, 47.3 percent of the parents said, "college degree", and 31.5 percent said, "all they can get". Those who favored a high school education were 16.9 percent of all parents and five percent made no comment to this question. One parent remarked she would like to see her child with a master's degree. Other remarks noted were: "Everything is important. Even in other fields. For general knowledge"; "Twelfth grade. We don't know after that", and another, "As far as they could with it."

Occupation After School

"What line of work would you like your children to do when they finish school?", was asked the parents and all responded to this question. The responses varied, but 73.8 percent said, in effect, whatever they want to do and expressed no special aspiration for their children. Of the remaining 26.2 percent, answers varied in four categories; business 10.6 percent, vocational 5.5 percent, professional five percent, and 4.9 percent stated agriculture as their choice. Specific occupations stated by the 26 percent group were: salesman, carpenter, typist, cook, school teacher, hairdresser, nurse, and engineer. Most parents thought the child would do better at something of his own choosing.

Leave Reservation

"Sometimes they do better, sometimes they don't. Better chance off", stated a mother and tribal council member in answer to the question, "Do you think your child should leave the reservation to work and live when he finishes school?" Her statement expressed the general opinion of more than three-fourths of all parents interviewed. Slightly more than forty-six percent gave an affirmative type answer, whereas, almost thirty-two percent said no. The remaining twenty-one percent said "either", "maybe", or "it's up to the child". Remarks made by some of the parents were: "Don't think so. Rather have them come back"; "If there is good work they do better away"; "Up to individual. Some like to stay and work among their people"; "They could take work on the reservation, but jobs are hard to find here"; one mother stated, "I do. Teaches them to work with people and get along with other nationalities. Get away from environment"; another young mother commented, "That's just what it is; it's a reservation. Better to live off. Learn to live better." The foregoing are samples of how Shoshone parents felt about their children leaving the reservation.

Learn in School

"What things should your child learn in grade school?", was answered by a variety of statements. "Everything but drinking - any good thing", stated one middle aged mother. Another remarked, "What they learn - it was something good. Things I never learned they teach me." "Clean habits in language [good English]", was given by a full blood Shoshone mother. To this question, a Shoshone graduate of a ministerial college

stated, "A little of everything - basic skills, so they can find themselves." Another along this same line of thought, "Try to do well in each subject to find out what they want to do in life", by a widower father of five. Other replies were: "All they teach"; "Foreign language"; "Whatever is offered"; "Everything they need for high school"; "Learn to be a good man or woman", by a seven-eighths quantum blood Shoshone mother. One simply said, "Arithmetic, reading, writing, and language." Response was varied, but the reasoning was sound.

Report Cards

Parents unanimously agreed that report cards and grades were important. When asked why they felt grades were important, a father of seven-eighths quantum Shoshone stated, "You [parent] know what is going on." Almost 75 percent of the parents answers reflected the opinion of this father. A father who is employed with Law and Order on the reservation said, "You carry grades wherever you go."

Shoshone Teachers

"No", said over half of the Shoshone parents when asked, "Do you think it would be better if the teachers were Shoshone?" "Prefer not - be too partial", says a Shoshone mother. "No," says a father, "white men should be." Still another, "No. They would have discipline problems. Too Familiar." "Absolutely not," says a mother, "not as much control over them [students]." Another reply was, "They would get soft. White teacher more strict."

Twenty-two percent of the parents said "maybe", or that it did not make any difference. One parent stated, "Doesn't matter - they [teachers] should be raised in or around community so they understand the Indian better." Affirmative answers were given by a little more than twenty percent of the parents. "Really be fine," says a middle aged mother. A mother of two boys had this to say, "It would be good. Better understanding of each other [student and teacher]." "Good," said one mother, "other Indians too. Some white teachers are kinda bad."² One young father, nearly a full blood, had this to say, "Accept better by the students. There is still hatred for the white man. It's slowly dwindling. There wouldn't be that barrier between teacher and student." This man was a Christian leader who has contact with many of the Shoshone. He referred this thought as the general feeling of most of the Shoshone people, even though the majority of the parents expressed a negative response when asked if the teachers should be Shoshone.

School Evaluation

In response to the question, "What do you think of your school?", 61 percent of the parents responded saying the school was good. This question was explained to the parents as referring to the physical plant and its operation.³ Responses of the parents ranged from "good", to "very good", to "wonderful". One remark to the question was, "Good, but

²During this interview the mother talked to the father in Shoshone. She explained what the questions were and he replied in Shoshone. As the writer was about to leave, the father began speaking in English.

³Descriptions of the physical plants of the Fort Washakie and Crowheart Schools were given in Chapter Two.

[children] come back from school suffering from the stomach." In explaining her remark, this full blood, middle-aged mother referred to the food served at school and the effect it sometimes has on her children. Thirty-nine percent of all parents interviewed expressed an indifferent to a negative attitude toward their school. A young mother with two boys and a girl in school said, "Fairly good school." "Going down hill gradually", retorted a mother of four with two in school. An older guardian of a three-eighths quantum Shoshone boy replied, "Need more discipline." In answer to an explanation it was found that her boy was punished by corporal methods and she felt that some other means of punishment or discipline should be used. A father who had attended an on-reservation boarding school at Fort Washakie said, "Better than what we had at the Government school."

Better Education

Response to the ninth question reflected progressive thinking on the part of the parents. To the question, "What could the school do to give your child a better education?", 88 percent of the parents replied with constructive criticism. Their answers ranged from "better love and understanding" of the Shoshone child to teaching manners and new subjects. The remaining 22 percent either did not reply or their answers were not in line with the question.

The following are a few replies to this question: "Give education for what they [children] have to look ahead [education to prepare them for the future]", "Learn more about country [reservation] ways [teach students how to live on the reservation]"; another parent father said

practically the same thing, "Teach them country ways. How to live on the reservation", "Learn children to hang up clothes", replied a father.

Thirty-one percent of the respondents suggested the school should teach trade subjects, such as carpentry, mechanics, gardening, and sewing. A mother's reply was, "Work with their hands instead of their heads." Extra reading classes and speech were included in response. Table manners and prayers before eating were suggested. "Stress science and English - very important", and one last remark, "to help them [students] work and achieve as individuals."

Parents' Education

The final question asked of the parents was, "How far did you go in school?" The average number years of schooling for the fathers, of which 72 percent replied, was the eighth grade. For 66 percent of the mothers responding, the average was nine and a half years schooling. The remainder of the parents were either reluctant to give this information or one or the other parent was not at home; in two cases, one was a widow and one a widower.

Summary

The foregoing interpretations of Shoshone parent interviews presents the reader with certain data reflecting the attitudes towards education and a general feeling of expressed opinions. The attitudes of the majority of parents points to a sound philosophy towards education. Basically, with few exceptions, this same philosophy might be applied to any non-Indian parent group.

A philosophy is only valid when application of that philosophy is made. For a final analysis of the philosophy of Shoshone parents towards education, a correlation must be made with their previous culture and their between-culture situation of the present. This analysis will be presented in Chapter Seven of this study.

II. TEACHERS

Data were collected on teachers' opinions toward educational achievement of Shoshone Indian students by means of a questionnaire. Teachers of three schools on the Wind River Reservation; Fort Washakie, Crowheart, and Morton High School, were included in this study. These three schools educate almost all the Shoshone students in grades one through eight on the reservation. Thirty questionnaires were sent to the total population of teachers who were teaching, or who had taught, in one of these schools sometime during the three year testing program of 1959-60-61. Ninety percent, or twenty-seven teachers, responded by submitting completed questionnaires. Of the remaining three teachers, one was returned with a statement of not being qualified to complete the questionnaire, and two were not heard from at all. Three superintendents, three principal-teachers, and twenty-one classroom teachers are represented.

Qualifications and Teaching Experience

Qualifications. The total average number of years of college education for twenty-seven teachers and administrators was 4.14 years. There were two with no degree, three years each; nineteen with a

bachelor's degree plus an average of five quarter hours; and six with a master's degree plus an average of thirteen quarter hours.

Teaching experience. The twenty-seven respondents showed a total average of 9.1 years of teaching experience. There were four who had taught only one year and five who had taught twenty or more years, eight with from two to five years, seven with six to ten years, two with thirteen and fifteen years each, and one with eighteen years of teaching experience.

Influential Factors of Achievement

Response to itemized factors. Ten items were listed on the questionnaire which, at one time or another, have been indicated by various teachers as being an influence on academic achievement of Shoshone Indian students. Table V shows the influential factors and how the teachers rated each one. The response showed that all factors listed tend to retard the Shoshone students' achievement except student interest in classroom experiences where seventeen teachers, or 63 percent, indicated it as being a progressive factor; eight teachers, or 29.5 percent thought it retarded achievement, one teacher indicated it had no influence and one did not respond. Shoshone language spoken in the home was the most significant factor in retarding Shoshone achievement. Twenty-six teachers, or 96 percent, agreed it was a retarding factor and only one thought it might tend to progress. Home living conditions was the next most retarding factor indicated by the response of 92.6 percent, or twenty-five teachers. The next most dominant retarding factor indicated by twenty-four teachers, or 88.8 percent, was cultural background. The

TABLE V
TEACHER OPINIONS
INFLUENTIAL FACTORS OF ACHIEVEMENT

	PROGRESS	PER- CENT	RETARD	PER- CENT	NO INFLUENCE	PER- CENT	NO RESPONSE
Community environment	8	29.5	18	66.6	0		1
Cultural background	1	3.7	24	88.8	2	7.3	0
Economic status	8	29.5	15	55.5	3	11.1	1
Health standards	9	33.3	15	55.5	3	11.1	0
Home living conditions	1	3.7	25	92.6	0		1
Indian attitude towards non-Indian	3	11.1	13	48.1	10	37.0	1
Parents' attitude toward school	6	22.2	19	70.3	0		2
Shoshone language spoken in the home	1	3.7	26	96.3	0		0
Social standing	4	14.8	13	48.1	10	37.0	0
Student interest in classroom experiences	17	63.0	8	29.5	1	3.7	1
Totals	58	21.4	176	65.1	29	10.7	7

fourth factor, in order, which tends to retard was parents' attitude towards school, with nineteen teachers saying it retarded and six indicating it to progress, and two teachers made no response to this item. Community environment was indicated by eighteen teachers as a retarding factor and eight indicated it was a progressive factor. Two items were checked by only thirteen teachers, or 48 percent, as having influence on achievement as a retarding factor, they were: Indian attitude towards non-Indian and social standing. They appeared as a more dominant retarding factor than a progressive one.

The totals indicate the total number of teachers responding to all items under progress, retard, no influence, no response and also a percentage-wise figure. Fifty-eight, or 21 percent of a total possible response of 270, indicated all ten items tend to progress Shoshone student achievement; compared to 176 responses, or 65.1 percent, indicate all ten items tend to retard and 29, or 10.7 percent, indicate no influence either way and seven showed no response at all.

Other Influential Factors

Teachers were asked to indicate any additional factors which they had experienced as a teacher that progress or retard achievement other than those itemized in the questionnaire and illustrated in Table V.

Additional progressive factors. The following list shows additional influences which tend to progress Shoshone student achievement given by free response of the teachers:

1. Athletics.
2. Television.

3. Correlation of subject matter.
4. Being able to use their hands, such as, arts, typing, and so forth.
5. Attractive surroundings of the school.
6. Activities, such as, 4-H, Boy Scouts, band, music, summer activities, Sunday school, recreation, and outdoor activities.
7. Students whose parents are employed at something other than farming or ranching.
8. If personal experiences can be related with teaching.
9. Expend more energy in teaching Shoshone students.
10. Respond to positive approach - minimize criticism.

Additional retarding factors. The following list shows additional influences which tend to retard Shoshone student achievement given by free response of the teachers:

1. Inferiority complex.
2. Resistance to another culture.
3. Lack of foresight.
4. Late television shows.
5. Lack of incentive.
6. Courses of study not geared to Indian background.
7. Parental control.
8. Poor or no breakfast.
9. Lack of motivation in the home.
10. Shorter interest span than non-Indian.
11. Shyness.
12. Lack of pride in achievement
13. The idea the Federal Government owes them a home.
14. Non-attendance.

15. Don't need education for the type of life they live.
16. Lack of vocabulary for understanding.
17. Can't express themselves in English.
18. Don't understand English.
19. Family background.
20. Intermarriage.
21. Bashfulness.
22. Low desire.
23. Lack of initiative.
24. See no need for an education.

Intelligence of Shoshone Indian Student

Standardized I.Q. tests do not validly test innate intelligence of the Indian student.⁴ It is not the purpose of this section to establish a numerical I.Q., but to relate the teachers opinion of the average intelligence, or native ability, of the Shoshone Indian either as below, equal to, or above the average intelligence of the non-Indian.

Intelligence. All twenty-seven teachers responded to the question. Shoshone Indian intelligence was indicated as being equal to non-Indian intelligence by 81.5 percent of the group, or twenty-two teachers. Five teachers, or 18.5 percent of the group, indicated the Shoshone intelligence was below that of the non-Indian. Free response by teachers to justify their opinions are listed below in brief.

⁴Robert J. Havighurst and Rhea R. Hilkevitch, "The Intelligence of Indian Children as Measured by a Performance Scale," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 39:419-433, 1944; Robert J. Havighurst, Minna Koral Gunther, and Inez E. Pratt, "Environment and the Draw-a-Man Test: The Performance of Indian Children," Ibid., 40:50-63, 1946.

Most all the teachers who indicated the intelligence as being equal to the non-Indian qualified their answer by saying the achievement is lower because of the retarding influential factors previously mentioned. In addition one teacher stated, "These people Shoshone students do very well in band which requires average or above average intelligence." Another teacher said, "What he wishes to learn, an average Indian child does learn. His cultural background may be the deciding influence in determining what he wishes to learn." A final remark by a superintendent was, "We have found through testing that the average Indian is just as capable as an average white."

Reasons given by the teachers indicating below average intelligence for the Shoshone Indian vary. One teacher said, "Due to lack of parental interest in children as students." Another commented, "I believe that intermarriage within the Shoshone tribe has some effect on their intelligence." This same idea is given by another respondent, "Too much intermarriage in a small group is I think partly responsible." A final comment is given, "With centuries of civilization behind non-Indians and not even one century behind the Shoshones, they naturally would have a lower intelligence than the non-Indian."

Courses of Study and Textbooks Geared to Background

It was desired to establish whether the course of study, including the textbooks used, was geared or not geared to, (1) the type of community in which the schools were located; (2) Shoshone Indian students' background; and (3) non-Indian students' background. Table VI shows the interpretation of the data obtained as a result of this question. It

shows that 92.5 percent, or twenty-five teachers, indicated the course of study and textbooks are geared to the non-Indian students' background. Twenty respondents, or 74 percent, indicated it was not geared to the Shoshone students' background, but almost 60 percent, or sixteen teachers, said that it was geared to the type of community, rural farming and ranching, in which the school was located.

TABLE VI
COURSE OF STUDY AND TEXTBOOKS GEARED TO
COMMUNITY AND STUDENT BACKGROUND

Course of Study and Textbooks geared to:	No. Yes	Per- cent	No. No	Per- cent	No Response
Type of community in which your school is located	16	59.2	10	37	1
Shoshone Indian students' background	6	22.2	20	74	1
Non-Indian students' background	25	92.5	2	7.4	

Raise Shoshone Student Achievement

Teachers were asked to submit their opinion on what could be done to raise the academic achievement level of Shoshone students. (Only one teacher did not respond to this question.) Their opinions are quoted, in part, below. Some that definitely overlap others will be shown as one.

1. "Home background improved."
2. "Guidance program which would show the need for academic achievement."
3. "Anything that would help their self-confidence."
4. "Attitude of the community will have to change."
5. "Change the curriculum to fit the culture rather than try to change the culture to fit the curriculum."

6. "When the Indians themselves feel that education is needed in their daily lives."
7. "Change the method of giving out the oil royalties. They have become too dependent on it and see no need to learn academic things in order to make a living."
8. "Encouragement to speak English in the home."
9. "Intermarriage between Arapahoe and Shoshoni and whites and Shoshoni is gradually eliminating the language barrier."
10. "Raise the educational level of Indian parents."
11. "Texts should be based on Shoshone childrens' experiences and widen to greater world-scope with age."
12. "English should be taught in the morning as a foreign subject is taught to English-speaking people. Reading will then come more easily. English, Numbers, Phonics, then Reading should be the order."
13. "Teachers should be very interested in these children. Capable of getting across the value of Christian principles."
14. "Ability grouping."
15. "Boarding schools where living standards are higher and they are required to speak English and are away from the influence of their parents."
16. "Educate the parents regarding health needs, diet, adequate housing. Curriculum in an Indian school geared to the immediate needs of the pupil."
17. "Gear academic program to fit the need of the Indians. Specialists to evaluate their needs and help set up learning programs. More patience and understanding toward Indians where they go on to Public High Schools."
18. "Research and public awareness."
19. "Three grades for grades one and two instead of traditional two years. Establish standards of achievement for each grade level for Shoshone pupils with rewards for pupils reaching standards."
20. "Educate the parents - homelife - money wise, etc."
21. "A long range educational program seems to be the answer."
22. "The average Indian has a better chance for education in the all Indian schools."

23. "A 'Track System' would be advantageous, if vocational - cultural - social - and communicative training were stressed. Guidance counseling - counselor should be well-versed in the language-customs and traditions of his counselees."
24. "Smaller schools would help because it allows them to take part in a wide variety of activities and allows them to make personal friends with people of different races. It allows the Indian child to excel at the top of the class in some fields."
25. "Develop the skills that the Indian has."
26. "Encourage, praise and bolster pride in achievement when ever possible. Encourage use of English, outside reading - television - radio, newspapers. Work through parents when ever possible to secure cooperation of effort. Make school more center of Community Activity. Enlist parent participation when ever possible."
27. "A kindergarten would be beneficial toward language development."

Summary

The qualifications of the teachers are high with only two of the twenty-seven not having a degree and five holding a master's degree. Their teaching experience is considerable and, although teaching ability of these teachers is not known, qualifications and experience are such as to stimulate growth in student academic achievement in these or any other schools.

Except for student interest in classroom experiences, a majority of the teachers agreed on factors which retard Shoshone student achievement. Shoshone Indian intelligence was shown to be equal to the average non-Indian by most all of the teachers. According to the respondents, the course of study is geared primarily to the non-Indian students' background and not to the Shoshone students' background even though enrollment in two of the three schools is primarily Shoshone Indian students. A slight majority said the course of study was geared to the type of

community in which the school was located, that is, a rural farming and ranching community. Some of the foregoing quoted statements and attitudes and opinions of the teachers toward progressive and retarding factors of academic achievement do not necessarily represent the convictions of the writer. Concluding statements to teacher attitudes will be treated in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER VI

SHOSHONE STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

It was the purpose of this chapter to determine the academic achievement in the basic skills of Shoshone students in grades three through eight. Students, both Shoshone and non-Indian, in two public schools on the Wind River Reservation were given the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills during April of 1959, 1960, and 1961. The results of the three year testing program were used to broaden the scope in relation to obtaining more valid results.

A comparison of Shoshone students is made with the non-Indian students in the same schools and also both groups are compared with the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills percentile norms. Although this is not a complete statistical study, the ranking of achievement on eleven tests by percentile norms is inferred as being sufficient data to determine Shoshone student achievement in the public school.

Table VII shows the number of students tested in each grade. This table represents the total three year testing program. Although there is marked over-agedness, no attempt is made in this study to correlate achievement with age. The reader may refer to the age-grade placement table for 1957 on page 68, which has changed little since that date. There were some students in each grade, both Shoshone and non-Indian, who did not complete all eleven tests and, consequently, these data were not included in this study.

I. TEST DATA AND INTERPRETATIONS

Grades Three Through Eight

Test data are treated by individual grades and a comparison is made with Shoshone and non-Indian scores and with the percentile norms of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills. Results of all eleven tests for each grade are treated separately and a comparison is made of the Shoshone and non-Indian students by tabular means. By graphical methods each test is shown and a comparison can be made of the Shoshone and non-Indian students and also of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills norms. The composites of all tests for each grade are shown in the tables and

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS TESTED
FORT WASHAKIE AND CROWHEART SCHOOLS
APRIL, 1959-60-61

SCHOOL	Y E A R	3		4		5		6		7		8	
		S	N-I	S	N-I	S	N-I	S	N-I	S	N-I	S	N-I
Fort Washakie	1959	26	6	13	8	9	7	13	1	12	2	12	1
Crowheart		6	6	2	5	5	4	4	4	None	None	None	None
Fort Washakie	1960	14	4	26	2	12	9	14	5	14	1	18	3
Crowheart		3	4	4	3	2	2	3	3	None	None	None	None
Fort Washakie	1961	26	11	21	4	25	6	14	8	12	5	23	1
Crowheart		5	3	4	3	7	5	2	1	None	None	None	None
TOTALS		80	34	70	25	60	33	50	22	38	8	53	5

figures to establish an average grade equivalent for each group for an overall picture of average gain or loss. Other than this general use, the composite should not be referred to as a means of determining grade placement of an individual, or in this case, a group.

In comparing Shoshone and non-Indian students in grades seven and eight, reference must be made to the small number of non-Indian students in those grades. This is not held to be a perfectly valid comparison, but an inference must be made because these non-Indian students represent the non-Indian total population in those grades except for two students in grade eight and one in grade seven who did not complete all tests and could not be included.

Tables eight through thirteen show the low score, the 25th percentile, the median score, the 75th percentile, and the high score for each test. They also show how each group, Shoshone and non-Indian, compared with the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills median by a plus or minus number of months of deviation. The Shoshone students' median for each test is compared to the non-Indian by a plus or minus number of months of deviation.

Figures one through eighteen show test results for all six grades on all tests. A comparison can be made of Shoshone, non-Indian, and Iowa Tests of Basic Skills by means of low, 25th percentile, median, 75th percentile and high scores for all tests and a composite of all tests. Each grade is represented by one table followed by three figures. For a complete understanding of the data, explanations of symbols and abbreviations are herewith given:

- ITBS = Iowa Tests of Basic Skills.
- S = Shoshone student.
- N-I = Non-Indian student.
- Mdn. = Median, or a point in a distribution above and below which half the cases fall.
- 25 = 25th percentile, or a point in a distribution below which 25 percent of the cases lie.
- 75 = 75th percentile, or a point in a distribution below which 75 percent of the cases lie.
- Low = Lowest score in each test.
- High = Highest score in each test.
- Dev. = Deviation.
- + or - = Above or below a median by number of months (example, -6 indicates six months below another median score.)

Scores found in the tables and figures represent a grade equivalent in years and months (example, 63 means grade 6 plus 3 months.)

Summary

It was the purpose of this chapter to establish Shoshone student academic achievement in grades three through eight, as compared to their non-Indian counterparts in the same grades. No distinction was made in the classroom and materials and methods of instruction were generally the same for both groups. Yet, in almost every test in all grades, the Shoshone student achievement was below the non-Indian student achievement, in comparing medians, from one month in various tests up to three years and three months in sixth grade language usage.

In the third grade, the Shoshone students were below the ITBS medians only in three tests, the lowest being minus four months in

TABLE VIII

GRADE THREE DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON ALL TESTS
SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS COMPARED

TESTS	GROUP	DISTRIBUTION					DEV. FROM ITBS MDN.	SHOSHONE COMPARED TO N-INDIAN MDN.
		LOW	25	Mdn.	75	HIGH		
Vocabulary	S	21	34	39	43	49	+1	-6
	N-I	31	40	45	55	60	+7	
Reading Comprehension	S	21	33	39	43	51	+1	-4
	N-I	29	39	43	49	77	+5	
Spelling	S	19	37	43	48	67	+5	+1
	N-I	30	35	42	52	63	+4	
Capitalization	S	18	35	39	44	60	+1	-4
	N-I	29	39	43	50	69	+5	
Punctuation	S	27	36	40	45	58	+2	-1
	N-I	25	36	41	46	59	+3	
Language Usage	S	18	28	34	38	55	-4	-9
	N-I	20	33	43	49	59	+5	
Map Reading	S	23	33	37	43	53	-1	-7
	N-I	25	37	44	47	58	+6	
Reading Graphs and Tables	S	18	29	35	38	51	-3	-7
	N-I	25	35	42	48	61	+4	
Knowledge & Use of Reference Materials	S	25	33	38	42	52	None	-1
	N-I	17	35	39	45	53	+1	
Arithmetic Concepts	S	19	34	38	41	56	None	-6
	N-I	30	38	44	50	60	+6	
Arithmetic Problem Solving	S	23	34	38	40	50	None	-4
	N-I	23	34	42	48	54	+4	
Composite All Tests	S	25	35	38	41	49	None	-6
	N-I	31	39	44	50	59	+6	

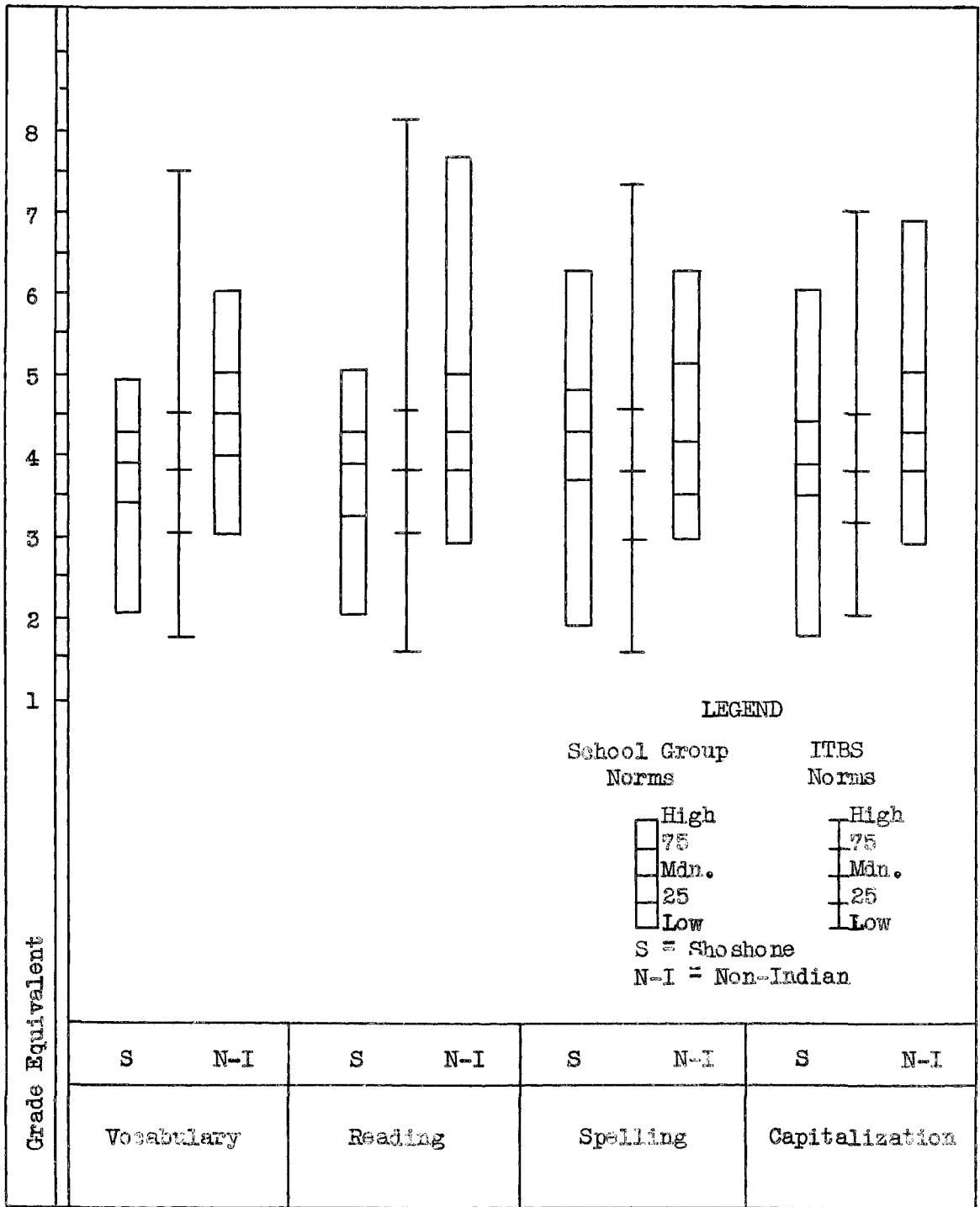


FIGURE 1

GRADE THREE EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 VOCABULARY, READING, SPELLING, AND CAPITALIZATION
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

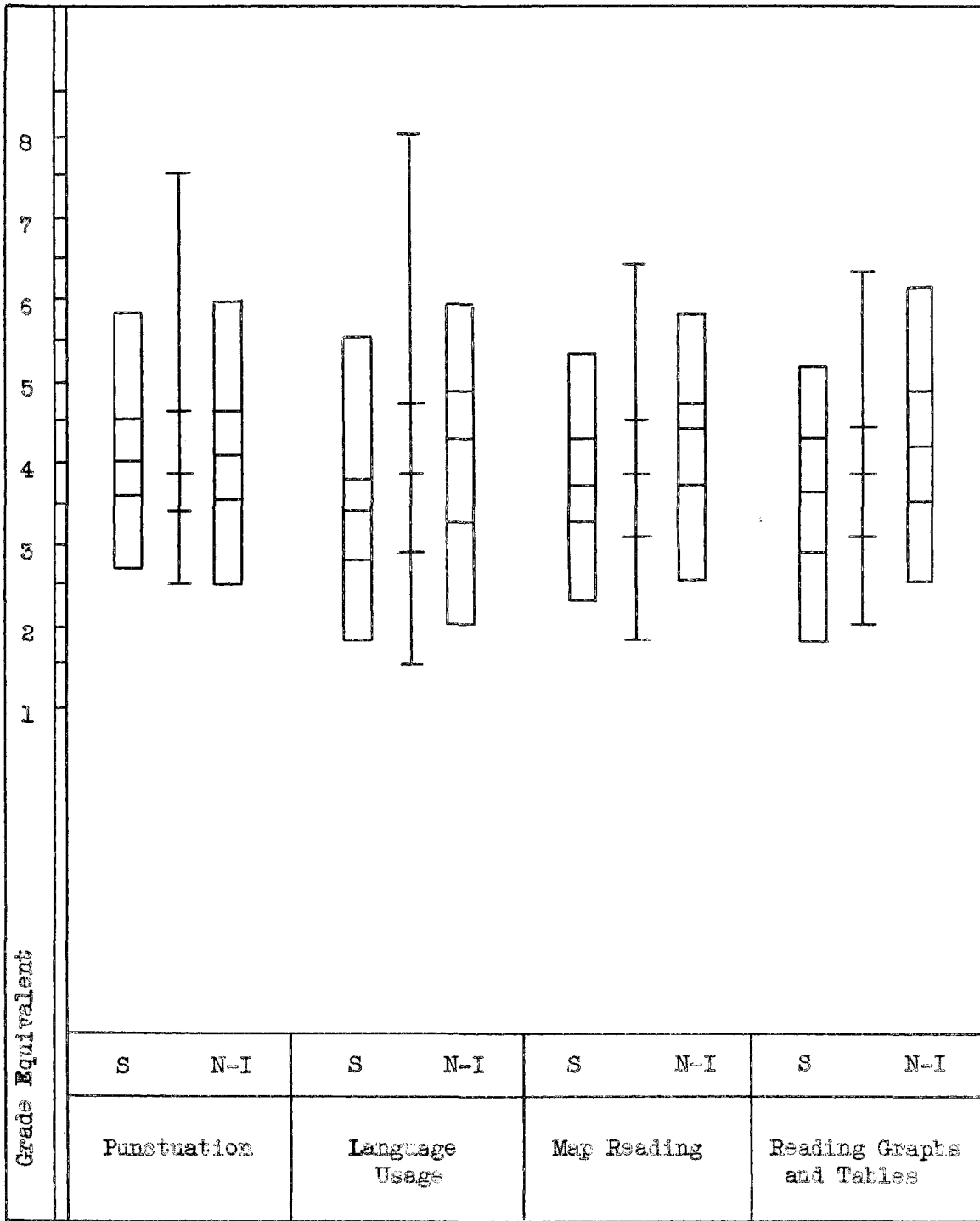


FIGURE 2

GRADE THREE EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 PUNCTUATION, USAGE, MAP READING, READING GRAPHS AND TABLES
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

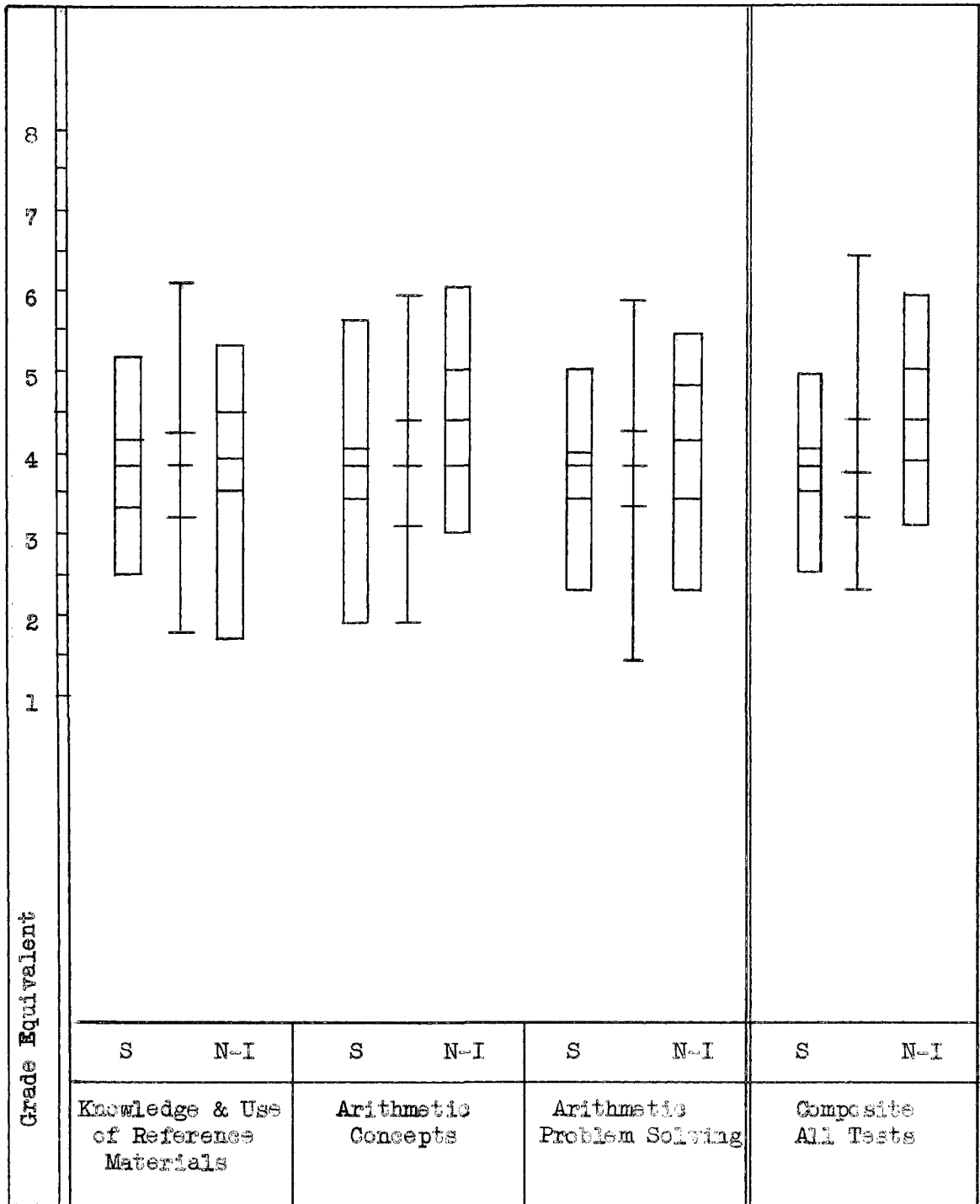


FIGURE 3

GRADE THREE EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 REFERENCE MATERIALS, ARITHMETIC CONCEPTS, PROBLEM
 SOLVING, AND COMPOSITE OF ALL TESTS
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

TABLE IX

GRADE FOUR DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON ALL TESTS
SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS COMPARED

TESTS	GROUP	DISTRIBUTION					DEV. FROM ITBS NORMS	SHO SHONE COMPARED TO N-INDIAN MDN.
		LOW	25	MDN.	75	HIGH		
Vocabulary	S	29	41	45	47	57	-3	-6
	N-I	37	47	51	73	85	+3	
Reading Comprehension	S	29	41	47	51	63	-1	-13
	N-I	38	51	61	80	96	+12	
Spelling	S	32	45	52	63	84	+4	-6
	N-I	39	50	58	63	81	+10	
Capitalization	S	29	44	52	59	69	+4	-7
	N-I	41	51	59	69	91	+11	
Punctuation	S	43	50	56	67	87	+8	-11
	N-I	35	55	67	82	98	+19	
Language Usage	S	20	33	39	48	67	-9	-14
	N-I	30	45	53	67	74	+5	
Map Reading	S	30	43	47	53	73	-1	-8
	N-I	39	49	55	65	76	+7	
Reading Graphs and Tables	S	23	37	42	46	69	-6	-11
	N-I	31	45	53	65	73	+5	
Knowledge & Use of Reference Materials	S	29	43	49	55	71	+1	-8
	N-I	39	48	57	64	81	+9	
Arithmetic Concepts	S	29	40	43	48	58	-5	-13
	N-I	39	52	56	62	67	+8	
Arithmetic Problem Solving	S	30	37	43	47	61	-5	-13
	N-I	32	46	56	64	69	+8	
Composite All Tests	S	36	42	47	50	58	-1	-11
	N-I	42	49	58	68	77	+10	

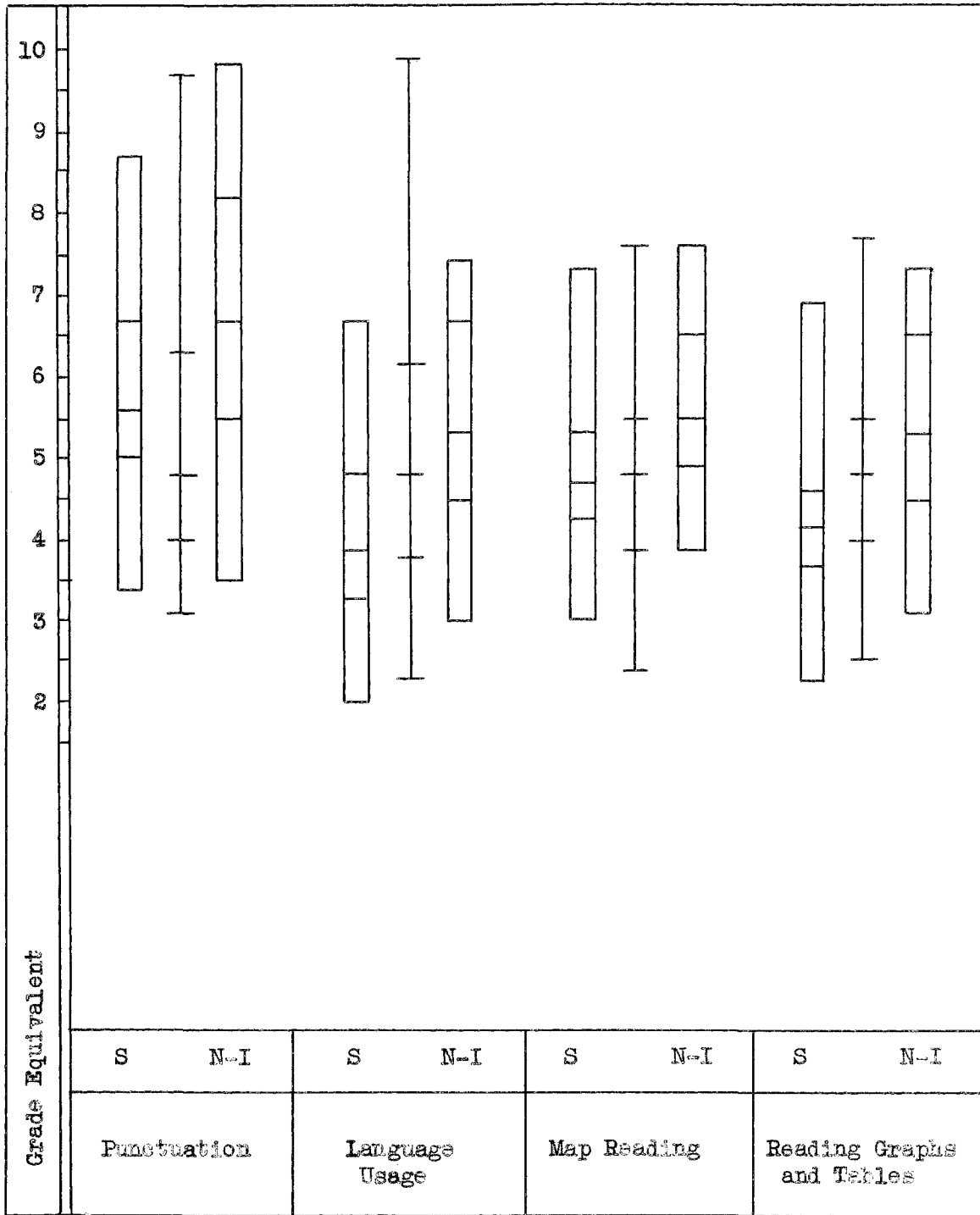


FIGURE 5

GRADE FOUR EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 PUNCTUATION, USAGE, MAP READING, READING GRAPHS AND TABLES
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

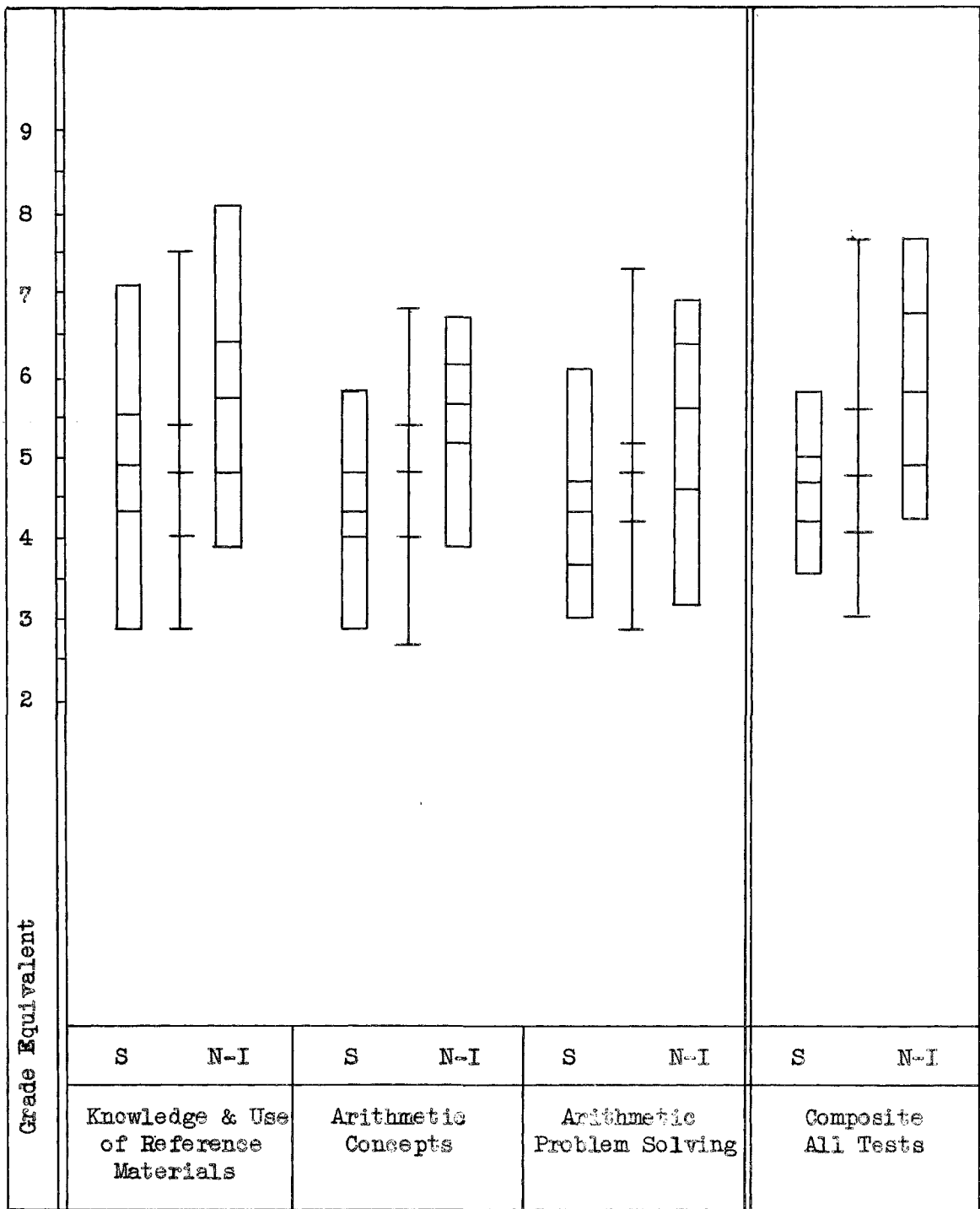


FIGURE 6

GRADE FOUR EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 REFERENCE MATERIALS, ARITHMETIC CONCEPTS, PROBLEM
 SOLVING, AND COMPOSITE OF ALL TESTS
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

TABLE X

GRADE FIVE DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON ALL TESTS
SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS COMPARED

TESTS	GROUP	DISTRIBUTION					DEV. FROM ITBS MDN.	SHOSHONE COMPARED TO N-INDIAN MDN.
		LOW	25	MDN.	75	HIGH		
Vocabulary	S	35	44	50	57	79	-8	-21
	N-I	39	53	71	83	96	+13	
Reading Comprehension	S	32	48	54	58	75	-4	-19
	N-I	40	54	73	88	102	+15	
Spelling	S	30	48	58	68	87	None	-5
	N-I	39	55	63	71	89	+5	
Capitalization	S	34	53	57	67	99	-1	-15
	N-I	43	53	72	87	114	+14	
Punctuation	S	37	53	66	76	93	+8	-20
	N-I	40	65	86	96	106	+28	
Language Usage	S	32	43	50	59	92	-8	-30
	N-I	32	54	80	91	105	+22	
Map Reading	S	29	41	55	60	78	-3	-9
	N-I	40	55	64	70	80	+6	
Reading Graphs and Tables	S	33	44	51	55	77	-7	-11
	N-I	40	55	62	74	85	+4	
Knowledge & Use of Reference Materials	S	38	48	54	60	76	-4	-10
	N-I	41	56	64	75	87	+6	
Arithmetic Concepts	S	36	45	52	58	71	-6	-10
	N-I	43	55	62	72	78	+4	
Arithmetic Problem Solving	S	36	46	52	57	78	-6	-11
	N-I	41	53	63	73	88	+5	
Composite All Tests	S	42	49	53	58	75	-5	-17
	N-I	46	54	70	78	91	+12	

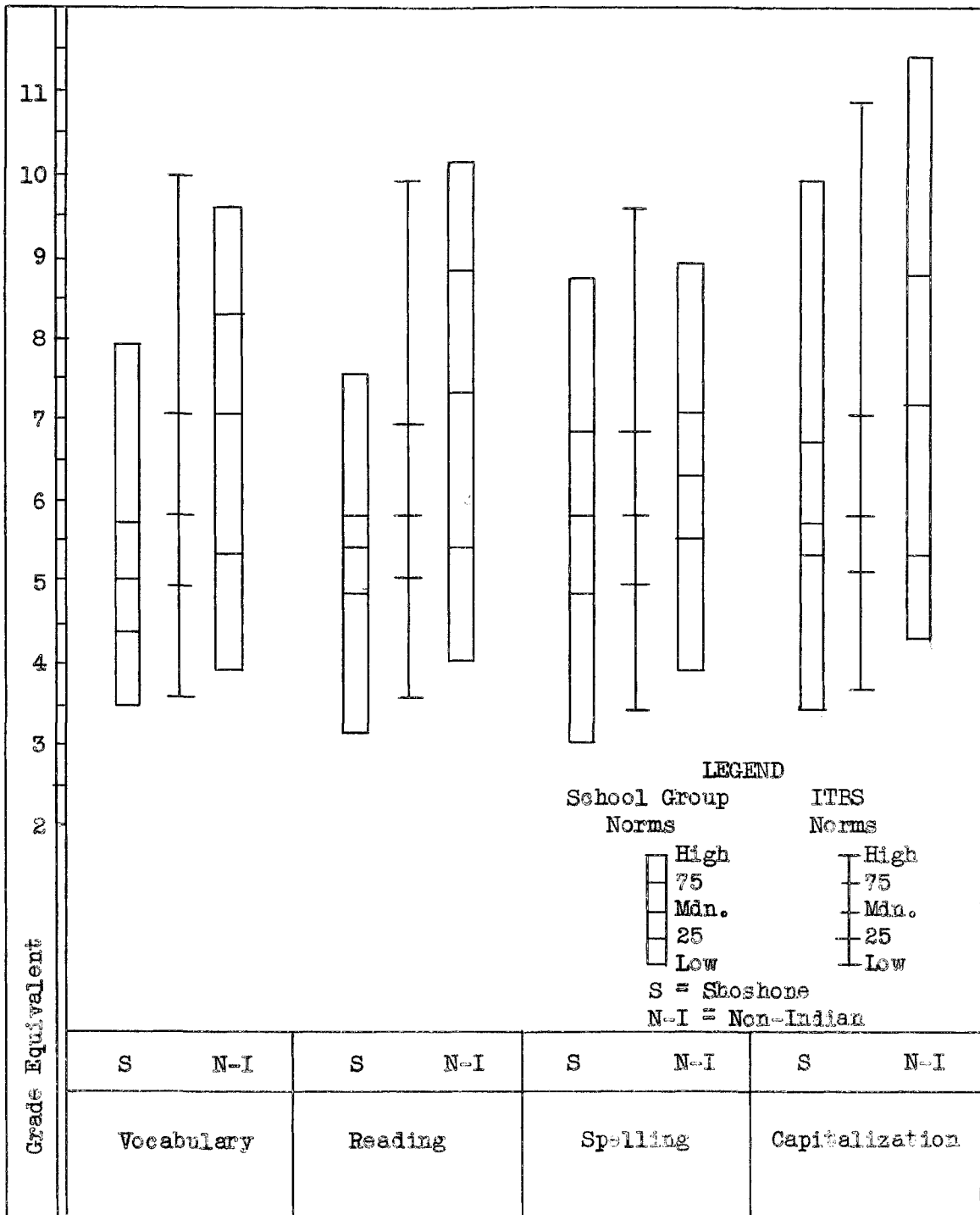


FIGURE 7

GRADE FIVE EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 VOCABULARY, READING, SPELLING, AND CAPITALIZATION
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

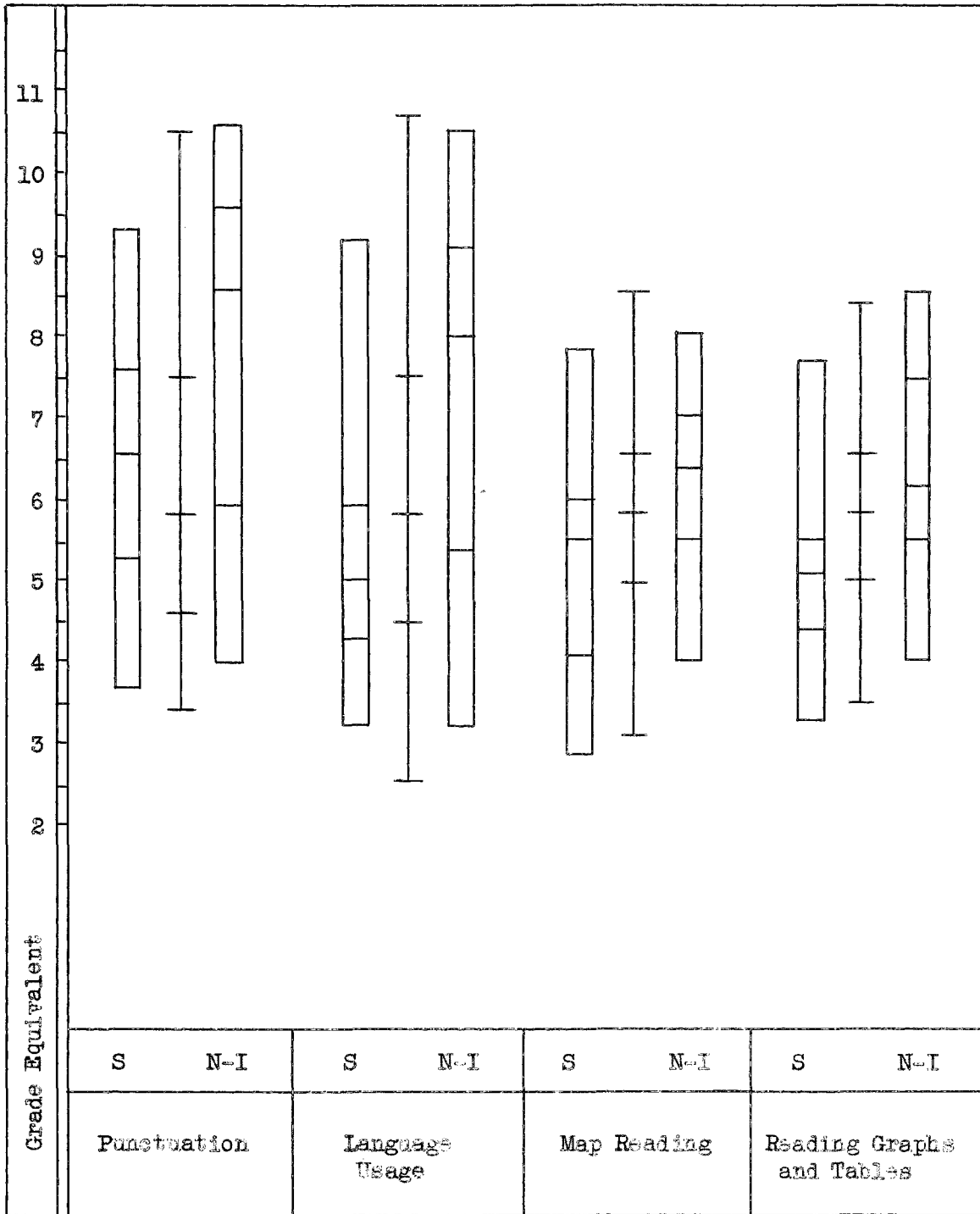


FIGURE 8

GRADE FIVE EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 PUNCTUATION, USAGE, MAP READING, READING GRAPHS AND TABLES
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

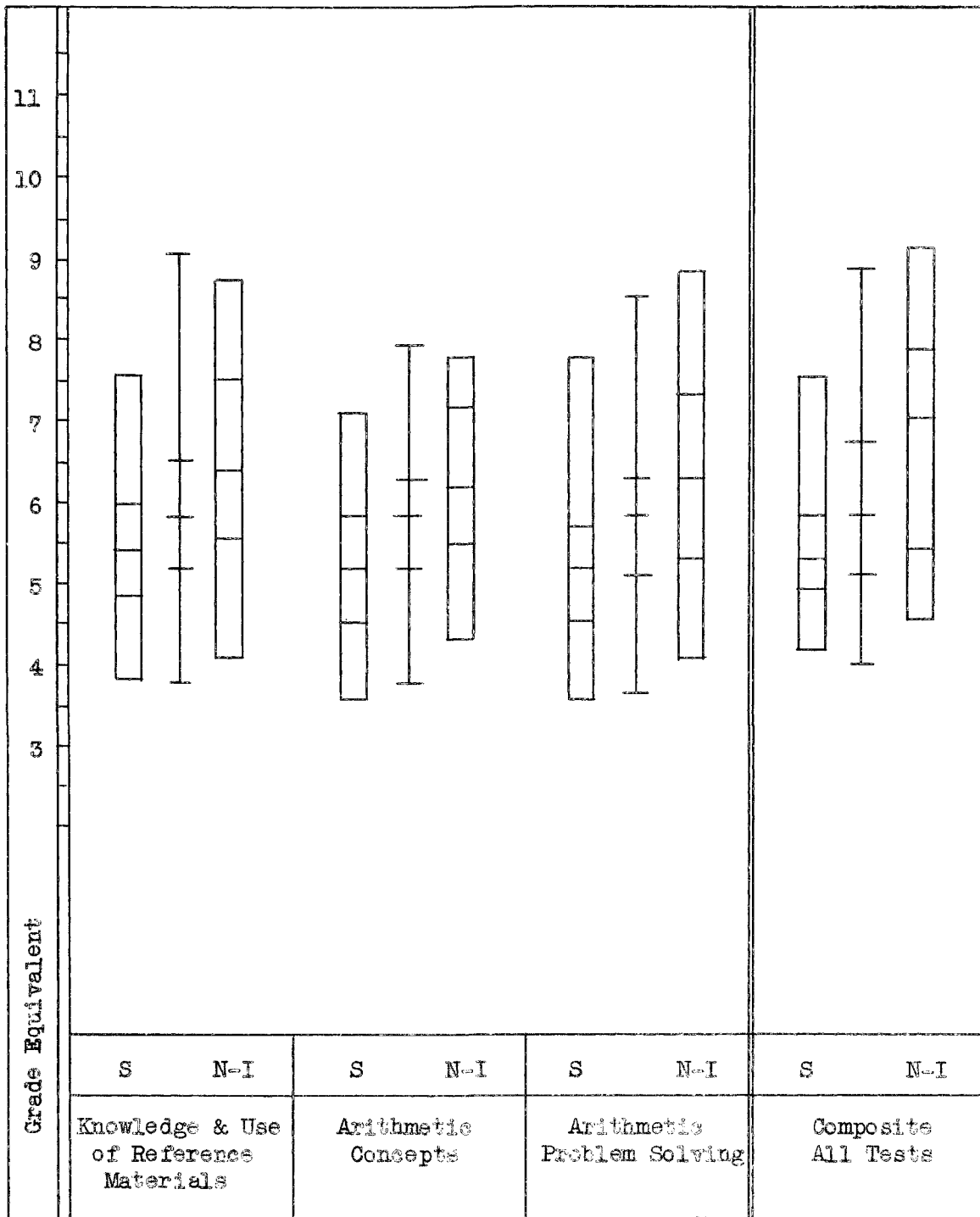


FIGURE 9

GRADE FIVE EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 REFERENCE MATERIALS, ARITHMETIC CONCEPTS, PROBLEM
 SOLVING, AND COMPOSITE OF ALL TESTS
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

TABLE XI

GRADE SIX DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON ALL TESTS
SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS COMPARED

TESTS	GROUP	DISTRIBUTION					DEV. FROM ITBS MDN.	SHOSHONE COMPARED TO N-INDIAN MDN.
		LOW	25	MDN.	75	HIGH		
Vocabulary	S	40	49	53	60	92	-15	-20
	N-I	50	63	73	90	100	+5	
Reading Comprehension	S	44	54	58	62	98	-10	-18
	N-I	50	64	76	91	114	+8	
Spelling	S	44	57	68	77	101	None	-5
	N-I	49	68	73	87	94	+5	
Capitalization	S	49	56	66	83	104	-2	-21
	N-I	56	69	87	102	115	+19	
Punctuation	S	35	50	62	80	100	-6	-23
	N-I	47	71	85	100	113	+17	
Language Usage	S	29	42	50	65	106	-18	-33
	N-I	43	66	83	99	108	+15	
Map Reading	S	39	56	63	71	89	-5	-11
	N-I	60	70	74	78	94	+6	
Reading Graphs and Tables	S	41	54	59	65	87	-9	-15
	N-I	45	66	74	80	89	+6	
Knowledge & Use of Reference Materials	S	46	53	60	66	84	-8	-16
	N-I	56	65	76	82	101	+8	
Arithmetic Concepts	S	47	57	62	67	79	-6	-10
	N-I	54	70	72	82	95	+4	
Arithmetic Problem Solving	S	43	53	60	67	78	-8	-9
	N-I	47	63	69	82	100	+1	
Composite All Tests	S	48	53	58	64	88	-10	-21
	N-I	55	63	79	86	102	+11	

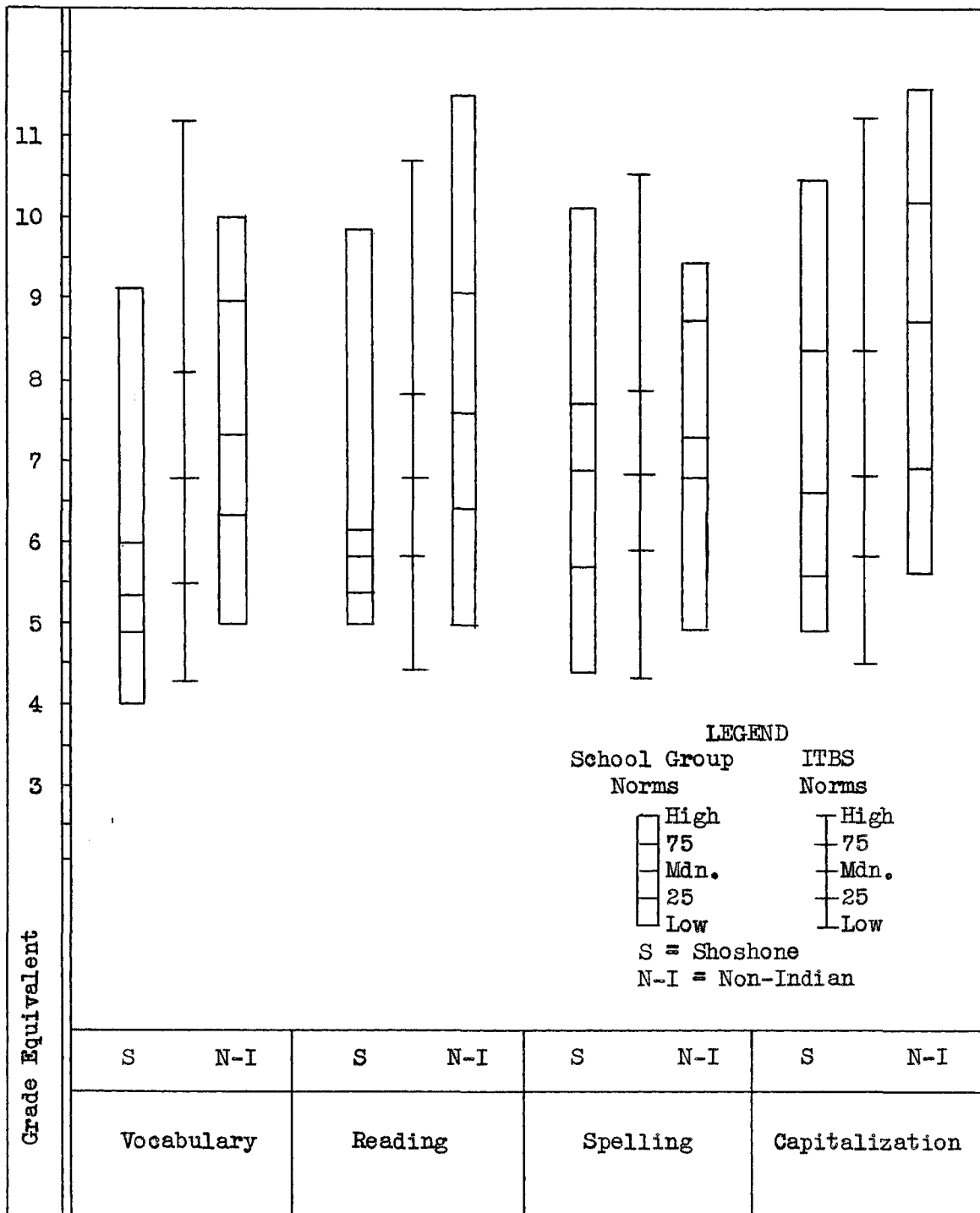


FIGURE 10

GRADE SIX EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 VOCABULARY, READING, SPELLING, AND CAPITALIZATION
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

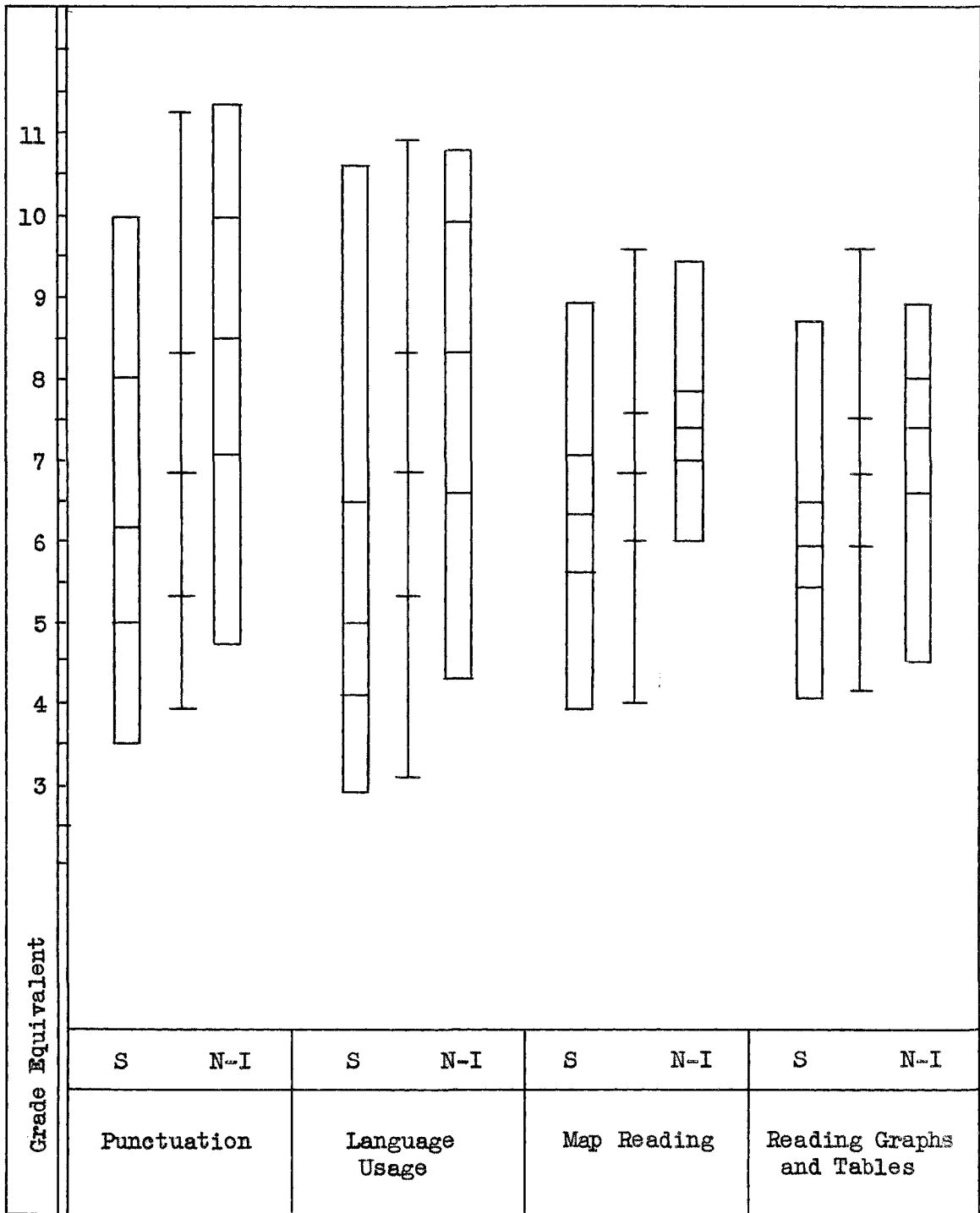


FIGURE 11

GRADE SIX EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 PUNCTUATION, USAGE, MAP READING, READING GRAPHS AND TABLES
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

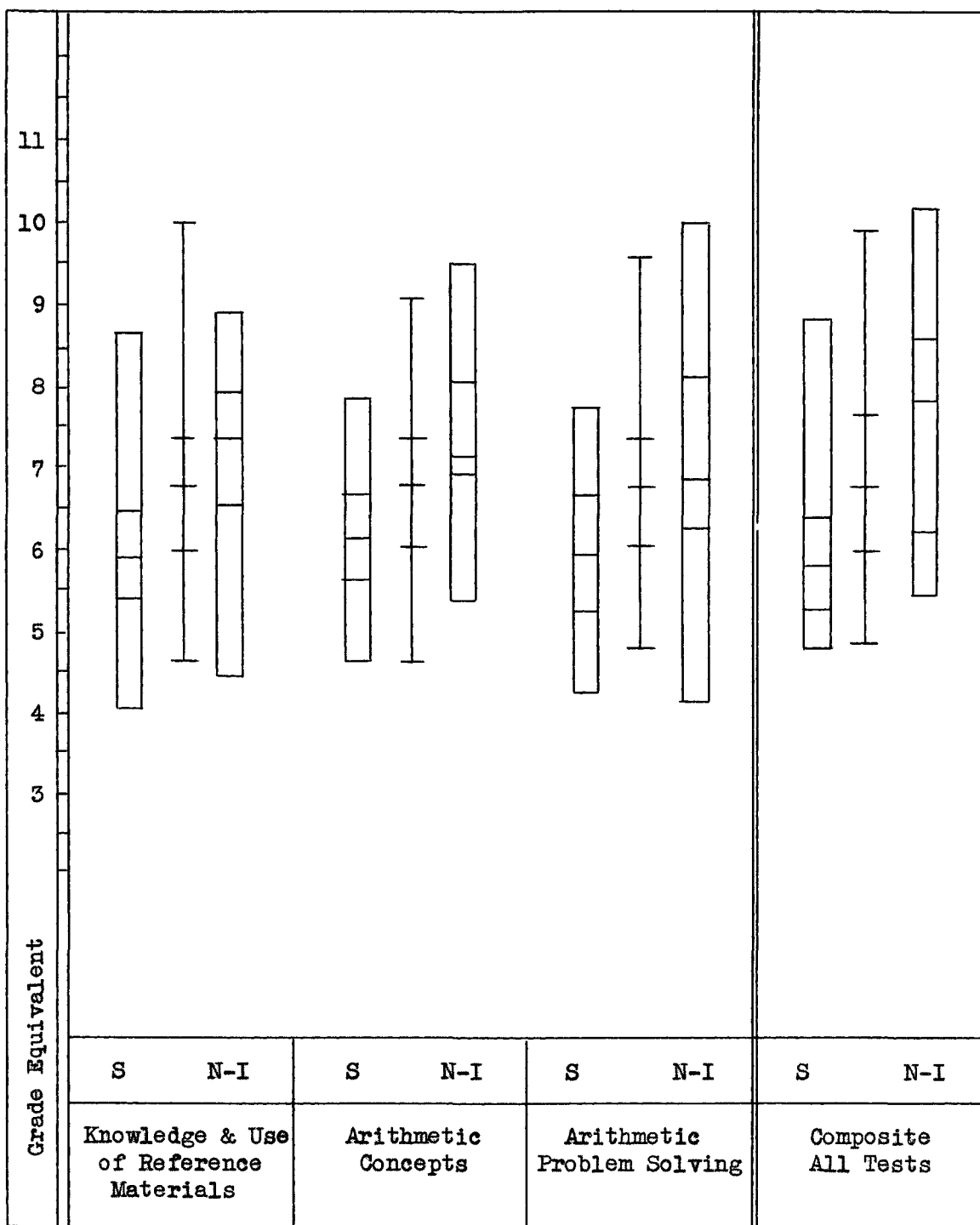


FIGURE 12

GRADE SIX EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 REFERENCE MATERIALS, ARITHMETIC CONCEPTS, PROBLEM
 SOLVING, AND COMPOSITE OF ALL TESTS
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

TABLE XII

GRADE SEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON ALL TESTS
SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS COMPARED

TESTS	GROUP	DISTRIBUTION					DEV. FROM ITBS MDN.	SHOSHONE COMPARED TO N-INDIAN MDN.
		LOW	25	MDN.	75	HIGH		
Vocabulary	S	48	52	58	60	76	-20	-8
	N-I	58	60	66	77	110	-12	
Reading Comprehension	S	49	57	62	65	77	-16	-10
	N-I	57	65	72	75	112	-6	
Spelling	S	49	69	75	87	120	-3	+1
	N-I	63	69	74	79	117	-4	
Capitalization	S	49	57	67	75	115	-11	-11
	N-I	73	75	78	88	104	None	
Punctuation	S	40	50	64	73	110	-14	+12
	N-I	48	50	52	67	110	-26	
Language Usage	S	46	52	59	66	112	-19	Equal
	N-I	46	49	59	72	103	-19	
Map Reading	S	51	63	69	74	93	-9	-7
	N-I	57	69	76	82	114	-2	
Reading Graphs and Tables	S	48	59	67	72	86	-11	-6
	N-I	63	63	73	75	106	-5	
Knowledge & Use of Reference Materials	S	52	58	63	67	83	-15	-7
	N-I	59	59	70	74	108	-8	
Arithmetic Concepts	S	58	62	64	72	83	-14	-8
	N-I	62	62	72	72	98	-6	
Arithmetic Problem Solving	S	53	60	64	70	86	-14	Equal
	N-I	60	62	64	75	110	-14	
Composite All Tests	S	56	60	63	67	83	-15	-4
	N-I	64	67	67	72	109	-11	

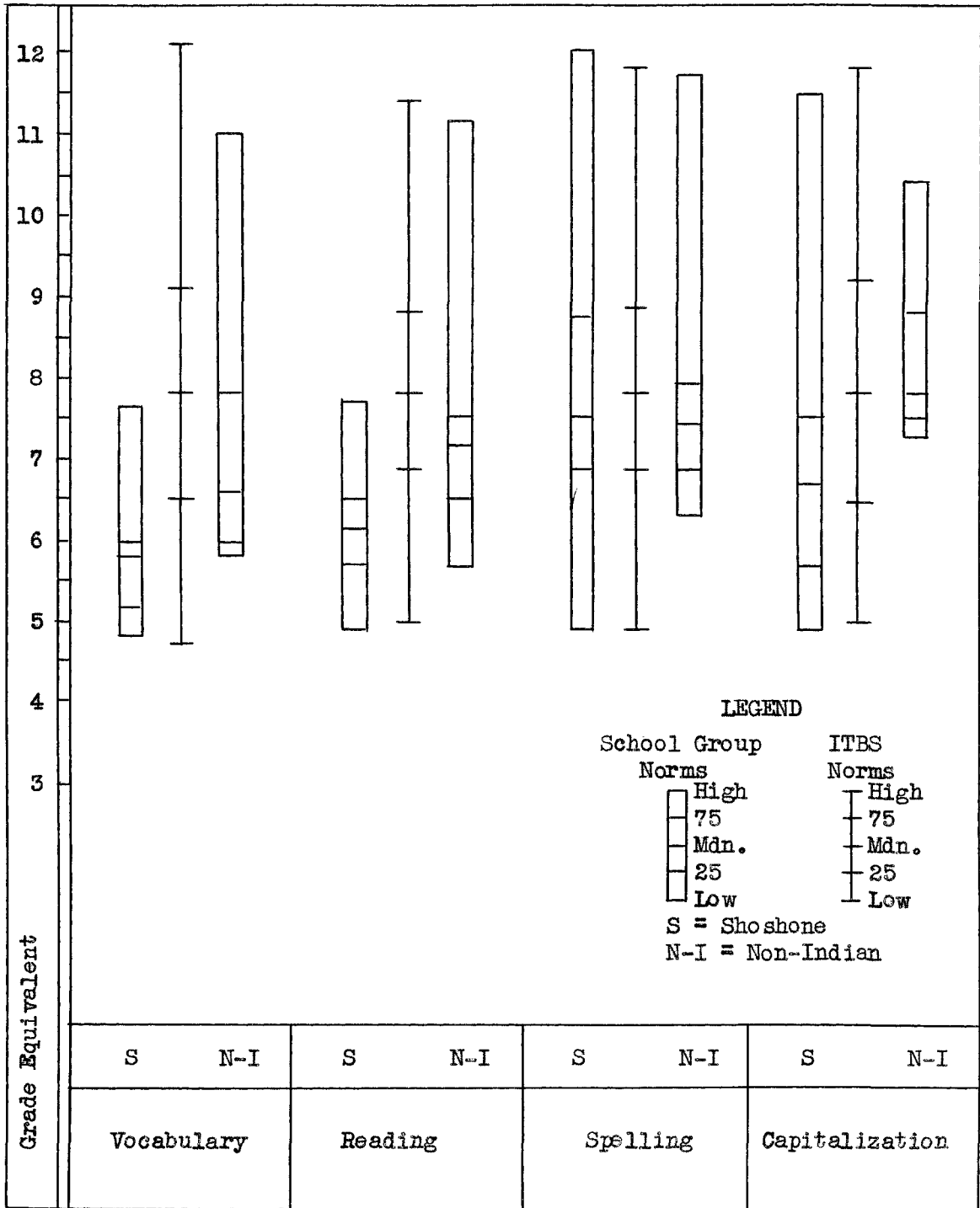


FIGURE 13

GRADE SEVEN EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 VOCABULARY, READING, SPELLING AND CAPITALIZATION
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

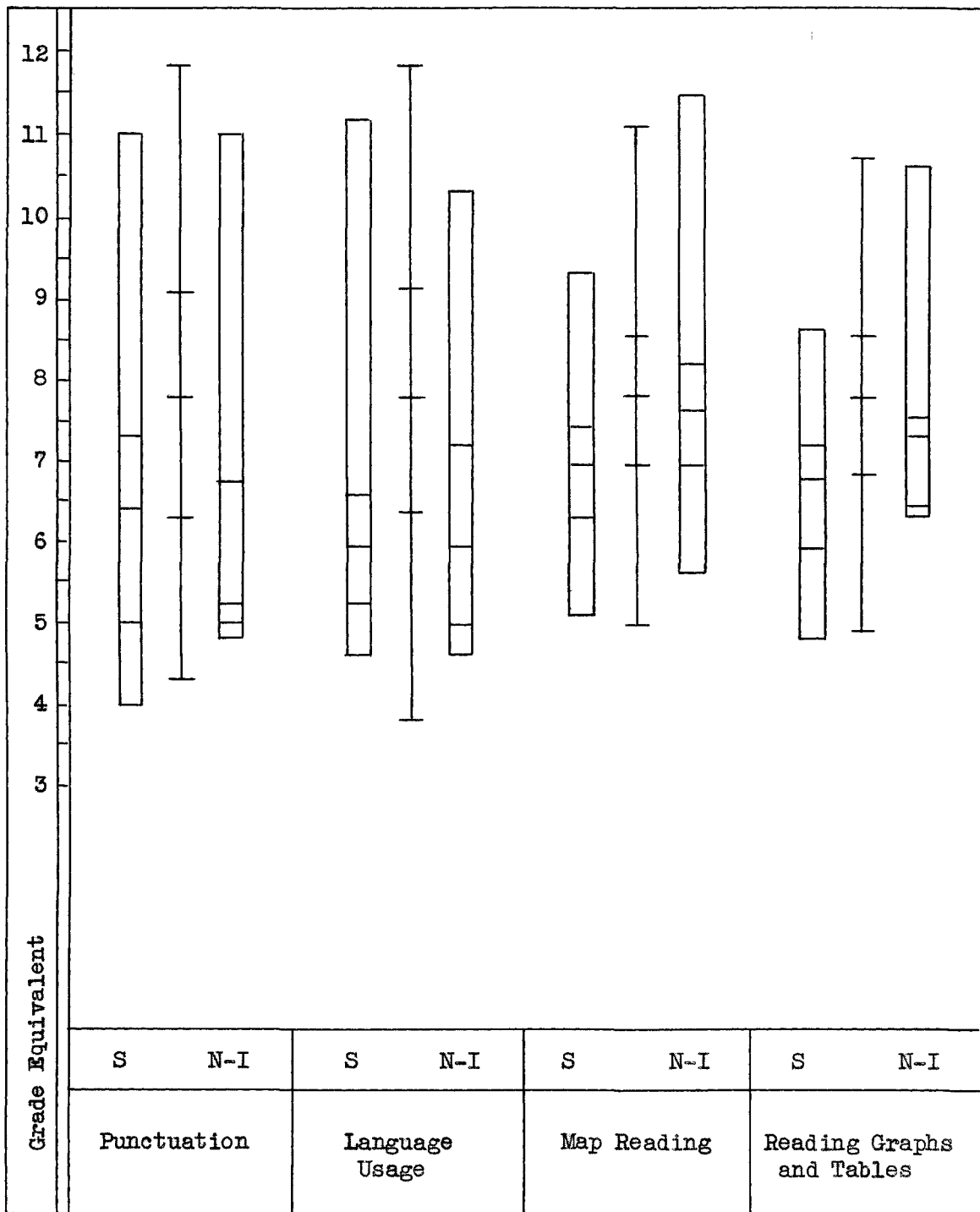


FIGURE 14

GRADE SEVEN EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 PUNCTUATION, USAGE, MAP READING, READING GRAPHS AND TABLES
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

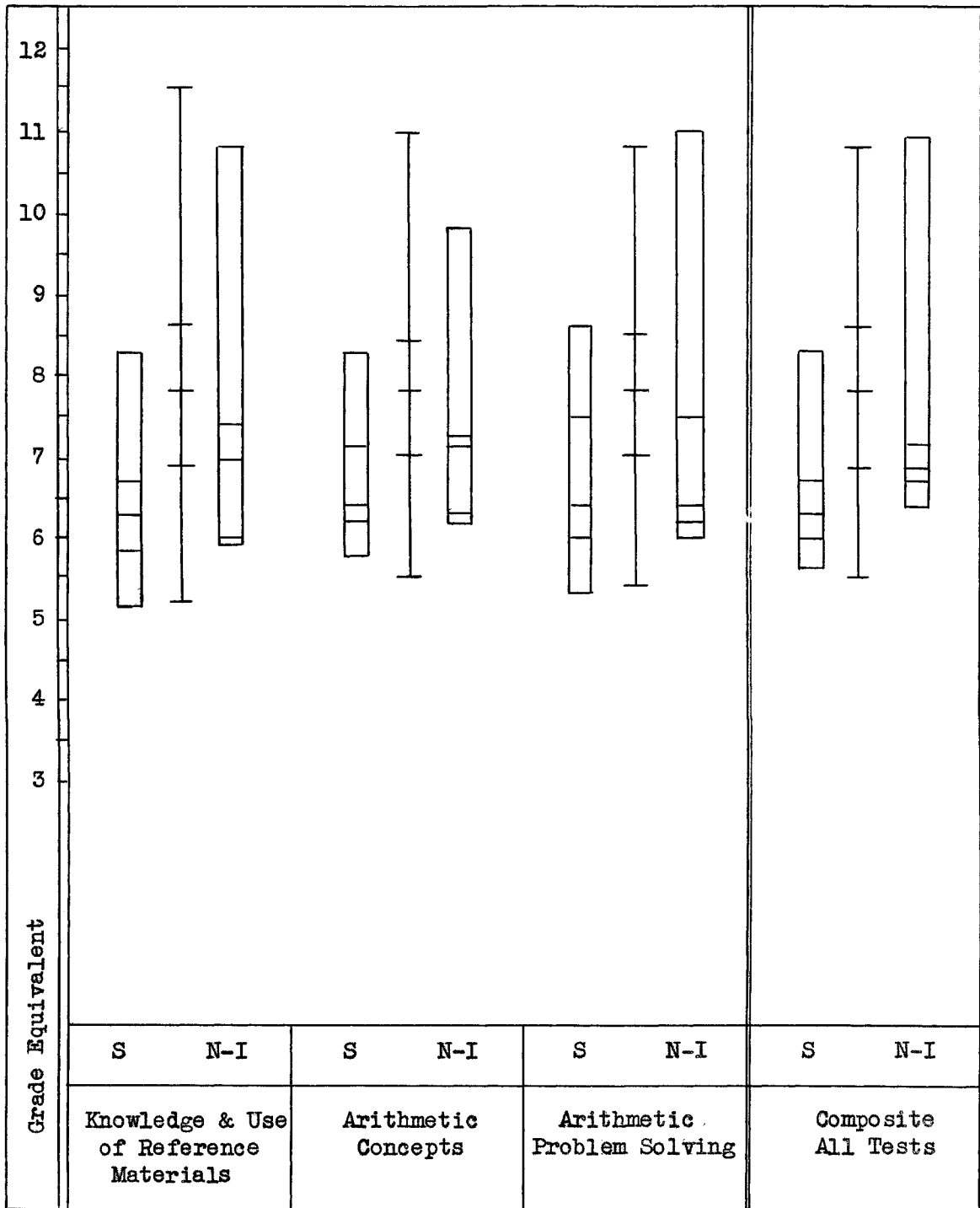


FIGURE 15

GRADE SEVEN EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 REFERENCE MATERIALS, ARITHMETIC CONCEPTS, PROBLEM
 SOLVING, AND COMPOSITE OF ALL TESTS
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

TABLE XIII

GRADE EIGHT DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON ALL TESTS
SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS COMPARED

TESTS	GROUP	DISTRIBUTION					DEV. FROM ITBS MDN.	SHOSHONE COMPARED TO N-INDIAN MDN.
		LOW	25	MDN.	75	HIGH		
Vocabulary	S	45	59	65	75	103	-23	-17
	N-I	57	62	82	83	116	-6	
Reading Comprehension	S	58	67	73	79	106	-14	-10
	N-I	79	80	83	88	108	-4	
Spelling	S	59	77	86	97	121	None	Equal
	N-I	66	69	86	87	96	None	
Capitalization	S	50	63	73	90	115	-14	-28
	N-I	87	90	101	102	106	+14	
Punctuation	S	44	61	74	86	116	-17	-17
	N-I	71	73	92	100	107	None	
Language Usage	S	40	67	71	82	115	-17	-10
	N-I	63	67	81	92	112	-7	
Map Reading	S	61	71	78	81	93	-10	-11
	N-I	80	81	89	91	101	+1	
Reading Graphs and Tables	S	50	60	73	77	96	-14	-18
	N-I	79	80	91	101	107	+4	
Knowledge & Use of Reference Materials	S	62	67	71	81	103	-17	-10
	N-I	78	79	81	87	103	-7	
Arithmetic Concepts	S	51	68	72	78	94	-16	-5
	N-I	72	73	77	88	109	-11	
Arithmetic Problem Solving	S	58	70	76	80	98	-10	+6
	N-I	61	62	70	76	93	-16	
Composite All Tests	S	63	69	74	78	101	-13	-10
	N-I	74	78	84	92	104	-3	

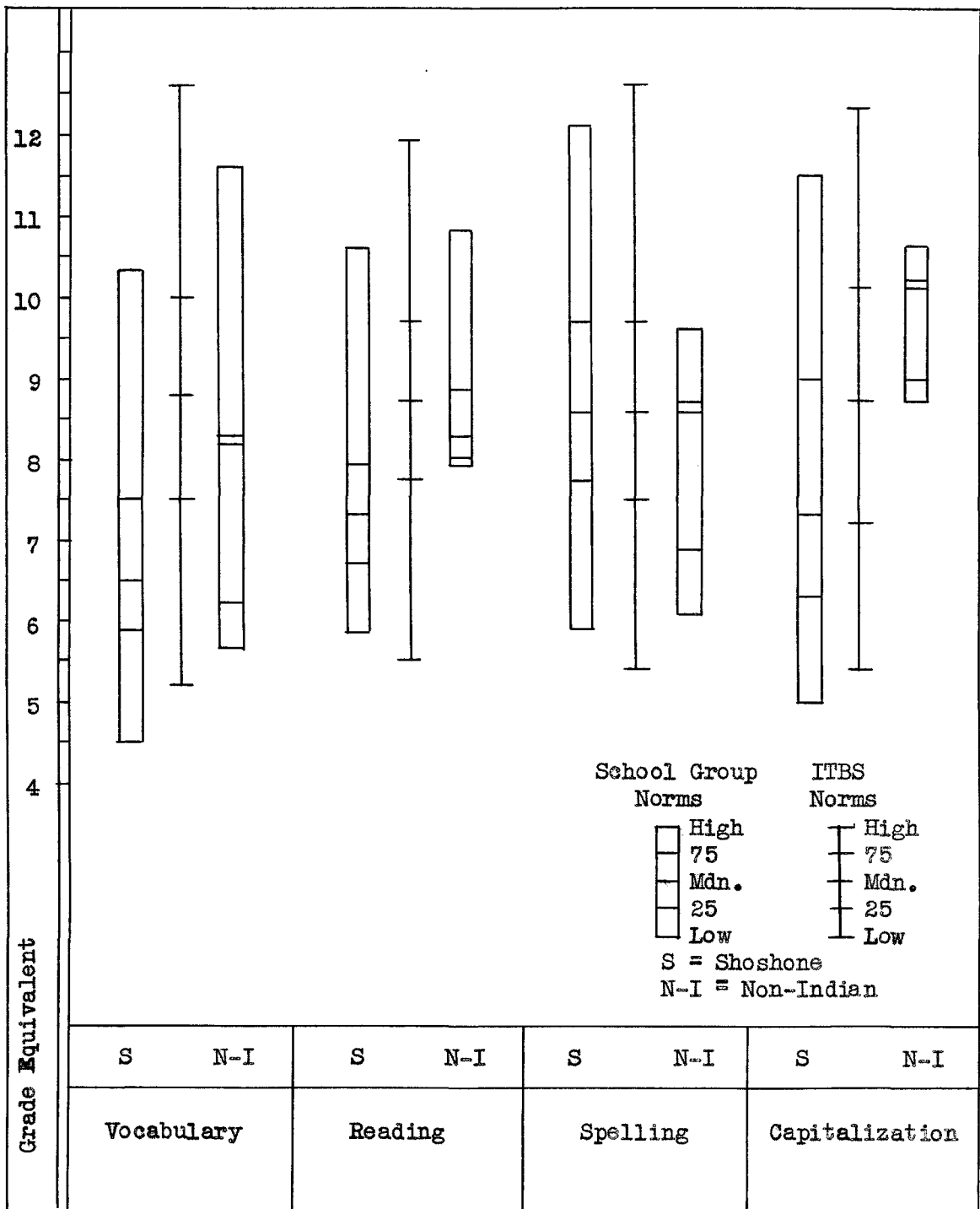


FIGURE 16

GRADE EIGHT PLACEMENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 VOCABULARY, READING, SPELLING, AND CAPITALIZATION
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

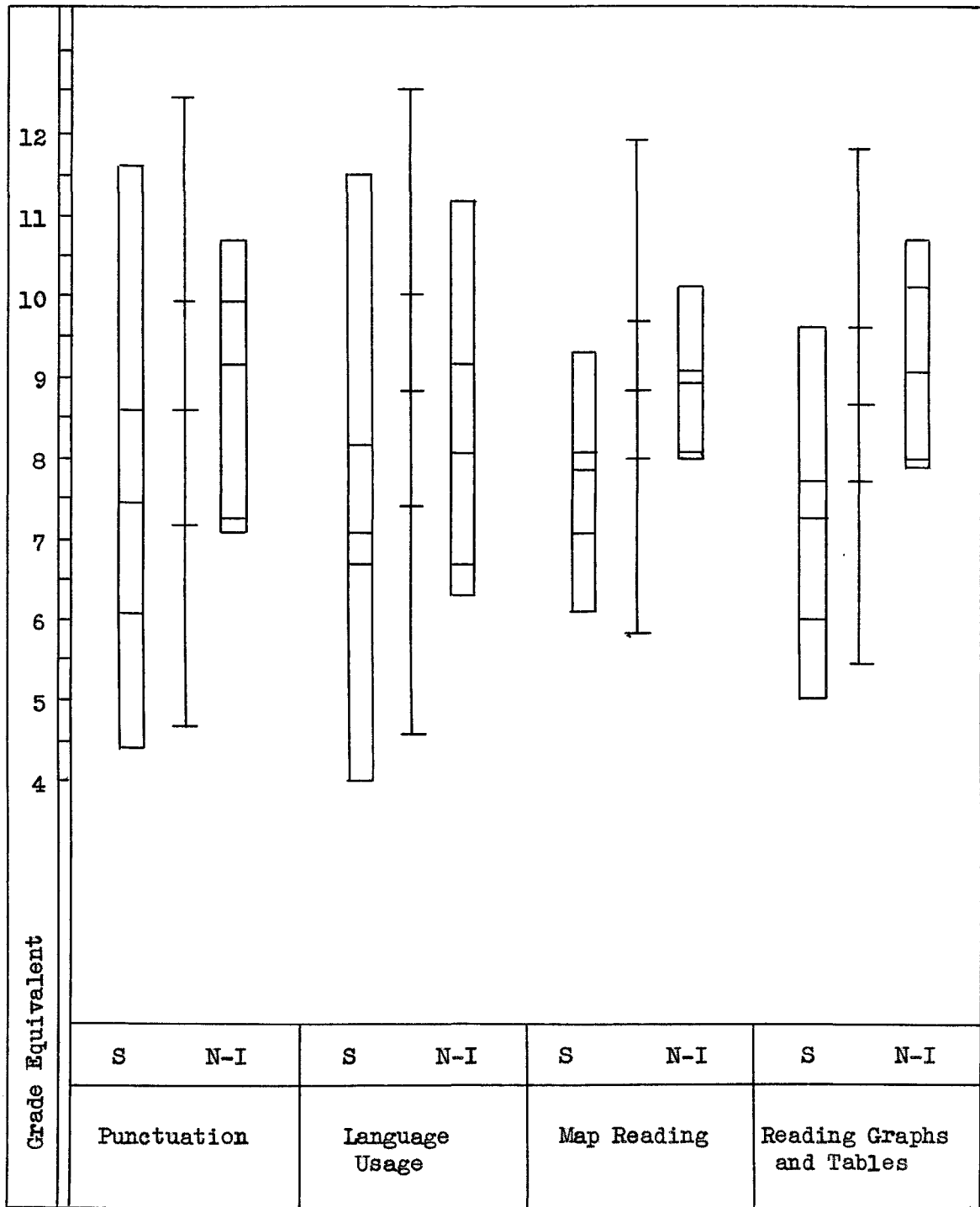


FIGURE 17

GRADE EIGHT EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 PUNCTUATION, USAGE, MAP READING, READING GRAPHS AND TABLES
 APRIL, 1959-60-61 *

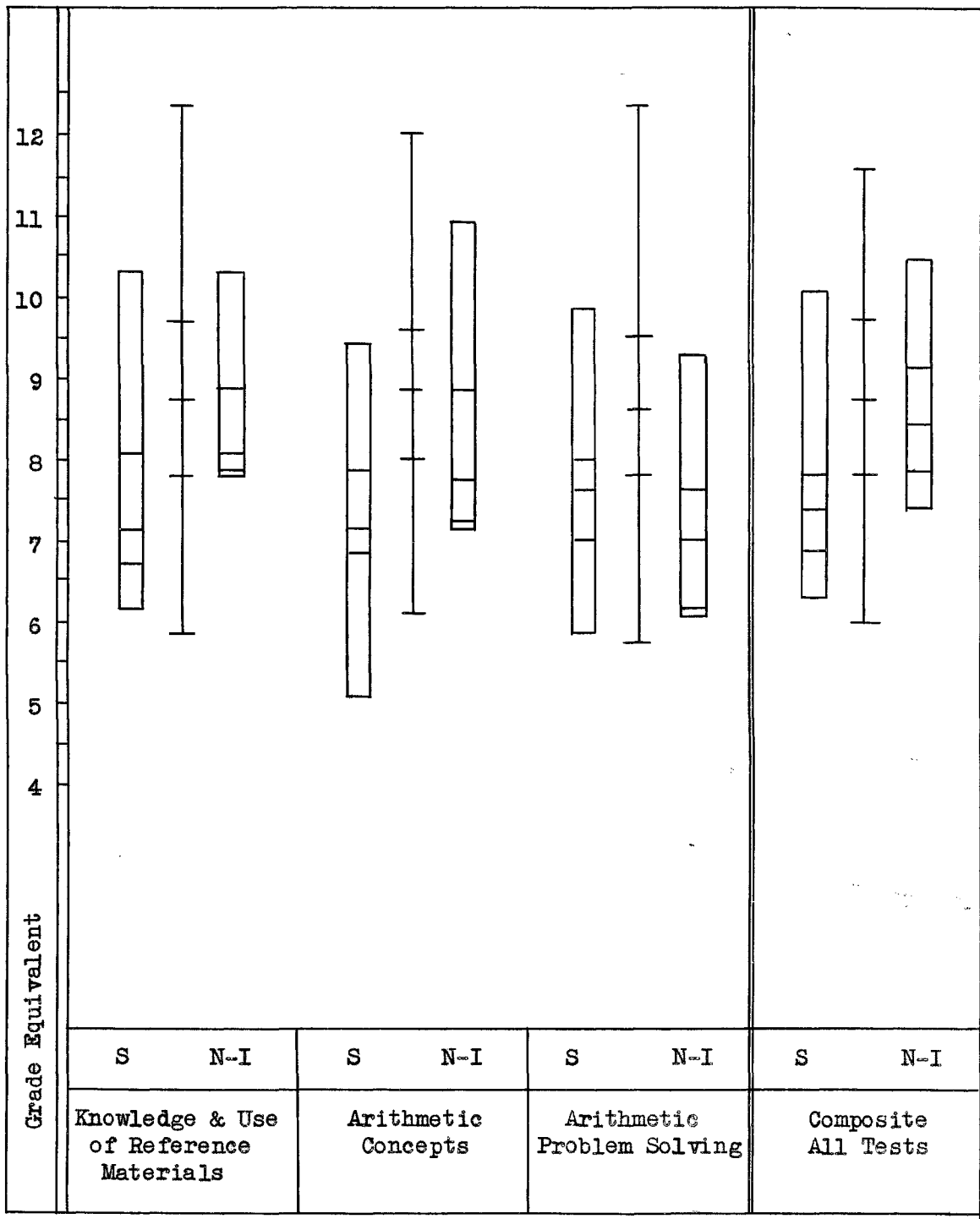


FIGURE 18

GRADE EIGHT EQUIVALENT: SHOSHONE AND NON-INDIAN STUDENTS
 REFERENCE MATERIALS, ARITHMETIC CONCEPTS, PROBLEM
 SOLVING, AND COMPOSITE OF ALL TESTS
 APRIL, 1959-60-61

language usage. They were even on three tests and were above in five tests, up to five months in spelling. Yet, with the exception of spelling, the Shoshone students were below the non-Indian students in all tests, as much as nine months in language usage.

In the fourth grade, the Shoshone students were above the ITBS medians in four tests and below in seven, as much as nine months in language usage. They were below the non-Indian students in all tests, as much as one year and four months in language usage.

Shoshone students in the fifth grade were only above the ITBS medians in punctuation, even in spelling, and below in the nine remaining tests, with a minus eight months in vocabulary and language usage. They were below the non-Indian students' medians in all eleven tests, as much as two years and one month in vocabulary to three years in language usage.

Sixth grade Shoshone students equalled the ITBS medians in spelling and fell below in all other tests, as much as minus fifteen in vocabulary and a minus eighteen in language usage. The non-Indian students were above the Shoshone students in all tests, up to three years and three months in language usage.

In the seventh grade, both groups fell below the ITBS medians with the exception of non-Indian students in capitalization where they equalled the test norm. The Shoshone students were below the test medians in vocabulary by twenty months and nineteen months below in language usage. In comparing medians with the non-Indian, Shoshone students equalled the non-Indian medians in language usage and arithmetic problem solving, were below in seven tests and above in spelling

by one month and punctuation by twelve months.

The Shoshones in grade eight were below the ITBS medians in all tests except spelling, where they equalled the test norm and also equalled the non-Indian median. On ten tests the Shoshone students were from ten months below the ITBS median in arithmetic problem solving, one year and seven months in language usage, to as much as two years and three months below in vocabulary. Even though the non-Indian students fell below the ITBS medians in all tests but four, the Shoshone students equalled or exceeded them in only two tests by no more than six months in arithmetic problem solving.

Data of this chapter clearly show that Shoshone student achievement in the basic skills of education are considerably lower than the non-Indian students in the same schools. Language usage and vocabulary appear to be the most difficult skills for them, with reading comprehension close behind. It can be noted that the lag of Shoshone student achievement becomes lower each succeeding grade when compared to the non-Indian and the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills' norms.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. SUMMARY

It was the purpose of this study to establish some of the influential factors affecting academic achievement of Shoshone Indian students on the Wind River Reservation, and to compare their achievement with the non-Indian students in the same schools.

Historical Significance of the Problem.

Various methods of education have been employed from 1870 up to the present, 1961. The Federal Government at first tried to educate the Shoshone people in boarding schools and their prime objective was to "civilize" the Indian and transform him into the society of the non-Indian as quickly as possible. They attempted to destroy his society, culture, and language and to turn him away from all his ideals, beliefs, and, in some cases, his own parents. In the late 1920's and 1930's, the government's view changed toward education and the emphasis was put on community day schools and the restoration of some cultural activities. By this time, the public schools began accepting Indian education as their responsibility and soon became the main agency for educating the Indian people. The Government school was closed on the Wind River Reservation in 1955, and the public schools then had full responsibility for Shoshone Indian education.

History-Culture and Acculturation

History and culture. The Shoshone Indians entered the plains east of the Rockies in about 1500 from the Great Basin to the west. They began taking on some plains Indian cultural traits when they received their first horses in 1700. No contact was made with the non-Indian until early 1800. By 1870, the Shoshone were settled on a reservation, changing from a life of nomadic hunting to one of supposed sedentary farming. Reservation life and the non-Indian values meant little to the Shoshone and the people entered a period of conflict and confusion.

Acculturation. A campaign to suppress Indian culture was begun first by reservation segregation. A feeding system was established to feed the Indians with government rations, as they proved not to be good farmers and their hunting cycles were destroyed with reservation life. Indian agents were appointed to take over the judicial functions of the chief who was stripped of tribal sovereignty. Indian values were suppressed by prohibiting warfare between tribes which also destroyed their social status. Prestige was lost and they could no longer find goals and careers on which to base their lives resulting in personal disorganization and maladjustment. This policy of suppression did not Americanize the Indian as anticipated.

Acculturation: influence on school achievement. Important factors which tend to influence school achievement of the Shoshone student are: (1) parental control, (2) language spoken in the home, (3) home environment, (4) economic complacence, and (5) Shoshone students' response to formal education. The factors presented are in

opposition to the non-Indian standards which place the Shoshone student at a disadvantage in the public school classroom.

Present Day Status

In general, education, material conditions, employment, and health standards are relatively low compared to facilities and resources which are available. Income, lands and resources, and tribal finance are adequate for the advancement of the Shoshone people in society.

Attitudes of Parents and Opinions of Teachers

Shoshone parents were interviewed concerning the educational process of their children. For the most part, attitudes expressed were wholesome and forward looking. All agreed education was important to their children for future needs and purposes. They recommended high school and some college education. There was some difference of opinion whether their children should leave the reservation after finishing school, but most felt it would be good for their children. They would like to see them learn more things in school than were actually taught, but generally agreed the schools were doing a good job.

Questionnaires were sent to the teachers of Shoshone students concerning their opinions toward Shoshone student achievement. Qualifications of teachers were up to standards and teaching experience was considerable. The consensus of opinion was that all influential factors of Shoshone student achievement listed on the questionnaire were retarding except student interest in classroom experiences. With the exception of one teacher, they all agreed that Shoshone language spoken in the home

was the most retarding factor. The remaining factors which retard achievement, according to the teachers' opinions, were, in the order of their importance; home living conditions, cultural background, parents' attitude towards school, community environment, economic status, health standards, Indian attitude towards the non-Indian, and social standing. Almost all the teachers agreed that the Shoshone was of equal intelligence with the non-Indian. Almost seventy-five percent said the course of study was not geared to the Shoshone students' background; furthermore, ninety-two percent said it was geared to the non-Indian students' background.

Shoshone Student Achievement

Test data show that grade for grade the Shoshone students' achievement is below that of the non-Indian students. Out of a total of 66 tests, 11 for each grade, the Shoshone student was equal in three tests and above the non-Indian in only three tests. Starting with the third grade, the Shoshone student is equal to or above the ITBS median in eight tests, but are still below the non-Indian median with an average of six months. It was observed that with each additional grade level the difference in Shoshone student achievement norms, as compared to the non-Indian norms and ITBS norms, becomes greater each succeeding year in school. Spelling appeared to be the least difficult skill in contrast to reading comprehension, vocabulary and language usage being the most difficult. The Shoshone student was found to be lower in language usage than in any other test. The non-Indian student achievement tends to be lower than normal in the seventh and eighth grade, but this is believed due to the size of the sample.

II. CONCLUSIONS

It can be concluded that early attempts on the part of the government to educate the Indian were failures in considering the philosophy behind the educational process, that is, educate the Indian into being a member of the dominant society by any means and at any cost. It only resulted in strengthening the opposition of the Indian people to the dominant society. The Indian Bureau policy of segregating, then forcing the Shoshone people to accept the non-Indian society with all its institutions was inwardly strengthening their resistance to the non-Indian way of life. True, they accepted items of necessity and did abandon certain of their own traits, but new customs were not substituted for means of adjustment and all this cultural suppression finally led to the maladjusted, between-culture situation which exists today. It can be inferred that this situation is the major factor affecting achievement in school.

The Shoshone parents express sincere attitudes toward education when they are asked, but their attitudes are not expressed with outward signs of encouragement to their children. Even though the parents feel as they do, the children are allowed to "go it" on their own as it was in their pre-reservation culture. The foregoing is not meant to repudiate the attitudes of the parents; on the contrary, knowing these people the writer firmly believes that the parents expressed their true attitudes during the parent interviews, but it is meant to distinguish between the method of application of a philosophy of a Shoshone parent and that of an average non-Indian parent.

An inimical attitude on the part of the Shoshone exists towards the non-Indian because of the non-Indian encroachment and domination of the Shoshone people during the past one hundred odd years. They are very reluctant in putting their faith in the non-Indian and this is reflected on the young children who grow up and, in time, acquire this same attitude and a new cycle begins.

It can further be concluded that the original culture and the present maladjusted culture of the Shoshone people are directly responsible for: (1) lack of parental control of the children, (2) Shoshone language as being a barrier between the children and education, (3) the environment of the home not being an institution of preparation for school, (4) the complacent attitude towards the economic status, and (5) the response in the classroom to formal education. These factors are definite influences of Shoshone student achievement in that public school education is more highly formalized and requires a more disciplined and defined process than did pre-reservation Shoshone education. They were allowed to experiment freely and almost all of their learning experiences were a part of everyday life, whereas modern public school education is set aside from everyday life as a special institution to teach everyday living and as a preparation for higher technological learning.

Teacher attitudes are found to be an influence in themselves on Shoshone student achievement. The majority of the teachers reflect an attitude of some understanding of the problem which must be a progressive factor. On the other hand, referring to some of the additional free response remarks by teachers, they clearly show that a few do not

understand the problems which confront the Shoshone and, consequently, affect their childrens' school achievement which may be a retarding factor in itself. The course of study is concluded to be a retarding factor in that it is geared primarily to the non-Indian students' background who form about ten percent of the student body, and not primarily to the Shoshone students' background who form about ninety percent of the student body. Noting the wide range of scores on some tests, creates a most difficult teaching situation for the teacher in certain subjects and this can be inferred as being another retarding factor.

With achievement test results in mind and knowing how the Shoshone student compares with his non-Indian classmates, finally it can be concluded that the influential factors described above are definite retarding factors of Shoshone Indian academic achievement.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of this study, certain recommendations are made which are felt to be of prime importance to the immediate needs of raising the academic achievement level of the Shoshone student. Most of these recommendations are pointed to the public school, as it should be the basic public agency to aid the Shoshone Indians in a self re-acculturation.

The following are suggested:

1. Parents should be encouraged by the school and its personnel to actively take part in school affairs. A workable understanding of the problems of both parents and school should be fostered. To establish this relationship, the school should be made the center of activity in the community, not merely a day school. Outgrowths of this relationship could be many and would strengthen the triangle of understanding and cooperation of child, parent and school. Examples of these outgrowths follow:
 - a) Parent-teacher conference.
 - b) Room mother organizations.

- c) Parent-school planning sessions.
 - d) Parent education for better understanding of school problems.
 - e) Parent education to show the need for education and the encouragement of children for learning.
 - f) Social gatherings of parent and teacher to establish a one level society.
 - g) The use of parents in school activities, such as, field trips, room parties.
2. A study of the needs of the Shoshone people and the resources they have to work with should be made. Evaluate the philosophy and course of study and align them to fit the needs and resources of the Shoshone as well as the non-Indian patrons of the school.
 3. Greater toleration should be shown on the part of school personnel in understanding the problems of assimilation which confront the Shoshone. In doing so, study the societal and cultural background of these people in an effort to help smoothen the transition from a confused, suppressed culture and society to a sound, dynamic Shoshone-chosen culture and society. Also, participate more in community life for a better understanding and strengthening of a common bond.
 4. Organization of a kindergarten for five and six year olds is needed to teach English usage and develop a pre-school common core of knowledge.
 5. Incorporate into school experiences customs and phases of Shoshone life, such as, arts and crafts, dress, dancing, food, and so forth. They should be entitled to retain some of their ethnic traits just as any of the other nationalities of people have done in the United States, which may lead to an incorporation of some of their traits into the dominant society. This could eventually lead to a feeling of the Shoshone as being a part of, rather than subordinate to, the "American" way of life. .

Further recommendations of wider scope are likewise considered

pertinent:

1. A linguistic research program should be conducted pertaining to the problem of Shoshone language as a barrier in the childrens' education.
2. Research studies should be conducted by anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists to aid the Shoshone people in their effort to find a solid basis for life.

Final recommendation:

3. The dominant society has legally given the Indian civil rights; the night is far spent, they should afford them their rights of human dignity.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

WRITER'S EXPERIENCE

The writer has taught nine years in schools with a predominant Indian enrollment; two years in a Federal school, Wind River Community Day School, Fort Washakie, Wyoming; one year at Stewart, Nevada, an off-reservation boarding school which enrolled students from many different Indian tribes from Nevada and Arizona; five years at Fort Washakie Public School; and one year at Morton High School. He has had the opportunity of experiencing several different phases of Shoshone education and has witnessed the various changes of the past nine years as given in the schools' history.

During these nine years he has, in addition to teaching, coached athletic teams which afforded him additional contact with students and parents; actively participated in independent basketball teams with the Shoshone men and often was the only non-Indian on the team; lived in the community, attended social gatherings and tribal ceremonies, and gone into Indian homes on school business and as a social caller visiting friends. He has worked with them during branding time and fighting fires and also fished and hunted with them. The writer has sat by the fire often at the tribal Sun Dance, and on occasion, all night. He has been offered costumes and has been asked to dance with them during tribal dances and was invited to participate in the Sun Dance. They speak to him freely in English and sometimes even in sign language.

Through this socialization he has come to know a great many of the people, some of whom he considers his best friends. These social

experiences are not common among the average teachers of the Shoshone people, and the foregoing is only presented to enlighten the reader as to the basic understanding the writer has gained of the Shoshone people and the sincerity of intent of this study.

APPENDIX B

HISTORY OF ROBERTS' MISSION

The following historical sketch of the Shoshone Indian Mission Boarding School, more commonly known as Roberts' Mission, located near Fort Washakie, Wyoming, was submitted by Miss Gwen Roberts, daughter of the late Reverend John Roberts.

In 1890 Bishop Talbot's School, later named the Shoshone Indian Mission Boarding School, was made possible when Washakie, chief of the Shoshones, made a gift to the Rev. John Roberts of one hundred sixty acres for the site of a permanent school for Shoshone girls. This gift was ratified by an act of Congress and by the Indian Tribal Council.

Chief Washakie realized that the hope of the Indian was in the education of the young in Christian schools, where they would become self-supporting and self-respecting citizens. Even when he was old and had to be helped on the horse, he would ride over to the Mission to see if the children were progressing satisfactorily. This school was in session fifty-five years.

By stocking the farm with cattle and horses, pigs and chickens, and by growing all the vegetables and fruit used by the pupils, the school was almost self-supporting when it was closed in 1945. Besides keeping enough for the Mission farm, many thousands of pounds of alfalfa seed and seed oats were sold to the Indian Department in 1897. The value of a good example is shown by the fact that the Indians raised one million pounds of grain in the next year.

Quoting from the 53rd. Congressional Record of the year 1893, the Hon. F. P. Sterling, John W. Meldrum, and N. B. Crump special Commissioners appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, had the following to say of the Indians and the Shoshone Indian Mission and farm.

"That these Indians will work if the proper influence is brought to bear, and that the land will yield abundant returns, is a fact, which has been demonstrated by the Rev. J. Roberts, in charge of the Episcopal mission on the Reservation. He has now 160 acres of land, upon which is located the mission school building, a substantial and very creditable two-story brick structure, enclosed by a good pole-and-wire fence, all under cultivation and thoroughly irrigated. . . . Fr. Roberts should be encouraged and assisted in his good work, as, in our opinion, a more self-sacrificing and earnest Christian worker never entered a field of labor, it being a fact that can not

be successfully contradicted that he has done more toward advancing these Indians in education, farming, and mechanical pursuits than all other agencies combined. Three or four men of Fr. Roberts' intelligence and earnestness of purpose, with authority and assistance from the Department to carry their ideas into execution unhampered by the whims of the agent, would do more in five years toward making these Indians self-supporting than the present system of management will accomplish in a lifetime."

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX D

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE
SHOSHONE INDIAN EDUCATION

A Study of Certain Influential Factors Affecting Academic Achievement

Part I

Directions: Please answer each item as it applies to you. If you wish, you may omit your name.

Name _____

Date _____

1. Education: Non-degree _____ yrs. Degree _____ + _____ quarter hours.
Master's _____ + _____ quarter hours.

2. Grade or grades taught during school year 1960-61:

Circle - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

3. Number of years taught in each grade:

Beginner _____ yrs., 1st _____ yrs., 2nd _____ yrs.,

3rd _____ yrs., 4th _____ yrs., 5th _____ yrs., 6th

_____ yrs., 7th _____ yrs., 8th _____ yrs.,

secondary _____ yrs., Total _____ yrs.

Part II

Directions: Please check (X) items which tend to progress, retard, or have no significant influence on Shoshone academic achievement.

		No	
	<u>Progress</u>	<u>Retard</u>	<u>Influence</u>
1. Community environment	_____	_____	_____
2. Cultural background	_____	_____	_____
3. Economic status	_____	_____	_____
4. Health standards	_____	_____	_____
5. Home living conditions	_____	_____	_____

	<u>Progress</u>	<u>Retard</u>	<u>No Influence</u>
6. Indian attitude towards non-Indians	_____	_____	_____
7. Parents' attitude toward school	_____	_____	_____
8. Shoshone language spoken in the home	_____	_____	_____
9. Social standing	_____	_____	_____
10. Student interest in classroom experiences	_____	_____	_____

Part III

Directions: Please check (X) the proper space and base your answer on the opinion you have formed in working with these people; not on standardized I.Q. tests they have taken.

1. The average intelligence of the Shoshone Indian as compared to the average non-Indian is:

Below _____
 Equal to _____
 Above _____

Briefly give reasons for your answer _____

Part IV

Directions: Please check (X) "Yes" or "No" for the following questions:

1. Is the course of study, including textbooks, in your school geared to the:

- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. type of community in which your school is located. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Shoshone Indian students' background. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. non-Indian students' background. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Part V

Directions: Please list any additional influence on Shoshone Indian student academic achievement which you have experienced as a teacher.

Part VI

Directions: Please answer briefly what could be done, in your opinion, to raise the academic achievement level of Shoshone Indian students.

APPENDIX E

NORTHERN ARAPAHOE PLACED ON THE SHOSHONE INDIAN RESERVE

The Northern Arapahoe Tribe was brought on the Wind River Reservation as prisoners of war in 1878. They had become destitute on the Northern Plains with the almost complete extermination of the buffalo. The placing of these people with the Shoshones was intended to be a temporary measure, done with reluctant approval of Chief Washakie. Introducing a foreign tribe on the reservation was in violation of the treaty between the Wind River Shoshone and the United States. The Arapahoe not only had no rights on the reservation, but they were also a hostile tribe whose members had been raiding the Wind River Shoshone and local whites. The Arapahoe were a true plains tribe, although they shared many cultural traits, such as buffalo hunting, waging war, and wearing plains dress with the Shoshone. The two tribes were fundamentally at variance culturally. Their languages were of two distinctly different stocks.

Demoralization of the Arapahoe began before they were settled on the reservation. The loss of their food supply, the losing battle for their hunting territories, the failure of whites to keep the first treaties, the first free access of liquor, prostitution of their women, disease, and the general harassing that led to their placement in Pine Ridge Reservation as prisoners of war to be fed and kept in idleness, broke much of their morale and the harmonious functioning of their tribal life. The Arapahoe had been a party to the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1861 and subsequent treaties which guaranteed hunting countries to the

northern plains tribes. With the failure to uphold agreements, the Arapahoe became hostile, hunting as they could and fighting white invaders, until subdued by starvation and the military. The ultimate settlement on the Wind River Reservation, although as neighbors of an enemy tribe, was received with hope for peace and security. They settled on the east end of the reservation, containing the more valuable farming territory. The government issued them rations of food and clothing for many years. The settlement of the two largest bands became the communities of Ethete and Arapahoe.¹

¹United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, "History and Economy of the Indians of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming" (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Staff, 1950), pp. 4-8. (Mimeographed.)

APPENDIX F

TREATIES AND DETERMINATION OF RESERVATION BOUNDARIES

By the Fort Bridger Treaty of July 2, 1863, the original area of the reservation was fixed at approximately 44,672,000 acres in the States of Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. The second Fort Bridger Treaty of July 3, 1868, reduced the area of the reservation to 3,054,182 acres. The area acquired through this treaty consists of the present Wind River Reservation and areas adjacent thereto that have been taken from it since that time. The Brunot Agreement, dated September 26, 1872, provided for the cession of approximately 710,642 acres from the southern part of the territory described in the Treaty of 1868. The McLaughlin Agreement, of April 21, 1896, provided for the transfer to the United States of 55,040 acres from the northeast corner of the reservation. These lands are located at and adjacent to Thermopolis, Wyoming. In the second McLaughlin Agreement, dated April 21, 1904, the Indians ceded to the United States for homestead entry 1,480,000 acres, constituting that part of the reservation located north and east of the Big Wind River.

In 1938, a long standing claim of the Shoshone against the government because of the encroachment of the Arapahoe on their land was settled by an award of \$4,453,000. Under an agreement for reimbursement from joint tribal funds (oil and gas royalties and permits, and so forth), the Shoshone allowed \$1,000,000 of their judgment money to be used in a joint tribal acquisition program. Under this land purchase program, nearly all of the remaining alienated and allotted lands on the reservation north of the Big Wind River, with the exception of the

Riverton Reclamation Withdrawal, were purchased. With these cessions, restorations, purchases, and sales, the area within the exterior boundaries of the reservation is now 2,268,008 acres, of which all but 187,691 acres are owned by the tribes or by individual Indians.¹

¹United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, "History and Economy of the Indians of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming" (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigations Staff, 1950), p. 10. (Mimeographed.)