

American Indian Education:
the Reservation Schools, 1870-1900

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Abstract

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This work studies the growth of the Indian school system, 1870-1900, and the attempt of the federal government to use the school as an instrument of Americanization.

In chapter I it is argued that after the Civil War United States' Indian policy changed direction. Previously an effort had been made to keep the Indians separate and apart but from 1870 an effort was made to incorporate them into American society, and federal funds were spent on education to fit the Indian for life in America. In chapter II it is demonstrated that nineteenth century Americans relied on well established racial theories to explain Indian behaviour and to plan Indian education programmes. The Christian churches were vital to the early work, although the Bureau of Indian Affairs slowly took over control of the schools. Chapter III places Indian education within the context of general educational developments in America, and analyses the type of schooling given to other minorities. Chapter IV examines the history and culture of tribes on the six reservations which are used as examples in the thesis. Chapter V argues that while all Americans who worked to Americanize the Indian had a similar goal in view, different racial theories led to the development of a variety of different educational programmes. In chapter VI it is argued that although Indians were placed on reservations to be civilized, reservations were peculiar units: geographically isolated, legally separate and administered from Washington by a hierarchical bureaucracy, they were unlike any town or community in the United States. Chapter VII shows how the distinctive characteristics of reservation society shaped the development and functioning of the school. Chapter VIII examines the Indians' own methods of education and analyses how these conflicted with the demands of the reservation school.

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Abbreviations Used in Footnotes

A.B.C.F.M.	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
B.I.A.	Bureau of Indian Affairs
B.I.C.	Board of Indian Commissioners
C.I.A.	Commissioner of Indian Affairs
I.R.A.	Indian Rights Association
L.R.	Letters Received
L.S.	Letters Sent
Mohonk	Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference
R.G.	Record Group

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Day School Number 29, Pine Ridge reservation, c1890.

Introduction

In March 1871 Congress passed a law which ended the sovereign and independent status of the Indian tribes of the United States; no further treaties were to be signed with the separate tribes and the Indians were to be recognized individually as wards of the federal government. With remarkable consistency the previous year Congress had allocated a sum of money to be spent exclusively on Indian education. The federal government was thus not only incorporating 250,000 Indians into the population of the United States--although significantly as wards and not as citizens--but was also making some provision for their education. This education was intended to fit the Indian for life in America.

The problem of Americanizing outsiders or foreigners did not originate with the Indian. Even in early national days certain groups caused alarm because of their reluctance or inability to join main-stream American society. But the Americanization of the Indians presented very special problems: the Indians were the only true native-Americans, unlike any other American citizen (excluding the blacks) neither they nor their ancestors had chosen to be part of the United States; they had lived in America as separate powers and felt they owed no allegiance to the government of the United States; the Indians' values and society also differed so radically from those of Americans that "civilizing" and Americanizing the Indian came to be viewed as synonymous activities.

Between 1870 and 1900 a programme for Americanizing the Indian was developed. Tribal organization and lands were to

be broken up, each individual was to be given his individual homestead, and, most importantly, the Indian children were to be educated in American-style schools. The school was vital to the Americanization programme for it was here that the American Indian was to be transformed into the Indian American. By 1900 a network of Indian schools had been established which stretched over nearly all the reservations of the West. That same year the Bureau of Indian Affairs finally took administrative control of all the schools: the last contract with a mission school was terminated only thirty years after Congress had appropriated the first sum of money for Indian education.

The enormity of the task confronting the Indian school was not appreciated by nineteenth century Americans, and can only be grasped fully with the help of the anthropological concept of "culture". "Culture" is defined by Ralph Linton as:

"The sum total of the knowledge, attitudes and habitual behaviour patterns shared and transmitted by members of a particular society."¹

The purpose of the school was to teach Indian children not only specific skills, but also American attitudes and behaviour patterns; in short, to educate them in American Culture. A study of the institution of the school as an Americanizing agent necessitates an understanding of the cultures of the two groups involved. However, as the Americans were the dominant group, their perception of Indian culture was as important to the education process as was the reality of Indian culture.

Cultures, according to Linton, are supremely adaptive

1 Ralph Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, Appleton-Century, 1940, p.463.

mechanisms able to adjust to changing circumstances by borrowing new elements or modifying old ones. This smooth process is interrupted however, if there is interference from a stronger outside group and certain elements of the culture are singled out for attack while new foreign elements are forcibly imposed. Such a situation Linton describes as one of "directed culture change":

"Under culture change which is both directed and enforced, the normal process of retention of old elements until satisfactory substitutes have been found is inhibited. The result is a series of losses without adequate replacements. This leaves certain of the groups needs unsatisfied, produces derangements in all sorts of social and economic relationships, and results in profound discomfort for the individuals involved."²

This was the situation of the Indian tribes when, confined on reservations, their political and economic base undermined, and administered by the federal government, they had no means of resisting the American educational programme. Seen from an anthropological standpoint the type of change demanded of the Indian was both sudden and dramatic.

Important to any study of culture change are not only the nature of the two cultures in contact, but also the conditions under which contact takes place.³ The reservation is therefore fundamental to any examination of the Indian school. But the Indian school was also linked to society outside the reservation; indeed its very purpose was to prepare Indians for life in America. So developments in the United States inevitably influenced relations between Indians and whites on the reservation

2 Ibid., p.504.

3 Evon Z. Vogt, "The Acculturation of American Indians," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXI, May 1957, pp.139-141.

and in the school. At the end of the nineteenth century, despite the programme to Americanize the tribesmen, strong social and legal structures, as well as general public prejudice, worked to keep the Indian separate and apart. Bronislaw Malinowski has argued convincingly that the work of the school can be totally undermined when the organization of the dominant society does not complement its activities, and when "the white community is not prepared to grant any of the privileges and consequences of education or of Christianity, still less any advantages in terms of political power, personal independence and material gain."⁴

The reservation schools were established as part of an attempt to Americanize the Indian. In stark terms their task was the total annihilation of Indian culture. For this reason it is useful to examine the function of the school within a framework offered by the anthropological concepts of culture and culture contact. Nevertheless, the anthropological model cannot always accommodate the detail and variety of the local situation, so an attempt has been made to place this study firmly within the historical context of nineteenth century America.

The organization of the chapters reflects this attempt to combine anthropological theory and historical analysis. Chapter I analyses the state of Indian-white relations in 1870 and indicates why the main aim of federal Indian policy became the "civilizing" of the Indian through education. Chapter II examines the way in which racial theories about the Indian determined the type of educational programme that was developed, and describes briefly

⁴ Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact," The American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII, May 1943, No. 6, p.450.

the evolution of the Indian school system. Chapter III places Indian education within the context of general educational developments in America. Chapter IV examines the history and culture of the tribes on the six reservations which are used as examples in the thesis. Chapter V studies four different approaches to the problem of "civilizing" the Indian. Chapter VI analyses the distinctive characteristics of reservation society and chapter VII shows how these influenced and shaped the reservation school. Chapter VIII examines the responses of the Indian to the American schools.

"I said there was nothing so convincing to an Indian as a general massacre. I said the next surest thing for an Indian was soap and education. Soap and education are not as sudden as a massacre but they are more deadly in the long run; because a half-massacred Indian may recover; but if you educate him and wash him it is bound to finish him some time or another. It undermines his constitution; it strikes at the foundation of his being. Sir, the time has come when blood curdling cruelty is unnecessary. Inflict soap and a spelling book on every Indian that ravages the plains, and let them die."

Mark Twain, Cheyenne Daily Leader,
July 28, 1876.

Chapter 1

Indian Affairs in 1870 and the Changing Nature of the West

After the Civil War relations between the United States' government and the Indian tribes were to alter radically. Americans and Indians were to be pushed into closer contact with each other than at any time since the colonial period. The growing American population was now not only spreading rapidly westward but was openly committed to occupying and controlling the whole continent between the two oceans. The presence of the Indian tribes could only be seen as an obstruction to such a purpose. Previously, when in the late 1820's the presence of the tribes east of the Mississippi began to impede national expansion, they were moved to lands on the edge of the Great Plains, thus clearing the way for white settlement.¹ The Plains region had been officially designated as the 'Great American Desert' and it was thought it would never be suitable for white settlement.² But as settlers began moving onto the Plains and attempting to farm, and the railroad crept out over

1 Paradoxically, removal was also seen as a means of civilizing the Indian by protecting him from the corrupt influences of frontier society. For a first hand account, written by a Baptist minister who believed in the efficacy of such a plan, see, Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions, New York & London: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1840 - reprint 1970; for a good analysis of the relationship between removal and civilization see, Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in the Formative Years, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962, pp. 224-249.

2 It was not believed that even Nebraska could support an agricultural population; in the early 1850's little interest was shown in farming but by 1860 agriculture had become Nebraska's most important industry. For an account of Nebraska's development see, James C. Olsen, History of Nebraska, Lincoln, Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1955, pp.100-175.

the barren lands, the two races were once again brought into close and unavoidable contact.

The tribes inhabiting the region west of the Mississippi varied greatly in strength and aggressiveness. Some, like the Omaha in Nebraska and the Wichita in Kansas, had compliantly relinquished their rights to large land masses and had settled on the diminished reservations offered to them by the whites. These tribes did not inhibit the development of the west; but their habits, beliefs, and customs were considered savage. Frequently they had to be financially supported by the United States government for, having lost their economic base, they were no longer capable of sustaining themselves. However, other tribes were not only strong and warlike, but they were also ready to fight to defend their rights to the land. The Sioux, Blackfeet, Crow, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa and Apache roamed and hunted over large areas of land. In 1851, in return for gifts, bounties, and the promise that they would remain unmolested, the Indians had agreed to accept definite tribal limitations of their hunting grounds. The nomadic life style of these people meant they were anxious to retain their lands and grew increasingly resistant in the face of white pressure. In the discussions preceeding the Harney Treaty, signed at Fort Pierre in 1866, Chief Bear Rib of the Unkpapa Sioux demanded:

"To whom does this land belong? It belongs to me. If you ask for a piece of land I would not give it. I cannot spare it and I like it very much. All this country on this side of this river belongs to me. I know that from the Mississippi to this river the country all belongs to us, and that we

have travelled from the Yellowstone to the Platte. All this country as I have said is ours, and if you, my brother, should ask me for it, I would not give it to you, for I like it and I hope you will listen to me."³

Indians were reluctant to give up their land, but Americans had for several decades been firmly committed to the doctrine of "manifest destiny," and believed they had an unquestionable right to the continent. As one missionary, active amongst the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi Indians in Michigan, remarked, "it cannot be that Almighty God ever intended that this great country, with its diversified soil and climate and other sources of subsistence and comfort, should be and always remain the mere hunting ground for savages."⁴ A clash between the two peoples was inevitable, and the impossibility of the Indians defending their land slowly became clear not only to whites but to Indians themselves. Their desperation, when confronted with the strength and relentless spread of the whites across America, was demonstrated in their increasing hostility and violence. For Americans the occupation of the western lands represented the fulfilment of their manifest destiny; for the Indians the defence of these same lands was tantamount to a fight for survival. One of the chiefs, interviewed by the Peace Commission in 1867, attempted to offer a peaceful solution to the problem:

- 3 Ralph H. Brown, Historical Geography of the United States, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948, pp.363-364. Indians had frequently shown reluctance to part with their land; for an account of Jefferson's scheme to encourage tribes to sell their lands see, Reginald Horsman, Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1788-1812, Michigan State Univ. Press, 1967, pp.100-175.
- 4 Richard Smith to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 28, 1871, in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (cited hereafter as Report of C.I.A.) 1871, p.335.

"We know nothing about agriculture. We have lived on game since infancy. We love the chase. Here are the wide plains over which the vast herds of buffalo roam. In the spring they pass from south to north, and in the fall return, traversing thousands of miles. Where they go you have no settlements; and if you had there is room enough for us both. Why limit us to certain boundaries, beyond which we shall not follow the game? If you want the lands for settlement, come and settle them. We will not disturb you. You may farm and we will hunt. You love the one, we love the other. If you want game we will share it with you. If we want bread, and you have it to spare, give it to us; but do not spurn us from your doors. Be kind to us and we will be kind to you. If we want ammunition give or sell it to us. We will not use it to hurt you, but pledge you all we have, our word, that at the risk of our own we will defend your lives."⁵

The sentiments of this chief were more expressive of wishful thinking than of fact. As whites moved into areas previously held by Indians either the Indians were peacefully ousted, or fighting broke out.

During the late 1860's and early 70's the wars that developed on the Plains threatened to slow down the westward movement. National expansion could not take place so long as settlers were in perpetual danger from Indians; and as the lines of settlement pushed further west the danger from Indians increased. While the main aim of the government was peaceful settlement, the constant influx of white settlers into Indian territory militated against this and resulted in repeated Indian outbreaks and wars.

In the spring of 1865, 8,000 United States troops were withdrawn during the final phases of the Civil War in order to fight against the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes on the Plains. Gold had been discovered in the west of Colorado Territory, the region had

⁵ Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission,
January 7, 1868, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., Ho. Ex. Doc. No. 97, p.18.

been invaded by hordes of miners, and the friction which arose sparked not only Indian violence, but the massacre of a camp of 500 Indians (a third of whom were women and children) by Col. J.M. Chivington at Sand Creek.⁶ Although peace had been restored by the summer and a treaty signed with the Indians assigning them to a new smaller reservation in a different location, the peace was only temporary and fighting soon broke out again.

Meanwhile, almost simultaneously, the United States Army was also fighting the Sioux. In 1864 the Bozeman Trail had been opened in order to facilitate movement into the Montana mining camps; not only did the trail run through some of the best Sioux hunting grounds, but this territory was guaranteed to the Indians in a treaty. Fighting under the famous Teton chief, Red Cloud, the Indians succeeded in slaughtering a complete detachment of troops from Fort Phil Kearney, sent to defend a woodcutting party, and by the summer of 1867 had brought three of the garrison posts, established to protect the trail, under siege.⁷ Red Cloud was incensed that when the Indians had signed a treaty offering a right of way the whites had then sent the Army. At an Indian council on Powder River he spoke out, acclaiming the generosity of the old chiefs in offering the right of way:

"Yet before the ashes of the council fire are cold, the Great Father is building his forts among us. You have heard the sound of the white soldier's ax upon the Little Piney. His presence here is an insult and a threat. It is an insult to the spirits of my ancestors. Are we then to give up their sacred graves to be plowed for corn? Dakotas I am for war!"

6 The band was attacked by a column of Colorado militia led by Chivington, only a few months before these Indians had reported to Fort Lyon and made peace.

7 H.O. Browning to L.F.S. Foster, February 5, 1867, in Report of C.I.A., 1867, p.51.

J. R. Hanson, U.S. Indian Agent for the Upper Missouri Superintendency, appreciated the determination with which the Indians were fighting. He felt the only way to bring the Indians to peace would be to force them to give up their land for, "so long as they have a country they can call their own they will fight for it." He reported that if asked what they would demand for peace, "they would say, stop the white man from travelling across our lands; give us the country which is ours by right of conquest and inheritance to live in and unmolested by his encroachments, and we will be at peace with the world."⁸

The Indians of the Southwest were also formidable foes for both white settlers and the Army. The tribes that roamed over all of New Mexico and Arizona lived by hunting, and the Apaches in particular, would make frequent forays into Texas to pillage and steal. Spasmodic and unsuccessful efforts were made to control and confine them. In 1865 a band of 800 Yavapai was sent by the Indian Bureau to the Colorado River Agency; they promised the government peace and began to cultivate fields. But their crops were unsuccessful, they quarrelled with the Mohaves and many of the supplies promised by the government were never delivered. In less than a year they had fled back to the mountains to resume their life of hunting and robbing. Hated and feared by the whites they were attacked mercilessly by freighters and frontiersmen. In retaliation the Indians killed a white prospector, who was alone and unprotected in the hills. In revenge the citizens of the nearby town of Hardyville formed a posse and

8 J.R. Hanson to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 16, 1867, in Report of C.I.A., 1867, p.234.

slaughtered ten Yavapais, including one chief and several women and children. Such a series of events was typical of relations between the two races in the Southwest. Peace was fragile and temporary, lapsing always into retaliatory killings, depredations and war.⁹ Two United States Army Generals stationed in the region and forced to consider the problem at close hand, came to believe that the occupation of the Southwest had been premature, and that the cost of maintaining troops was hopelessly out of proportion with the results achieved. "The best advice I can offer," wrote General Ord, "is to notify the settlers to withdraw and then to withdraw the troops and leave the country to the aboriginal inhabitants."¹⁰ General U.S. Grant, when Acting Secretary of War, supported a more aggressive approach; having read a report by General Halleck stating that there were no prospects for safe and permanent settlement until the hostile Indians were either conquered or destroyed, Grant recommended that they be "warred on until they were completely destroyed or made prisoners of war."¹¹ But little progress was made in managing and organizing the Southwestern Indians: the Apaches continued their robbing and raiding; mails moved under escort, and in the month of July 1869 stopped completely; picket posts had to be maintained near all settlements; the overland route was besieged at all points; and cavalry, fighting Indian bands, were frequently forced to retire from the field.

9 Report of C.I.A., 1869, pp.18-20.

10 Ralph Hendrick Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apache 1848-1886, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940, pp.61-68.

11 40 Cong., 2 Sess., Ho. Ex. Doc. No. 1, Vol. III, pp.69-74.

For several years the explosiveness of the developing situation had been ignored. Bishop Whipple (who worked with the Indians in Minnesota and had defended the Santee Sioux after their uprising in 1862 when several hundred whites were killed) was one of the few who recognized the growing danger and he criticized the Indian Service for its ineptitude. Attempting to indicate the gravity of the situation for the whites he asserted, "I do not make this plea simply for a heathen race. . . . The fair fame of the state, the blessing of God upon the nation, the protection of peaceful citizens from savage violence, the welfare of our children, and the prosperity of the Church of Christ are bound up in our settlement of this Indian question."¹² But at this time few were concerned with the Indian problem or foresaw the conflict that was to come. Even in 1866 when General W.T. Sherman made a speech at Yale University, announcing to the students, "I tell you that before you pass from the stage there will be fighting in comparison with which mine will seem slight, and I have had enough," reporters from the New York Times dismissed his predictions and demanded to know who the United States would be fighting.¹³

The Army, however, at this time, was acutely aware of the military strength of the Indians; from every division came recommendations and reports on the best method to keep the peace. Major Roger Jones, sent to Arizona to report on the military situation there, was appalled at what he found: men were killed at various points along his route and stock was stolen within sight of one of the posts he visited. He considered the troops

12 Bishop Henry B. Whipple, "Plea for the Red Man," pamphlet reprinted from the Missionary Paper, No. 24, Epiphany, 1863.

13 New York Times, July 16, 1866.

virtually powerless and suggested they should be concentrated at fewer points and a more effective scouting system should be devised.¹⁴

In February 1866 General Pope, responsible for the Department of the Missouri, was alarmed at the danger in which emigrants were perpetually placing themselves. He issued an order defining the rules for travel and directing his officers to enforce them strictly. Groups were to assemble at Forts Ridgely and Abercrombie, Fort Kearney and Fort Riley, and in convoys of not less than twenty wagons, organized in a semi-military fashion, they were to proceed to the separate frontier regions. Those violating the rule were liable to arrest; in such a way it was hoped that the army would be aided and the people protected.

General Sherman, although aware of the vulnerability of the army, was by the end of 1866 determined to pursue a more forceful policy. He planned to protect four principal routes of travel and strike hard at hostile Indians. Writing to General U.S. Grant in November 1866 he reported that he planned "to restrict the Sioux north of the Platte, west of the Missouri river, and east of the new road to Montana . . . All Sioux found outside these limits without a written pass from some military commander . . . shall be dealt with summarily. In like manner I shall restrict the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches and Navahoes south of the Arkansas and east of Fort Union."¹⁵ By so

14 Ogle, op. cit., p.68.

15 Quoted in U.S. Grant to Sec. of War, January 15, 1867, accompanying letter from the Secretary of the Interior, communicating, in obedience to a resolution by the Senate of the 30th of January, Information in relation to the late massacre of United States troops by Indians near Fort Phil Kearny, in Dakota Territory.

restricting the Indians Sherman hoped to allow migration to continue while ensuring peace.

In January of 1867 the Joint Special Committee, established by Congress to investigate "into the condition of the Indian tribes and their treatment," reported that the decline in the number of Indians was due to disease, intemperance, and warfare. But they ascribed "the main cause of their decay" to the "loss of their hunting grounds and the destruction of that game upon which the Indian subsists." Suggesting that the problems arising were almost inherent to this situation, that, "in our Indian system, beyond all doubt there are evils, growing out of the nature of the case itself, which can never be remedied until the Indian race is civilized or shall entirely disappear," they nevertheless drafted a bill which provided for five permanent boards of inspection which would annually inspect each Indian agency to correct all abuses.¹⁶ Not only did this bill fail to pass Congress, but the remedies it proposed were on strictly organizational and administrative lines, and by 1867 some immediate solution was needed in order to protect the summer emigrants on the Plains. Goaded by military and humanitarian considerations, on July 20 Congress created a special commission to visit the Plains tribes to establish the reasons for their hostility and sign treaties with them which, "may remove all just causes of complaint on their part, and at the same time establish security for person and property along the lines of railroad now being constructed in the

16. Condition of the Indian Tribes, report of the Joint Special Committee appointed under a joint resolution of Congress, March 3, 1865, Washington, 1867, 39 Cong., 2 sess., Sen. Rep. No. 156.

Pacific and other thoroughfares of travel to the Western Territories, and such as will most likely insure civilization for the Indians and peace and safety for the whites."¹⁷

The western press was constantly clamouring about the danger from the Indians but by 1867 public opinion had also been excited in the east. Not only was there increased news of Indian raids and depredations, and the scale of the Fetterman "massacre" had shocked both the public and General Sherman himself, but the New York Times had also reported rumours of a grand coalition of twelve Indian tribes in the territories of Dakota and Montana.¹⁸ The accumulation of news such as this edged the public towards thinking that peace with the Indians should be actively pursued. In April a New York Times editorial admitted that a war with the Indians might bring about a permanent peace faster, but considering the disturbance in communications with the west, the cost, and the loss of lives that would result, they asserted, "it seems to us that a war with the remnants of these tribes would be disastrous whatever its ends."¹⁹ The creation of the Peace Commission was therefore seen as a positive step and its activities in the west were watched with interest. Although at this time field correspondents were relatively new to journalism, newspaper representation was unusually large at the councils when the Commissioners met with the Indians, and the correspondents' accounts were exceptionally detailed. Representatives from both local and large Eastern city papers followed the

17 15 Stat. L., p.17.

18 New York Times, December 28, 1866.

19 New York Times, April 23, 1867.

Commission and generally expressed their optimism in the Peace Commission's chances of success.²⁰

Acknowledging the controversial nature of their mission--for many people still believed that the Indians could only be subdued through force of arms--the Commissioners recognized that if they failed, "the President might call out four regiments of mounted troops for the purpose of conquering the desired peace." Yet nevertheless they resolved to adopt the "hitherto untried policy in connection with the Indians, of endeavoring to conquer by kindness."²¹ The members of the Commission named in the bill were: Senator John B. Henderson, the chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee who had presented the bill to Congress; Nathaniel G. Taylor, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who in his report for 1868 showed his support for the idea of civilizing the Indian; Samuel F. Tappan from New England, a former officer of the Colorado Militia who had headed a military investigation into the Sand Creek massacre of 1864; and John B. Sanborn, who had represented the Department of the Interior at the Treaty of Little Arkansas. It was specified that the President should appoint three military members: Johnson chose: General Sherman (after the first meeting with the northern tribes Sherman was recalled to Washington and replaced by General C.C. Angur, one of Sherman's subordinates, and commander of the department of the Platte); Brevet Major General William S. Harney, retired Indian fighter who had negotiated the 1866 Sioux treaties; and

20 Douglas C. Jones, The Treaty of Medicine Lodge, Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1966, pp.vii-ix, 20-29, "Altogether there are nine newspapermen with the Peace Commission as it moved along the Union Pacific Road to Fort Haker."

21 Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission, Ho. Ex. Doc. No. 97, p.2.

Major General Alfred H. Terry, commander of the department of Dakota and one of Sherman's most important subordinate commanders. These men were amongst the most powerful and knowledgeable, from both the Army and Indian Service, on the question of Indian affairs. The tone of the report they produced was sympathetic and conciliatory towards the Indian.²² Concerned not to criticize the government operation, they nevertheless suggested that former policy was at variance with their ideas. Pin-pointing removal as one of the main failures in Indian policy, they asserted that if Indian and white had instead lived alongside each other, the former would soon have become civilized and war between them would have been impossible. Discussing the question of what prevented the two races from living together they cited as the main factors, antipathy of race and difference of language and customs, and asserted that if the Indian children had been educated in the English language the other obstructions would have softened and disappeared. The Commissioners decided that not only had removal militated against the Indians' civilization, but having pushed many of the tribes beyond the region of agriculture, it had now made hunting a necessity for them:

"If they could now be brought back into the midst of civilization instead of being pushed west, with all its inconveniences, it might settle the problem sooner than in any other way; but were we prepared to recommend such a scheme, the country is not prepared to receive it, nor would the Indians themselves accept it."²³

As an alternative to incorporating the Indians directly into the white population the Commission endorsed the suggestion of Congress

22 Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890, Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1963, pp.60-64. (It has been suggested, on account of the tone, that Taylor wrote the whole report and the others merely signed it.)

23 Report of Indian Peace Commission, op. cit., p.17.

that they select a district, or districts, on which all the tribes East of the Rocky Mountains might be gathered. They went on to suggest that a territorial government be established; agriculture, manufacture and schools introduced; mechanics, engineers, millers and teachers sent among them, so that slowly their tribal habits would weaken and they would be edged towards civilization. The Commission agreed that the older Indians should not be forced to abandon hunting, for that could lead to war, but as the buffalo would gradually disappear the older Indians would then inevitably and naturally follow their children into civilization.²⁴

The report had no legislative strength, representing only the Commission's recommendation to Congress, but its essence was incorporated in the Treaties Of Medicine Lodge and Laramie, signed with the Indians of the southern and northern Plains respectively. Apart from concentrating the Indians in two regions, thus clearing Kansas and Nebraska of hostilities, the treaties also incorporated an active plan for the Indians' civilization. Recognizing that, "we must take the savage as we find him, or rather as we have made him," the treaties laid out the new boundaries of the reservations, established conditions under which individual Indians could own and cultivate farm land and secure allotments, gave assurances that the government would furnish seeds, agricultural implements, instructors, clothing, food and other essentials to help them toward civilization, and also promised them educational facilities.²⁵ The treaties which the Sioux tribes had signed in

²⁴ Ibid., pp.17-18.

²⁵ The treaties with the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho were signed in October 1867, the treaty with the Sioux was signed the following year, in April 1868, but was based on the recommendations of the Commission; 15 Stat. L., 581, 589, 593; Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Washington: G.P.O., 1904, pp.754-764; 770-775.

1865 had not always included educational clauses. When they did, such clauses were often vague and indefinite; the treaty of the Lower Brule Sioux stated, "when the Secretary of the Interior may so direct, schools for the instruction of the said band may be opened on the said reservations."²⁶ But the educational clauses of the new treaties were detailed and precise. In their report the Commissioners acknowledged that to move the Indians in amongst the white population would be ideal but impossible; remaining consistent with these sentiments the treaties offered a scheme whereby the Indian could be moved closer to the whites through education. Schools were seen as being of vital importance and their establishment was made compulsory, for "in order to ensure the civilization of these Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted." The treaties stipulated that the Indians pledged themselves to compel their children to attend school, that it was the duty of the Indian agent to make sure this was complied with; and that the government would provide a school house and a teacher "for every thirty children . . . who could be induced or compelled to attend school." The three main purposes of their negotiations--to remove the causes of war, to secure the safety of the frontier settlements and the railroads being built to the Pacific, to inaugurate some plan for civilizing the Indians--had been amalgamated into a single solution which entailed the speedy civilization and absorption of the Indians; this, the Commissioners hoped, might be accomplished in twenty five years. Predicting that friction between the two races would continue as the west developed, and regarding the frontiers-people and the railroad builders as one of the main sources of the

26 Kappler, op. cit., pp.676-678, 686-693.

problems they were investigating, they asked that a new Commission be appointed to continue their work, as the Union Pacific would shortly be moving into country claimed by the Snakes and Bannocks.²⁷

The negotiations finalized in the Treaties of Medicine Lodge and Laramie represented an important shift in the official method of dealing with the Indians. However, although these treaties received wide public support they did not succeed in bringing peace to the Plains. By mid-June 1868 the provisions promised to the southern tribes had run out. Congress had not appropriated further money so they could not be replaced. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote desperately to the Secretary of the Interior, "The condition of Indian Affairs east of the Rocky Mountains has become of such grave importance . . . that speedy action appropriating the funds necessary to care for and feed the most destitute is absolutely necessary, if peace is to be preserved."²⁸ The Indians had no food and no means of hunting. They had been promised guns and ammunition and been given the right to hunt off their reservation while there were still buffalo. When the guns eventually arrived some of the younger warriors of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes immediately made gleeful raids into Kansas. Their agent, anxious to preserve peace and protect the innocent Indians, suggested that the peaceful Indians should be subsisted until the trouble was over. Sherman, however, took a firmer approach, he considered that the Indians had broken their treaty and condemned even those who were peaceful for not giving up the hostiles. Believing that now the peaceful Indians could find safety on their new reservations, he wrote to the War Department:

27 Report of the Indian Peace Commission, op. cit., p.22.

28 N.G. Taylor to Dept. of Interior, June 24, 1868, in Report of C.I.A., 1868, pp.57-59.

"No better time could possibly be chosen than the present for destroying or humbling these bands that have so outrageously violated their treaties and begun a desolating war without one particle of provocation; and, after a reasonable time given for the innocent to withdraw, I will solicit an order from the President declaring all Indians who remain outside of their lawful reservations to be declared 'outlaws', and commanding all people--soldiers and citizens--to proceed against them as such."²⁹

The Peace Commission was due to reconvene in Chicago in October 1868 and Sherman was determined that they should adopt a firmer policy. Already the disagreement within the Committee was clear, for in September, Tappan, supporting a continuation of the peaceful approach, had written to Sherman, "It is evident we do not agree on this Indian question."³⁰ In the wake of a summer of war the Committee moved towards a more military approach: they revoked clauses in the treaties which allowed the Indians to hunt off their reservations; against all their previous recommendations they suggested that the Indian Bureau should be transferred to the War Department; and they recommended that the tribes should cease to be regarded as independent nations but be held individually responsible to federal laws. The original pacific and reforming approach of the Commission had been transformed.

However, by this time there were many outside the Peace Commission who saw the necessity of instituting a peaceful policy towards the Indian.

29 Sherman to Secretary of War, September 17, 1868, in papers accompanying the Commission's report, 1868, pp.76-77.

30 Robert G. Athearn, William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West, Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1956, p.225.

In May 1868 a meeting was held at New York's Cooper Union to find a way to solve the problems raised by the hostile Plains Indians, "who find themselves harrassed by the inevitable progress of our people."³¹ As a result the United States Indian Commission was founded, a private organization committed to co-operating with the government in its efforts to end frontier warfare and to protecting and educating the Indian. Peter Cooper, the wealthy manufacturer and inventor, who had been a keen abolitionist and had founded Cooper Union for the education of the working class, aimed at persuading Congress and the public of the need to promote the peaceful civilization of the Indians. The Commission became a focusing point for those associated with Indian affairs who wished to find some answer to the pressing difficulties. In December 1868 Bishop Whipple, distressed at the fighting and convinced that the Indians' treaty rights had been violated, requested that the Commission send a deputation to investigate the events connected with the war.³² General Hazen, responsible for the southern Indians and acutely aware that the eight or ten thousand Indians under his care, were tribes "who of all those upon the Plains have been least affected by contact with the white man," wrote to invite the Commission to send one of their members to visit Fort Cobb in Indian Territory, "to study and learn the condition and wants of these people."³³ Vincent Colyer, secretary of the Commission,

31 New York Times, May 22, 1868.

32 Bishop Henry B. Whipple to the United States Indian Commission, December 8, 1868, an extract of this letter was published and circulated by the Commission.

33 Brevet Major General W.B. Hazen to United States Indian Commission, November 10, 1868.

visited the Apaches. In total sympathy with the Indians he reported that the Apaches had always been at peace with the United States until a war of extermination began to be waged against them. He argued that the Apaches had fared well when placed on reservations in 1859, and that if they were again located on a reservation they would make good progress. The Indians, he claimed, were begging for peace, and helping them towards civilization would cost less than the three or four million dollars that had been spent on the policy of extermination.³⁴ Colyer was ignorant of the complexities of Apache culture; his rosy adulation of the Indians infuriated the whole of New Mexico. But his belief in a peaceful approach to Indians was beginning to gain support in America.³⁵

Despite the many contradictory opinions represented in Congress this slow movement towards a desire for peace was reflected in the creation of the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1869. Formed partly in an attempt to increase co-operation between Indian administrators and the public, and also to offer suggestions on Indian policy in general, the Board was to consist of nine philanthropists serving as unpaid advisors to the Indian Bureau. Born out of a controversy between the Senate and the House (whereby two million dollars had been appropriated for the Indian Appropriation Bill but the House refused to vote specific

34 Vincent Colyer, Peace with the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona, Washington: G.P.O., 1872.

35 For analyses of the growth of a programme of reform among humanitarians see, Fritz, op. cit., pp.34-86, and Robert Mardock, The Reformers and the American Indian, Columbia, Mo.: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1971.

sums to fulfil individual treaties) the Board provided a temporary answer to the question of allocating Indian treaty money, for it was to be made responsible for distributing these funds. The nine men appointed, William Welsh, George H. Stewart, William E. Dodge, Nathan Bishop, Edward S. Tobey, Felix R. Brunot, John V. Farwell, Henry S. Lane, and Robert Campbell, were all esteemed religious, civic or philanthropic figures but none had any practical experience with Indians. In their first report they asserted, "In its moral and political, as well as economic aspects, the Indian question is one of the gravest importance." Committing themselves to reaching their conclusions about the Indian through inspection and investigation rather than through theorizing, they nevertheless indicated their outlook when, in their first report, they disparaged the record of the whites in dealing with the Indian. They were convinced that the example offered by the Santee Sioux could be repeated amongst all the tribes and that "the Indian, as a race, can be induced to work, is susceptible of civilization, and presents a most inviting field for the introduction of Christianity."³⁶

Early in 1869 President Grant also showed his inclination towards a peaceful policy for the Indian. In January 1867 Grant had received a long report from Colonel E.S. Parker, an Army officer and also a Seneca Indian, who in offering his solution for the 'Indian problem' suggested that the Indians should be placed

36 Report of the Board of Indian Commissions, hereafter cited as Report of B.I.C., 1869, p.9. The Santee Sioux was the band of Indians which had taken part in the Minnesota massacre of 1862; the advance they made towards civilization in eight years was seen as proof of the possibility of civilizing all Indians.

under territorial government, having first been concentrated in one or more areas. In such a way Parker believed that not only could they be controlled, but plans for their improvement and civilization be more easily carried out and a better field offered for philanthropic and Christian instruction. Informing Grant that such a system had been suggested before but never successfully executed he asserted, "A renewal of the attempt, with proper aids, it seems to me cannot fail of success."³⁷ In 1869 Grant appointed Parker as his Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A few days after the President was elected, but before he took office, he had received two deputations of Quakers requesting him to pursue a peaceful policy towards the Indians. At the beginning of his administration Grant dismissed all superintendents and agents on the reservations; he appointed Army officers to fill all the available posts but he assigned the Northern and Central Superintendencies to the Hicksite and Orthodox Friends respectively. On February 15, 1869, Parker wrote to the two denominations of Friends asking them to submit lists of Quakers qualified to be appointed as agents and superintendents in those regions, and in his first annual message to Congress Grant stated:³⁸

"I have attempted a new policy towards these wards of the nation. The Society of Friends is well known for having lived in peace with the Indians . . . They are also known for their

37 E.S. Parker to U.S. Grant, January 24, 1867, document accompanying the Investigation into the Massacre at Fort Phil Kearny, op. cit.

38 Rayner W. Kelsey, Friends and the Indians, Philadelphia: Assoc. Exec. Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917, pp.167-168.

opposition to any strife, violence and war, and are generally noted for their strict integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations of Indians to them and to throw the burden of the selection of agents upon the Society itself. The results have proven most satisfactory."³⁹

In July 1870 Congress, angry about Grant's encroachment on its executive domain and jealous about the loss of its vast field of political patronage, prohibited the holding of all civil offices by Army officers. Grant, urged by the Board of Indian Commissioners, instead of returning the agency appointments to the gift of Congress, invited the participation of other missionary societies and boards.⁴⁰ What had begun as an experiment thus became established Indian policy; the churches, with the financial support of the government, became active in attempting to educate and civilize the Indian.

The government was now openly committed to establishing peace with the Indian tribes and to finding some place for them within American society. The question of who should hold authority over the Indians was one that was hotly debated during this period and it reflected the ambivalence of American relations with the Indians. In 1849, when Congress created the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had been transferred from the War Department and incorporated in the new Interior Department. But the War Department was responsible for dealing with the hostile tribes, and many people, both in and outside the

39 James D. Richardson, A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Washington: G.P.O., 1896-99, VII, p.38.

40 16 Stat. L., p.319.

Army, felt that it was more logical and efficient for the War Department to assume total responsibility for Indians on the reservations as well as those at war. Army officers, and Sherman in particular, pressed continually for such a transfer. Public opinion wavered, being strongly influenced by developments in Indian affairs, as well as by sectional affiliations, and the Bureau itself remained determined to stay within the Department of the Interior. In his 1868 report the Commissioner detailed eleven arguments as to why this was essential to the peace, morals and advancement of the Indians.⁴¹ In Congress not only was there varying opinion but frequently the question was considered on strictly partisan lines.⁴²

However, although there was wide disagreement over who should administer Indian affairs and how, both Houses were unanimously in favour of peace. James Michael Cavanaugh, a delegate from Montana, who represented a population that lived in the midst of 13,903 Indians, was highly critical of the conciliatory methods of Grant's administration and endorsed the aggressive action of Colonel Baker in his attack on a Piegan village. He scorned "the humanitarian sentiment in the land which is popularly expressed by gentlemen who are remarkably eloquent on subjects which they know nothing about."⁴³ Yet, anxious to preserve peace,

⁴¹ Report of C.I.A., 1868, pp.7-22.

⁴² Loring B. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren, New Brunswick, Rutgers Univ. Press, 1942, p.21, 'Only a complete disregard for Indian welfare enabled the transfer proposal, championed by Republicans in the late sixties, to become a rallying point for Democrats a few years later. Yet House Republicans who voted for transfer by 105-12 in 1868, opposed transfer by 102-9 ten years later, while Democrats who opposed change by 21 to 11 supported it by 121 to 13 in 1878. Of six Representatives and five Senators who voted on transfer measures throughout this period, but a single Representative and a single Senator were consistent.

⁴³ Congressional Record, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. II, p.1598, February 28, 1870.

he was active in his support of the Indian Appropriation Bill which would enable the United States to fulfil its treaty obligations. His position was typical of that of many Congressmen who, feeling no sympathy for the Indian, were nevertheless anxious to keep him peaceable.

The aggressiveness of the frontier settlements to the Indians, their demands for troops and announcements of imminent wars, did not always stem from fear of Indian raids. Far from the lines of communication and trade, one of their best markets was the United States Army. Sherman was cynically aware that this was often the real source of pressure to call more troops to the west.⁴⁴ However, such settlements were not anxious to promote an Indian war, merely to retain the presence of the troops. Peace with the Indian was for them not only a guarantee of safety, but also of greater prosperity. Once it became clear that they could benefit by making contracts with the government to supply the Indians rather than the Army, these groups became active supporters of the new policy.

By 1870 it was widely believed that the only way peace could be achieved with the Indians was by confining them to reservations, thus preventing wars by keeping them separate from the pioneering whites. The idea of concentrating Indians on reservations and then supporting them there until they could be induced to work for themselves, had been carried out for the first time in California, in 1853.⁴⁵ Even at such an early date

⁴⁴ Athearn, op. cit., p.88.

⁴⁵ Report of C.I.A., 1858, p.9.

the problems accompanying such a procedure quickly emerged. After only six years the Indians were again surrounded by whites. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggested that they should be moved to a new reservation, to keep them isolated from the whites and thus, "to secure our own citizens from annoyance."⁴⁶ Despite the problems inherent in attempting to isolate the Indians on their own separate reservations the idea still had great appeal to Americans in 1870. The reservation offered an apparent solution to the "Indian Problem" while perpetuating the Indian's segregation: it reflected Americans' ambivalence about the Indian. Supported strongly by General Sherman, by the land hungry settlers, and even by members of the Peace Commission, the reservation became an established feature of American Indian Policy.

The reservation was an alternative to the old policy of removal. When tribes of Indians could no longer be moved west to make way for the spread of Americans, the idea of concentrating them in segregated pockets developed. In essence the reservation plan was similar to that of removal: it kept Indians and whites segregated; it freed large areas of land for settlement; it paid tribute to the idea that Indians could be civilized more quickly when isolated from the corrupting influences of white frontiersmen. One of the main differences was that when Indians were removed in the early nineteenth century, they remained autonomous and responsible for their own affairs, but when placed on reservations they were forced into dependence on the federal government.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1859, p.4.

As the placing of Indians on reservations frequently involved dislocating them from their accustomed economic base, the idea of teaching the Indians to be self-supporting came to be closely associated with the idea of confining them on reservations. The Plains tribes were totally dependent on the buffalo; not only would life on a reservation prevent them from following the herds, but the numbers of buffalo were fast decreasing. Even tribes such as the Omaha, in the eastern Plains, who cultivated some crops and were only partially dependent on the buffalo, and the Nez Perce in the west, who also relied on berries and roots they collected, when placed on reservations were forced to adopt a radically different life-style. Congress was aware that such tribes would be temporarily incapable of supporting themselves, and in 1869 they voted that two million dollars be allowed for this purpose. However, it was generally believed that if offered enough encouragement the Indian would adapt to his new life and soon cease to be dependent on the government.

Ironically, it was often those who had least faith in the Indian's ability to become civilized who were the most insistent that they should be confined on reservations. Caught in a hopeless logical contradiction Congressmen such as Senator William M. Stewart from Nevada, were anxious to preserve peace, and so against all their deepest instincts supported the reservation policy and voted for the appropriations to finance it. Senator Stewart feared and hated the Apaches. "They are the worst human beings on earth. They have exterminated all the northern portion of New Mexico," but he agreed to support any

efforts to tame them while at the same time reminding Congress that despite the success of the church missions in California, they had been unable to deal with the Apaches.

"The church did civilize and did a good work with the Mission Indians in California; but it failed with the Apaches; the settlers have failed and the army has failed . . . Now I should like to see the Quakers try their hand on the Apaches. I shall vote for this Quaker appropriation. . . . The plain policy is this: put them on small reservations; put them on reservations that are sufficient to support them; teach them to labor; show them that the strong arm of the government is over them."⁴⁷

For men such as Stewart the reservation appeared to offer some sort of peaceful alternative to open war with the Indian.

Francis Walker, the New England educator, economist and statistician, who was to act as Grant's Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1872, confronted the Indian problem practically when he said:

"The Indian question naturally divides itself into two: what shall be done with the Indian as an obstacle to national progress? What shall be done with him when, and so far as he ceases to obstruct the extension of the railways and settlements."⁴⁸

Although, in 1870 agreement on the idea of reservations was widespread, opinions as to what should happen to the Indian once on the reservation varied widely.

Commissioner Lewis V. Bogy believed that the tribes would eventually die out. Writing to the Secretary of the Interior in 1867 to suggest that all Indians should be settled on reservations he asserted:

⁴⁷ 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. II, p.4005, 4084, 4085, June 4, 1870. Senator Stewart was later to become a keen supporter of the allotment of Indian lands.

⁴⁸ Francis Walker, The Indian Question, Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874, p.17.

"It is of little consequence to this government if a few hundred thousand dollars, more or less, per annum be expended, provided these people are kept quiet, and, at the same time, means of subsistence be furnished to them to support themselves for the few years, which, in all probability they will yet exist."⁴⁹

Belief that Indians were a dying race was widespread at this time. Although each year their numbers diminished, the belief often expressed some form of wishful thinking.⁵⁰ If the Indian really was destined to vanish before the advance of civilization, then the whites had only to offer some temporary solution for his final years. Most administrators were however more realistic than Bogy.

Francis Walker also strongly supported the reservation system, not only as a way of secluding the Indian from the white but also to make it possible "to suppress and punish violence without exposing the settlements to the horrors of massacre."⁵¹ Showing a depth of thinking often lacking in his contemporaries, Walker went on to consider what would happen to the Indian once on the reservation. He envisaged the reservation as a type of reform school where the Indians would be forced to learn habits of industry and sobriety while in the meantime being actively excluded from white society:

49 Lewis V. Bogy to the Secretary of the Interior, January 23, 1867, in papers accompanying the Investigation into the massacre at Fort Phil Kearny, op. cit.

50 The census figures for the Indians at this time are very inaccurate, it seems clear that their numbers were diminishing but it is hard to know the extent of the decrease.

51 Walker, op. cit., p.44.

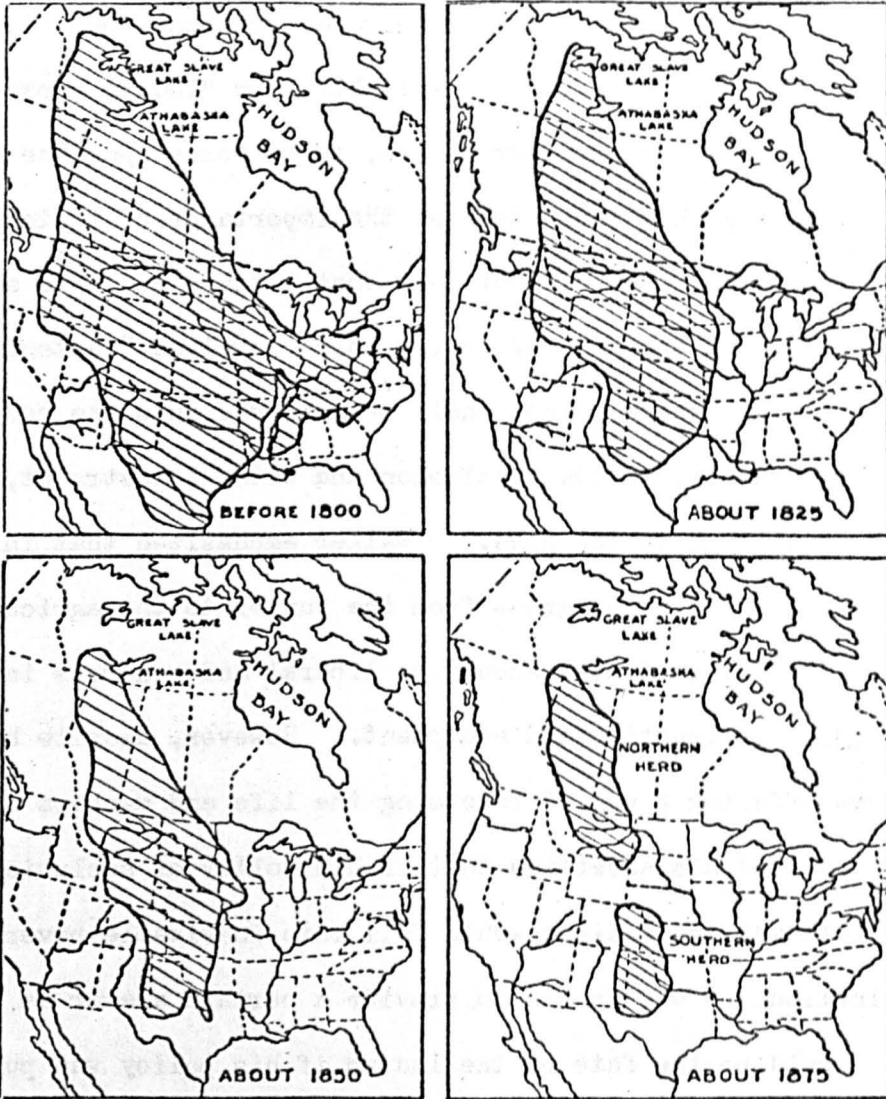
"The Indians should not be allowed to abandon their tribal relations, and leave their reservations to mingle with the whites, except upon express authority of law."⁵²

He believed that due to their restive nature, Indians would certainly be tempted to leave their reservations, but if allowed to do so they would inevitably form "Indian gypsy-camps all over the frontier states, to be sores upon the body politic." Walker thus stressed the importance of training and discipline. He did not feel that Indians could be assimilated gradually, and opposed any policy which involved "hastening the time when all these tribes shall be resolved into the body of our citizenship, without seclusion and without restraint, letting such as will go to the dogs." Walker emphasized that in order to help the Indian progress from the hunter to the agricultural state the United States should be liberal and generous in providing instruction and equipment. However, despite his rigid scheme offering a way of reforming the life and manners of the Indians, and his assertion that if his policy of seclusion was not followed the Indians would fall into inevitable poverty and extinction, he was unable to provide a certain answer as to what would be the fate of the Indian if his policy was put into practice. He could not project what the Indian's role in American society would be, but suggested that although the numbers might decline there was "a possibility that the Indian may bear restriction as well as the Negro has borne emancipation."⁵³

General Sherman was also an active supporter of the reservation policy. For Sherman the reservation was a means of defence; a

52 Ibid., p.77.

53 Ibid., p.97.



The diminishing range of the bison. Simplified from a map in "The American Bison, Living and Extinct" by J. A. Allen, *Memoirs, Museum of Comparative Zoology*, Vol. 4, No. 10, Harvard University Press, 1876.

way to avoid a fullscale Indian war by ensuring that the army only had to fight small bands of hostiles and not full Indian tribes. Sherman conceived of the Indian problem strictly in terms of national expansion; he saw his task as being to protect the trails which allowed the opening up of settlement. He thought of the Indian as doomed, and although harsh in his judgement, he understood the ferocity with which he would fight. Sherman wrote to his brother, "The Indian agents over on the Missouri tell him to come over here for hunting, and from here he is turned to some other quarter, and so the poor devil naturally wriggles against his doom."⁵⁴ Sherman did not harbour illusions of a total peace, he believed there would be "a sort of predatory war for years," but was convinced that the quicker expansion progressed, and in particular the sooner the railroads were built, the easier the task of crushing Indian attacks would be. Sherman did not consider in detail what would happen to the Indian once on the reservation; he was concerned that the government should fulfil its side of Indian treaties and provide food and clothing so that the Indians would stay on the reservation, but he did not formulate a programme for Indian advancement or envisage the future role of Indians in America. Relying on the impact of settlement and the increasing density of the white population to ensure peace, Sherman looked vaguely to the day when the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Kiowas would be self-supporting like the Cherokees and Choctaws. How and when such a day would come was not Sherman's main concern.⁵⁵

54 Athearn, op. cit., p.67.

55 Ibid., p.274.

The apparent unanimity of opinion reached by 1870, which demanded peace with the Indian and his confinement on reservations, was sustained by a variety of viewpoints that were not always complementary. The divergent perspectives of Bogy, Walker and Sherman finely illustrate how, despite their differing pre-occupations, all three men were able to support the new policy of placing Indians on reservations and offering them government support. However, when the problem of considering the Indians' future arose the basis of their agreement disappeared, for they viewed the question from differing perspectives. Bogy saw the Indian as dying out; Sherman looked in a vague way to his eventual civilization (although whether this would mean he would be absorbed or remain separate is not clear); and Walker offered a strict programme of reform and segregation. Thus, in considering the larger question of the Indians' future place in American society, not only was there disagreement between the three men, but also a high degree of evasion and confusion. In the following three decades when Americans would be forced to face the problem of the Indians' situation practically, similar contradictions and confusions would be echoed and recapitulated.

In Congress support for the new Indian policy also rested on a foundation of very differing views and interests. Senator Thomas W. Tipton of Nebraska wanted peace, but he had no interest in civilizing the Indian:

"I say, honestly keep your treaties with them; but when the time comes to lavish and give away the funds of this nation, give them away to stay the tide of blood on our frontier from other savages than these."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Congressional Record, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. V, p.4082, June 2, 1870.

Senator John Sherman of Ohio agreed, feeling that paying any money beyond the treaty stipulations was extravagant, even if it did help the Indians towards civilization.⁵⁷ Senator Lot M. Morrill of Maine presented figures indicating that in seven years the United States had spent an aggregate of \$140,000,000 on the Army stationed in the west, which was "engaged in no higher service than the hunt of broken and fugitive bands of Indians on the Great Plains."⁵⁸ Morrill used these figures to encourage Congress to appropriate money to fulfil its peace treaty obligations, and it is clear that many Senators supported the policy for purely economic reasons in the belief that it was cheaper to feed than to fight the Indians. Many also supported the Peace Policy in a segregationist spirit, hoping that once the Indians were on the reservations they could be kept under control and separate from the whites. There was also a group of Congressmen who embraced the idea of civilizing the Indian yet who, like Senator Fernando Wood of New York, had a more theoretical than practical notion of what this involved:

"I say, teach the Indians their duty to the government; do with them as you are now proposing to do to the freedmen of the South. Educate them and their children; civilize them; make them citizens; make them useful; make them humane . . . let us try this new method of pacification, of education, of moral culture."⁵⁹

57 Both Senators were against an amendment that would help foster the 'Quaker experiment' and provide for the purchase of wagons, teams tools, agricultural implements, live stock, seeds and so forth, and for the erection of houses for the Indians in the northern superintendency, to be distributed among the different tribes at the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, the sum of \$30,000.

58 Congressional Record, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. VII, p.448, June 2, 1870.

59 Ibid., Vol. II, p.1602, February 28, 1870.

Opinions in the House also differed widely, although at this time debates about Indian policy and appropriations focused on the political question of House authority. Jealous of the treaty making powers of the Senate, the House in 1868 refused to appropriate the large sums necessary for fulfilment of treaties negotiated by the Indian Peace Commission, until it was consulted regarding their provisions. In 1869 the dispute continued, and by 1870 it was clear that some radical change had to be undertaken, the House still being unwilling to appropriate money for treaties it had no voice in determining. So in that year an amendment was added to the Indian Appropriation Act which abolished treaty-making with the tribes and established them as the wards of the government. While it is unlikely, without the political quarrel which led to this move, that such a step would otherwise have been taken then, nevertheless since 1865 the whole treaty system had been under fierce criticism from people interested to protect the Indian and also from those concerned for the rights and safety of the whites.

The action of Congress in designating the Indians as wards of the federal government was part of a broad attempt to establish a viable relationship with the tribes and to incorporate them into American society. The new status of the Indian was consonant with the new Indian policy. Although in practical terms there was no immediate change, agreements (rather than treaties) continuing to be made with the tribes and ratified by both Houses of Congress, the legal and psychological framework now existed in which the Indian could be treated as a ward and individual. The thrust of the developing educational policy was aimed at the individual

Indian and not the tribe; in 1875 the Homestead Act was extended to include Indians; and the Allotment Policy, which aimed at establishing individual Indians on their own tract of land, was to gain increasing support amongst whites during this period. The Indians' new status as wards of the nation reflected more than the jealousies of the House of Representatives, it also pointed to the basic premises that lay behind the new Indian policy which aimed initially at achieving peace with the Indians, yet recognized the increasing weakness and dependence of the tribes. While through habit and tradition the government continued to deal with the Indians as tribes, from 1870 on they were legally recognized as a group of separate individuals and their tribal relations came to be increasingly ignored and disparaged.

Yet the status of the Indian was ambiguous and the attitude of many Americans to the Indians remained ambivalent. Francis Walker's analysis of the Indian problem, although often harshly expressed, was in its logic correct. In historical terms the Indian question did divide in two. By 1870 there could be a degree of unanimity in answering the first part, "What shall be done with the Indian as an obstacle to national progress?" The majority of Americans could support a policy which strove for peace and sought to concentrate and confine the Indians. But the second part of the question, "What shall be done with the Indian when, and so far as, he ceases to oppose or obstruct the extension of railways and settlements?" touched broader and more long term questions.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Walker, op. cit., p.17.

During the latter part of the 1860's Americans were forced to confront the Indian as a threat to westward expansion; by 1870 a new peaceful policy had been inaugurated and the idea of educating and civilizing the Indian was accepted, tentatively if not universally.⁶¹ However, this new Indian policy, formulated primarily to safeguard peace, incorporated many contradictions when viewed as a basis for Indian civilization. Firstly, the government intended to move immediately from militarily crushing the Indians to civilizing and educating them in white culture. Apart from the very real administrative complications, made obvious in the disputes over who should be responsible for Indian affairs, this involved the Indians in a psychological dislocation that few officials seem to have considered. Regarding the Indian's civilization as necessary, Americans did not show concern that the wars fought against the Indians might have retarded the latter's acceptance of white civilization. Viewing the question in logical terms they saw the Indian as destined to surrender before American advances, and regarded his acceptance of white ways as representing the only possible means for his survival. Crazy Horse, the greatest military leader of the Sioux Confederation, was suspected of planning an outbreak in 1877 and when arrested by a group of forty-three policemen was bayoneted in the scuffle that followed. He spoke to his Agent shortly before he died and his words conveyed the pathos and misery of the Sioux in their new situation:

61 Report of the C.I.A., 1868, pp.1-6; Report of B.I.C., 1869, p.9.

"I was not hostile to the white men. Sometimes my young men would attack the Indians who were their enemies and took their ponies. They did it in return. We had buffalo for food, and their hides for clothing and for our teepees. We preferred hunting to a life of idleness on the reservation, where we were driven against our will. At times we did not get enough to eat, and we were not allowed to leave the reservation to hunt. We preferred our own way of living."⁶²

Secondly, despite the warning of the Peace Commission that the majority of Indians were beyond the agricultural line, it became accepted policy to encourage all Indians in agricultural pursuits as a way of making them self-supporting.⁶³

Thirdly, while all agreed that the Indian should be educated to make him peaceful, the question of where such education should lead was more complicated. 'Education', which was almost a by-word in discussion of Indian affairs in the late 1860's, became the focus of heated debates in the following two decades. The autonomy of the two races and the frequency of wars had meant that Indian-white relations had been based essentially on confrontation. While the Indian's independence and autonomy had been gradually declining, the radical change in their circumstances in the 1870's meant that new issues had to be faced and new questions answered, and the details of what was meant by Indian education had to be outlined.

62 J. Lee Humphreville, Twenty Years Among our Hostile Indians, New York: Hunter & Co., 1899.

63 See chapter 2 for an examination of ideological reasons for the encouragement of agriculture.

Finally, the traditional idea of segregating the Indians from the white population had been perpetuated in the new policy. Some Americans, like Commissioner Bogy, foresaw the disappearance of the Indian race. Others, like Francis Walker, believed Indians should be kept strictly separate so they could be educated, but the impossibility of maintaining this segregation soon became clear. Many then began to demand that the Indian be absorbed into American society. But, while this seemed a logical conclusion, there was widespread ambivalence on the question of Indian assimilation. The creation of the reservations reflected this ambivalence. Established ostensibly as a method of dealing with warring tribes, they were meant at the same time to offer a place where Indians could learn a new means of self-support. However, Indians were no longer viewed as separate nations; they were wards of the United States government. While at one level they had become a part of the United States by becoming wards (and by being offered civilization), at another level they remained separate by being given reservations. The isolation of Indians on reservations reflected the uncertainty surrounding the question of their place in American society. The Indian Peace Commission had confronted the issue unequivocally and accepted that Americans would not tolerate Indians being integrated directly into American life. Segregating Indians on reservations while simultaneously educating them provided a type of half-way solution that was to have many ramifications in the following decades.

* * * * *

An essential element of the new Indian policy was the projected schooling programme. Although attracting keen interest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century this scheme was not original, for plans to educate and civilize the Indians dated back to the days of the first colonies. Indeed the propagation of the gospel amongst the natives one of the avowed intentions of the founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and formally written into their charter.⁶⁴ Efforts to help the Indian at this time and during the eighteenth century were always linked to the idea of Christianizing him.⁶⁵ They were strongly influenced by two important factors. First, there were large areas of sparsely populated land lying west of the colonies into which the Indians could withdraw or be driven, so that it was necessary always to persuade the Indians of the advantages to be gained in civilization. Second, and more importantly, the Indian tribes were still strong and could be a formidable military foe.⁶⁶ Even when peaceful they were impressive social units capable of negotiating in their own interests. For the colonies, and later the young nation, it was important to attempt to ensure the peaceful disposition of the Indians, not only for the safety of the settlers but to prevent the tribes allying with the English.⁶⁷

64 Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, Washington, 1888, 48 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Exec. Doc. No. 95, p.39.

65 Ibid., p.48.

66 In King Philip's War, 1675-76, over a thousand whites were killed, several settlements were wiped out and the military strength of the colonies was seriously challenged.

67 Fletcher, op. cit., p.162, "The first treaty agreement providing for any form of education was made December 2, 1794, with the Oneida, Tuscarona and Stockbridge Indians, who had faithfully adhered to the United States during the Revolution. For three years one or two persons were to be employed to instruct in the arts of the miller and sawyer."

After the War of 1812, fear of the Indians' allying with the English disappeared, so the Indians were no longer seen as so powerful a threat. However, the religious revival that occurred in the second decade of the nineteenth century, resulting in the formation of several missionary associations, meant that a new interest was shown in civilizing the Indians. On January 22, 1818, the House Committee on Indian Affairs reported:

"We are induced to believe that nothing which it is in the power of Government to do would have a more direct tendency to produce this desirable object civilization than the establishment of schools at convenient and safe places amongst those tribes friendly to us . . . In the present state of our country one of two things seems to be necessary. Either that these sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated . . ." ⁶⁸

On March 3, 1819, Congress provided \$10,000 "for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes . . . and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization." ⁶⁹ A year later it was reported that none of this money had been expended and J. C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, recommended that it should be paid to the societies already active amongst the Indians, so they could use it. Thus began the tradition of channeling federal funds through missionary societies and organizations.

Although in 1825 it was reported that there were thirty eight schools in operation, these were almost exclusively among the Five Civilized Tribes and the New York Indians, and these were the tribes that had lived closest to the whites and imbibed

68 Ibid., pp.162-163.

69 Ibid.

the basic elements of white civilization.⁷⁰ Missionaries continued to be most active among these tribes, but by the late 1860's it was seen that education was needed not only by the Indians who were partially civilized, but by all the tribes, and in particular the wildest. The desire for peaceful relations with the Indians fostered an interest in their education. In 1868 the Board of Indian Commissioners reported that many of the tribes had no schools and were without any religious instruction whatever.⁷¹ Two years later Congress voted that a sum of \$100,000 be spent "for the support of industrial and other schools among the Indian tribes not otherwise provided for."⁷²

The necessity of educating the Indian had, from the beginning, been seen as a way of advancing and helping him. American culture was not only seen as superior, but also, by the nineteenth century, was regarded as offering the Indian a means of escaping extinction. In 1820 J. C. Calhoun recommended:

"They should be taken under our guardianship; and our opinion, and not theirs, ought to prevail in measures intended for their civilization and happiness. A system less rigorous may protract, but cannot arrest their fate."⁷³

However, by the late 1860's civilization for the Indian was viewed as benefiting the white as much as the Indian. While the government turned to the religious societies, and suggestions

70 Ibid., p.165.

71 Report of B.I.C., 1868, p.2.

72 Congressional Record, 41 Cong., 2 sess., Vol.V, June 4 1870, p.4131.

73 Fletcher, op. cit., pp.163-164.

for civilizing the Indian were couched in the language of moral betterment and salvation, it is clear that by this time Americans were more concerned with their own national expansion than with the personal salvation of the Indian. Civilization was offered as a way of keeping the Indians peaceful and of making them more tolerable neighbours for the whites moving into the west. As support for their assimilation grew education and civilization became even more imperative; the Superintendent of Indian Schools was realistically to demand: "In what condition shall the Indian be absorbed into our life; diseased, degraded and debauched, or enlightened and ennobled?"⁷⁴

If circumstances had altered the whites' attitude to Indian education, they had also modified the Indians'. While they were still strong and surrounded by buffalo the Indian chiefs could refuse to accept the white man's civilization. In 1867 Satanta of the Kiowa, at the Council of Medicine Lodge, still insisted that, "All the land south of the Arkansas belongs to the Kiowas and Comanches . . . I love the land and the buffalo and will not part with it." He rejected all offers of educational help, "I don't want any of the medicine lodges [schools and churches] within the country. I want the children raised as I was. I have heard that you intend to settle us on a reservation near the mountains. I don't want to settle. I love to roam over the prairies. There I feel free and happy, but when we settle down we grow pale and die."⁷⁵ The Sioux chief, Red Cloud, also had fought hard to defend his lands. Red Cloud was one of

74 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1884, p.4.

75 New York Times, November 20, 1867.

the most powerful of the Sioux chiefs; he had led the war party that committed the Fetterman massacre of December 1866, and had forced the withdrawal of several garrisons from the Bozeman Trail. He was to spend three decades continuing to fight for his people through negotiation; a vivid illustration of the Indian's changed stand point can be seen in his speech at the Cooper Institute in 1870. Realizing the weakened and sad situation of the Indian, Red Cloud, speaking to a packed auditorium, asked for the listeners' help:

"My brothers and my friends who are before me today, God Almighty has made us all, and He is here to hear what I have to say to you today. The Great Spirit made us both. He gave us land, and he gave you land. You came here and we received you as brothers. When the Almighty made you he made you all white and clothed you. When He made us, He made us with red skins and poor. When you first came we were very many and you were few. You do not know who appears before you to speak. He is a representative of the original American race, the first people on this continent. . . . The Great Spirit made us poor and ignorant. He made you rich and wise and skilful in things which we know nothing about. The good father made you to eat tame game, and us to eat wild. . . . You have children. We, too, have children, and we wish to bring them up well. We ask you to help us do it."⁷⁶

By 1870 the situation of most Indians in America had changed radically.

The social influences which had produced these changes, and brought Indian and white into close competition and contact, not only continued but accelerated during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1870 and 1900 the trans-Mississippi west was transformed. From being a sparsely populated, allegedly barren region, it grew to become the major food

76 New York Times, June 17, 1870.

producing area of America, closely interlinked commercially and economically with other sections of the nation. One of the striking features of this change was a rapid increase in population. In three decades the first tier of trans-Mississippi states (Minnesota to Louisiana) more than doubled in population, leaping from 4,500,000 inhabitants to nearly 10,000,000. In the second tier of states (North Dakota to Texas) the increase was nearly fivefold, 1,300,000 to 7,000,000.⁷⁷

Even in the 1860's the Great Plains had been regarded as uninhabitable. Horace Greeley, who made an overland trip in 1859, regarded settlement as unlikely owing to the scarcity of trees and water. Sherman also did not foresee the blooming of the Great American Desert, and even Abraham Lincoln believed it would take at least a century to settle this last frontier.

However, a series of mechanical inventions and technical innovations were to make farming on the Plains not only viable but also highly profitable. The shortage of wood for fencing was solved by the invention of barbed wire and the sod house came to replace the wooden house on the Plains. Water was a further concern, being vital for any type of farming. There were few streams and a rainfall of only a few inches. The development of dry farming, whereby farmers would harrow their fields after each rainfall to prevent evaporation of surface water and to conserve all available moisture, although not always successful particularly in dry years, did allow the opening of previously uncultivated regions.⁷⁸

For the Indians the new attractiveness of the Plains to the whites had far reaching effects. Their ownership of land was perpetually threatened, particularly in situations where the government had not surveyed reservations and granted patents.

77 John F. Stover, American Railroads, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961, p.102.

78 Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion, New York: Macmillan Co., 1949, pp.688-721.

Even when they held secure legal rights they were constantly pressured to sell portions of their reservations, and frequently settlers would forcibly seize land.⁷⁹ Indians were also being encouraged to farm, not only against all their traditional inclinations and beliefs, but at a time when farming on the Plains, where possible at all, was becoming a skilled and expensive task. Many Congressmen, while anxious for peace, were unwilling to provide the necessary money to equip the Indians to farm. They were incapable of seeing the necessity for large investments in farm implements for the new type of dry-farming.⁸⁰

One of the earliest results of white intrusion on the Plains was the destruction of the vast buffalo herds which were the basis of the Plains Indians' life. To Indians the buffalo were not only their means of economic survival, providing meat, clothing, housing and even fuel, they were also strongly associated with their spiritual life. Regarding the buffalo as a gift from the Great Spirit to the Indian people many tribes saw their destruction as an omen of doom for the Indian. In essence they were correct, for the nomadic hunting life of these tribes was so utterly dependent on the buffalo that once the herds had disappeared the Indians would become dependent on federal aid and their own half-hearted attempts to farm. Sherman saw the importance of the buffalo and regarded their extermination as necessary if the Indians were ever to be defeated; at one time he ironically suggested that huntsmen

79 Crow Creek Reservation, Dakota: Action of the Indian Rights Association regarding its recent occupation by White Settlers, Philadelphia, 1885.

80 Congressional Record, 41 Cong., 2 sess., Vol.V, June 4, 1870, pp.4079-4086.

should be invited from Europe and the East to speed the process of destruction. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 the American herd was split into two smaller herds.⁸¹ These rapidly depleted in size when, in 1871, a leather tannery was established in Pennsylvania and thousands of hides were transported there. In just over a decade almost all the buffalo had disappeared. At the Wichita Indian Agency in Indian Territory, the Agent reported that in 1876 the Indians were able to make \$70,400 through the sale of furs and robes to the traders. The following year the amount dropped to \$64,500, in 1878 to \$26,373 and in 1879, when supplies at the Agency were exhausted and the Agent sent the Indians out to hunt, they were unable to find any buffalo. The northern herd survived a little longer but by 1880 had also been totally destroyed. The tribes were now not only confined on reservations but there was no longer even the possibility of reverting to their old life-style. In 1888 the southern Indians, desperate about the constant intrusion on to their land by whites and the threat to open Indian Territory to white settlement, held a mass council at Fort Gibson, which between two and three thousand Indians attended. Discussing the irreversibility of the situation the Five Civilized Tribes advised the Kiowa and Comanche to meet the coming changes by education and adaptation to the customs of the white people.⁸²

The spread of the railroad network to the west was the main single factor that accelerated the development of this

81 Brown, op. cit., pp.378-383.

82 Grant Foreman, A History of Oklahoma, Norman: Univ. Oklahoma Press, 1942, pp.197-198, 230-235.

region and hastened the Indians' decline. In 1870 the states lying west of the Mississippi had 12,000 miles of railroad; in 1900 the same states had 87,000, the majority of this being concentrated in the prairie, rather than the mountain and coastal states.⁸³ In an area where navigable rivers were few, and many of these reduced to dry gulches for most of the year, the railroad became the principal means of communication and transport. Moving ahead of the frontier line it not only "boomed" the towns through which it passed, it also encouraged new settlements. The railroads, despite both state and federal aid, were mostly dependent on recovering their costs in transportation fees and ran active campaigns to foster settlement. Owning vast land areas, in hundreds of small units from Congressional land grants, the railroad owners were also active in attempting to secure Indian lands. In 1860 they had been responsible for the clauses in the Indian treaties granting railroads rights of passage through Indian territory.

During the 1870's, the railroad helped expand the cattle industry that had been developing in Texas and the South. As the buffalo disappeared the grasslands of the plains were used for longhorn cattle, which could then be transported to profitable eastern markets by rail. Railroads were also responsible for the development of the west as a commercial rather than a subsistence farming region. (This naturally increased the demand for Indian lands.) Food was sent by rail to provide for the expanding cities in the east, and, in cities

83 Stover, op. cit., p.83-84.

on the fringes of the Plains, agriculturally dependent industries quickly developed: stockyards, packing plants, farm implement manufacturing.

In Dakota the railroad caused a "boom" from 1868-1873. With the Sioux limited to their reservation settlers could gain from the series of railroads built. In 1868 the Illinois Central Railroad reached Sioux City; in the following years branch lines were built to Yankton and Sioux Falls. While in the northeast of the territory the Chicago and Northwestern reached Watertown in 1873, the Northern Pacific reached Bismarck and the St. Paul and Central Pacific reached Wahpeton.⁸⁴ Sherman, believing the Indian problem would be partly solved once the Indians were hemmed in by the white population and also if troops, supplies and stores could be moved easily to areas where hostilities were threatened, saw the railroad as being ultimately connected with Indian control. In his final report to the Secretary of War in 1883 Sherman shows that he regarded the Indian threat as over:

"The Army has been a large factor in producing this result, but it is not the only one: Immigration and the occupation by industrious farmers and miners of lands vacated by the aborigines have been largely instrumental to that end, but the railroad which used to follow in the rear now goes forward with the picket-line in the great battle of civilization with barbarism, and has become the greater cause."⁸⁵

But apart from all the individual aspects of the change that took place in the west--the increased population, the growth of a cattle and farming industry, the spread of the railroad network--it was the overall change that was of most importance

⁸⁴ Billington, op. cit., p.713.

⁸⁵ Athearn, op. cit., p.344.

to the Indian. He was now living in an area largely inhabited, controlled and owned by whites.

The speedy and unimagined development of the west can be seen reflected in Indian policy. Until the 1860's it was thought that the Plains were uninhabitable by whites and could be left to the Indians. By the late 1860's it was agreed by Sherman, members of the Peace Commission and the government that American advance should continue and the Indians be concentrated in either one or two separate regions. As the railroads pushed their way into every region in the west the impossibility of implementing this idea became clear, and the practice of maintaining numerous smaller reservations became accepted. But as it became obvious that it was impossible to stop the intrusion of white settlers, the reservations were increasingly broken up into individual allotments for the Indians and the remainder opened for white settlement.

When the Indian tribes lost their economic and political autonomy and were forced into dependence on the American government it was at a time when the United States itself was experiencing a series of rapid and intense political and social changes, and in particular in the areas where the Indians were concentrated. Although efforts to educate the Indian had an historical basis, in 1870 such attempts were founded on an earnest desire for peace and on the pressing urgency to find a way that Indian and white could live alongside each other. The expansion and development of the west, which had originally prompted the need for Indian schools, continued throughout the period during which the Indian school system was being established. It is within the context

of such development that all questions concerning the Indian and attempts to educate him must be asked. In 1870 no coherent educational policy or practice had been worked out. The growth of an Indian school system was to be influenced by the historical situation of the Indian and traditional attitudes to him, pragmatic steps taken to ensure peace, and by the broader social changes that occurred during the period.

Chapter II

Education and the Indian

Part I The Theoretical Foundations of Indian Education

For nineteenth century Americans the civilizing of the Indians entailed that the tribes should abandon their traditional habits, dress, beliefs and customs and adopt those that were familiar to Americans. In deliberating on how to bring about such a radical transformation in the Indian, Americans were forced to broach the thorny question of racial difference; to ask not only in what ways Indians were dissimilar to whites, but to confront the problem of the essence and source of that difference. Heirs to three centuries of investigation, and speculative thought about the Indian, those who formulated the educational programmes were strongly influenced by inherited theories and traditional reasoning.

From the seventeenth century the defining characteristic of the American Indians was seen to be their savagery. The savagery of the Indians was seen as contrasting strongly with the civilization of the settlers. This initial distinction, stemming from the European pre-conceptions of the early English colonists and their plans for civilizing the natives, was to survive and be elaborated upon in the following centuries.¹

1 Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953, pp.55-72; Winthrop Jordan, White over Black, Chapel Hill: Univ. of Nth. Carolina Press, 1968, pp.26-28, Jordan stress that while savagery was also an important quality of Africans, "the importance of the Negroe's savagery was muted by the Negroes colour."

The discovery that the New World was already populated prompted immediate and continuing interest in Europe and later in America. Widespread investigation of the Indian sprang not merely from detached scientific interest, but from a determination to ascertain the Indian's origins and character and thus his relationship to whites.² Franklin, Washington and Jefferson all assembled lists and categories of Indian vocabulary. Jefferson was actively committed to discovering not only the truth of the Indian's origin, but also in making an evaluation of his capacities. Comte de Buffon, the French natural scientist, declared that the natives of America were smaller and weaker than those of Europe and also inferior, but Jefferson dismissed Buffon's statements as "tales as reliable as those of Aesop," and asserted that Indians were "formed in mind, as well as body, on the same module with 'Homo Sapiens Europeans'."³

Jefferson's assertion sprang not only from the urge to defend America against European aspersions, but also from a profound belief in the doctrine of equality. Despite numerous investigations conclusive proof of the equality of races had not been found, and Jefferson looked to scientists to provide the evidence.⁴ In 1787 his belief was to receive the scientific backing of the Reverend Stanhope Smith, professor of moral philosophy at Princeton. Smith published his Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species, which

2 Jordan, op, cit., pp.89-90, The fact that the Indian came to be closely associated with the physical environment, and his conquest came to represent the conquest of America, has been noted by many historians.

3 Buffon argued that all species degenerated in the New World. Jefferson thus had a vested interest in defending the Indian.

4 William Stanton, The Leopard's Spots, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960, p.3.

offered scientific support to the Jeffersonian belief in equality, and argued strongly for the unity of the human species. He provided as his main evidence the fact that members of different races could interbreed while it was known that the laws of nature did not allow for interbreeding between species.⁵

Ascribing the obvious differences in men to the effects of the environment, Smith refused to confront the problem of how such effects had become hereditary. However, support for the doctrine of equality was so widespread that Smith's theory did not instantly provoke radical contradictions.

For Jefferson, the obvious differences between the Indian and the white man could be explained by the nature of their separate societies. He argued, "the proofs of genius given by the Indians of North America place them on a level with whites in the same uncultivated state." Jefferson believed that if the Indians could be persuaded to abandon their hunting life they could readily, and to their own advantage, be absorbed into American society. Acclaiming the nobility of the Indian he openly expressed the wish that eventually the two races would mix with each other. He was also very admiring of many qualities of savage life, yet for him American society was supreme. Biologically the Indian was equal to the Americans, but socially he was not.⁶

Running parallel to the Jeffersonian tradition, which regarded the Indian as equal, was a contradictory view which

5 Stanton, op. cit., p.3, "Linnaeus had in 1735 classified all the races of man as one species of the animal kingdom."

6 Pearce, op. cit., pp.55-163.

held that the Indian was inherently inferior to the white and that whatever effort was made to elevate him he would always inevitably fall back to his ascribed position. In the seventeenth century this view was articulated in religious language. Cotton Mather and other Puritans saw the Indians as the devil's minions. The strangeness of Indian ceremonials and religious practice was seen as proof of their devil-worship. To the Puritans of this period the Indians were incapable of redemption, for they were already damned by God. Although, in the eighteenth century, Protestant Christian doctrine again shifted to embrace the Indian, the essence of this view continued to be expressed in secular terms, and in the nineteenth century was given strong scientific support.

The first major attack on the doctrine of the unity of the species came in 1839 from Samuel George Morton's Crania Americana. Through an examination of hundreds of American skulls Morton came to the conclusion that the Indian nations in America represented one race. Demonstrating that different races displayed different head shapes and cranial capacities, Morton evaded the question of whether varieties of men belonged to different species. He never equated cranial capacity with intelligence, but he left the way open for such questions to be asked.

An American school of science developed that was concerned specifically with the problem of race. The majority scientific opinion came to support a theory of the diverse origins of races. Josiah Clark Nott, Ephraim G. Squier, George R. Gliddon and Louis Agassiz, some of the leading men of science of the day, presented and supported a theory of original diversity and were attacked by the Church and orthodox Christians for undercutting

one of the main doctrines of Christian theology.⁷ Although the work of the American school was to be superseded by the work of Darwin, support for a view which presented Indians and Negroes as fundamentally distinct from whites, and by implication inferior, survived in popular circles if not in those of science.⁸

It was not only on the western frontier that Indians were declared inferior. For Oliver Wendell Holmes the Indian was, "a half-filled outline of humanity, . . . a sketch in red crayon of a rudimentary manhood." Believing Indians to have been placed in America only until the white man should arrive, he looked upon all attempts to educate them as ridiculous, for they would eventually die out.⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, likewise, was disparaging about efforts to civilize the Indian. When Helen Hunt Jackson's A Century of Dishonor was published, strongly criticizing the government for having repeatedly broken treaties with the Indians, Roosevelt dismissed the book as beneath criticism as history. Not only did he dislike its sentimental tone but he found fault with the government not for its duplicity but rather its leniency, believing that resort should have been made more frequently to military measures:

"I suppose I should be ashamed to say that I take the Western view of the Indian. I don't go so far as to think that the only good Indians are the dead Indians, but I believe nine out of every ten are,

- 7 For religious reasons the South regarded these opinions as infidel and therefore did not employ them for political purposes.
- 8 Agassiz, his whole life, supported the theories of the American school and denied Darwin's theory of evolution.
- 9 Brainerd, (ed.), The New England Social Orations, New York, 1901, Vol. I, p.298, quoted in Thomas F. Gossett, Race the History of an Idea in America, Dallas: Sth. Methodist Univ. Press, 1963, p.243.

and I shouldn't inquire too closely into the case of the tenth. The most vicious cowboy has more moral principle than the average Indian."¹⁰

Frequently, those Americans who felt themselves most knowledgeable and qualified to write about the Indian were army officers. Spending years in the west, and thus picking up impressive displays of information, they offered themselves as experts not only on Indian fighting, but on Indian habits, customs and aptitudes.¹¹ Their accounts of Indian life were often interspersed with pronouncements about the impossibility of ever civilizing the Indian. One captain asserted:

"His intellectual gifts are limited . . . He might be brought up in the midst of civilized surroundings and educated, but at the first opportunity he will relapse into his original barbarism . . . other savage races, when brought within the environment of civilization, have afforded brilliant instances of individual effort, but the Indian never. There is no instance in the four hundred years of American history of an Indian who attained greatness through the channels of civilization."¹²

Such accounts were usually illustrated and substantiated with concrete examples and anecdotes, denigrating the potential of the Indian in an informed tone.

Official policy, with its commitment to civilizing the Indian, appeared to suggest the triumph of the view that the Indian was not essentially different from the white man, and that his assimilation would be a fast and easy task once he had been persuaded to abandon his traditional life-style. However, as has been suggested in chapter one, the goal of this policy

10 Theodore Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, New York 1889-96, Vol. I, pp.334-335.

11 Capt. J. Lee Humphreville, Twenty Years Among our Savage Indians, New York: Hunter & Co. Pub., 1899; Col. Richard Irving Dodge, Our Wild Indians, Hartford, Conn: A.D. Worthing & Co., 1882; Capt. E. Butler, Our Indian Question, New York: A.G. Sherwood and Co., 1882.

12 Humphreville, op. cit., pp.55-57.

was more a product of the dictates of necessity than of probability. There were many who ostensibly supported Indian assimilation while simultaneously believing in the Indian's inferiority. Captain E. Butler, who won an army competition for "the best essay on Indian Affairs," was a staunch defender of government policy but regarded Indians as degraded and inferior in all aspects of life:

"The condition of the Red Men of the North American continent, when they were first met by their white brothers, was as low as that of any race of which history has preserved a record. In intellectual development they were but one remove above the wild animals they hunted. They had no science, no art worthy of the name. They had no industry, no manufactures."

Examining their morality, agriculture, religion, law and methods and reasons for warfare, in his essay, Our Indian Question, Butler launched a full-scale attack on the Indians and their society. But, paradoxically, Butler also envisaged Indian assimilation for, he said, "No plan for the civilization of the Indians can be ultimately successful that does not contemplate their absorption into the general body of citizens."¹³ For Butler, the Indian problem would be solved if the Indians as a group were eliminated. Concerned with the practical implementation of such a plan, he did not consider the fundamental contradiction apparent in trying to assimilate a group of people believed to be inferior.

The desire to find a practical solution to the Indian problem was not the only reason which compelled many Americans to voice support for Indian education and assimilation. A belief in the inferiority of Indian society, and even the individual Indian,

¹³ Butler, op. cit., p.45.

could be held concurrently with a conviction that Indians also had certain rights that should be protected.¹⁴ Asserting that the only way these rights could be protected was by the Indians becoming incorporated in American society, men such as Jonathan Baxter Harrison, a member of the Indian Rights Association who was active as an Agency inspector, worked to better the situation of the Indian while believing that, "the Indians as a race are, of course, far inferior to white men in intellectual capacity."¹⁵

In the nineteenth century, those Americans who insisted that Indians were essentially equal to whites continued, in the Jeffersonian tradition, to explain the obvious differences between the two peoples in terms of their respective societies. The society of America represented civilization and that of the Indians savagery. However, by this time, the inherent savagery of Indian society was explained and elaborated in a variety of different ways.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), an Agent to the Chippewas who married a half-Indian girl, examined the myths and legends of the Indians as a means of explaining their character. He spent years with the Indians and was profoundly interested in the nature of their society, but he was convinced that a life based on hunting was barbarous and only if the Indian adopted an agrarian life could he eventually become civilized.¹⁶ School-

14 Richard Henry Pratt, Battlefield & Classroom, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1964, p.6; Dodge, op. cit., p.639; New York Daily Tribune, June 16, 1881.

15 Jonathan Baxter Harrison, The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations, Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1887, p.15.

16 Pearce, op. cit., p.128.

craft measured civilization on an evolutionary scale that progressed from the hunter to the herder stage to agriculture. Such a progression was seen by many as natural and logical. General Nelson Miles, an Army officer deeply concerned with the Indian problem, offered a popular version of this social evolutionary theory:

"The history of men of nearly every race that has advanced from barbarism to civilization has been through the stages of the hunter, the herdsman, the agriculturist, and finally reaching those of commerce, mechanics and the higher arts."¹⁷

Even Carl Schurz, when describing the educational goals that he felt it was reasonable to expect the Indian to achieve, indicated an endorsement of this theory, "of course we cannot expect that they will immediately become statesmen of philosophers, but they can be made farmers or herdsmen." The belief that the Indian should pass through the series of stages leading to civilization was widely subscribed to. It was one of the reasons that there was such general support for inducing all Indians to farm.

Indian society was often seen as inferior because it was incapable of change. In 1851 Lewis Henry Morgan published The League of the Iroquois. Studying Iroquois rituals and ceremonies, their kinship patterns and type of government, he came to an appreciation of the complexities of their society. He developed an evolutionary explanation for the way that social institutions develop, arguing that forms of government evolve from the monarchical to the oligarchical and then to the democratic, and concluded that the Iroquois had only reached the second stage. Morgan thus gave a scientific rationale to the widely held belief that Indian society was not only inferior to that of Americans

17 Nelson A. Miles, "The Indian Problem," North American Review, CXXVII, April 1879, pp.304-314.

but was also more backward, representing (amongst one of the most developed tribes) a stage through which Europeans had long ago passed. But, more importantly, Morgan concluded by expressing doubt as to whether the Iroquois would ever have attained the democratic state, for, he asserted, "there was a fatal deficiency in Indian society, in the non-existence of a progressive spirit."¹⁸ Frequently, the adaptations and adjustments that had occurred amongst the tribes, particularly those of the Plains, were ignored, and their inability to change or advance was given as an excuse for expunging Indian societies. Superintendent of Indian schools, John H. Oberly, informed members of the Lake Mohonk Conference that Indian society represented a stagnant social condition fatal to all aspects of civilization:

"It is not progressive and it is not conservative, it is motionless—a pond of impure water with no inlet or outlet . . . it is a condition of stagnation in which civilization cannot survive."¹⁹

The belief that Indian societies were static was not consistent with any theory of social evolution, but it provided justification for ignoring all aspects of traditional Indian life.

Oberly described the Indian child as "a twig bent out of the perpendicular," but he believed that the child could be "straightened" and thus "rise superior to the conditions under which he lived," if he could be persuaded to discard his past, "abandon the religion of his fathers and accept a new faith," and "cast off the social conditions of his people and accept those of another people."

18 Pearce, op. cit., p.132.

19 Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference, (hereafter Mohonk), 1887, p.64.

In the late nineteenth century the majority of Americans who were interested in the plight of the Indian were also active Christians, and believed in the equality of the Indian, holding that God had "made of one blood all nations of men." However, while Christianity persuaded them of the Indian's biological and spiritual equality it also could be used to convince them of the inferiority of Indian society.²⁰ Bishop Hare, an Episcopalian who moved to Minnesota from Philadelphia in the 1860's on account of his wife's health, soon became interested in the Indians there. Seeing that the local churches were more interested in exterminating than protecting them he began work to help them and when he returned to the East continued to be their advocate. But Hare saw the Indians as essentially "heathen men." Unable to detach himself from his American values he was anxious to bring them to Christ but was horrified and disgusted by their own religion; describing their dance to celebrate July 4th he is appalled:

"There they stood before the hotel almost naked, and so bedaubed with paint and set off with feathers that they were frightful to look on. After a given signal they begin their dance. They pound the earth with their feet, they crouched to the ground, they leaped and sang and whooped and yelled, occasionally firing their guns into the air until I was sickened at the indecent sight."²¹

The majority of Americans of this period would probably have shared Hare's response, instinctively designating the Indians as savage, and such feelings could be justified in Christian terms.

20 In Salvation & the Savage, Berkhofer argues that the values of the missionaries in the eighteenth century coincided with those of American society; this continued to be true in the nineteenth century.

21 M.A. deWolfe Howe, Life & Labors of Bishop Hare, New York: Sturgis & Walton, 1911, pp.15-16.

Albert L. Riggs, a Presbyterian minister who spent forty-two years with the Sioux, wrote a small pamphlet entitled, What Does the Indian Worship? Examining the Sioux religious beliefs and ceremonies he asserts that they have few prayers but many dances and songs, that much of their worship is based on fear, that they have no concept of sin and that their feasts and giveaways lead to gluttony and waste. He concludes that, "the Indian is eminently religious; he has noble aspirations and a spiritual interpretation of the universe," but, "he has entirely departed from the worship of the One Great God and Father," and that, "they who represent him as a simple-hearted child of God, already more perfect than Christianity can make him, utter that which is untrue and highly mischievous."²² Riggs was reiterating the traditional view of the Indian as savage; this savagery was not noble but neither was it innate to the Indian. Being the product of the Indian's religious beliefs it would readily disappear if these were displaced by Christian faith.

Blame for the Indian's "retarded" social state was frequently attributed to white society. By constantly removing the tribes, by forcing them to abandon their sedentary or agricultural leanings and thus compelling them to hunt, by excluding them from white society and contacts except the corrupt influence of the frontiersmen, and by constantly breaking treaties and waging wars Americans had forced Indian societies into their present degraded state. Those who supported this view regarded the Indian as an innocent victim and thought the best way to

22 Alfred A. Riggs, What does the Indian Worship?, Nebraska, Santee Normal Training School Press, n.d., pp.1-6.

assuage American wrongs was to incorporate him into American society as quickly as possible. "The problem does not lie with the Indian as a physical, intellectual or moral being. The difficulty is not in the Indian . . . it began when we left the Indian outside our institutions and the protection of our laws; with no opportunities as a man and no protection as a citizen,"²³ Professor C.C. Painter told the Lake Mohonk Conference. The Indian Race Commission had argued the same point, and many Christian Agents and teachers in the field also believed it to be true. Helen Hunt Jackson's A Century of Dishonor and Ramona, and George Truman Kercharal's Lorin Moorach and Other Stories, helped propagate this view, offering the public numerous vivid examples of how the Indian had been wronged.²⁴

Although explanations as to why the Indian had not achieved the civilization of Americans were often diverse, Indian society was generally seen to lie at the root of the problem. Those concerned to civilize the Indian did not, like Morgan, ask if left for several more centuries the Indians would have achieved the standard of the whites, but chose instead to view the problem in strictly pragmatic terms. Holding Indian society responsible for the Indians' savagery, they hoped to save the Indian by freeing him from his Indian and savage background. Indians themselves were forced to see civilization in these terms; white education was not to be an addition to their Indian past but rather its obliteration. One Indian student from Carlisle,

23 Mohonk, 1885, p.11, speech of Professor C. C. Painter.

24 These works were praised and recommended by both Bishop Whipple and Herbert Welsh.

the first Eastern training school, when questioned by members of the Lake Mohonk Conference asserted, "I believe in education because I believe it will kill the Indian that is in me and leave the man and citizen."²⁵

The Indian, when living a tribal life was not, as an individual, regarded as being innately different from the white, but rather as radically separate, a savage. In 1890, when reformers and friends of the Indian were optimistic about the Indian's progress towards civilization and proud of the results already achieved, they were suddenly shaken by the outbreak of the Indian ghost dances. Cropping up on reservations all over the United States and not merely confined to one area or even one tribe, the ghost dances were symptoms of an natavistic movement which looked to the resurgence of the Indian people. Acting on the prophecies of an Indian messiah the Indians danced for days at a time, believing that if they did so the buffalo and the dead Indians would return and the Indians would again be pre-eminent. Officials were fearful of some general Indian outbreak; the Army was called in to several reservations. At Pine Ridge, South Dakota, the troops were nervous and opened fire; five hundred Indians were killed at what became known as the Battle of Wounded Knee.²⁶ This was the only place that there was an open clash with the military, but the wild dancing of the Indians and the message of the messiah reminded whites of what they saw as the true nature of savagery. Once again the dichotomy that had been drawn between the two states was highlighted. In 1891 Merrill

25 Mohonk, 1891, p.104.

26 B.I.A., R.G. 75, Special Cases, The Ghost Dances.

E. Gates, President of both Amherst College, Massachusetts, and the Lake Mohonk Conference, was to recapitulate in bold terms the traditional belief in the separateness and incomprehensibility of the Indian when in his savage state in his own society.

"I think that the Dakota disaster shows that we shall not need to have taught us again the lesson of the difference between savagery and civilization. As we watched the progress of the disasters that began these disorders, as the reports of eye-witnesses came to us, we saw the evidences of that peculiar narrowness in the field of vision that must attend upon savagery . . . we saw that for one brought up in the atmosphere of Christian civilization to enter the consciousness of the savage at such a time is almost as impossible as it is for us to get behind the great, blue, limpid eyes of the ox as he chews his cud in the pasture, and know how the world looks to him."²⁷

Savagery and Indian society estranged the Indian from the white but did not preclude his absorption into American society. Once rid of his heathen past and offered the benefits of a white education it was argued that the Indian would naturally become civilized. American educators, churchmen, and missionaries in particular, espoused the view that Indians could readily be assimilated if offered the necessary encouragement and help.

To refute the assertions of those who described the Indian as inherently ineducable they proudly pointed to cases where Indians had proved they could be civilized. The Santee Sioux, who were farming successfully in South Dakota; the Flandreau colony, which had broken all tribal relations and established itself as an agricultural community independent of the government; the Carlisle school, where the first pupils had been originally prisoners, who Captain Pratt had "tamed and educated"; and the Five Civilized Tribes living in Indian Territory, who not only had their own written constitution but ran their own system of

27 Mohonk, 1891, p.8.

schools--T.A. Bland, inspecting the Cherokee schools in 1886 was to report to the Indian Office, "There is not in the Cherokee Nation an Indian man, woman, boy or girl, of sound mind, fifteen years of age or over, who cannot read and write."²⁸

However, in the late nineteenth century, the majority of Indians were very obviously not civilized in terms most Americans could appreciate. The enthusiasm and assertiveness of the friends of the Indian did not eliminate the fact that beneath discussions of the causes of Indian savagery and the best way to promote Indian civilization, the traditional question of the inherent nature of the Indian continued to be debated.

Support for the civilizing of the Indian grew markedly in Congress in the late 1870's and 1880's. Increasingly large sums were appropriated for educational purposes, but there were still many who doubted the efficacy of any attempt to elevate "a barbarous race."²⁹ The most belligerent opponent of Indian education was Senator Preston B. Plumb from Kansas. Plumb saw the Indian as inherently inferior and attempted to obstruct all efforts to fund Indian schools. Believing that it was not only undesirable but also impossible to educate Indians he regarded all schooling efforts as both wasteful and ludicrous. Plumb

28 Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.LXXIII.

29 Annual appropriations made by the Government for the support of Indian schools.

1877	-	\$20,000	1886	-	\$1,100,065	1895	-	\$2,060,695
1878	-	30,000	1887	-	1,211,415	1896	-	2,056,515
1879	-	60,000	1888	-	1,179,916	1897	-	2,517,265
1880	-	75,000	1889	-	1,348,015	1898	-	2,631,771
1881	-	75,000	1890	-	1,364,568	1899	-	2,638,390
1882	-	135,000	1891	-	1,842,770	1900	-	2,936,080
1883	-	487,200	1892	-	2,291,650			
1884	-	675,200	1893	-	2,315,612			
1885	-	992,800	1894	-	2,243,497			

thought Indians should be taught "pastoral things and the lower walks of agriculture . . . something he is qualified to do." During the debate on the Dawes bill when it was noted that schools promised to the Sioux, for as many children who would attend, had never been built, Plumb asserted, "The Army of the United States would not have been sufficient to have compelled the children of the Sioux Indians to have attended these school houses if they had been erected, which fortunately they were not."³⁰ Arguing that the Indians would be incapable of learning anything at the schools, which they themselves would realize, he said it would be impossible to imagine them making the journey to and from the school house, unless it was to secure food and clothing.

Plumb's provocative speeches during the Dawes debate called forth a direct attack on the Senator by Elaine Goodale, who sought to correct the unfavourable impression given of the Indian. Refusing to cite the usual examples which offered proof of the Indian's educability, Miss Goodale, who was strongly committed to civilizing the Indian, made an open appeal to the tradition which regarded the Indian as equal to the white, and essentially the same in abilities and aspirations.

"A practical acquaintance with the subject, while it affords a conclusive answer to these surmises, is not even necessary. One needs only a little unfashionable faith in human nature to appreciate the longing to rise, the impulse towards better things, which show in the breast of the poorest and most ignorant of God's creatures created in his image."³¹

The controversy between Senator Plumb and Elaine Goodale well illustrates the theoretical bias that continued prominent in arguments and discussions concerning the Indian, both between

30 Elaine Goodale, The Senator and the School House, Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, p.1, reprinted from the New York Independent, March 4, 1886.

31 Ibid.

those who saw themselves as opponents and those who felt they were united by their concern for the Indian.

A large sector of the American public, most notably in the West, remained actively hostile to any effort to help the "red man." Reformers, extravagant in their claims for the Indian and living far from all the reservations, frequently forgot that they had to contend with those who held an opposing view. Alice C. Fletcher, an anthropologist who had worked among the Omaha to allot their land and was familiar with many of the tribes, was anxious to remind the friends of the Indian that despite the passage of the Dawes bill many hurdles still lay in the Indian's path:

"There is no gainsaying that a general prejudice exists as to the Indian's capacity to be worth anything in a county . . . There is a general resenting of anything like equality. This is nothing new . . . This deep-rooted prejudice is a very important factor. It is, and it has been crushing in its effects upon the Indian. For settlers the Indian represents the primitive conditions and is remanded to oblivion with them. The feeling of race prejudice, and it has been bred in the Indian too, by hard experience, is a very serious difficulty. No law will touch it; no executive work will reach it; no fiat will remove it; and no-one who would help the Indian should ignore it."³²

Indifference, dislike, active hatred, and belief in the Indian's inferiority drew on as strong a tradition of thought and action as did the reformers' insistence on the Indian's equality.

The friends of the Indian were active in their hostility to this view of the Indian as innately inferior and beyond the pale of civilization. They were united, both in their condemnation of Indian society and belief that it was the main impediment in the

32 Alice C. Fletcher to Albert K. Smiley, Sept. 23, 1887, in Mohonk, 1886, p.15.

way of civilizing the Indian, and in their faith that education could elevate and civilize the Indian. Their consistent and unflinching opposition to all suggestions that the Indian might be inferior may have overshadowed the variety in their thought and proposals concerning the best way to educate the Indian. However, despite this variety, it remains true that they were united in their view that it was possible to 'civilize' the Indian, and in their opinion of the programme necessary to accomplish this end.

Chapter II

Education and the Indian

Part II The Church Groups and the Growth of an Indian School System

All who looked to the civilizing of the Indian believed that some type of formal schooling was necessary to accomplish this end. The purpose of such schooling was to bridge the gap between savagery and civilization: to make it possible for the Indian to move from Indian society into American society.³³ In the nineteenth century there was wide spread agreement on the type of educational programme that was necessary. But there was, as has been shown, much difference of opinion concerning the nature of Indian society. While that society was always designated as savage, the different explanations for its savagery were to influence directly educational theories and proposals, and were also to be reflected in the arguments that developed over the most efficient way of schooling the Indian.

However, despite the importance of these different opinions to the development of the Indian school system, there was a striking and important coherence to the overall growth of Indian education. During the 1870's a broad programme for the civilizing of the Indian evolved which was founded not only on past developments in Indian schooling and the sudden urgent need to educate the Indians, but on traditional theories concerning the Indian which pin-pointed "native society as the fundamental enemy." Despite their disagreements government officials, missionaries and philanthropists came to support a programme that was cohesive in its aims

33 The emphasis that was placed on formal education and the school is examined in greater detail in chapter VII.

if rather haphazard in its organization. Regarding schools and the formal education of the children as being of dominant importance, they also asserted that the influence of Christian teaching and an agricultural life were essential to the civilizing of the Indian race. And the English language was also regarded as being vital, although there was disagreement as to the best way of teaching this to the Indian.

With the buffalo fast disappearing and the Indians already occupying large tracts of land in the West, it was perhaps natural that farming was frequently suggested as a means of rendering the Indian both self-supporting and civilized. General Crook demonstrated at San Carlos that even the wildest tribes could, when encouraged, farm successfully, and further proofs of this fact were always greeted enthusiastically.³⁴ However, farming was treated as an activity that would bring more than economic benefits. Already regarded as an edifying occupation that was closely associated with the true spirit of American democracy, farming, for the Indian, was seen to have an added value. Agricultural work, it was believed, would elevate the Indian not only economically but also spiritually and intellectually. In 1885 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote confidently:

"It requires no seer to foretell or foresee the civilization of the Indian race as a result naturally deductible from a knowledge and practice, upon their part, of the art of agriculture; for the history of agriculture, among all people and in all countries, intimately connects it with the highest intellectual and moral development of man."³⁵

34 John G. Bourke, On the Border with Crook, New York: J.J. Little & Co., 1891, pp.457-463; Report of C.I.A., 1880, p.83.

35 Report of C.I.A., 1881, p.1.

But the relationship between agriculture and farming was not mystical; it involved more than the elevation of the Indian to a higher level on the ladder of civilization. Agricultural life, it was believed, would enforce the values and habits deemed essential to civilization. Indians were frequently criticized for their reluctance to work. (Among many tribes it was thought degrading for the men to perform manual work.) Americans believed that the rigours of an agricultural life would, by necessity, push the Indians closer to civilization.³⁶ The Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, argued against allowing Indians to be herdsmen, for this would not force all members of the tribe to work.³⁷ On one reservation in South Dakota the Indians lost all their crops four years running, either because of grasshoppers or because of scorching drought. But the Agent continued to encourage them to go on planting, asserting that even if they reaped no benefits at least they were gaining knowledge of what it was to work.

Farming, it was believed, would also give the Indian a sense of ownership and private property. From the 1870's on it was government policy slowly to break up tribal lands and settle each Indian family on its own individual plot. In 1887 the Dawes Act was passed which provided that when a tribe's lands were allotted in severalty, the Indians would become citizens

36 Herding and ranching were attempted on several reservations-- Crow Creek, Pine Ridge, Kiowa, Comanche, Mescalero--but always at the suggestion of the agent.

37 In 1882 the Commissioner announced that this side of Indian education was going to be given increasing attention, and reported that at 57 schools 1,245 acres were already under cultivation.

and the remaining lands would be sold for settlement. The communal tendencies of tribal life were regarded as incompatible with civilized life:

" The Indian must be imbued with the exalting egotism of American civilization, so that he will say "I" instead of "we," and "This is mine," instead of "This is ours." But if he will not learn . . . the Government must then, in duty to the public, compel the Indian to come out of his isolation into the civilized way that he does not desire to enter--into citizenship--into assimilation with the masses of the Republic."³⁸

The extraordinary faith that was placed in agriculture as a civilizing agent for the Indian is well illustrated when it is remembered that many tribes were located beyond the one hundredth meridian, in an area of limited rainfall. The Indian Peace Commission of 1867 had reported that it would be impossible for such tribes to farm, owing to the unfavourable climate in their localities. But despite the pleas of Agents, who would often report on the repeated failure of Indian crops, belief that the Indians could be transformed into an agricultural people remained strong, and each year the Commissioner would report the advance made in Indian civilization by listing the increases in the amounts of crops grown.

Farming, it was argued, would not only elevate the Indian from savagery but it would force him to remain in one place, and so schools and churches could be established. Ironically, although it was official policy that most Indians would become farmers, little practical agricultural education was offered to the children. Many of the boarding manual labour schools had

38 Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.2.

small gardens and farms. The children would spend half their time studying and the other half learning farming skills and trades; but this was not the general situation and the majority of Indians would receive little or no agricultural instruction. After 1887, when it became urgent that the Indian should rapidly become a successful farmer, the agricultural teaching in the schools came to be strongly criticized. Mr. Lyon of the Lake Mohonk Conference said:

"There are good teachers for the schools, but very few to teach farming. The Indian needs to be taught how to use a plough and a shovel and an axe. He can not get a living off the land without this instruction. The only solution of that difficulty is to get farmers for instructors."³⁹

The Eastern schools also began to be criticized for teaching the Indians to farm in conditions that were not similar to those on their western reservations.

While practical education for children in the schools was often inadequate, there was also never any comprehensive plan for agricultural education among the adult Indians, who were nevertheless urged to take their lands in severalty. The white farmer and stockman were present at most agencies, but rarely in sufficient numbers to supply regular help.⁴⁰ Indians and Agents would frequently request further aid; one Agent reported:

"Unless Indians are so located that the farmer can be amongst them all the time but little can or will be accomplished, as during his absence, which may be for two or three weeks, an Indian breaking an implement becomes discouraged and awaits his return."⁴¹

39 Mohonk, 1891, p.68.

40 Mohonk, 1885, p.29, it was suggested that more farmers were needed, "perhaps one farmer to every one hundred families would answer."

41 Report of C.I.A., 1890, p.59, 142.

In 1887, when the Dawes bill was passed, there were only 241 government employees on the reservations who were listed as farmers. Thirteen years later in 1900, there were 320, expected to minister to the needs of 185,790 Indians.⁴²

Despite the dearth of agricultural training offered to the Indian there were few Americans who did not support the proposal that Indians should become farmers. Those, who like Schoolcraft, regarded the Indian's life as a hunter as both the reflection and cause of his savagery, saw agriculture as essential to his elevation; educators, like Oberly, who regarded Indian society as incapable of change, applauded the severance from the past customs that farming necessitated; and the mission group in particular encouraged and enforced the regular, hard working and settled life necessary to successful farming.

However, while traditional theoretical arguments supported the view that the Indian could best be coaxed towards civilization through agriculture, pragmatic reasoning also suggested that if the Indian could be persuaded to farm, and given legal title to his land, he would be in less danger of losing his single material asset. The philanthropists and humanitarians of the 1880's who supported the Dawes Bill saw it as a means of protecting the Indian in his ownership of the land. While they employed the traditional language and arguments to explain the civilizing influence of private ownership and agriculture, they nevertheless were forced to confront the fact that the strong social and

42 Statistics compiled by Miss Gwen Williams in Employees section of the Indian Office, cited in, D.S. Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands, Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1973, p.79.

economic forces of westward expansion were not conducive to allowing the Indians to retain large tracts of unused and uncultivated land. Their emphasis on farming therefore sprang from two separate but complementary sources. Anxious to civilize the Indian in the quickest way they nevertheless were, if sometimes unwittingly, accommodating their proposals to contemporary historical events. In 1887 Senator Dawes was to remind members of the Lake Mohonk Conference, who were discussing the importance of abolishing the reservation to aid the Indian in civilization, that "something stronger than the Mohonk Conference has dissolved the reservation system. The greed of these people for the land has made it utterly impossible to preserve it for the Indian."⁴³

For the Indian, farming was seen as an obvious occupation for both practical and ideological reasons. The lack of financial and instructional help offered by the government can, in part, be explained by the idealism of the reformers, who believed that once the Indians were established on their own land, and freed from their fear of intrusion by whites, they would readily turn to farming. However, the neglect of the adult population can also be explained by the fact that it was generally believed that hope for the civilization of the Indian lay not with the older Indians but with the children.

It was hoped that the adult Indians would become self-supporting, and thus relieve the government financially, but it was felt they were too imbued with their traditional savage ways to be able to advance very far. The parents and older Indians

43 Mohonk, 1887, p.68.

were seen largely as a hinderance to the civilizing process; teaching the children savage customs, and often hostile to their attendance at school, their influence was regarded as destructive and retrograde. The more thoroughly the influence of the adult Indians could be quashed the quicker the children could be civilized. One of the main reasons that boarding schools became the favoured method of schooling during this period was that they offered a way of keeping the child secluded from Indian society. The boarding schools were the subject of constant debate. Many who supported them as the most efficient way of bringing civilization to the Indian believed that Indian society was incapable of change. The Indian could only be helped if removed from his background. Superintendent for Indian schools John Oberly, who described the state of Indian society as "stagnant," also spoke out strongly against the day schools on the reservation.

"It may be said, unwelcome as it must be to the many people interested in the subject of Indian education, that the day-school education of Indian children has, so far, brought forth but little good fruit."⁴⁴

If Indian society was unable to accommodate change it was pointless to hope that the child might introduce civilization to his parents. Rather he must be protected from savage influence, and in that way, it was hoped, Indian civilization might be achieved in a single generation.

Inevitably, Indian children adopted American habits more readily when removed from their homes. The government hoped

44 John Oberly, Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, in Report of C.I.A., 1885, p.111.

to exploit their greater impressionability but failed to acknowledge the implications of their continued membership of Indian society. Thus when returned students resumed their former Indian customs, officials were at once angry and puzzled. Unable to see any value in Indian society themselves they were incapable of comprehending the Indian's reversion; Carl Schurz argued strongly for sending Indians to the Eastern schools asserting, "there is no danger that if taught what life is at these places that he will relapse into barbarism."⁴⁵

It was generally believed not only that Indian society was inferior to that of the whites but also that any attempt to accommodate Indian ways compromised the "cause" of civilization. Only Dr. T.A. Bland and the National Indian Defense Association argued that there might be some value in the Indian's tribal society.⁴⁶ Through the columns of Council Fire Bland and his followers not only defended the right of the Indian to maintain his own social organization, but also openly attacked the work of Captain Pratt at Carlisle and fought against the passage of the Dawes Bill.⁴⁷ Bland's efforts, spurned and criticized by the other reformers, caused only an element of minor disruption to the united campaign of the reformers and had no effect on Congressional legislation. His opinions were not shared by

45 New York Daily Tribune, March 16, 1881.

46 Thomas A. Bland, The Indian - What Shall we do with Him? Washington D.C., 1887.

47 Council Fire, Feb. 1887; Morning Star, Feb. 1887.

anyone in the Indian Service either in Washington or working in the field.⁴⁸

Not only did government officials not respect Indian society but, in demeaning it, they failed to recognize its strength. They came to see the answer to the Indian problem in functional terms: if laws could be passed to protect the Indian and grant him citizenship and if an adequate system of schooling could be established, then the Indian would necessarily become civilized. By ignoring Indian culture it was possible for the government to concentrate all its hopes on educating the children; setbacks and disappointments were identified either as evidence of the reassertion of savagery, or as indications of the inadequacy of the system. Thus in 1888 Lyman Abbott, critical of the government school system, could assert, "an adequate, continuous, systematic education of fifty thousand pupils for less than half a century would solve the Indian problem."⁴⁹

The religious teachers and missionaries did not find it as easy to ignore the adult Indians. Although no more respectful of Indian society they were anxious to convert all Indians. While the major aim of the churches was thus slightly different from that of the government, Christianity itself was generally regarded as a vital force in the process of civilization and education. The Reverend Chas. W. Shelton expressed a common belief when he explained that it was the Indian's superstitions that

48 Julia B. McGillycuddy, McGillycuddy Agent, Stanford, Cal.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1940, pp.222-228. At Pine Ridge Bland was actually expelled from the reservation by the agent, for supposedly inciting the Indians to rebellion.

49 Mohonk, 1888, p.13.

held him back from progress:

"Before you can do anything in the way of education, you have got to give him a new God, a new hope and a new heaven. The solving of the educational problem is not in Washington, it is not in the hands of our legislators, it is in the hands and the hearts of our Christian churches."⁵⁰

Not only were the Indian's own forms of worship actively discouraged and his ceremonies and rites frowned on, but in 1883 a Code of Religious Offenses was drawn up outlawing some of the Indians' religious practices which were regarded as barbaric.

President Grant turned to the Quakers, and then the other denominations, not only for their record for honesty and fair treatment of the Indians, but in the belief that Christian values were also the key to a civilized life.⁵¹ The equation drawn between civilization and Christianity was to be frequently reiterated; the Reverend Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the Christian Union, once made the association of the two bluntly explicit:

"But Christianity is not merely a thing of churches and school houses. The post-office is a Christianizing institution; the railroad with all its corruption is a Christianizing power, and will do more to teach the people punctuality than the schoolmaster or teacher can."⁵²

Even when the teaching methods of some of the mission schools were being strongly criticized by officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the importance of Christian teaching was never denied.

Between 1870 and 1900 Americans involved in Indian affairs succeeded in evolving a broad educational programme which relied heavily on formal schooling but which also depended on the beneficial influences of Christianity and agricultural life.

50 Mohonk, 1887, p.32.

51 Richardson, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp.109-110.

52 Mohonk, 1885, p.52.

Although, as has been demonstrated, there was much difference of opinion, the dissimilarities in the views of Indian educators were partially obscured by the fact that not only were they united in their belief that the Indian was equal to whites and that Indian society was at the root of his savagery, but as a group they almost unanimously supported the passage of the Dawes Bill as a practical solution to the Indian problem. Dr. Gates, President of Rutgers College in New Jersey, observed at the Lake Mohonk Conference, after Senator Henry Dawes had elaborated on his bill:

"To me one of the most encouraging features of this conference . . . is the fact of the coming together of minds that several years ago differed widely on these matters. It seems to me this Dawes Bill furnishes a solution of this thing."⁵³

The different explanations for the savagery of the Indian (already delineated and categorized) were not mutually exclusive; in fact it was the complementary nature of the various theories that allowed for the unity of the friends of the Indian in their efforts for Indian reform. However, the essence of the differences that did exist in their thinking is well revealed in the discussions that took place on the methods of Indian schooling.

It is perhaps ironic that Captain Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the first Indian training school and frequently considered as the father of Indian education, should have disagreed with the other 'friends of the Indian' on the crucial question of allotment. (Which involved the breaking up of the tribal lands into units of 160 acres which would be allotted to the individual tribesmen, and then the remainder would be sold to the whites). Pratt believed that it was the tribes'

53 Mohonk, 1886, p. 16.

exclusion from the advantages of American society that was the main cause of their savagery. Considering Indians to be the same as the immigrant groups who were being absorbed into American society, he advocated that they should be absorbed directly into the American population and saw any attempt to sustain tribal relations or protect the reservation communities as working against their civilization: "our civilization should absorb them and not they our civilization and continue as separate tribes and peoples."⁵⁴ He suggested that if it was inevitable that they occupy land in severalty, "the distribution of their land should be in alternate sections with the white man; that is, there should be an Indian and a white man and an Indian and a white man, or better still, two or three white men between each two Indians."⁵⁵

While all reformers wanted to break up tribal relations Pratt was more extreme. Regarding the Indian as undeniably equal to the white man he opposed any measure to "corset" or "protect" him; he even suggested that it might be to the Indian's advantage to lose his land, for then he would be forced to work and struggle in American society as all other groups. Pratt was violently against reservation schools seeing them as segregationist and detrimental to the cause of Indian civilization in preventing Indian children from competing with "the brain and muscle of the other youth of the land."⁵⁶

Pratt argued bluntly that to civilize an Indian he should

54 Richard Henry Pratt, "A Way Out," in Mohonk, 1891, pp.60-61; Richard Henry Pratt, Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1964, pp.7-8, 33, 99-100, 120-121.

55 Mohonk, 1891, pp.64-65.

56 Ibid., pp.65, 67.

be placed in the middle of civilization, and to keep him civilized he should be kept there. From the early 1870's the government had supported boarding education, as a means of separating the children from their savage background and ensuring their attendance at school despite the irregular and wandering habits of the parents. After 1879, and the founding of Carlisle, a system of off-reservation schools was developed. By 1900 there were 25 such schools.⁵⁷

These boarding schools reflected the aims of government educational policy; they allowed for concentration of the educational effort on the children, total disregard of Indian society and a rigorous training in hard work and discipline. However, although they increased in number and were consistently supported by the Indian Office, they also came to be bitterly criticized. Not only did the Indians resent their children being sent away, but when, under the strain of the new environment, many of them died the parents began to refuse to consent to other children being sent, and many whites supported them, believing it immoral to remove children against the parents' will.⁵⁸ The training in farming was also criticized as inappropriate, for conditions in the East were not similar to those on the western reservations and thus Indians were not being trained for the situation they would be facing. Likewise the missionaries, who sought to develop thriving Christian communities, often questioned the wisdom of removing children from their homes believing they could be best educated in the midst of their own

57 Report of C.I.A., 1873, pp.8,9.

58 This view was not shared by officials in the B.I.A.

people. Stephen Riggs, of the Dakota Mission, was adamant in his belief that the type of education given by the off-reservation boarding schools was not only very expensive but did not achieve its desired end.⁵⁹ Although the Bureau of Indian Affairs remained strongly committed to the system of off-reservation schools, the degree of their efficiency in nurturing Indian civilization never ceased to be debated, and the returned students were examined constantly to see if they had lapsed into "barbarism" or "returned to the blanket."

Linked to the development of the boarding schools and sustained by the same arguments was the growing insistence that all teaching should be conducted in English. The Bureau, determined that the Indian should be Americanized as rapidly as possible, saw the Indian language as the main impediment to his advancement for it kept him from absorption into American society.⁶⁰ The suppression of Indian languages was advocated for ostensibly practical reasons, but also, these languages were seen as another symptom of the Indians' savagery. It was frequently argued that Indian languages were primitive, less developed than English, and offered no way of expressing abstract ideas. An Army officer, substantiating this view argued:

"A high authority on Indian matters states the curious fact that it is generally the most debased in morals and the lowest in intellectual capacity, who obtain most readily some little knowledge of the Indian tongue orally."⁶¹

59 Stephen R. Riggs, Tah-Koo Wah-Kan, or The Gospel among the Dakota, Boston, Cong. Sabbath School and Publishing Ho., 1869, pp.407-408.

60 Report of C.I.A., 1887, pp.18-24.

61 Capt. E. Butler, Our Indian Question, op. cit. p.43.

Teaching which was conducted in one of the Indian languages came under increasing criticism, and in 1886 the Bureau of Indian Affairs ordered that all schools receiving any government funds should instruct only in the English language.⁶²

The missionary groups, who had spent two generations developing methods that would allow the Indians to learn to read and write in their own language before they progressed to English, refused to change their methods. Within the ranks of Indian reformers the use of the English language in teaching was probably the subject that fermented the most disagreement.

Opinions about both boarding schools and the use of English were generally justified in practical terms, both sides arguing that their methods were more effective. However, the two sides reflected varying attitudes to Indian society. The off-reservation boarding school, seen as a way of uprooting children from their background and removing them from the savage influence of their parents, was supported not only by those who, like Pratt, believed that the Indian should be thoroughly absorbed in American culture, but also by such educators as Superintendent Oberly who saw all hope of changing Indian society as futile. Intent on severing the Indian from his background, these groups naturally advocated the exclusive use of English. Significantly, it was the educators already situated on the reservations, in particular the missionaries, who, although anxious to extinguish Indian culture, nevertheless developed a dim awareness of the importance of the community and

62 Report of C.I.A., 1887, pp.xx-xxii.

argued against both transferring the children to the East and teaching the children exclusively in English. The missionaries of the Dakota Mission not only developed the most sophisticated theory in support of their teaching in the Dakota language, they were also the most adamant that the reservation schools were superior to those in the East.

All Indian educators believed that the Indian should be absorbed into American society. They had to face the fact that Indians, unlike Negroes, were generally reluctant to receive American education. There was widespread agreement on the programme that would be necessary to civilize the Indian, but the disputes that developed over the best way to achieve the goal of assimilation were based not merely on pedagogical differences, they also reflected basic disagreements over the inherent nature of Indian society and therefore on the measures necessary to change it.

* * * * *

The growth of the Indian school system was shaped by historical events as well as by abstract theories. In the same way that broad support for the allotment of Indian lands and the passage of the Dawes Act would have been impossible without the continuous pressure for land caused by western migration, so also the insistence on education and the development of Indian schools were a product of events taking place in the nation.⁶³ The federal government's initial involvement in Indian education had been prompted by pragmatic considerations: the need for peace to guarantee the safety of western emigrants, and the

63 In chapter III general theories of Americanization will be examined to ascertain in what ways the Indian was treated as primarily an Indian, rather than a prospective American similar to other minority groups.

increasing insistence on the Indian's need for schools was the direct result of an awareness that the Indian population could no longer possibly be isolated from Americans. The system of schools that was to develop in the course of thirty years reflected the combined response of the federal government, the Christian churches and the reform groups to this need.

In tracing the haphazard development of the schools and their progress from a series of almost autonomous ventures to a broad unified system, it can be seen that despite the variety of methodologies and views a single goal was always paramount: to render the individual Indian fit for citizenship. Indian society was regarded as the major obstruction to this purpose. The difference between the Indian and the white was explained by the former's habits and beliefs (a product of his society), and it was believed that once these were changed the difference would disappear. The Indian schools aimed principally and consistently at bringing about such a transformation. Moral and religious education was always regarded as holding precedence over practical training; if the attitudes and beliefs of the Indian could be changed then his 'civilization' would have been accomplished. In this sense, despite all the real and external pressures shaping the growth of Indian schools, the traditional belief that Indian society was at the root of the problem retained a consistent influence. One of the main reasons why the missionary societies were to play such an important role in the attempt to civilize the Indian was because the problem was conceived of broadly in moral and religious terms.

In 1870, when President Grant inaugurated his Peace Policy, knowledge of the various tribes was limited and scant. The Board of Indian Commissioners, composed of men entirely ignorant of Indian affairs, was nevertheless instructed to evolve a scheme for civilizing the Indians.⁶⁴ Committing themselves to visiting and inspecting personally the various agencies and tribes, the Board members were energetic in the fulfillment of their task, and collected extensive information relating to the situation of the different Indians.⁶⁵ The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, although traditionally rarely visiting the Indians in the West, could turn to the official reports of the federal superintendents and agents in the field in order to ascertain the best methods, "for improving the conditions of the Indians." However, already active in the field and concerned specifically with Christianizing and civilizing the Indians were representatives of the various mission societies. Grant was to turn to them both for their knowledge of the Indians and for the integrity and honesty he hoped they would bring to the work. The previous activity of the various mission groups was to form the basis of the new federal policy.

In early 1869 the Reverend Samuel D. Hinman, an Episcopalian missionary active among the Sioux for nine years, was to confide to his journal:

64 Ely S. Parker to the Board of Indian Commissioners, May 26, 1869, in Report of B.I.C., 1869, pp.3-4.

65 This information is assembled in the Annual Reports; Charles Lewis Slattery, Felix Reville Brunot, 1820-1890, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901, a biography of the first active president of the Board.

"We have to get up interest in the school-room: get the children to attend, furnish books and teachers, and keep up among the children as far as we can, the desire to learn. In all this we have no encouragement from without, except such as we have created, and no one in the country cares one straw whether the Indian children are taught or not."⁶⁶

From 1870 both federal executive and financial support was to be offered to the work previously carried out exclusively by mission societies. Contracts were signed providing federal funds for schools run and administered by the church groups.

Although the different Christian denominations inevitably viewed the problem of civilizing the Indian from a similar stand-point, nevertheless there were differences in their approaches and in their interpretations of the Indians' behaviour. Some of these can be explained by doctrinal variation, particularly in the case of the Quakers, but others derived from the missionaries' personal attempts to come to grips with the issues that were unexpectedly exposed when the culture of the whites rubbed against that of the Indians.

Not all of the denominations who were invited to participate in Indian administration under the Peace Policy had previously carried out mission work among the Indians. In 1873 the American Missionary Association (Congregationalist) was still struggling with the newness of the task. Slow to establish schools they explained:

"We have no experience of schools among the Indians sufficient to enable us to give any opinion on that point. There are now two schools among the Pimas and Maricopas, and we hope soon to establish them with the Mohaves and Apaches. We cannot tell what would make

⁶⁶ Samuel D. Hinman, Journal of the Rev. Samuel D. Hinman Missionary to the Santee Sioux Indians, Philadelphia, 1869, p.29.

schools efficient."⁶⁷

However, members of the church groups were now officially responsible for the civilization of the American Indian, and representatives met annually with the Board of Indian Commissioners in Washington to discuss general problems associated with their task.

Christianity was regarded by both government officials and missionaries as aiding and accelerating Indian civilization. The government was able to delegate its responsibility for the Indian to the church groups at this time because the broader goals of the latter concurred so closely with its own. This fact offers us a keen insight into nineteenth century American society. The aims and projected methods of government Indian policy were stated very succinctly by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1871:

"The policy is to prepare them as rapidly as possible to assume the relation of citizenship; by granting them increased facilities for the education of the young; by habituating them to industrial pursuits, and by the incentive to labor incited by a sense of ownership in property which the allotment of their lands would afford and by the benign and elevating influences of Christian teachings."⁶⁸

All of the church denominations active among the Indians endorsed each of these points: the Indian should be prepared for citizenship through education, the ownership of property, the Christian Gospel and the English language.

The church groups were united in their basic aim and also in the emphasis they placed on moral training and education.

67 Report of B.I.C., 1873, p.179.

68 Report of C.I.A., 1871, p.57.

However, while generally sympathetic towards one another's efforts, the groups did not co-operate organizationally. Not only did a series of separately administered school systems evolve, but there were also differences in pedagogical methods and occasional differences in emphases.

Even the two sects of the Friends, or Quakers, operated independently in their work for the Indians.⁶⁹ Both were proud of their descent from William Penn and of his reputation for fair dealing and generosity to the Indians. They saw themselves as holding a special responsibility for the Indians and in 1869 urged President Grant to pursue a peaceful Indian policy.⁷⁰ The Hicksite Friends were given responsibility for the Northern Superintendency. They particularly requested not only control over a whole Superintendency but also that, "each Agent be allowed to name the farmer, teacher, mechanic and other employees at his Agency, subject to the same recommendation by his society that he himself receives," so that in this way they could be protected from corrupt frontier influences and "would be preserved in that mental and moral condition which would be most favourable to the performance of their duties."⁷¹ However, after 1877, as an increasing number of political appointees were forced on the Friends' agents, one by one the various agencies were resigned;

69 Memoranda of some of the Proceedings of the Friends of Baltimore Yearly Meeting. . . in relation to the Western Indians, Philadelphia, 1869, pp.10-12, the Hicksite Friends invited the Orthodox Friends to work with them in their mutual activities among the Indians; the latter declined but guaranteed harmonious action.

70 R.W. Kelsey, Friends of the Indians, 1655-1917, Philadelphia: The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917, pp.165-168.

71 Report of the Joint Delegation appointed by the Committees on the Indian Concern of the Yearly Meetings of Friends to visit the Indians under the care of the Northern Superintendency, Baltimore, 1869, pp.iv-v.

finally the last two were given up: the Great Nemaha in 1882 and the Santee in 1885.⁷²

The programme of the Quakers paralleled that advocated by the government. Believing in the power of Christian teaching they also encouraged the Indians to settle, build homes and turn to farming. As early as 1871 they suggested that to discourage the Indians from hunting, land that was not required for farming should be sold.⁷³ The Friends introduced field matrons: white women who would go to the Indian homes and instruct the women and children in household economy. They asserted that the Indian women had been too much ignored, and that in this way not only could the women be edged towards civilization, but at the same time they could receive religious instruction. This idea was later to be adopted by the federal government. Showing concern for the general condition of the Indian, the Hicksite Friends not only made each agency the responsibility of one of their Yearly meetings, but in 1871 they estimated that \$21,039 worth of clothing and supplies had been sent to the separate agencies.⁷⁴ However, they insisted, "our chief reliance is on the education of the young, who by proper training may be moulded in the habits of civilized life."⁷⁵

The Orthodox Friends in the Central Superintendency had an extremely highly developed system of supervision, and the advantage

72 Rayner W. Kelsey, Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917, Philadelphia: Assoc. Exec. Committee of Friends, 1917, p.196.

73 Report of the Delegates representing the Yearly Meetings of Friends, on the Indian Concern, New York, 1871, pp.14-15; Kelsey, op. cit., pp.189-190.

74 Kelsey, op. cit., pp.197-198; Report on Indian Concern, 1871, op. cit., p.17.

75 Ibid., pp.17-18.

of administrative continuity; Enoch Hoag acted as Superintendent for seven years, and was succeeded by Dr. William Nicholson. Stressing the need for Christian teaching in Grant's Peace Policy they "saw an open door leading to their Master's harvest-field, and hoped to be able to bring some of the objects of their care to a practical knowledge of Christianity and to a participation in its benefits and blessings".⁷⁶ But they also saw the importance of schools. When they took charge of the Superintendency in 1869, there were four schools in operation among the Indians of the region. With the aid of government funds and money from the various Yearly Meetings, they increased this number to fifteen, twelve of which were boarding schools. Although after 1879, owing to political obstruction, the Orthodox Friends withdrew from active participation in Indian administration, Friends continued to work in the government schools for six years longer.⁷⁷

Both sects of Quakers resembled other church groups in wanting to stamp out traditional Indian practices. A delegation visiting the Winnebago Indians in 1870 said, "one of the most important objects we wished to accomplish was to persuade them to abandon a secret organization known as the Medicine Band."⁷⁸ The Committee on Education of the Orthodox Friends made the

76 Second Annual Report of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, Philadelphia, 1871, p.15.

77 Kelsey, op. cit., pp.176, 178, 196-198.

78 Second Annual Report of the Joint Delegation appointed by the Committees on the Indian Concern of the Yearly Meetings of Friends, Rochester: New York, 1870, p.16.

general intention of its policy clear when it reported:

"It will readily be seen that a very encouraging and successful work is going on among the tribes. . . . It is a work that must look well into the national mind and heart and see clearly what we desire them to be. Its object is to take the subject out of a dark, undisciplined, superstitious life, and transform him into another manhood, life and desire, to mould him anew, to unmake him as well as to give him new and better ideas, habits, desires and aims, it must be studied from both a professional and Christian standpoint."⁷⁹

However, the Quakers did not believe the Indians to be inferior or degraded; they were only "some distance behind" and, if offered the benefits of Christian teaching as given to the Friends' own ancestors centuries before, they would readily catch up.⁸⁰ As one visiting delegation reported:

"We saw in every tribe we visited, evidences that God has endowed them with faculties capable of as high culture as any race upon the earth. Time must be allowed to make the change."⁸¹

Unlike some of the other denominations, the Friends did not so thoroughly denigrate the Indian religion, but believed that while some of their beliefs and practices might be mistaken they were essentially worshipping the same God as the Friends.

Since the 1830's the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions (Presbyterian) had administered the extensive Dakota Mission. Although by 1870 they had established three stations

79 Minutes of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, Richmond, Indiana, 1875, p.21.

80 Second Annual Report of the Associated Executive, Philadelphia, 1871, op. cit., p.22; Report of the Joint Delegation, Baltimore, 1869, op. cit., pp.16, 37-38.

81 Second Annual Report of the Joint Delegation, New York, 1870, op. cit., p.43.

and seven out-stations, and four missionaries, eight assistant missionaries, four native pastors and five native licentiates were active among the Sioux, the American Board was given control of only one agency, at Sisseton.⁸² The Board reported:

"By an oversight which has never been fully explained, the Presidential committee were not apprised of the plan until some time after others had been committed."

The Mission Board felt disgruntled that the Episcopal church had been assigned, "all five agencies," responsible for the Sioux tribe. They felt that the Indians would see the Mission as "deprived of the confidence and favor of the Great Father."⁸³ However, despite its lack of administrative control, the Mission increased its activity after the inauguration of the Peace Policy, establishing a large number of day schools and a normal training school, intended to provide the Sioux with native pastors and teachers.

In 1882 the Dakota Mission was transferred to the American Missionary Association (Congregationalist). This was largely for administrative reasons, the American Board having only one foreign mission, besides the one in Dakota, and the American Missionary Association operating exclusively in America, except for one outpost in Africa. The transfer made no difference to either the work or the personnel.

The Dakota Mission was first established in 1835, although its work then was at that time greatly impaired by the nomadic habits and anomalous situation of the Indians. Even in 1867, the Board reported:

82 Report of the ABCFM, 1870, p.101.

83 Report of the ABCFM, 1871, p.89.

"The unsettled state of affairs among the Indians, without a home, without a country, without property, without law, without any prospect of improvement in the future, bows down, more than all else, the faith of those who would labor for their good."⁸⁴

The policy of the government to settle the Indians on reservations was greatly to facilitate all educational and missionary work, and the Dakota Mission was anxious to reach the whole Sioux tribe. However, they were reluctant to go among the wilder ones, and in 1874 hesitated to send missionaries to the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail bands, feeling that they were not "permanent enough to call us to enter that part of the field, while so many more favorable points are unoccupied."⁸⁵

From the first, efforts were made to establish schools and to educate the Indians, but Christian teaching was regarded as of supreme importance. "Among the Dakotas the school was always subordinate to the preaching of the gospel. But it was, nevertheless, always regarded as a most important and indispensable auxiliary."⁸⁶ Secular schooling on its own was regarded as spiritually and morally dangerous, "we recognize their need of a moral power in their lives, without which education will only give them sail for their more speedy destruction."⁸⁷

The Dakota Mission was strongly in favour of educating native teachers and pastors. Even in the early 1860's, when working amongst the Sioux in Minnesota, before the fateful

84 Report of the ABCFM, 1867, p.130.

85 Report of the ABCFM, 1864, p.74.

86 Riggs, The Gospel, op. cit., p.385.

87 Report of the ABCFM, 1881, p.86.

"massacre" of 1862, they were employing native teachers "with encouraging success." The desire was to bring the means of education "within the reach of all the Indians in that part of the country, and to encourage and stimulate all to avail themselves of its advantages."⁸⁸ After 1870 the missionaries began paying more and more attention to the schools. Stephen R. Riggs called on the government to establish a system of common schools among the Sioux, saying the Mission could provide not only the native teachers, but the necessary Dakota textbooks. Education was seen as important not only for the children, but for the adults too, "most easily and successfully to accomplish the great ends of education, all the members of a tribe, as far as possible should be reached by some system of common schools."⁸⁹ Like the Friends, the missionaries of the American Board recognized the importance of teaching the women basic household skills. Classes were held once or twice a week to instruct the women in soap making, sewing, baking, and laundry.⁹⁰ Night classes were also held for the young men who had missed the opportunity to attend school. Alfred L. Riggs, a second generation missionary, reported "his aim was not merely to provide suitable instruction for the children at his station; but he strove to encourage and stimulate older persons to cherish higher aspirations than they had been wont to indulge."⁹¹

88 Riggs, The Gospel, op. cit., p.405.

89 Ibid., pp.407-412.

90 Report of ABCFM, 1875, p.70; 1874, p.72.

91 Report of ABCFM, 1872, p.81.

Beginning in the 1840's one of the first missionaries to the Dakotas, John P. Williamson, had started to translate the Bible. Adapting the alphabet to accommodate the Dakota sounds, with the help of a French-Dakota interpreter, John Renville, he was able to transform Dakota into a written language.⁹² By 1878 the entire Bible was translated. Not only were other religious texts and school books translated and published by the missionaries, but from 1871 a journal, Iapi Oaye was printed, to which Indians not only subscribed but contributed. "In starting the paper the main object proposed was to stimulate education among the Dakota."⁹³

The Mission established day schools for the Indian children and also a boarding school. The boarding school was founded as a series of Christian 'homes'. The missionaries were quick to point out that the Dakotas had no word for 'home'; the school homes were to fill this gap and to provide a place where, "the law and love of God shall be an atmosphere favoring their inmates' growth as children of Christ."⁹⁴

Unlike the Quakers the missionaries of the Dakota Mission did not equate the Indians' god with their own; they regarded the Sioux not merely as misguided in their beliefs but as

92 Rev. S.C. Bartlett, Historical Sketch of the Mission of the American Board among the North American Indians, Boston, 1880, pp.30-31.

93 Stephen R. Riggs, Mary and I, Forty Years with the Sioux, Boston: Cong. Sunday School and Publishing Ho., 1888, p.264.

94 Riggs, The Gospel, op. cit., p.172; Report of ABCFM, 1882, p.78.

unredeemed heathens. They were not sympathetic to Indian customs and traditions, and, despite their belief that an effort should be made to accommodate the Indians' own language and habits, they thought that the tribesmen should be absorbed into American society as quickly as possible and so fought hard against any suggestion that the Sioux should be removed to Indian Territory.

"We believe that the hope of the Indian lies in his absorption into the civilization of our country. And to this end, we think that small groups of Indians under proper direction, surrounded by an industrious white population, and together with their white neighbors, subject to the protection and control of the same laws, will be found in the most favourable condition for improvement."⁹⁵

They thus worked in accord with the basic aims of the federal Indian policy.

The Protestant Episcopal Church had organized missions among the Indians in New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan in the early nineteenth century.⁹⁶ But they became more actively involved in Indian affairs through the work of Bishop Henry Whipple. Whipple was appointed to the Bishopric of Minnesota in 1859. He was horrified at the situation of the Indians there and wrote to President James Buchanan elaborating the difficulties in the way of just and peaceful relations with the Indians, and strongly criticizing the Indian Service. Later, Whipple was to convince Lincoln of the depth of the corruption

95 Report of ABCFM, 1876, p.89.

96 Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, Bureau of Education Special Report, Washington, 1888, p.681.

and fraud in the Service and to gain a promise from him that, "If we get through this war and I live, the Indian Service shall be reformed."⁹⁷

Working in Washington, Whipple became furious that the Indian Service refused to correct the dishonesty it recognized was rampant within its own ranks. He told the Commissioner:

"I came here as an honest man to put you in possession of facts to save another outbreak. Had I whistled against the north wind I should have done as much good. I am going home and when you next hear from me it will be through the public press."⁹⁸

Whipple continued to campaign for policy reform but he was also active amongst the Indians in his own diocese.⁹⁹ When a band of Sioux, under chiefs Wabasha and Taopi, requested a school and a missionary, Whipple sent them Samuel D. Hinman, one of his divinity students. Hinman had already been holding services for the Sioux and learning their language; within a year he had established a school for fifty children and prepared seven Indians for Christian confirmation. Hinman was to begin to train the first Indian preachers.¹⁰⁰

The Episcopalians greeted Grant's new Peace Policy with enthusiasm. Eight years later Whipple was to realize that many

97 Henry Benjamin Whipple, Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate, London and New York: Macmillan Co., 1899, p.137.

98 *ibid.*, p.144.

99 *Ibid.*, p.60. When Whipple came to select a seal for the new diocese of Minnesota he chose, "the design of the cross, with a broken tomahawk and a pipe of peace at its foot . . . with a longing that our Zion should be at unity with itself and that we might do our part towards healing the divisions which separate Christians.

100 *Ibid.*, p.61; Hinman, *op. cit.*, pp.1-5.

of the faults of the Indian system remained unchanged, but he still believed that, "despite all the evils and conflicts of an unreformed Indian policy, more has been done for the civilization of the red man than in any period of our history."¹⁰¹ The Episcopal church was awarded nine agencies (White Earth in Minnesota; Ponca, Crow Creek, White River, Cheyenne River, Yankton, Spotted Tail and Red Cloud in Dakota; Shoshone in Wyoming), and quickly organized to administer and operate them. A Standing Committee on Indian Affairs was created whose duties were to help supervise the secular work of the agencies, "by providing such civilizing agencies as the government does not provide, and involving the aid of the government, and, if need be the assistance of the courts, in protecting the rights of the Indians." Keen also to exert the influence of the church on legislation the Episcopalians appointed a sub-committee, headed by Senator Stevenson of Kentucky, to watch over and help control Congressional legislation.¹⁰²

In January of 1873, Henry Hobart Hare was appointed to be Bishop of Niobrara, a new missionary jurisdiction with special responsibility for Indian work.¹⁰³ The work of the previous decade provided a firm foundation for the Episcopal missionaries to build and expand. Hare, travelling to South Dakota in 1873, wrote:

101 Whipple, op. cit., pp.167, 551-552.

102 Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1871, pp.192, 233, 254, 102, 349.

103 The Church and the Indians, Feb. 1873.

"From Yankton I passed up the Missouri river along which the main body of the missionary enterprize of our church among the Indians was then located. I found that missionary work had been established on the Santee, Yankton and Ponca Reserves, and three brave young deacons, fresh from the Berkeley Divinity School, had, the previous fall, pressed up the river and begun the task of opening the way for missionary effort among the Indians of the Lower Brule, and Crow Creek and Cheyenne River Reserves."¹⁰⁴

In the decade after 1871 the Episcopal Church sent out eighty new missionaries, ordained two Indians as priests and trained eighteen as deacons.¹⁰⁵

The importance of Indian clergy and teachers was stressed by the Episcopalians. The work of the Reverend Paul Mazukute (Iron shooter), the first Sioux to take Holy Orders, convinced Hinman that he must continue to train a native ministry so that the Indians' Christian teaching would not remain dependent on "outsiders."¹⁰⁶ Plans for religious and secular teaching were, as always, closely linked. Bishop Hare, after visiting the Sioux in South Dakota, became convinced, "that the Boarding School ought to be one of the prominent features of our missionary work." Already the work carried out by Hinman had made many of the Indians more favourable to the idea of schooling, and he was able to establish a system of boarding schools, aimed at promoting both Christianity and "civilized habits," among the Indians:

"The ideas which governed me in laying out the whole boarding-school work of the Jurisdiction were, that the schools should be plain and practical . . . ; that as the Indians have not

104 Howe, op. cit., pp.46-48.

105 Handbook of the Churches Missions to the Indians, Boston, 1881, p.134.

106 Hinman, op. cit., p.17; The Church and the Indians, March, 1873.

been accustomed to labor, the school training should be such as would not only cultivate their intellect, but also develop their physical functions and teach them to do well the common acts of daily, humble life, such as sawing, sweeping, etc., etc.; that in order to do this and also for the sake of economy, the schools should be self-serving; i.e., that the scholars should take care of themselves and of rooms, beds, china, lamps, etc. etc. . . . ; and that the scholars should have such training in the responses and music of the Services that they should form the nuclei of Christian congregations where they have not been gathered, and valuable auxiliaries where they are already in existence." 107

Hare was to revise his plans slightly when the Normal Agricultural and Training School in Hampton, Virginia, was opened to Indians. Crow Creek, one of the Episcopal agencies, was the agency that supplied the most Indians for this Eastern school, and Indians under Episcopal care were also sent East to Carlisle. Hare thought, "we shall gladly learn from the excellent management of those schools wherever we can, and do all in our powers to make those schools and ours mutually helpful and not rival, much less antagonistic." 108 Unlike the Riggses, he did not feel that reservation schools were preferable for educating the Indians. The Episcopalians used the Sioux language in their schools and Church services, they published a Dakota journal Anpao or The Daybreak, and in 1888 they united with the other church groups, the Board of Indian Commissioners and members of the Mohonk Conference in protesting the Indian Bureau's order that no teaching should take place in Indian languages. They

107 Howe, op. cit., pp.94-108.

108 Ibid., p.133.

demanded that, "the way should be open for any and every organization to carry on instruction among the Indian tribes without hindrance or interference. Experience alone can determine what method promises the cheapest, quickest, and best results."¹⁰⁹ However, while defending the use of the Dakota language they had not formulated a theory of its importance as a vehicle of understanding in educating not only the individual child, but the community. This explains their acceptance and support of the Eastern schools which were opposed by the missionaries of the American Board.

Perhaps more than the other religious groups, the Episcopalians looked to legislative reform to help solve the Indian problem, but they also regarded Christianity as the main necessity. Bishop Whipple writing to the Friends in 1869 and enumerating "the things necessary to elevate the Indian," placed "knowledge of God and duty to him" at the top of the list, followed by "personal rights of property, protection of law, habits of industry and education."¹¹⁰

No Episcopalian missionary analyzed the inadequacies of Indian religion, as both Stephen Riggs and his son had done.¹¹¹ They were appreciative of the spirituality of the Indians; Bishop Hare, after having spent some time with the Sioux declared,

109 "A Rebuff from the United States Government," in The Bible Society Record, February 16, 1888, reprinted as a pamphlet and circulated by the Indian Rights Association.

110 H.B. Whipple to Benjamin Hallowell, April 16, 1869, in, Memoranda of some of the Proceedings of the Friends Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 1869, pp.26-27.

111 Alfred Riggs, What does the Indian Worship, op. cit., pp.1-6; Stephen Riggs, The Gospel, op. cit., pp.76-104.

"I say these people are an intensely religious people. We must not hand them over to mere civilization."¹¹² Yet Hare was appalled at the Indians' own religious ceremonies. He could momentarily acknowledge that it was "the proximity of Christianity that has undermined the old religion" and left the people "disconcerted and perplexed," but this only reinforced his belief that Christianity was essential to the Indian.¹¹³

Hinman also was able to accept certain of the Indians' traditional customs; for example the habit of putting out a plate of food for a newly dead relation, "it is the portion of the first poor person coming, or passing by. It is a beautiful custom, because it unites tender memory of the dead, to compassion and charity for the living. Therefore we have not thought it right to forbid it." However he essentially believed that the correct beliefs and attitudes could only be instilled through Christianity. Remarking on how grateful the Indians were for small gifts and help he wrote, "it is pleasant for us to see the Indians so thankful for all we do for them. It is Christianity that teaches them thankfulness." He was unable to acknowledge that the sentiment of gratitude might also be indigenous to Indian society.¹¹⁴

Altogether thirteen different church groups were invited to participate in Grant's Peace Policy. Several of the denominations, although keen to take up the challenge, had difficulty organizing

112 Howe, op. cit., pp.80-90.

113 Ibid., pp.233-50.

114 Hinman, op. cit., p.14.

their work. The Baptists and the Methodists, both strongly supported on the frontier and depending on local annual conferences there for both nomination and supervision, sometimes provided agents who were less concerned for the Indian than with forwarding their own local interests.¹¹⁵ The Catholics, who were assigned only seven agencies, consistently negotiated and lobbied for more and slowly established a system of boarding schools supported by government funds; in 1873 they had three and by 1882 thirteen.¹¹⁶ In 1876 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called attention to the fact that the churches were experiencing difficulty inducing persons of the requisite qualifications to accept positions; not only were Agents' salaries low but the cost of transportation to the west was not paid by the Indian Service.

With the election of Rutherford B. Hayes the Peace Policy as such ended and politicians regained control of Indian Service appointments. No one had regarded the churches' work among the Indians as perfect nor their appointments as infallible; in 1873 Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward P. Smith, who more than any other Commissioner represented the church groups, wrote of "several failures during the year; for want of adaptation to the service, or from want of integrity."¹¹⁷ However, despite the

115 R. Pierce Beaver, Church, State and the American Indians, Saint Louis, Concordia Publishing Ho., 1966, pp.143-144.

116 Peter Rahill, The Catholic Indian Mission and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884, Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1953, p.329.

117 Report of the C.I.A., 1873, p.377; Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1963, p.157.

work of Carl Schurz for civil service reform during the 1880's, the Indian Service remained under the control of politicians, and the appointment of corrupt or merely uninterested officials in the field came to be regarded as one of the major handicaps to good administration of Indian affairs.¹¹⁸ In 1891, by Executive order, Indian school personnel and physicians were placed under classified civil service, and in 1896 this rule was extended to include minor employees. In 1892 Congress included a clause in the Indian Appropriation Act which authorized the appointment of Army officers to agencies where there were vacancies, and by the following year twenty seven out of the fifty seven agencies were being run by army officers. Political control of the Indian Service was weakened further when, in 1893, the Commissioner was allowed to place the control of agencies in the hands of the school superintendents. However, it was not for a further fifteen years that the Indian Service was freed from political influence.¹¹⁹

From 1870 to 1881 the religious, educational, and administrative care of Indians, so far as the federal government was concerned, was in the hands of the American churches. Despite their separate organizations and programmes the churches were unified in their basic approach to Indian civilization. As the Episcopalians observed, "the religious denominations are confining their efforts chiefly to schools and the moral training

118 C.C. Painter, Extravagance, Waste and Failure of Indian Education, Philadelphia, 1892, p.4.

119 Report of the C.I.A., 1891, pp.11-13; Report of C.I.A., 1893, pp.1-5; U.S. Stat. L., 27, p.120, 614; Lawrence F. Schmickebier, The Office of Indian Affairs, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927, p.84.

of the Indians."¹²⁰ This emphasis on schools and moral training was to intensify during the 1880's and 1890's and was the unifying and defining characteristic of all attempts to civilize the Indian.

Although with the new decade the churches lost or resigned their administrative responsibilities, they retained a dominant influence in Indian affairs. The government continued to contract with the religious societies to run the reservation schools; Eastern congregations remained affiliated with missions and churches among the Indians; and during the late 1870's and 1880's an outcrop of Christian societies and organizations sprang up which were actively concerned with fighting for justice for the Indians.¹²¹ In 1882 these groups met together at the first Lake Mohonk Conference, and with other individuals concerned with the Indian problem they discussed related questions. These conferences were to become an annual event and provided a forum for white Americans, outside the federal government, to discuss and influence Indian affairs.¹²²

As popular interest in the Indian and insistence on his need to be educated grew so also official concern developed. Congressional appropriations, although always cited as inadequate, increased annually, and Congress also began financing Indian training schools off the reservation. The first of these was Carlisle; founded in 1879 and run on the lines of an army camp

120 The Church and the Indians, February, 1873.

121 e.g. American Indian Aid Association, Indian Hope Association, Women's National Indian Organization, and the Indian Rights Association, founded in 1882 by Herbert Welsh and probably the most influential.

122 Mohonk, 1885, p.1.

(the Indians even being dressed in U.S. Army uniforms) it became the model for the system of training schools that was founded and sponsored by the federal government. The training schools, combining instruction in household tasks, trades, and academic study, came to be regarded as the most efficient method of civilizing the Indian.¹²³ Not only were increasing numbers of Indian children transported far from their reservations to be educated, but agents began "taking these schools as models of what an Indian school should be."¹²⁴

Slowly, in the period after 1870, the continuing movement of white settlers into western lands was to force the realization that not only was it impossible to maintain the separation of Indians from whites, but that the reservations were also secluding the Indians from American society and civilization.¹²⁵ An inclination to abolish the reservation, discernable in official pronouncements and reports since the early 1870's, was to develop into a universal cause, culminating in the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887.¹²⁶ Naturally, accompanying such a 'cause,' was a new insistence on the importance of educating the Indian.

123 Report of C.I.A., 1882, p.26..

124 Report of C.I.A., 1889, pp.94-95.

125 The growing denouncement of the reservation will be examined in Chapter VI.

126 In 1870 the Commissioner suggested, "giving to every Indian a home he can call his own." In 1872 a different Commissioner explicitly supported allotment and in 1876 the Commissioner talked not only of permitting "but requiring the head of each Indian family to accept the allotment of a reasonable amount of land."

While the Dawes Act gave legislative backing to the Indian Service's policy that all tribes should be broken up and the individual Indian established as a farmer, the educational policy pursued in the 1880's and 1890's was aimed at Americanizing, or civilizing the Indian, rather than at specifically teaching him to farm. In 1870 the government had turned to the religious denominations when it began to feel the necessity of educating the Indians. The missionaries were seen as having not only prior experience with the Indians and greater integrity than other groups, but also the necessary spiritual and moral message to coax the Indians away from savagery and towards civilization. Despite the increasing secular nature of the Indian schools their main educational aim continued to be directed towards changing the habits, beliefs and customs of the Indians. In 1882 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated, "the value to the Indian boy of mere rudimentary training in some one of the various handicrafts will be worth to his own manhood and the civilization of the race immeasurably more than it will cost, and the morale of the school which furnishes such employment and diversion to its restless pupils will be vastly improved."¹²⁷ Education was seen as having something more than a utilitarian value in fostering the 'manhood' of the Indian.

Thomas Jefferson Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1889-1892, was to dedicate himself to a scheme "for bringing all Indian youth of suitable age under proper instruction," he believed that "the solution of the Indian problem lay chiefly in the line of education." Morgan was to work to make the Indian

127 Report of C.I.A., 1882, p.26.

schooling not only universal but uniform. He wanted, "a uniform course of study, similar methods of instruction, the same text books, and a carefully organized and well-understood system of industrial training," and for this reason was keen to eliminate the contract schools.¹²⁸ However, the type of education Morgan advocated had its roots in the traditional mission schools. He wanted "a comprehensive system of education modelled after the American public-school system, but adapted to the exigencies of the Indian youth," but his notions of those "exigencies" were identical to those of the educators of the 1870's. Determined to extend and systematize the school system Morgan nevertheless reiterated the prime importance of moral and religious education:

"The chief thing in all education is the development of character, the formation of manhood and womanhood. To this end the whole course of training should be fairly saturated with moral ideas, fear of God, and respect for the rights of others; love of truth and fidelity to duty; personal purity, philanthropy and patriotism." 129

The mission teachers regarded the Indian as redeemable, seeing Indian society and religion as the source of Indian savagery. Working within the Christian tradition they sought to save the individual. Morgan was to continue this trend, desiring to raise the Indian above the level of his own society and to lift "Indian students onto so high a plane of thought and aspiration as to render the life of the camp intolerable to them. . . . Their training should be so thorough and their characters so

128 Report of C.I.A., 1889, pp.94-95.

129 Ibid., 1889, pp.94-98.



A Christian family, Crow Creek Reservation, c1880

132 Retired at the National
133 at the National

formed that they will not be dragged down by the heathenish life of the camp."¹³⁰

The education of the Indian was to be primarily a schooling in patriotism, Christianity and morality:

"Schoolrooms should be supplied with pictures of civilized life, so that all the children's associations will be agreeable and attractive . . . It is of prime importance that a fervent patriotism should be instilled in their minds. The stars and stripes should be a familiar object in every school. . . . No pains should be spared to teach them that their future must depend chiefly upon their own exertions, character, and endeavors. . . . The school itself should be an illustration of the superiority of the Christian religion."¹³¹

Writing in 1891 Morgan succeeded in encapsulating sentiments that had been dominant since early attempts to educate the Indian: if the children could be taught basic habits of work, punctuality, hygiene and morality, then they would automatically gain the skills and attitudes necessary to civilized life.

Morgan had previously been president of three state normal schools and, under Harrison, was even considered for the post of United States Commissioner of Education; so he brought a strong educational bias to his three years of work as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.¹³² His plans to systematize the Indian schools were first presented to the members of the Lake Mohonk Conference.¹³³ There was a certain degree of hesitancy at his intention to phase-out the mission schools. Francis Walker asserted that they

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid., pp.101-102.

132 Dictionary of American Biography, XIII, pp.187-188; National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1899, p.54.

133 Mohonk, 1889, pp.17-33.

offered the best education and should be allowed to continue to do so "no matter what objections exist to the support of sectarian schools." However, concern over the varied and fragmented character of Indian schools had been growing. Initially, when a concerted attempt was first made to educate the Indian, the main question was not how this could be accomplished, but whether indeed it was possible. Conviction that it was possible to educate the entire Indian race had slowly grown and concern had shifted from establishing the Indian's educability to discovering "the methods which are essential to any extended and successful effort for that end." ¹³⁴

Many reformers were critical of the lack of consistency and system in the government's efforts at civilizing the Indian. The Reverend Lyman Abbott suggested that while organized attempts had been made to gain security in land ownership and the protection of land for the Indian, no educational plan had been evolved "for converting them from groups of tramps, beggars, thieves, and sometimes robbers and murderers, into communities of intelligent, industrious and self-supporting citizens." ¹³⁵ Scornful of the competition between the different denominations he saw the task of educating the Indians as the duty of the nation. In 1887 the Business Committee of the Lake Mohonk Conference was to report:

"The work of education, which has been heretofore desultory, individual, fragmentary, denominational, must be made systematic, harmonious, organic, Christian." ¹³⁶

134 Report of C.I.A., 1875, p.16.

135 Mohonk, 1888, p.11.

136 Ibid., 1887, p.104.

The systematization of the Indian schools begun under Morgan was to continue throughout the 1890's. The intention of the Indian Service was that the Indian schools would eventually merge with the public school systems of the separate states. The public schools, at this time, were also becoming increasingly systematized. However, although after 1890 a small number of Indian children began to be sent to the public schools, the Indian school system remained distinct and separate. Despite the grading of classes, the introduction of standard syllabi, and other measures taken to bring Indian schools into line with those of the states, not only did they continue to be organizationally separate, but many of the basic premises that had shaped Indian education in the 1870's remained unchanged, and continued to be the dominant force in Indian schooling.

One of the main contentions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs had always been that the school was responsible for teaching Indian children habits and attitudes that Americans learned automatically in their homes: that in the classroom the traditional behaviour of the Indians should be gradually replaced by that of Americans. This came to be considered the major purpose of the school and was the rationale not only for Indian boarding schools but also for the more extreme practice of sending children off the reservation for education. Belief in the supremacy of the off-reservation schools waned a little after the resignation of Morgan. In 1893 Commissioner Browning announced the opening of six new training schools, but also decided that there was no necessity for any more; the schools

were increasingly to become institutions for more advanced education of pupils who had already attended reservation schools.¹³⁷ However, the certainty that a child could most easily be educated outside the context of its own society when separated from its parents remained strong, and the emphasis on boarding education continued. In 1889 there were 9,146 Indian children at boarding schools and 2,406 at day schools, and in 1900 there were only 3,860 at day schools and 17,708 at boarding schools.¹³⁸

The necessity of education for all Indians and the suggestion that a degree of compulsion was acceptable to advance this purpose had been voiced officially since the Sioux treaties of 1868, although at that time official policy was not supported by legislation. Different agents used various methods and ploys to coax or force Indian children to school. But Morgan's belief that "the necessity for education for the younger Indians is intensified by the imminence of citizenship" was widely shared.¹³⁹ In 1892 Congress passed a law allowing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to enforce rules and regulations of attendance. A year later Congress provided that rations might be withheld from parents who failed to send their children to school, and the members of the Lake Mohonk Conference enthusiastically supported these measures.¹⁴⁰ While it had

137 Report of C.I.A., 1893, p.9.

138 Statistics of Indian Schools, B.I.A., R.G. 75.

139 Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.8.
Report of B.I.C., 1889, p.9.

140 Schmeckebier, op. cit., p.223; Mohonk, 1891, p.112; Mohonk, 1893, p.142.

always been believed that the adult Indians were the main obstacle in the way of the children's progress, their authority to withhold children from school was now legally denied. Morgan asserted, that the government "must have the right to prevent children growing up a race of barbarians and savages like their parents." Angered at the opposition of the Indians and criticism from Americans he suggested that it would be justifiable to use the troops to fill the schools.¹⁴¹

Compulsory school attendance laws were slowly being enacted in the different states in America. However, the Indian schools had one striking and unique feature: they did not grow out of the community which they served, but rather were introduced and imported from outside. While superficially they might have appeared like other American schools the roots of their development marked them as different. Commissioner Browning, on noting that Indians had no say in the enactment of laws that were to influence them directly, remarked:

"The white man has legislated for him. His circumstances are not an outgrowth from himself, but something to which he must grow up--an unnatural process, but inevitable when civilization and barbarism collide."¹⁴²

It was anticipated that the power of the Indian agent would dwindle as the land of the tribes was progressively allotted and the Indians were given citizenship, but the school was supposed to become increasingly important. Morgan began to appoint superintendents of the government schools to fulfil the supposedly declining duties of the agent. Aimed largely at impeding

141 T.J. Morgan to Sect. of the Interior, November 30, 1892, papers accompanying Report of C.I.A., 1894.

142 Report of C.I.A., 1894, pp.11-12.

political interference in Indian affairs this move was also part of a plan to "make the school rather than the agency the center of the Indians' thoughts, hopes and life; bring them into close relationship with these institutions of learning, and . . . thus dignify the cause of education and hasten the promotion of intelligence among them."¹⁴³

Throughout the period 1870-1900, and after, not only was the need for education for the Indian constantly reiterated, but also, despite all the setbacks and failures, a spirit of optimism prevailed in the reports of officials. Allowing for the traditional rosy prose of government reports, this optimistic style also reflected the belief that if the Indian were offered the proper opportunities and training he would readily progress. As the school programmes and system were gradually developed, insistence that the solution to the problem had been found increased. In 1896 Commissioner Browning reported his satisfaction that:

"The reservation and non-reservation schools appear to meet admirably the condition of the Indian, and to provide him with the necessary facilities for acquiring an education equal to that given average white children."¹⁴⁴

Optimism remained pervasive, and when failures and setbacks occurred they were always accounted for in the traditional way, namely, by reference to the savage habits, customs and morals characteristic of Indian society.

Education was aimed at the individual Indian and seen always as a means of elevating him above his society. When the Indian

143 Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.10.

144 Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.6.

appeared resistant to the beneficial influences of the schools, and was slow to adopt the values of white America, his resistance was seen either as stemming directly from his retarded social background or from a "deficiency in manhood" resulting from it. The complex network of Indian cultural patterns and values was disregarded in its entirety, and individually the elements were seen only as symptoms and indications of the Indian's savage state. In explaining the Indian's slowness in achieving economic self-sufficiency, F. W. Blackmar, of the University of Kansas, suggested that as a member of a socially retarded society, the Indian needed special training in the fundamental processes of civilization (self-development and self-determination) because as a group Indians had not been through all the essential stages leading to the industrial state.¹⁴⁵ Frederick Treon, a doctor on the Crow Creek reservation for six years, attempted to explain the high incidence of disease and despondency in the boarding school there. Unable to conceive of the problems and tensions that accompanied an Indian's education into American habits and values, he attributed the sudden decline in the children's interest and achievements, after they reached adolescence, to weak moral fibre:

"Up to the age of twelve or fourteen they learn rapidly . . . After that age, however, education proves a task and they soon tire or fall behind. Whenever an Indian is placed in a situation where he must think for himself and assume mental responsibility, he soon sickens and breaks down under the strain . . ."146

145 F. W. Blackmar, "Indian Education," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, II, May 1892, pp.813-837.

146 Mohonk, 1894, p.56.

The Indian school system that was developed in America between 1870 and 1900 grew up in a spasmodic and haphazard way. The church groups were important not only because they already had experience in Indian work, but also because they were regarded as capable of supplying the moral influence so essential for civilizing the Indian. Yet while the importance of Christianity and moral training was never denied, and continued to be emphasized even in the 1890's, increasing attention began to be paid to the establishment of a well organized and nationally standardized Indian school system.

Chapter III

Reservation Schools and American Education

Contemporary opinion concerning the Indian's educability and stage of development helped shape the type of schooling that was offered to the different tribes and aided educators in patterning their programme of assimilation. The situation of the Indians was unique--they being the only true native Americans, and the one group (with the exception of the blacks) which was not incorporated into American society voluntarily--nevertheless they were not insulated from historical events and social and intellectual developments in America. Although the assimilation of the Indian presented very special problems, the plans to assimilate European immigrants, and the debates revolving around this question, influenced both the ideas and methods of Indian assimilation. And while the organization of schools on the reservation represents an important chapter in Indian history, it must also be seen as part and parcel of much broader developments in America. It is historically distorting to offer an appraisal of Indian education without also looking at contemporary American attitudes to education and at changes taking place in American schools.

After the Civil War a revolution occurred not only in American society but also in American education. The rapid expansion of settlement in the West had foisted the problem of Indian education on Americans, and the equally rapid expansion of cities in the East, aided by immigration from Europe, drew attention to the problem of educating the new arrivals. In the face of such changes the function and organization of the school in American society was transformed. The purpose of this chapter is to show how the

development of Indian schools, despite their special characteristics, was linked to and influenced by changes in American educational practices and assumptions.

Education has always enjoyed a very special veneration in the United States. Thomas Jefferson, supremely conscious of the vulnerability of republican governments, not only voiced his belief in the necessary link between the politics of a free society and education, but also presented a plan to the Virginian Legislative advocating three years of public schooling for every white child.¹ As the definition of American democracy broadened to include more and more groups, educators like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard agreed that education was necessary to safeguard the nation's progress and to provide opportunities for aspiring individuals. Faith in both the controlling and enriching powers of education went deep. In 1865 the Civil War was interpreted by some northerners in educational terms. One speaker at the National Education Association informed the assembled teachers that it had "been a war of education and patriotism against ignorance and barbarism." Not only was the secession of the South regarded as having been partially caused by the backwardness of Southerners, but also the problems that had culminated in war were seen as being soluble through the restorative power of education.² Thus, not only could schools protect democracy and good government, they were also seen as being capable of bringing these American assets into being.

1 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Genius of American Education, Horace Mann Lecture, 1965, pp.2-3.

2 Rush Welter, Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America, New York and London: Columbia Univ. Press, 1962, pp.141-159.

The close dependence of democracy on education received theoretical and institutional endorsement in the common school movement in Massachusetts. Horace Mann, offering the school as a pacifier in the troubled 1830's, argued that "the mobs, the riots, the burnings, the lynchings, perpetrated by men of the present day are perpetrated because of their vicious or defective education when children." Indeed, as Rush Welter has argued, the theory of education and democratic theory often inter-penetrated each other so much as to become synonymous.³

In the period after the Civil War, public support for education was paralleled by a rapid expansion in schooling. By the 1890's, a consensus had emerged among educators and the public concerning the unique relationship between the rise of the public school and the development of American democracy.⁴ Faith in the school, as a general panacea for social as well as educational ills, probably attained its ultimate expression in the progressive period, when political reform was frequently conceived in educational terms and no group lacked its programme for the schools. The most comprehensive intellectual statement of this view appeared in 1919, in Edward Patterson Cubberley's Public Education in the United States, which documented the rise of the public school as the laudable triumph of democracy over ignorance, poverty and the myopic and cramped demands of provincial communities.⁵

3 Ibid., pp.97-101.

4 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberley: An Essay on the Historiography of American Education, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1965, p.15.

5 Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History, Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1947.

However, despite the expansion of schooling and the apparent triumph of the Jeffersonian ideal, a subtle change had taken place in the meaning of "education". To Jefferson the school was necessary to provide a child with essential technical skills and basic knowledge, but it was the free press, participation in politics, and life in a republican society that were to provide his education. Starting in the 1830's, and accelerating in the decades after the Civil War, the school became the major focus of educational theorists and education came to have an institutional rather than a general meaning. Slowly, as deliberate, planned, institutional schooling took precedence over general more natural processes of education, faith in the school itself increased proportionally to the demands being made upon it. In 1916 John Dewey, in Democracy and Education, was to acclaim the school not only as the institution capable of preserving American institutions, but also, more ambitiously, as the instrument capable of shaping American destiny. With such claims being made for the school it is hardly surprising that it was deemed capable of civilizing the Indians!

Growing interest in the school and an increasing tendency to regard it as the prime purveyor of education brought with it an intensive scrutiny of the purpose of the institution. Henry Adams, perhaps the age's most savage and pessimistic critic, posed a question similar to the one being considered by educators everywhere, but asked and then answered the question in a broad and historic context. Obsessed with the power and energy of the United States, and seeing the dynamo as the most appropriate metaphor for the age, Adams, himself frustrated and isolated in

the changed society, demanded whether the traditional values, traditions, and purpose of the America of his ancestors would be preserved into the new age. American society in 1868 presented to Adams "the profile of a long, straggling caravan, stretching loosely towards the prairies, its few score of leaders far in advance and its millions of immigrants, negroes, and Indians far in the rear, somewhere in archaic time." Adams, in gloomy prediction of the twentieth century, hazarded a guess that it would be a "toss-up between anarchy and order," and suggested unconvincingly that it was perhaps possible that "the new forces would educate."⁶

But the response of the cultivated Adams was not typical of men of his age. Adams clung to an idea of education that embraced a cultivated ideal and purpose, while others turned to a more functional definition. Adams shuddered at the pace and onrush of progress, while others gloried in it. Adams troubled himself over the survival of the American system, while post-Civil War educators, who also believed the millions of immigrants, negroes and Indians represented a problem, considered pragmatically how these groups could be persuaded or forced to join the main "caravan".

The school as an institution seemed admirably suited to moulding these new, problem elements in American society. In Massachusetts, in the 1840's, Horace Mann had worked to build a school system that would be a stabilizing mechanism and bring to the nation cohesion and strength, by teaching its citizens essential skills and basic moral lessons. As Michael Katz has observed,

6 Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, New York: The Modern Library, 1931, pp.237, 495, 497.

despite Mann's undoubted achievement, the reform movement he led was not unambiguous in its motives. One of its central aims was to establish more efficient means of social control over the less established elements of the community, to make them orderly, moral and tractable.⁷

The Jeffersonian philosophy and the common school crusade of the 1840's laid the foundations for compulsory schooling, which by the end of the nineteenth century had become generally accepted in America. If the education of the child was desirable not only for his own benefit, but also for the common good, then it was too vital to be left to chance or voluntary attendance. With so many Americans welcoming the opportunity for free schooling, those who refused it, by extension of the "common good" argument, were considered to be those whose children were most in need of training. Massachusetts passed the first compulsory schooling law in 1852. The other states slowly followed, and in 1890 the Commissioner of Education was to rejoice that "arguments and discussion of thirty years or more have been gradually silencing opposition, and public sentiment is slowly crystallizing in the direction of requiring by law all parents to provide a certain minimum of school instruction for their children."⁸ But despite this fact, the existence of a compulsory schooling law was not always reflected in attendance. New Mexico passed such a law in 1872; two years earlier it had been reported that there was "not a free public school nor a public school-house in the Territory," and even by the end of the

7 Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968. A similar point is made by Robert H. Wiebe, "The Social Functions of Public Education," American Quarterly, 21, Summer 1969, pp.147-164.

8 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1889-1890, pp.470-471.

century New Mexico had one of the worst literacy rates in the whole country.⁹ In Dakota a compulsory law was passed in 1883, but the Superintendent reported that it was impossible to enforce such a law until "public sentiment be educated up to a proper appreciation of the principles involved." He continued, "this may yet be in the somewhat distant future so far as it interests those communities which are most negligent."¹⁰

Dakota was a rural territory. The need for formal education was not felt very strongly when children learnt farming skills from their parents, where frequently they were needed as farm hands, and when the one-roomed schoolhouse was often many miles away. But it was in Dakota territory that the huge Sioux tribe, scattered on several reservations, was living. The local settlers may not have been keen to send their children to school but compulsory laws existed for the Indians too. Despite the strong resistance of the Indians it was possible for such laws to be enforced. Visiting Pine Ridge reservation in 1887, Jonathan Harrison was able to report that: "the attendance was remarkably regular. The reservation had in operation one of the best compulsory education laws ever devised. When a child was absent from school without a good reason, the rations of the whole family were cut off till he returned."¹¹

Just as the Indian agents employed the reservation police force to bring in unwilling school children, so also white school

9 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1870, p.22.

10 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1886-1887, p.177.

11 Jonathan Baxter Harrison, The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations, Philadelphia, Indian Rights Association, 1887, p.21.

superintendents began to see the necessity for special officers "whose business it should be, under some systematic method of search and report, to find out the defaulters and get the children to school." The logic used to justify such force was identical, whether for Indian or for whites. As one educator explained, "compulsory education should not be reckoned of value simply to the extent to which it can be rigidly enforced, but in the main it should be prized because of the "compulsory environment" it throws round the ignorant and dilatory."¹²

Besides the lack of motivation for schooling shared by Indians and some other groups in America, particularly poor, immigrant workers in the cities, another factor that made compulsory education a farce, whether on the reservation or in the cities, was the lack of facilities to accommodate all the children. Shortages of not only schools but desks, slates, and even chairs were as common to Chicago and New York as to the Crow Creek and Kiowa reservations.¹³

Schooling at this time was largely confined to the elementary grades. The widely held belief that an individual's most impressionable period was his early childhood meant that there was little concern with giving children an extended education. Towards the end of the century a Chicago committee, reporting on compulsory education, was to declare that "research into the history of pauperism and criminality seems to show that the child's bent is fixed before his seventh year."¹⁴ Only a tiny proportion of white children went on to high school, and college education was even more exclusive, being paid for by the student or his parents.

12 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1886-1887, p.176.

13 David B. Tyack, The One Best System, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974, p.71.

14 Ibid., pp.57, 70.

The situation was similar for Indians, and although several Indian students showed themselves capable of finishing their education, they were refused money by the Bureau. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs explained:

"it is not considered the promise of the government to provide either its wards or its citizens with what is known as 'higher education'. That is the proper function of the individual himself . . . Their future career should always be dependant upon their own exertions, and not at the expense of the general government."¹⁵

A general view of higher education was thus being applied to Indians, although it ran counter to more specific government demands that Indian communities should be made self-sufficient, for which purpose they obviously needed their own trained leaders. Despite official policy asserting that everything possible should be done to uplift the Indians, when the question of higher education was raised the principle applied to white children was raised to a level of ideology and extended to include Indians. Anyone desirous of higher education had to show his enthusiasm and determination by acquiring it at his own expense.

Indian education at the end of the nineteenth century had two striking characteristics: it was organized on a national level and it was totally controlled by the federal government. These two qualities were not shared by other American schools.

Despite organizational reforms in American schools at the end of the nineteenth century, they remained essentially locally controlled institutions. There was much variety in their patterns of control, some communities were divided by district and some by township and the school boards had varying degrees of power. But although the individual states began to lay down standards,

15 Report of C.I.A., 1900, p.14.

both for grading and teaching procedure, the schools never became centrally organized. Lawrence Cremin regards this quality as crucial, for, he claims, "it is in the political process by which the public defines the commitments of the schools that one finds the decisive forces in American educational history."¹⁶

Education had not been mentioned in the national Constitution, and thus was deemed the preserve of the individual states. But by the post-Civil War period Congress had concerned itself with the education of some of its citizens, as well as that of its Indian wards. The increased importance accorded to education meant that it quickly became a concern of the federal government.

Federal involvement in education is readily explained by the growth and acceptance of the belief that education was directly related to national progress. In 1862 the Morrill Act, which granted public lands to the states to promote agricultural and mechanical arts colleges, set the first precedent of direct national aid to educational schemes. However, the issue rapidly became controversial. Senator Morrill proposed that public land sales could also be used to aid common schools. He insisted that this would help promote educational equality, that education was an "undeniable right" and therefore federal aid was constitutionally proper. Basically these viewpoints were not new, but Morrill, in arguing his case, also claimed that the national government had a role to play in moulding the character of the American people, and the suggestion that the national government should play a

16 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, New York: Knopf, 1961, p.10.

direct role in education was new. Morrill's suggestions were not adopted but his arguments were to be rehearsed in different ways over the next decades.

The argument that the government should help decrease illiteracy by supporting education could be regarded as ambiguous in its motives. It implicitly suggested that what Senator Blair referred to as, "the illiterate balance of power," might vote the wrong way if it remained unschooled. Federal aid to education from this viewpoint was conservative, and looked more to the preservation of traditional values, standards and patterns of ownership than to the expansion of opportunities and democratic alternatives. The question of the control of individual schools will be discussed later in the chapter, but it is important at this point to note that even those who argued for the expansion of educational opportunity to extend the rights of democracy, nevertheless strove to keep the control of the schools out of the hands of the very people they served.

The federal government did not become involved in the schooling of Americans in a consistent or sustained way. It gave financial support to individual projects and after 1867 it provided a source of educational information through the Bureau of Education statistics. One of the most ambitious, if also short lived, of federal educational projects was the Freedmen's Bureau. Founded in 1865 and headed by General O.O. Howard who believed that "the most urgent want of the freedman was education," the Bureau attempted to provide services and schools for a population who by law had previously been denied all schooling. Booker T. Washington has described the mass effort of the ex-

slaves to learn to read and write as that of "a whole race trying to go to school."¹⁷

The plan to educate the black population in the South does have certain parallels with the attempt to bring schooling and civilization to the Indians. The negroes had few of the skills associated with formal education, they had been excluded from normal social intercourse in American society, and they were considered to belong to a separate and inferior race. However, here the similarities end. For the negroes, although enslaved, had been essential to whites of the South. They owned no land (unlike the Indians) but were in possession of agricultural knowledge and skills; torn from their tribal homes in Africa they shared a language, history and cultural past in America; and, most importantly, shut out from the advantages of American life they craved the opportunity to advance. Thus in both their situation and their aspirations the negroes were a unified group who sought the benefits offered by American institutions, unlike the Indians who vainly strove to preserve and protect their own institutions.

If the different pasts of the two races were significant, so also were American prejudices and attitudes. Although the Indian was never as despised and hated in racial terms as the negro, the nation had just fought a war over the question of slavery. The cause of elevating the negro could thus be seen by Northerners as a national cause. By 1869 there were nine thousand five hundred and three teachers in the freedmen's schools, more than five thousand of whom were natives of the Northern States. The motivation of these northern

17 Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, New York: Atheneum, 1967, p.97.

teachers travelling to the south were mixed. The majority were appointed by missionary associations, like the American Missionary Association, and held moral and Christian ideas about the task facing them. A high proportion were from New England (there being an actual correlation between towns sending teachers and those with underground railroads), and held the traditional abolitionist, egalitarian view of the negro.¹⁸

To many reformers and humanitarians the plight of the negro and that of the Indian were associated. After slavery had been abolished reformers like Wendell Phillips, Lydia Maria Child and Henry Ward Beecher turned their attention to the Indian problem, considering the fight for the rights of Indians as an extension of the struggle for the freedom and civil rights of blacks.¹⁹ If the problems of the two races were very different, their shared status as oppressed peoples attracted the attention of those Americans most anxious to reform American society, and to include those individuals who had been deprived of its advantages. But although many philanthropists and reformers in the East who worked to help the negro also worked for the Indian, there was never the same national concern for the latter. While missionary associations appointed teachers to Indian reservations, they could not muster the same enthusiasm that had accompanied the teachers of the Freedmen's Bureau. The majority of reservation teachers had little idealistic fervour, and, significantly, the question of Indian education stretched on over decades while the schooling of

18 Henry Lee Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870, New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1967, pp.34-52.

19 Robert Winston Mardock, The Reformers and the American Indian, Columbia, Mo.: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1971, Chapter I.

the negro was a problem that appeared after the Civil War, was treated as urgent and vital for a few years, and then was soon forgotten.

Perhaps the most controversial problem facing whites when considering educating men of a different race was that of the most sensible type of education. Should the training given them be principally practical or academic? With blacks this problem was a major concern. A white contemporary writing in the late nineties on "two theories concerning what is best for the coloured man," visited two different types of educational institutions and concluded that both were necessary. "The industrial school," he explained, "proceeds on the assumption that the coloured race should be trained to earn a livelihood, and it seeks to provide him with the latest and most approved methods of industry." Commending the work of Tuskegee and Hampton he continued, "On the other hand, the theory of schools like Talladega and Atlanta is that students should be fitted to be leaders among the coloured people; consequently that they should have mental discipline and that has to be acquired in the same way by both coloured and white."²⁰ The subject was not only discussed among whites, but became a problem which divided blacks. Booker T. Washington, believing that his people's best hope was to find a way of adapting to the white man's world so that he could succeed in it, encouraged black men and women alike to train for and accept the most lowly jobs.²¹ But W.E.B. Dubois, who was to found the NAACP in 1909, argued the contrary:

20 Amory H. Bradford, "Among Colored Educational Institutions," The Outlook, June 19, 1897, pp.454-457.

21 Washington, op. cit., The Atlanta Exposition Address, where Washington's position is expounded, is given in full, pp.133-145.

"The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education among the Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the worst, in their own and other races."²²

This argument over negro education was to continue to rage in the twentieth century. Although there was also a debate over how much practical and how much book learning Indians should be given, the Indians themselves, although demanding more help and advice with their farm work, did not raise the issue to a level of principle, and it remained a topic of concern for white educators only.

The more controversial ⁷ questions in Indian education were: should Indians be educated amongst or separated from their own communities, and if the latter, then should the teaching given be geared to helping them return to or escape from their own people? The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was the only institution that worked to educate both races: Indian and Negro. Founded originally to help train the freedmen, Hampton soon began to take Indian youths too. By 1887 over six hundred Negroes and one hundred and fifty Indians had returned from Hampton to their own people. The aim of Hampton was "by training the hand, and head and the heart, to fit selected youth of the Negro and Indian races to be examples to, and teachers of, their people."²³ At Hampton the main concern was that the pupils would be a help and benefit to their own people. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong,

22 W.E.B. Dubois, The Negro Problem, New York: James Pott & Co., 1903, pp.33-34.

23 Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va.: Hampton Normal School Printing Office, November 1887.

the founder and principal, not only kept track of the returned students but used the information he could gain of their home life to plan the teaching syllabus at Hampton. Because on the reservation, isolated from other towns, "the demand is not so much for a workman thoroughly skilled in one trade, as for one who can instruct or assist them in several branches of artisanship," Armstrong arranged their technical teaching "so as to include for each Indian, instruction in the blacksmith's, wheelwright's and carpenter's trades."²⁴

Perhaps the different problems associated with the education of the two races is best illustrated by the criticisms that were directed against Hampton. On the reservations the Indians became increasingly reluctant to send their children away, but the agents also frequently condemned the schools like Hampton for educating the children to higher standards of living and expectation than could ever be achieved on the reservation. However, amongst blacks, when Hampton was criticized it was because of the practical training it gave, which many saw as a means of deliberately holding the ex-slaves in the poorer levels of society. This type of training was criticized not because it did not equip young blacks to earn their living, but because it dictated the type of living they could earn.

Whatever the similarities in the plans to educate negroes and Indians, the most crucial factor was the different attitudes of the two races. Resistant and hostile, even when aware of their need for schooling, Indians were reluctant to embrace the "advantages" that education might bring. Whereas negroes during

24 Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Hampton Report, Hampton, Va.: Normal School Printing Office, 1889.

the nineteenth century probably had a greater faith in the equalizing power of education than any other group, and believed in the democratic promise of public schooling. Abandoned by the Radical Republicans after 1877, they continued to fight for their educational rights, both in the North and the South. Although the demand was sometimes for integrated and sometimes for separate schools, to give both black children and teachers a fair chance, the main and consistent aim was equality.²⁵

If the freedom of the negro brought with it access to learning and education for the first time, this was not only a result of his release from slavery. The period after the Civil War saw a growth in the number of schools everywhere in the United States. Schools were seen not only as a way to elevate the negro, but also as a means of reconstructing the South; they could help not only the adult worker but also the children of the poor. Everywhere in white American society, a redefinition of who should be in school was taking place. The Indian and the negro were not the only groups which suddenly, after the Civil War, found themselves in American schools. The immigrant, newly arrived and often still the citizen of another country, was hustled into school to receive an American education.

There had always been concern over the immigrant's ability to assimilate and adopt the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant values of mainstream America. In Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin had been distressed by the growing power and influence of the German population; in New England many had been fearful of the arrival

25 Eve Thurston, "Ethiopia Unshackled: A Brief History of the Education of Negro Children in New York City," Bulletin of New York Public Library, 69, April 1965, pp.211-231.

of Roman Catholics. However, the ideal of equality for the foreign born had been and remained a vital part of the American tradition. Living in America and experiencing American ways would, it was generally accepted, bring about the newcomer's Americanization. With the development of the common school a new element was added to the democratizing process. As the nineteenth century developed, increasing faith was placed in the school; its importance as an Americanizing influence grew until it was seen as the most vital institution in the immigrant's introduction to America. By the early twentieth century the role of the school in helping immigrants to gain the skills necessary for achieving success, and in offering them lessons in American values, was well established. Anxiety at the number of newcomers, their alien ways and their questionable loyalty was never absent. World War I brought an outbreak of panic about the hyphenated Americans, and a Division of Immigrant Education within the Bureau of Education was created to introduce formal Americanization programmes. But even before this time the schools had been actively involved in Americanization.

Native born Americans were anxious that the newcomers should be Americanized, as much from fear as from a desire to extend the promise of America to all. Certain immigrant groups--most notably the East European Jews--welcomed the educational opportunities offered to them; they sent their children to school and were fervent in their praise of the institution.²⁶ And for some the promise was not a false one; when measured statistically, those who attended school longest had, by the second generation, achieved

26 Timothy L. Smith, "Immigrant Social Aspirations and American Education," American Quarterly, 21, Fall 1969, pp.523-543.

a higher occupational status than those who had entered the work force earlier.²⁷ But not all immigrants were enthusiastic about the school. A desire to succeed in America did not always represent the total repudiation of a European past. Many immigrants were reluctant to abandon the religion, values and behaviour of their foreign forefathers, and regarded the school as an intrusive and threatening institution. The Italians, in particular, feared that the school would indoctrinate their children with alien ideas which would weaken the very foundations of family life. They saw no necessity for anything more than a very limited amount of formal education and were openly hostile to American compulsory education laws. For Italians, as for Indians, the school represented a threat to traditional patterns of education and even to the survival of their culture.²⁸

Certain American attitudes and practices conflicted sharply with those of different immigrant groups. Native Protestant prohibitionists wanted to close all saloons on a Sunday and stamp out the evil of drink at its source; to them the "bier keller" was offensively un-American. But to German working men it was the centre of social life on their one day off.²⁹ As the

27 Stephen Thernstrom, "Immigrants and Wasps: Ethnic Differences in Occupational Mobility in Boston, 1890-1940," in Stephen Thernstrom and Robert Sennett (eds.), Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1969, pp.125-164.

28 Leonard Covello, The Social Background of the Italo-American School Child, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967, pp.261-263, 286-290.

29 Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement, Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1966. Pp.13-24, chapter vii.

different groups fought to defend elements of their traditional life style in America, so the battle lines extended to the schools. The education being offered was not neutral; it aimed at assimilating the immigrant, and often that which was deemed to be incompatible with assimilation by the native stock was valued and clung to by the immigrant groups.

Immigrants, like Indians, were not part of the American mainstream. Their language was often foreign, and their memories and traditions were alien. Finding themselves in a new country, they sought to preserve their traditional national and cultural heritages; they refused to adopt wholesale all the attributes and values of America. Yet they also did not engage in a total rejection of American society. Immigrants differed markedly from Indians in two important ways. Firstly, they had chosen to come to America; however rosy the past they left behind something had compelled them to leave it for America. Secondly, they played an important economic role in America; even when isolated and exploited they were essential to the American economy, and thus in one important respect were already integrated into American society. These two facts meant that immigrants were not totally negative towards life in America. If things were so much better in the home country they could always return, as indeed a small proportion did. Unlike the Indians they were able to weigh the advantages of life in America against life somewhere else, and the majority who remained (notwithstanding their mixed feelings) found the former preferable. Not only were they concerned more with the present than with the glories of their past, but, as productive members of American society, they were in a position to fight politically for the things they valued most.

Strictly speaking, a comparison between Indians and immigrants in America might not seem very fruitful, the differences between the two groups being so obvious. But this is partly due to the success achieved by the vast majority of immigrants. When remembering the few groups and nationalities who have "trailed behind" or "failed" or "not yet succeeded," the comparison becomes more real. Also, when it is noted that the immigrants, on arrival, were often determined to preserve elements of their culture the comparison again has more meaning. The task being attempted on the reservation and in the public schools was essentially the same: the Americanization of an alien group. The values to be inculcated were, in essence, those of the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, and there can be little doubt that for English speaking, Protestant children, the experience was a smooth one. But on occasions individual groups would question the consensus on which public education was based. The lack of religious freedom for Catholics and Jews, the need for the immigrant child to learn his native tongue--these were questions that the immigrants forced on the American schools. Significantly, the issues of religion and language were also important in the Indian schools; they were two of the cornerstones of the Americanization plan. In challenging the authorities on these issues the immigrants not only succeeded in highlighting the tenets of Americanization, but also in claiming some limited influence over the education of their children.

Anti-Catholicism was so endemic to America that the religious instruction given in the common school was called non-sectarian despite the fact that it was unacceptable to the Catholics. The

King James Bible, which was supposed to "speak for itself," could hardly be considered non-sectarian by Catholics.³⁰ They withdrew their children, boycotted the schools and attempted to win justice for their cause in the courts. When this failed they began to establish their own educational institutions.³¹ When Catholics became numerous enough to press for a share of the funds for their own parochial schools, American Protestants fought back and talked of the necessity of keeping the schools out of politics. However, by remaining loyal to their religious convictions, with the help of powerful local leaders as well as proportional increases in the Catholic population, Catholics did succeed in expanding their own school system and in modifying the teaching in the public schools.³²

The fight the American Catholics had to put up to defend their religious rights and gain recognition for their institutions makes the attack on Indian religions more comprehensible. If Catholicism was anti-American and a threat to democratic institutions, then clearly the religious beliefs of Indian tribes, designated always as pagan, was at once threatening and terrifying. That Americans tried to stamp out Indian religions is understandable, what is more surprising is that Catholics were, for a brief period, allowed to participate in "civilizing" the Indians. Although originally excluded from the Peace Policy, the Catholic Church in America worked to gain a share in the missionary work among the

30 Ray Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Crigins of American Nativism, New York: Macmillan, 1938, Chapters VI and XIV.

31 David B. Tyack, "Catholic Power, Black Power and The Schools," Educational Forum, 32, November 1967, pp.27-29.

32 Ibid.; John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, New York: Atheneum, 1966, pp.28-29.

Indians, and quickly exceeded all other groups in the amount of money that it spent.³³

The Catholics entered the field of Indian education in the 1880's, after pleading that religious liberty should be allowed on the reservation. In 1882 restrictions allowing only one denomination on each reservation were removed, and the Catholics soon became the most successful bidders for Indian school contracts. But their work quickly fell under heavy criticism. When Thomas Jefferson Morgan, (an ex-Baptist minister) became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889, he criticized the Catholic boarding schools for giving too much religious instruction. He was also quick to condemn the high percentage of foreign teachers who were unable to teach the Indian pupils English. At this time many of the Protestant groups were finding themselves unable to compete with the powerful Catholic lobby to win government funds; they therefore began to argue against sectarian schools. In 1892 the Presbyterians declared that sectarian schools were contrary to the American principal of "the separation of church and state," and they were supported in this view by the other Protestant churches.³⁴ Thus the end to government support of sectarian Indian schools in 1901, was also a deliberate blow against the Catholic church.

Religion was the most contentious facet of immigrant culture, for to native Protestants, Catholicism was co-terminous with a host of un-American qualities. In Boston the Protestant population, declining in power, waived all hostility to female franchise

33 Henry Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890, Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1963, Chapter IV.

34 Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.178.

when election of a Protestant dominated school board seemed threatened.³⁵ The change in the American population brought with it an uneasiness on the part of more established groups who saw their country and their countrymen changing. The immigrants strove to make America more accessible to them, and the native-born fought to resist these changes. Religion was one emotive issue, the English language was another.

In Indian schools, use of the tribes' own language began to be criticized in the 1880's, and was eventually banned in all government-supported schools. The superiority of the English language, and its importance as an instrument of assimilation, were seen as sufficient reasons for this move. The Indians' natural attachment to this living link with his past was seen as at best unimportant, and at worst, dangerous. But immigrant parents were also often dismayed to watch their children losing, or never learning, the language of their ancestors. For the Jews, Hebrew had a religious as well as cultural significance. For other groups, often living in city ghettos or western villages, language represented a link with their homeland and a bond with their countrymen in America. When groups of the same nationality settled in sufficient numbers they were able to take active steps to preserve their language. In St. Louis, in 1864, Germans persuaded the school board to introduce German into elementary schools. Ten years later this practice was staunchly defended by the Superintendent of Schools, William T. Harris. However, later school leaders saw a conflict between the German minority's desire to retain its "family ties with the old stock,"

35 Lois Bannister Merk, "Boston's Historic Public School Crisis," New England quarterly, 31, June 1958, pp.172-199.

and their determination to become Americans, so in 1888 the teaching of German in elementary schools was abolished.³⁶ German settlers in other states and towns were successful in having German introduced to the curriculum, and other groups too--Polish, Italian, Czech, Norwegian and French--waged successful campaigns for their children to be taught the language of their ancestors.³⁷ But the instruction of school children in foreign tongues aroused strong opposition. In the late 1880's, at the very time that English was being made compulsory in Indian schools, there was also a concerted drive in American cities and states to rid the elementary schools of foreign language teaching. The main argument in both cases was the need to Americanize.³⁸ It is difficult to ascertain just how much the sudden multiplication of the number of languages spoken by Americans helped sharpen criticism of Indian languages, but it certainly drew attention to the subject and also fostered the elaboration of sophisticated arguments supporting the English language.

There are always certain dangers accompanying the use of such a blanket term as "immigrant", which refers to numerous groups who differed as widely from each other as from native Americans. Yet the term has an important use in designating a group of people, newly arrived in America, possessing foreign habits, traditions and frequently language, and who therefore were not the same as the old-stock Americans. These differences were both a threat

36 David B. Tyack, The One Best System, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974, p.107.

37 Ibid., pp.108-109.

38 Joshua Fishman, Language Loyalty in the United States, The Hague: Mouton, 1966, p.236.

and a challenge to Americans who generally welcomed the immigrants but sought to Americanize them.

Despite the variety in the immigrants' past--some were from rural peasant backgrounds, others from cities or urban settlements; some were educated and cultured, others totally illiterate--not one was being asked to make as extreme an adjustment as that demanded of the Indian. Indian culture was non-literate; many of the tribes lived by hunting and were unprepared for the sedentary let alone agricultural life that was being forced on them. Nevertheless, the immigrants did not fit into American society; they demanded a pluralist system. And where they succeeded in gaining certain concessions it was always after, having been engulfed by the system, they fought for their rights within it. Whatever else was working against the Indians, the fact that they never became a part of American society meant that they were forever resisting its force and dictates, but always from the outside.

If the schooling of the Indian and the schooling of the immigrant were, in the long term, to lead to very different results, they were often viewed in comparable terms. The problem of elevating and educating the immigrant appeared, to contemporary Americans, to be as onerous a task as that of performing the same service for the Indians. The vices and weaknesses attributed to the two groups were similar. The Boston School Committee described its task as being to:

" take children at random from a great city, undisciplined, uninstructed, often with inveterate forwardness and obstinacy, and with the inherited stupidity of centuries of ignorant ancestors; to form them from animals into intellectual beings . . . giving to many their first impression of what is

wise, what is true, what is lovely, and what is pure; and not merely their first impressions, but what may possibly be their only impressions."³⁹

The Bureau of Indian Affairs might have given an identical description of the task facing the Indian schools.

Americans felt ambivalent about both the Indians and the "new immigrants", but generally they looked optimistically to the school to eradicate or at least dilute their inadequacies.⁴⁰ Harnessing the traditional democratic rhetoric, professional educators and reformers believed that in opening the schools to the aliens they were offering them the benefits of American society. Yet, although couched in democratic terms, the extension of education to previously excluded groups was not entirely altruistic. The education "offered" was in fact often forced on immigrant and Indian children alike. Compulsory schooling laws became more and more common, and the purpose was as much one of social control as the extension of opportunity. More ironically, the groups who were now being forced into the schools had little or no control over the schooling received. Although universal popular education honoured one obvious tenet of democracy, boasting of providing educational equality, it totally ignored another, that of allowing democratic participation in the running of the schools.

Schooling in America had traditionally been a local affair; the rural district or community school was a part of the community that sponsored it. Families who sent their children there not

39 Quoted in Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools, New York: Praeger, 1971, p.40.

40 This was no longer true after the first decade of the twentieth century, when the "melting-pot" theory began to lose credibility and the efficiency of the school in bringing about assimilation began to be questioned.

only knew each other but led social and economic lives that touched and were interdependent.⁴¹ If the teacher was found to be inefficient or unacceptable to the people then he would quickly be got rid of; or if he taught any subject the community did not endorse he would be quickly corrected.⁴² As total power rested with the rural community the teacher had no professional independence. The standard of education rarely rose above that of the surrounding population, but however else they failed, the schools did have the advantage of being responsive to the needs of the local people.

Rural education was to follow this pattern until towards the end of the nineteenth century. Then, largely as a product of the progressive spirit, the rural schools began to be attacked for their low standards, haphazard methods and local control. The National Education Association appointed a Committee of twelve, in 1890, to make recommendations for the schools' improvement. The Committee, like Ellwood Patterson Cubberley a few years later, was to diagnose one of the main weaknesses of the rural schools as being their relationship with the local community.⁴³ The narrow horizons and ignorance of rural people was declared the bane of the schools. "It is the lack of captains and colonels of larger grasp and insight," wrote Cubberley, "that is today

41 Clifton Johnson, Old Time Schools and School Books, New York: Dover, 1963 (original publishing date 1904), p.102; Everett Dick, The Sod-House Frontier, New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1937, Chapter VI.

42 Marion Kirkpatrick, The Rural School From Within, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1917, pp.39-40.

43 Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools, National Educational Association, "Report," in Report of Commissioner of Education, 1896-1897, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1898, Vol. I, pp.820-822.

the greatest single weakness of our rural and village educational army."⁴⁴ And his opinion was endorsed by educators throughout the nation. The rural people themselves were being blamed for the low educational standard of their children.

Reservation schools were also rural schools, with all the problems of isolation and a scattered population. But the Indian schools were run in a totally different way, with all authority deriving from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its agent in the field. However, if suspicion and fear of the Indian's savagery could for an instant have been overlooked to allow the tribes a hand in the running of their own schools, it is clear that the developing trend in American education was also against this. Not only were Indians not regarded as fit to control their own schools, but rural Americans were being found lacking too. Despite the so-called democratization of American education, when thousands of Americans began to enter the school system for the first time, there was also a contradictory autocratic element that was simultaneously not only excluding these newcomers from power, but also attempting to shut out those who have previously had the means and experience of control.

In essence, the reason for excluding both Indians and rural Americans from power was the same and was associated with a type of racialism. As the lands of the middle west filled up it was European immigrants not native Americans who were now the proverbial yeoman farmers. It was suggested that they lacked the knowledge and experience of popular government, and that they were ill

44 Ellwood P. Cubberley, Rural Life and Education: A Study of the Rural-School Problem as a Phase of the Rural-Life Problem, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914, pp.113, 306-307.

prepared to Americanize their children.⁴⁵ Their cultural inferiority was stressed, and was frequently linked to their national origin, which often blurred into a racial category. It was for these reasons that they were to be "relieved" of the control of the local schools.

Developing in the 1880's there was in America a movement to make the schools better organized, more efficient and increasingly uniform. The impulse for this came both from men within the already existing bureaucratic structures, and from powerful men in expanding communities who feared the loss of power to a group whose educational interests might not echo their own. In 1886 the Commissioner of Education made an open attack on the neighbourhood plan "in which as many families as can conveniently be sent to one school, have their own officers and school-house, and tax their property for the education of their children." He denounced it as wasteful and intrinsically unfair, which indeed was often true, but he did not weigh the advantages of the traditional American school against those of a more efficient and national institution.⁴⁶

The nineteenth century was an age of institutions. Before the Civil War Americans had begun to construct and support institutions for the criminal, the poor, the homeless and the delinquent, in the hope of bringing order into the lives of the deviant and harmony to society. After the Civil War, as David Rothman notes, the "widening" diversities in America made reformers despair of establishing "traditional social arrangements," but also "heightened the attractions of a custodial operation." Past history by now

45 Ibid., chaps. ii-iv; Tyack, op. cit., pp.21-27.

46 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1886-1887, p.173.

had not only made isolation and restriction a precedent, but had provided an ideology that sanctioned such treatment of deviants.⁴⁷ In some respects the method of dealing with Indians was justified by the same arguments used to support "the asylum". Separated from American society and subjected to both regulations and a course of instruction in civilization, they were in one sense the supreme deviants. The development of public education can also be considered in similar terms, even if its period of most extensive development was after the heyday of the insane asylum and criminal penitentiary. As Rothman asserts, the monument was not born of desperation, but rather of hope.⁴⁸ The optimism and assurance that had accompanied the growth of the asylum in the early nineteenth century was expressed in a new form by late nineteenth century educators. If the reformers of the thirties had seen criminal or degraded behaviour as a product of an undisciplined and deprived childhood, and had founded various types of asylums in which to incarcerate and reform the offender, reformers of the late nineteenth century hoped to take command of the potential deviant before he was corrupted, and bring order and discipline into his life at school.⁴⁹ The school was the prime reforming institution of this period; the Indian had been isolated on the reservation and the school was the active ingredient that would bring about his reform.

Accompanying the drive to create institutions that would help harmonize individuals and their society, was a complementary

47 David J. Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic, Boston: Little, Brown, 1971, pp.xiii, 285-286.

48 Ibid., p.131.

49 Ibid., pp.64-65.

belief that there was one ideal way in which this could be done. The attempt to develop this ideal, in the case of public schooling, has been called by David Tyack the search for "the one best system." It represented an attempt to supply the type of schooling that was a social and economic necessity in America. The system would be not only logical, uniform and efficient but also comprehensive, channelling the child from the primary grade to university level.⁵⁰

As the emphasis in educational thought shifted from the individual, and his social and educational redemption, to the system and its perfection, so a change took place in educational ideology.⁵¹ The perfected system would of course ensure the proper education of the individual, but slowly its task began to be viewed as total. No longer was the school merely providing skills complementary to the child's life outside, it was providing a total environment that protected the child from that life outside. In the 1830's and 40's a man's childhood experiences were invariably blamed for his later criminality or decadence. In the 1880's the widespread nature of social problems suggested a total breakdown in patterns of family life. The school was thus to be not an addition but a substitute for the absent or inadequate family. Where the village community and family had previously given lessons in discipline, honesty and morality, the school would now be the provider.

With the shift in educational ideology came changes in the curriculum. The school had not only to perform its old task of teaching the three R's more effectively, it had also a new, broader task. Instruction in moral behaviour had always found a place in

50 Tyack, op. cit., pp.28-29.

51 Wiebe, op.cit., p.154.

the common school and had been generally accepted as part of a child's training. The moral teaching of the home was reaffirmed in the lessons at school. This practice was to continue, only now, as the children being sent to school were not always versed in religious teaching, the whole task fell on the teacher. The Bible was "prescribed daily reading" in Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, was explicitly legalized in Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas and Mississippi, and was allowed reading in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. But, if Protestant Christian instruction continued to be the foundation of moral instruction, by the 1870's the teaching of social and civic duties had also found a place in the curriculum.⁵² Fear that the American political experiment might be threatened by the people themselves was not new, but the plea that citizenship and patriotism could be taught in the schools was a development of the post Civil War period. State school laws were drawn up providing for instruction in social and civic duties, and the best method for teaching patriotism and instructing pupils in the Constitution were discussed. It was suggested by the Commissioner of Education that "the State demands kinetic, not potential energy. This sentiment is shown in the singing of patriotic songs, the increased publication of patriotic literature, and the hoisting of the flag upon the schoolhouses of the State." The teaching of patriotism, if new, was not undertaken half-heartedly. That Indian pupils were daily learning their lessons under the American Flag and singing in hesitant English stirring patriotic songs, may not appear as

52 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1880, p. xxxv.



Round Head -a prominent Indian on the Crow Creek Reservation- ready to lead the people in the July 4th celebration, 1888. (The horse is dressed as a buffalo).

Children
particular
the negroes
1888, pp. 334-336.
New
George H. Martin,
New York
a survey of
of Education by

incongruous when it is noted that similar practices were being observed throughout the nation. Patriotism had become another moral virtue to be actively encouraged until it permeated the whole school.⁵³

It was feared that the social environment in America no longer provided children with an adequate moral training, and the school was looked to to fill the gap. In the same way, on Indian reservations the school was meant to counteract the savagery of camp life. In city and reservation schools active training was given in citizenship, but other means were also employed to the same end. One of these was industrial training. Introduced into America at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, industrial training was supposed to marry the training of the mind with the training of the hand by teaching pupils the fundamental principles and basic skills of manual work, rather than an individual trade, thus preparing them realistically for life in an industrial society.⁵⁴ The claims made for industrial education were broad and varied, but it had a specific applicability to select groups within the society.⁵⁵ Joseph Lee, a prominent philanthropist and member of the Boston School Committee, noted "how invariably the men who take up the subject of what can be done for a given class of people--whether they be the blind, the deaf mutes, deformed children or youthful criminals; or whether they are the boys of a particular parish or club, or whether they are a whole race, like the negroes

53 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1888-1889, pp.589-590.

54 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, New York: Knopf, 1961, pp.23-32.

55 Report of Comm. of Ed., 1888-1889, p.418; George H. Martin, The Evolution of Massachusetts Public School System, New York: P. Appleton and Co., 1904, pp.258-259. For a summary of the goals linked to manual training, cf. Board of Education Report, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1886-1887, pp.782-793.

or the jews--are at the present time including industrial training among the things they find themselves called upon to provide."

Indeed, for any group that represented an educational or social problem at this time, industrial training was offered as a solution.⁵⁶ With the Indian, as with the black, it was regarded as a means of training for a trade.

Frequently, the philosophy behind manual training was lost sight of, particularly when, as in the case of the Indian, there was more concern to supply the pupil with immediate technical skills, than to give him the foundations for a life-time of work with his hands. Nicholas Murray Butler, a prominent figure in education, and at different times Professor of Philosophy at Columbia and President of both Barnard and Teachers College, was concerned at the amount of confusion between technical and industrial or manual training. "Technical education," he explained, "is a training in a particular trade or industry with a view to fitting the pupil to pursue it as the means of gaining his livelihood . . . It takes for granted a general education and builds upon it as a foundation. Industrial education, on the other hand, is the foundation itself. It is the general and common training which underlies all instruction in particular techniques. It relies for its justification upon the nature of the human mind, its powers and capacities."⁵⁷

With Indians the concentration on the more immediate advantages of training is perhaps understandable, but generally in America at this time there was a tendency to educate people pragmatically:

56 Proceedings of the Education Institute, 1885, pp.62-63.

57 Nicholas Murray Butler, The Argument for Manual Training, New York and Chicago: E. L. Kellogg, 1888, pp.375-376.

to give them skills they could use immediately and specifically. The ethical overtones of education had not disappeared, but they were being overshadowed by a concern for the cash value of schooling.⁵⁸ If this pragmatically economic bias in American schooling was new, it nevertheless pointed to a developing trend. The training given in both the moral and economic fields was becoming very specific. Patriotism was taught openly and systematically; lessons were given on the Constitution and efforts were made to encourage a healthy nationalism. Likewise, manual skills were now included in the curriculum and as often as not were taught for their pragmatic usefulness as much as for their broad educational value.

The elementary school curriculum, which on the reservation was broadening to include music, drawing and singing, gardening and agriculture instruction for the boys, and sewing and cooking and laundry for the girls, was also expanding in American public schools. The Commissioner of Education in 1880 could report "remarkable uniformity in the conduct of elementary instruction" with the general syllabus including "reading, writing, English language, arithmetic, geography, history and Constitution of the United States, grammar and composition, physics or physiology, music, drawing, and oral or object lessons."⁵⁹ Changes in the curriculum which were being carried out everywhere, were accompanied by a new uniformity. If more subjects were now being taught, pupils were also receiving similar instruction everywhere.

58 Wiebe, op. cit., p.153.

59 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1880, p.lxxxiv.

This trend towards uniformity was clearly part of the attempt to achieve a universal curriculum, outlined of course by the teaching profession and introduced into all American schools. Although no scientific procedure for curriculum making was evolved until the 1920's, within such bodies as the National Education Association efforts were already being made in this direction. In 1876 a report was drawn up outlining the best programme of studies for common schools, and there were frequent debates on the new subjects being introduced into the curriculum.⁶⁰

One of the major justifications for the broadening of the curriculum was the bookish nature of traditional school studies. It was not only in the Indian schools that the subjects taught were increasingly regarded as being far from the child's own experience and thus irrelevant, but from educators throughout the country there was criticism of the academic bias of teaching. Influenced by the new child-centred approach and the ideas of Pestalozzi, Herbert and Froebel, American educators attempted both to reform the curriculum and to make it uniform; two National Education Association committees met in 1893 and 1899 to report on the best ways of achieving standardization.⁶¹ Yet, as has been noted above, educators' dictation of the curriculum was not always greeted enthusiastically by all parents. Many wanted a voice in their child's education, they questioned the value of transmitting the dominant culture. The neat plans of the educators were foiled; as one scholar remarks, "one man's participatory democracy was another's chaos."⁶²

60 Edgar B. Wesley, N.E.A., The First Hundred Years: The Building of the Teaching Profession, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957, pp.111-113.

61 Freeman Butts and Lawrence Cremin, A History of Education in American Culture, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952, pp.399-401.

62 Tyack, *op. cit.*, p.79.

The pluralistic nature of American society in the decades leading up to 1900 not only presented some of the major educational problems, but also hindered the educational leaders from introducing the answers they thought correct. If the majority accepted the predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture of America, some groups resisted and fought to have their children educated according to their own standards. Eventually, even those who resisted failed in their major objective. Despite the continued life of school boards, elected by the local community, the control and direction of the schools did fall into the hands of the professionals and became increasingly standardized and bureaucratized.⁶³

But the resistance of those groups who saw the public school as hostile to their needs and culture was important. Ellwood Patterson Cubberley was to lament that "Jose Cardoza, Francesco Bertolini and Peter Petarovitch are elected as school directors." He regarded this as being "of course educative to these newcomers, though a little hard on local government."⁶⁴ Cubberley was concerned with keeping the educational system running smoothly; he opposed any adjustment that meant altering the schooling programme to accommodate the immigrants' demands. But playing an active part in school affairs was important for the immigrants. Firstly, it introduced them to the American system and taught them how to fight from within it. Secondly, it gave them a sense of their identity as an ethnic or religious group. Whether this was good or bad is, of course, a matter for debate, but it is undeniable

63 The fact that American schools became standardized at this time is agreed to by all scholars. However, opinions vary as to the benefits and disadvantages resulting from standardization.

64 Cubberley, op. cit., pp.70-71.

that for several immigrant groups within the United States, a common sense of identity helped unite them and provide them with the solidarity to organize to combat the dictates of the dominant group over the question of their children's schooling. Such involvement was important, not only to the immigrants, but to the way in which the standardization and systemization, to which American educators were committed, could proceed.

The immigrants, in organizing to protect their own interests, were acting on one of the basic tenets of American democracy. But in their resistance they were battling against both the educational establishment and the majority of native Americans who endorsed the public school and saw it as necessary to the well-being of the nation. The activities of these minority groups has been described by David Tyack as "the biggest practical challenge to school reformers in their quest for the one best system."⁶⁵ And a comparison with the weakness of Indian resistance illustrates the importance of their challenge.

The participation of American citizens, whether well-established or recently naturalized, in the running of their own schools was a characteristic of American society. (It is seen by Lawrence Cremin as one of the defining characteristics.) But it was a characteristic which was totally lacking on the reservation. Indians were never able to choose or dismiss the teacher, influence the subjects on the syllabus, or have any voice in the running of the school. Their political impotence contributed to this; they had no experience of popular government, neither did they have any means of defining their real wants and fighting or organizing to achieve them. Indian resistance was passive.

65 Tyack, op. cit., p.78.

They kept their children from school, they hid them from the police, and when they were not being starved into submission, they defied the compulsory schooling law in every way possible. The behaviour of many immigrants was similar, but those who did resist challenged the system for everyone and prevented the smooth implementation of the educators' plan.

On the reservation, in the absence of any effective resistance, the restructuring of the system could take place unimpaired. The Indian Bureau already provided a hierarchical administrative structure to co-ordinate and standardize the system. Thomas Jefferson Morgan, who became Commissioner in 1889, was determined to make the schools efficient and part of a coherent system. He envisaged that the Indian schools would parallel the development of the public schools in the states. But the peculiar nature of reservation society and the special qualities of reservation schools meant that this did not happen. The Indian school system did become standardized, but it retained its qualitative and organizational separateness. (The system is examined below in chapter VII).

However, increasingly Indian education came to be associated with general educational problems. Indian schools were discussed at the National Education Association; one member was to comment that it was "because the Indian problem is so much the problem of educating the white man and lifting him out of his barbarism that it is so discouraging." But while there was a growing tendency to regard Indian education as part of the broad and general field of education, many continued to be aware of the Indian's special situation; in recognition of this fact the National Education Association created a Department of Indian Education in 1899, where

the Indian's special problems could be examined in their own right.⁶⁶

The new authority claimed over the local school by professional educators and bureaucrats in state capitols was of course resisted by the local communities, who were anxious to protect their own "little red school house," but by the early twentieth century the old-time local school was fast disappearing.⁶⁷

However, in white communities belief in the school and the power of education did not fade. The school, no longer an integral part of the community, was regarded by aspiring Americans as "the one public institution that might personally connect them with a wider world." To education was attributed almost mystic powers, because it offered a way of entering the broader society.⁶⁸ As the average American's power over the school was undermined, his faith in its purpose and efficacy was not weakened. Yet with Indians, the progressive systematization of the schools could only succeed in further alienating them. Never espousing the American faith in education anyway, they were far from understanding the integrated system of schooling that was being developed for them in the 1890's.

Whatever their intrinsic differences, by the 1890's the Indian schools superficially resembled other American schools, with their mixed curricula, graded classes, and increasing standardization. But ironically, despite their rural setting, in their organization the Indian schools displayed certain qualities more typical of urban than of rural schools. Like many of the city

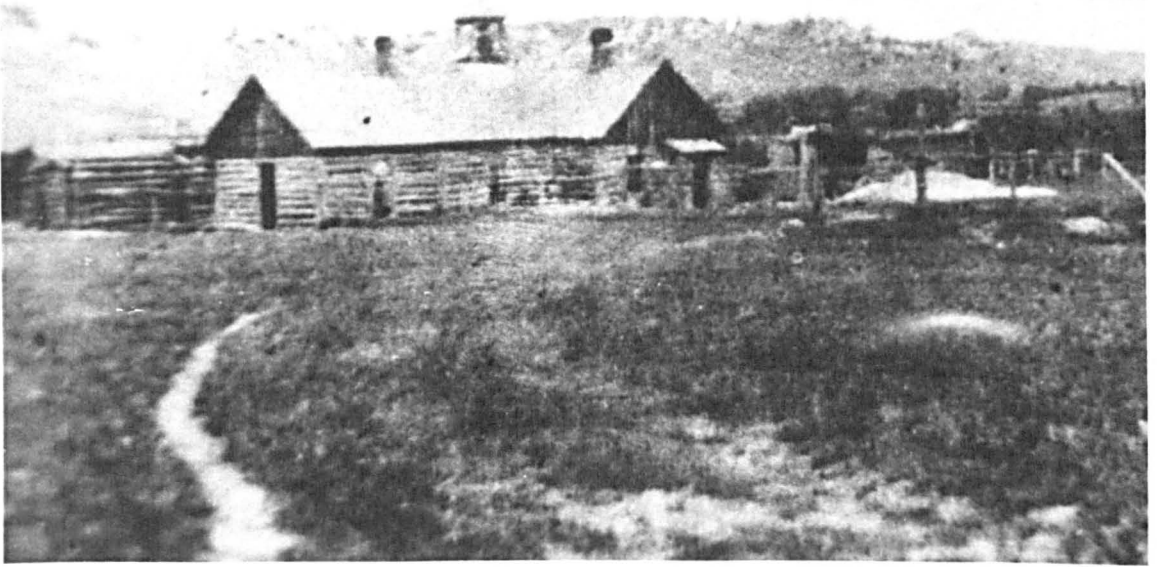
66 Wesley, op. cit., p.291.

67 Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools, New York: Praeger, 1971, p.xix--the author argues that "by 1880 American education had acquired its fundamental structural characteristics."

68 Wiebe, op. cit., pp.155-157.



Sod school house, Custer County, Nebraska, c1890.



A typical log cabin day school -the Porcupine Tails Day School, Pine Ridge Reservation, 1890.

schools of this period, the Indian school system was organized with the specific purpose of socializing an alien group. Thoroughly centralized and co-ordinated as it was, by the end of the century it had achieved a level of bureaucratic independence which must have appeared enviable to reformers attempting to "deal with" the urban school systems.

But, even if organized differently from other rural schools in America, the reservation schools experienced the same problems with their teaching staff. Although increasing emphasis was being placed on training teachers, and from 1870 the number of normal or training schools was mushrooming, very few of the trained teachers went to the country; isolation, poor pay and lack of opportunity for advancement kept the professional teacher in the city. Conversely, the rural teacher rarely sought training, for not only was it expensive, but the average professional life expectancy for a country teacher was three years. Thus the amateur teacher, who stayed only a few years and was paid only for the months that she taught, was not a unique feature of the reservation school but common to all rural America. The staff of the reservation boarding schools were often in a privileged position for they had a job often for ten or even twelve months of the year, when the normal teaching year could be as short as five months.⁶⁹ Although salaries were not high at Indian schools they could sometimes exceed those of the ordinary rural schools. In Dakota, the average monthly salary of a male school teacher in a public school decreased by \$28.30 a month between 1871 and 1880, and that of a female teacher by \$10.10 a month. The

⁶⁹ Wesley, op. cit., p.82.

salaries of day school teachers at Indian reservation schools in Dakota were not uniform, but they did not decrease during this period and could rise as high as \$600 a year.⁷⁰

Although the Indian school system was both different and separate from the American system of public schools, it developed at a time when the common school in the United States was being "transformed". The Indian schools, in their embryonic form, were to be strongly influenced by changes in methods and theory taking place in American education. However, the Indian school, although hardly an innovatory institution, pre-empted the public school in one important way. Indian schools had always been viewed as instruments of Americanization. In the late nineteenth century the idea that the public school could, and should, be used as an instrument of Americanization, gained growing acceptance. The task of Americanizing, which had always been so fundamental to the Indian school, was to become one of the principal tasks of the American public school.

70 Report of Commissioner of Education, 1880, pp.356-357;
Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885, pp.64-65,
86-87, 96-97, 104-105, 110-111.



The Indian Reservations in 1874.

Chapter IV

Profiles of Six Indian Reservations

Although Indian policy was formulated in Washington and then implemented nationally, the people it affected were spread over almost all the states and territories lying west of the Mississippi and in the nineteenth century they had no concept of themselves as a united group. In their own eyes they were Kiowa, Omaha, Dakota, Winnebago: to Americans they were all Indians. In order to gain an accurate impression of the workings of Indian policy, when put into effect on the reservation, it is necessary to examine some of the Indian tribes individually. A tribe's response to the United States' educational programme was influenced by many different factors: their past history and relations with whites; their economic and social patterns; their cultural values and traditions; the quality of their land and geographic position; their past experience on the reservation, and the officials or personnel who were administering the programme. This last factor was of particular importance for, as the programme was instituted to effect a change in the Indian, the approach of the local officials, and the methods they used to bring about this change, represented the Indians' real confrontation with government purpose.

A group of reservations has been selected to examine the workings of government educational policy: the Kiowa and Comanche in Indian Territory; the Mescalero Apache in New Mexico; the Omaha, the Winnebago and the Santee in Nebraska, the Crow Creek and the Lower Brule in Dakota Territory (from 1889 South Dakota). While these reservations neither embrace the full range of Indian

cultures in all their variety, nor the total extent of attempts to change those cultures, it is hoped that their examination will give an indication of the scope and diversity of the effort to educate the Indian tribes in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

Selection of the reservations was influenced by a number of factors. Firstly, the existence of a school or some educational activity during at least the majority of the thirty years under consideration. The Navaho, for example, received very little educational attention until the very late nineteenth century and so, necessarily, were excluded. However, in order to correct a bias towards those tribes which had schools available to them almost continuously, the Mescalero Apache reservation has been included as here educational work was always spasmodic.

Secondly, the importance of the different tribes or bands in terms of the national experiment in Indian education. The Santee Sioux came to be regarded as a model of "advancement" and were seen as proof of the Indian's educability. The Omaha were one of the first tribes to be considered ready for allotment (the division of the reservation into individually owned tracts of land) and self-government. The Indians at Crow Creek and Lower Brule were closely associated with the Hampton Normal Training School in Virginia. More Indians from these two reservations than from any others were sent to Hampton and their progress on returning to the reservation was watched with interest. Because of its special status each one of these reservations offers important insights into government educational policy. (There also exist

important historical documents relating to these reservations which are absent for the others). However, the rather special nature of these particular reservations is recognized. For this reason the Kiowa and Comanche, the Winnebago and the Mescalero reservations have also been included for, although holding no special significance for the Indian education experiment, they represent more accurately general educational developments which took place on reservations at this time.

Thirdly, the cultural and historical background of the different Indian tribes. The government was increasingly concerned to educate all the Indians. Therefore tribes like the Kiowa and Comanche, which were essentially nomadic and warrior with almost no history of contact with whites, have been selected as well as a tribe like the Omaha, which was peaceable and virtually sedentary.

Fourthly, the migrations and upheavals experienced by the tribes. Some Indians had never moved from a particular area, but the Santee Sioux and Winnebago tribes have been selected as tribes that were forcibly removed from their traditional lands.

Fifthly, the geographical situation of a reservation. This was important because it determined the fertility and humidity of the soil, which in turn determined its desirability to white Americans. And the geographical position of a reservation dictated not only the amount of contact Indians would have with whites, but also the degree of pressure there would be to seize their lands. Local political factors also often influenced developments on a reservation. The Mescalero and Crow Creek reservations have been selected as reservations which became heavily entangled in local state politics.

A thorough study of the different tribes will not be attempted here. Rather, each profile will provide a thumb-nail sketch of a reservation by describing:- any distinctive characteristics of the reservation; a tribe's past history and relations with the whites; the economic, religious and cultural traditions of the tribe; the pattern of schooling and missionary work; the judgement made by white officials of the progress of each tribe; the extent of changes that occurred in the thirty years under examination.

The Kiowa and Comanche Reservation, Indian Territory.

In 1870, despite having signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge with the United States (1867) and having promised peace, the Kiowa and Comanche tribes in Indian Territory (the future Oklahoma), remained both strong and defiant. Refusing to remain on their reservation they made constant raids into Texas, destroying property, killing white people and carrying off captives. They scorned the school the agent had established and mocked the neighbouring Wichita tribe for their passivity and poverty. Their fierce behaviour and nomadic habits had always discouraged the attention of missionaries. Apart from trading for ammunition and guns they had had little contact with whites. Having barred Spanish expansion and impeded French trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these warrior tribes of the southern plains now held up settlement of what had become the south western region of the United States.

However, by 1875 the wild Kiowa and Comanche tribes had been subdued and confined. In the last thirty years of the nineteenth

century their numbers had dwindled: the Kiowas dropped from 1,928 to 1,126 and the Comanches even more drastically from 2,538 to 1,553.¹ The tribes slowly came to accept the existence of the government schools and by 1899 three hundred and twenty four pupils were attending regularly.² When the treaty of Medicine Lodge expired in 1897 the Indians fought against the implementation of an agreement they had signed five years before, which allowed the reservation to be thrown open, claiming that the agreement had been secured unfairly. However, in July 1901, despite their protests, all unallotted land of the Kiowa and Comanche reservation (except for two common tracts) was thrown open to the public in a massive lottery witnessed by 30,000 people. In a brief quarter century the warrior tribes of the Kiowa and Comanche had been defeated and engulfed.

The Kiowa were not originally a southern tribe. The anthropologist James Mooney postulates that they came from what is now western Montana, via the Black Hills in South Dakota, and that around the turn of the eighteenth century they acquired the horse.³ The horse revolutionized the life and culture of all the Plains Indian tribes. It made buffalo hunting easy, mobilizing the Indians and allowing them to follow the herds thus freeing them from a difficult subsistence existence. It converted them from

1 Report of C.I.A., 1869, p.462; Statistics of Indian Tribes, Agencies and Schools, Washington D.C.; G.P.O., 1899, p.37.

2 Ibid., p.38.

3 James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington D.C.: G.P.O. 1898, pp.155-161. Mooney's theory is substantiated by the folk memories of Kiowa Indians, cf. N. Scott Momaday, The Way to Rainy Mountain, Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1969.

a poor, area-bound people to nomadic and fierce bands able to raid and make war. With the acquisition of the horse the Indian culture of the Plains developed and was to flourish for a century (1775-1875).

The Kiowa were a typical Plains tribe depending on the buffalo for food, clothing, utensils, housing and even fuel. They did not practise pottery, basketry or weaving and they did not engage in any agriculture. Although raiding and hunting in small bands the Kiowa united annually for their great tribal ceremony, the Sun Dance. The dance was common to all the Plains tribes except the Comanche.⁵ Combining a social festival with a religious rite the Sun Dance began with a buffalo hunt, followed by several days of dancing (without food, drink or sleep) in a special medicine lodge constructed annually for the purpose. Soldier societies, active only for this brief period during the summer, maintained order at the ceremony.⁶

The Comanche were similarly warlike and nomadic. Probably originally part of the Shoshone tribe, the Comanches, like the Kiowa, migrated South and by the early eighteenth century had

4 Clark Wissler, North American Indians of the Plains, New York: 1927; Frank Gilbert Roe, The Indian and the Horse, Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1955; Mildred P. Mayhall, The Kiowas, Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Wissler and Roe both suggest that the horse acted as a catalyst to develop traits already present in Indian cultures, but Mayhall claims that the horse lifted the Indian far beyond his old life.

5 Wissler defines the main characteristics of a Plains tribe as being: the horse; the buffalo; use of the teepee; organization in bands; soldier societies; the Sun Dance. The Comanches did not have the last two.

6 Mooney, op. cit., pp.237, 242.

already reached New Mexico and adopted a life of hunting and raiding.⁷ It has been estimated that in the early nineteenth century the Comanches may have numbered as many as fifteen or twenty thousand, but their numbers declined continuously from the middle of the century.⁸ Hunting in small bands the tribe never united as a whole. The first time all the Comanches came together, with the exception of one band, was in 1874 when, in response to the prophecies of an Indian messiah, they united for their first Sun Dance, which they based on the external forms of that of the Kiowa. Then, "protected" by the medicine of the messiah, they united with the Kiowa, Arapaho and Cheyenne for the battle of Adobe Walls, only to be militarily defeated by a group of buffalo hunters.⁹ The failure of their messiah's powers left the Indians spiritually disillusioned.

The Kiowa and Comanche had engaged in continuous warfare against each other until about 1790 when they effected a lasting alliance that was never broken, and which allowed them to make constant raids into Texas without fear of attack from each other.¹⁰ These raids were important, not only in securing new horses for the tribes and captives to swell their numbers, but in giving the opportunity to young warriors to earn glory through brave deeds. Both tribes were essentially hunter-warrior societies. Warfare and raiding became a style of life and war honours provided the

7 Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches, Lords of the Southern Plains, Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1952, p.6.

8 Ibid., pp.31-32.

9 Ibid., pp.22, 325-328.

10 Mooney, op. cit., p.163.

basis of the whole system of rank and social status. Once on the reservation the older chiefs constantly informed the agent that they were unable to control the young men.¹¹ Even Kicking Bear, a peaceful Kiowa chief who encouraged his people "to follow the white man's road" and invited the Quaker missionary Battey to live amongst his band, explained to Battey that he had been forced to lead a raiding party into Texas in order to boost his reputation and maintain his authority in the tribe.¹²

In the early 1870's, when the government was committed to the Peace Policy of President Grant, the Kiowa and Comanche continued to raid and rob. In 1872 their agent, Lawrie Tatum, reported that the Indians at Fort Sill had stolen 16,500 horses and mules from Texas. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, clearly embarrassed at the extent of the depredations, distorted the figures and reported that, "100 persons had been murdered and 1,000 horses stolen by reservation Indians." Tatum pursued an increasingly tough policy; he withheld rations from Indians until they returned their captives and refused to pay ransom money.¹³ In 1872

- 11 Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., pp.245-282. In their chapter on warfare the authors see the warrior societies developing not merely as a result of the acquisition of the horse. They point out that concomitantly with the horse came "the pressure of the whites on the eastern frontier, setting in motion a chain reaction of tribal displacements that caused group after group to fight for a place under the western sun."
- 12 Thomas Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians, Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1875, p.122.
- 13 Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant, Philadelphia, 1899, pp.145-148. T.R. Fehrenbach, The Comanches: The Destruction of a People, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1975, p.515. Fehrenbach argues that not only did the Comanche war ethos make meaningful diplomacy, in white terms, impossible, but that the nineteenth century humanitarians, through ignorance of Indian societies, were unable to appreciate the cruel and fallacious nature of the Peace Policy. He suggests that if a more forceful policy had been pursued the Comanche would have understood its meaning. He does not, however, suggest any way of altering the final outcome.

General Sherman imprisoned two Kiowa chiefs, Satanta and Big Tree. When they were released a year later they immediately continued their raiding. In 1874, when the tribes broke out in open warfare, the War Department authorized the army to pursue and defeat the hostiles relentlessly.¹⁴ General Pope immediately organized a vigorous campaign. Slowly, exhausted and impoverished by loss of stock and equipment, the bands of Kiowa, Comanche and Cheyenne came in. In July 1875 the last band surrendered. Their weapons were taken from them and their horses shot or sold. A number of their chiefs were selected and sent to Fort Marion in Florida as hostages.¹⁵

Militarily defeated, disarmed and confined, 1875 marked the end of Kiowa and Comanche independence. The buffalo disappeared so rapidly that hopes for a resurgence were impossible. In 1879 the agent gave permission to the Indians to organize a hunt, but they were unable to find a single buffalo. The gigantic herd had been systematically slaughtered for the commercial sale of hides. That winter the Indians were forced to eat their ponies.¹⁶ Without the buffalo return to their old life style was impossible. Not surprisingly a Kiowa medicine man who appeared in 1881, like the famous Wovoka who was welcomed by dozens of tribes in 1890,

14 James Haworth to Enoch Hoag, June 1, 1874, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

15 Kicking Bird, the peaceful Kiowa chief, was allowed to select the Kiowa hostages. He chose several captive Mexicans and also shielded his friends, thus creating enemies in the tribe. When a few months later Kicking Bird suddenly died it was suspected that he might have been poisoned.

16 Agent Hunt to C.I.A., September 9, 1879, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

claimed to have the power to make the buffalo return.¹⁷

Life on the reservation spelt not only the end of their military prowess and the loss of their economic base, but also the abandonment of all raiding and robbing. There was now no way for the young men to achieve honour and notoreity. The old chiefs retained much of their authority but there was no means for any successors to be recognized.¹⁸ Officers of authority, selected by the agent to enforce white rules and values, held little prestige. In 1879 the agent had to insist that all vacancies in the Agency police force should be filled before the Indians would be allowed to depart for their hunt.¹⁹

The American system of justice was foreign to the Indians. Previously, personal grievances within the tribe had been avenged by the injured party. It was not uncommon for a family to accept one or more ponies as recompense for a murdered relative. When the Court of Indian Offences was established in 1886 in an attempt to provide law on the reservations, the two head chiefs of the Kiowa and Comanche, Lone Wolf and Quanah Parker, were appointed as judges. Their judgements and sentences provide interesting illustrations of the Indians' forced adaptation to white society.

17 Alice Marriott, The Ten Grandmothers, Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1945, pp.142-154.

18 Mooney suggests that the Kiowa chief Dohásan, who died in 1866, claimed the respect of all the Kiowa, but that after his death there was never any single chief who could command the unquestioned allegiance of the whole tribe.

19 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent P.B. Hunt) in Report of C.I.A., 1879, pp.64-69.

For example, prison sentences were rarely given, for that would have meant an Indian would have free food without having to work.²⁰

The religious life of the Indians was also disrupted by their being confined on the reservation. In 1879 the Kiowa calendar (a picture and diagrammatic record kept by the Indians of important events in the tribe's history) reported that they were forced to use the head of a horse rather than a buffalo in the ceremonial rite of the Sun Dance.²¹ Government officials grew increasingly hostile to what they regarded as a pagan festival. In 1890, when the agent forbade the holding of a Sun Dance, the Indians continued to prepare for the ceremony. Troops from Fort Sill were finally called, and the Indians dispersed at the persuasion of their peaceful chiefs, leaving behind the unfinished medicine lodge.²² Gradually the religious habits of the Indians changed. Barred from their traditional customs they did not readily embrace Christianity. The Comanches adopted peyote soon after arriving on the reservation and its worship quickly spread to the Kiowa and Wichitas. (The peyote cult had its roots in Indian culture but it incorporated elements of Christian doctrine. Its name came from the peyote buttons the Indians ate in order to receive visions). Between 1869 and 1878 the Agency was administered by the Orthodox Friends who conducted services and encouraged the Indians towards Christianity. Later, in 1883, after two years missionary work, the Reverend J.B. Wicks of the Episcopal Church established a church for the Wichita tribe, but the Kiowa

20 William T. Hagan, Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966, p.135.

21 Mooney, op. cit., p.344, plate LXXV.

22 Ibid., p.359.

and Comanche took little interest. The Episcopal church was abandoned after a few years, but the Methodists and later the Presbyterians, Baptists and Catholics soon entered the field. However, the Indians continued to turn to peyote for their spiritual solace.²³

When told that they should farm the Indians complained that they did not want their women to work in the fields. On learning that it was the men who were expected to labour the Indians were indignant. Manual or household work was anathema to a warrior and for the first few years any fields that were cultivated were tended by the agency farmer and the Indian women.²⁴ The unsuitability of much of the reservation land for agriculture and the Indians' total lack of interest spurred several agents into considering ranching or herding as an alternative.²⁵ In 1875 Colonel Mackenzie, the commanding officer at Fort Sill, decided to sell the horses confiscated from the Indians and invest the money in sheep and goats. He hoped to convert the Indians to a pastoral life like that of the Navaho. However, the Kiowa and Comanche disliked mutton, they had no tradition of spinning or weaving, so the sheep were left untended. An effort was made by several different agents to build up herds of cattle for the Indians. But the Indians had no experience of tending cattle and when government rations were delayed or ran out they ate their own beefs. The Indian Bureau continued to advocate farming. In

23 Mooney, op. cit., p.219; Hugh D. Corwin, The Kiowa Indians, Their History and Life Stories, Lawton, Oklahoma, 1958, pp.181-219. Wallace and Hoebel have noted that in the face of strong government opposition Mooney fought to preserve the peyote cult for the Indians as an aid to their psychological integration.

24 Agent Hunt to C.I.A., August 1882, B.I.A., R.G. 75, Kiowa Agency.

25 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent P.B. Hunt) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.70.

1879 the Kiowa and Comanche Agency was affiliated with the Wichita Agency. The Wichitas had always farmed, and with the prospect of better land more Comanches began to fence their fields and take up agriculture.²⁶ However, the majority remained reluctant. In 1892 the agent reported that most of the Indians, the Kiowas in particular, continued to show an aversion to farming.²⁷

Much of the reservation was unused and with the growth of the cattle industry in Texas the Indian lands were valuable property. Cattlemen would often herd their cows onto the reservation deliberately to gain free pasturage.²⁸ As it was impossible to police the whole reservation border or effectively apprehend the offenders, the trespassing could not be stopped. The agent unofficially began to lease the lands, to bring some profit to the Indians. At first the Indians were reluctant to accept the money, believing it was another means of depriving them of their land. Eventually, the scheme was agreed to by Congress, but only as a temporary expedient while the Indians learned to farm.²⁹

Gradually, as not only ranchers but also the tide of settlers spread into Indian Territory, the Indians became increasingly aware of the American presence. During the 1870's when white settlement of the West was scattered the government was anxious

26 Ibid., p.71.

27 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent S. Day) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.386.

28 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent J. Lee Hall) in Report of C.I.A., 1886, pp.345-349.

29 Mooney, op. cit., pp.219-220.

that the Indians should appreciate the size and strength of the United States. Frequently they invited delegations from the tribes to Washington to impress this fact upon them. In 1872 a small group went from the Kiowa and Comanche reservation; significantly, two years later when the Indian outbreak occurred, only one of these chiefs, Lone Wolf, joined the "hostiles". However, by the late 1880's all the Indians knew of the strength and ubiquity of the Americans. Alarmed at the encroachment of cattle, settlers, railroads and towns and the threat of imminent, enforced allotment, the Kiowa and Comanche joined the Intertribal Council organized by the Cherokee to discuss these problems. The Five Civilized Tribes suggested that it was essential for the Indians to adopt civilized ways and to work to protect their rights.³⁰

Throughout this period of shock and change the government made efforts to educate the Indian children. Aware that their own traditions were dying the Indians showed less and less resistance to the schools. In the winter of 1891 one of the boys in the government boarding school at the Agency was beaten by the teacher. As a result he and two friends ran away and attempted to reach their homes thirty miles off, but were frozen to death on the way. The Indians were furious and the agent, fearing an outbreak, called the troops from Fort Sill. However there was no resort to a show of arms and the agent reported, their behaviour "speaks well for the Kiowa Indians and [the children's death] seems to have left no prejudice against the school."³¹ The

³¹ "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent D. Adams) in Report of C.I.A., 1891, p.316.

that the Indians should appreciate the size and strength of the United States. Frequently they invited delegations from the tribes to Washington to impress this fact upon them. In 1872 a small group went from the Kiowa and Comanche reservation; significantly, two years later when the Indian outbreak occurred, only one of these chiefs, Lone Wolf, joined the "hostiles". However, by the late 1880's all the Indians knew of the strength and ubiquity of the Americans. Alarmed at the encroachment of cattle, settlers, railroads and towns and the threat of imminent, enforced allotment, the Kiowa and Comanche joined the Intertribal Council organized by the Cherokee to discuss these problems. The Five Civilized Tribes suggested that it was essential for the Indians to adopt civilized ways and to work to protect their rights.³⁰

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30 Grant Foreman, A History of Oklahoma, Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1942, pp.197-198, 230-235.

31 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent D. Adams) in Report of C.I.A., 1891, p.316.

to afford much encouragement."³⁶

The name Apache applies to eight or more tribes, all closely related in speech and probably springing from a single group. When the Spanish arrived in New Mexico these Indians were already there, probably pushed into the harsh country by fiercer tribes, and already well adapted to the tough desert life.³⁷ Acquiring both fire arms and horses from the Spanish they took to a life of hunting and raiding. They continued to collect the nuts, berries, fruits and seeds of the area, but slowly became more nomadic. By 1800 most of their raids were directed towards robbing rather than killing, but they had become essential to the fabric of Apache life.³⁸

The Mescalero inhabited the mountains of southeast New Mexico. Travelling long distances in search of the mescal plant, which was their staple food, they moved between the high lands and the open country. Less troublesome than the Apaches of Arizona they nevertheless depended on war and raiding for their system of social honours, and lived in small bands of twenty or thirty, based on the extended family.³⁹ Believing in the Mountain

36 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent V.E. Stottler) in Report of C.I.A. 1898, p.205.

37 For discussions of the Apache migration see, Edward Twitchell Hall, Jr., "Recent Clues to Athapascan Pre-History in the Southwest," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLVI, January - March, 1944, pp.98-105 and Frederick Webb Hodge, "The Early Navaho and Apache," American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, July 1895, pp.232-240.

38 Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and The United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960, pp.176-180.

39 M.E. Opler, An Analysis of Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Social Organization in the Light of their System of Relationship, Chicago: Dept. of Anthropology, 1936, (private edition distributed by the Univ. of Chicago Libraries), pp.8-17.

Spirits, who could help an Indian in times of distress, and also in two benevolent deities, the Mescalero placed much emphasis on ceremonials, and believed in an afterlife of happiness in a country beneath the earth.⁴⁰

From the time New Mexico became part of the United States relations with the Apache were stormy and uncertain. Peace treaties were signed, and broken by both sides, and as the settlers moved westward across the land every Indian attack increased the rage and hatred of the Americans. A United States army officer, Lieutenant A. G. Hennissee, was to report, "I regard the Apaches as the worst Indians in the country," and his opinion was endorsed by many others.⁴¹

In 1862 the Mescalero were defeated by Kit Carson. Exhausted and starving Chief Cadete surrendered his band.

"You are stronger than we. We have fought you so long as we had rifles and powder; but your weapons are better than ours . . . give us weapons and turn us loose and we will fight you again; but we are worn out; we have no more heart; we have no provisions, no means to live; your troops are everywhere; our springs and waterholes are either occupied or overlooked by your young men. You have driven us from our last and best stronghold and we have no more heart. Do with us as may seem good to you, but do not forget we are men and braves."⁴²

40 Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua and Mescalero Texts, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938, pp.5-14, 58-70; M.E. Opler, "Reaction to Death," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Winter, 1946, Vol. II, pp.460-461.

41 "Report of Lieutenant A.G. Hennissee," in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.624.

42 John C. Cremony, Life Among the Apaches, San Francisco and New York: Tucson, Arizona Silhouettes, 1951 (orig. pub. date 1868) p.201.

Herded onto the Bosque Redondo reservation, the Mescalero were compelled to farm. Not only did their crops constantly fail but 9,000 Navaho, the Mescaleros' traditional enemy, were forced to join them. Conditions at Bosque Redondo became so bad that a commission was set up to examine the situation. The inadequate ration supplies, repeated crop failures and rampaging diseases had reduced the Indians to desperation. One November night in 1866, without the officials knowing, every Apache on the Bosque Redondo fled from the reservation.⁴³

For seven years they remained scattered throughout New Mexico until, in May 1873, a reservation was created for them by executive order.⁴⁴ However, besides the problem of their adaptation to "civilized life," they were plagued by a series of difficulties.

The reservation remained unsurveyed until 1883. Squatters moved onto the Mescalero lands, not only crowding the Indians but also providing a source of whiskey and gambling.⁴⁵ The agent had trouble in protecting the Indians from these baser elements and in stopping the latter from forcible ejecting the squatters. By the time the reservation was surveyed there was already one white town within its limits. But, although the Indians came into close contact with frontier life, the reservation still remained extremely isolated. In 1880 the agent took a delegation of fifty Indians to visit Santa Fe and reported, "this is the

43 Report of C.I.A., 1866, p.149.

44 Kappler, op. cit., Vol. II, p.870.

45 Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.116.

first time the Mescalero have had an opportunity to see anything of civilization."⁴⁶

Although the Indians were encouraged to farm, the land of the reservation was better adapted to stock raising. In 1889 their interest in cattle raising had increased, but much of the grass had been eaten by thousands of trespassing cattle which had been herded onto the reservation.⁴⁷ In 1892 Agent Rhodes suggested that as much of the grass had been "eaten out" the Indians should be encouraged to breed horses instead, but this experiment although adopted was very short-lived.

While there were constant reports from settlers that the Indians were raiding, which often even the agent denied, the Indians themselves suffered continually at the hands of the whites. Their horses were stolen, their meagre crops destroyed by trespassing cattle and their camps invaded by marauding whites who would frequently kill as well as rob. Sometimes the Indians were forced to flee to the mountains.⁴⁸ In 1882 the reservation was invaded by gold prospectors; when they made a strike the mineral lands were given to the miners and the Indians were awarded a replacement strip on the opposite side of the reservation.⁴⁹

46 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent W.H.H. Llewellyn) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.116; "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent Frederick C. Godfroy) in Report of C.I.A., 1876, p.106; "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent W.H.H. Llewellyn) in Report of C.I.A., 1881, p.194.

47 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent Fletcher J. Cowart) in Report of C.I.A., 1889, p.254.

48 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent William Crothers) in Report of C.I.A., 1875, pp.329-330; "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent Frederick Godfroy) in Report of C.I.A., 1877, p.154.

49 Report of C.I.A., 1882, p.lxvii.

In countless ways the Indians became the victims of frontier society where, as one agent reports, "the civil authorities were almost powerless to protect life and property," and frequently the offices of the Indian Bureau were also controlled by corrupt frontier groups.

Life in New Mexico was dominated by the Santa Fe Ring. Originally formed to control the allocation of land, the ring spread to other enterprises as new opportunities for profit developed, and soon secured a grip on Indian affairs. When martial law, under General Carleton, ended in New Mexico, there was a chance for the ring to resume control of the Indian Bureau. The cries of alarm and despondency ended and the official correspondence of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs was filled with applications for appointments to Indian agencies as New Mexicans saw the change of growing rich through Indian contracts. By 1865 much of the economy of New Mexico was based on the expenditures of the federal government for army and Indian supplies, and those administering Indian affairs could always receive a "cut" at the expense of the Indians.⁵⁰

On the Mescalero reservation affairs were controlled by the two traders, Major L.G. Murphy and Captain Emil Fritz. They succeeded in duping Superintendent Nathaniel Pope into believing that peace with the Indians had been achieved through their good management.⁵¹ They then deliberately falsified the numbers of

50 Howard Lamar, The Far Southwest, 1846-1912, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966, pp.132-134.

51 "Report of New Mexico Superintendency," (Superintendent Nathaniel Pope) in Report of C.I.A., 1872, p.371.

Indians on the reservation, greatly exaggerating them, to justify more supplies.⁵² When the new Superintendent for New Mexico visited the agency in 1873, he was horrified to find that the traders were totally in control, and that the agent had no business, "except to approve vouchers made for him by these men."⁵³ Those agents who attempted to fight the ring were obstructed and rarely remained long on the reservation, for example Agent Crothers was brought to court on a trumped up charge in 1875 and although cleared by a congressional investigator he soon resigned.⁵⁴

When the Lincoln County war erupted, between two factions who were attempting to gain economic and political control of the region, the Indians were further neglected and many left the reservation. So, when the Apache chief Victorio took to the warpath, he was joined by many Apaches including some from the Mescalero reservation.⁵⁵ In 1880 the army devised a secret scheme to bring all the peaceful Indians in so that they could disarm them. They enlisted the help of the Mescalero agent, who was not told that the Indians would be disarmed. Agent Russell was furious and informed Colonel Hatch, "If the Indians had known this, they would not have been here. They relied upon me as their friend and came in cheerfully and promptly when I told them to.

52 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent A.J. Curtis) in Report of C.I.A., 1872, p.401.

53 "Report of New Mexico Superintendency," (Superintendent Levi E. Dudley) in Report of C.I.A., 1873, p.263.

54 Report of C.I.A., 1875, pp.38-39.

55 Sonnichson, op. cit., pp.164-172.

They had no reason to expect anything of this kind, and I will not be a party to such a deception." Amid the confusion and panic prompted by the presence of the troops many of the Indians tried to flee and were fired on.⁵⁶ The majority, dismounted and disarmed, were forced to remain close to the agency and were unable to plant their crops. The troops remained for nine months, against the will of the agent.

Amidst all the disruptions at the Mescalero Agency it was government policy to try to "civilize" the Indians. Reports of the children's educational progress were never enthusiastic and often contradictory. In 1874 Agent Crothers reported that it was pointless to think of opening a school until the boundaries of the reservation were established. Three years later his successor had organized a small school in a room at the Agency and in 1878 reported that, "the school, taking into consideration the unsettled state of affairs, has been prosperous and gratifying in the extreme." But just two years later Agent Russell was discouraged by the lack of interest in the school.⁵⁷

In 1882 the first Mescalero were sent away to a boarding school at Albuquerque, and two years later a boarding school was established on the reservation. However, progress was slow. "It is," General Pope reported in 1881, "idle to talk of civilizing the Mescalero Apaches. They are savages pure and simple, and in the country they occupy, with the inducements to raid and the present management of the tribe, it is worse than childish to believe that

56 "Report of Mescalero Superintendency," (Agent Samuel A. Russell) in Report of C.I.A., 1880, p.130.

57 Ibid., p.131.

they are being or ever will be reclaimed."⁵⁸

The Christian churches made very little effort to convert the Mescalero. In 1886 the agent asserted that the reservation seemed "to be a fine field for missionary work . . . though none has been done since I have been here except such as is involved in the conduct of the school." Although the Catholics did attempt to work with the Mescalero their efforts were very short-lived. Missionary activity which was generally so closely associated with the American "civilizing" programme, was almost entirely lacking on the Mescalero reservation.⁵⁹

In 1900 the Mescalero was one of the many Indian tribes, scattered throughout the West, which was managing to eke out a living on a reservation, but which did not embrace with any enthusiasm the civilization of the "White Eyes," as the Apaches called the Americans. At the Bosque Redondo reservation the defiant Mescalero chief, Cadete, had explained his hostility to American civilization to Captain John Cremony:

"You desire our children to learn from books, and say, that because you have done so, you are able to build all those big houses, and sail over the sea, and talk with each other at any distance, and do many wonderful things; now, let me tell you what we think. You begin when you are little to work hard, and work until you are men in order to begin fresh work. You say that you work hard in order to learn how to work well. After you get to be men, then you say, the labor of life commences; then too, you build big houses, big ships, big town, and everything else in proportion. Then, after you have got them all you die and leave them behind. Now, we call that slavery. You are slaves from the time you begin to talk until you die; but we are free as air, we never work, but the

58 "Report of General John Pope," in Report of Secretary of War, 1881, p.118.

59 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent Fletcher J. Cowart) in Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.201.

Mexicans and others work for us. Our wants are few and easily supplied. The river, the wood, and plain yield all that we require, and we will not be slaves; nor will we send our children to your schools, where they only learn to become like yourselves."⁵⁰

By 1900 the situation of the Descalero Indians had altered, but there is nothing to suggest that they looked on American society with any more favourable eyes.

The Omaha Reservation, Nebraska.

The Omaha Indians had inhabited the State of Nebraska since the time the white man arrived on the continent. Although some of their legends informed them that they had moved from the East, where they had lived near a great body of water, they had not been removed forcibly by the whites and they had never fought a war with the United States.⁶¹

In 1870 the Omaha had been in contact with the whites for approximately two centuries. Trading with the French and later the English the tribe had learnt the profit to be gained from hunting and trapping.⁶² Living in villages, in houses made of earth and timber, they grew corn, squash, melons and beans.⁶³ Twice a year they abandoned their homes to follow the buffalo in a communal hunt, which not only provided them with food and clothes but also brought large profits through the trading of hides.

60 John C. Cremony, "The Apache Race," Overland Monthly, Vol. I, September 1868, p.207.

61 Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1911, p.33.

62 Ibid., p.614.

63 Clark Wissler, The Indians of the United States, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1940, p.178.

Persuing the buffalo on horseback they temporarily lived in teepees which were readily transportable.

The Omahas were not a warrior people. Although able to organize themselves for defence they did not participate in wars of aggression. "War was secondary; its true function was protective--to guard the people from outside enemies."⁶⁴ Religion influenced all aspects of their life; they believed in a mysterious life power that permeated all natural forms and forces and all phases of man's conscious life. Thus even their tribal organization, and the rites attending their buffalo hunt, had important spiritual significance.⁶⁵ However, the quest for game for profit had introduced new motives not consistent with traditional Omaha ideas and customs, and had altered the people's ancient mode of life. While contact with white society had already forced change on the Omahas, the events of the last three decades of the nineteenth century were to foster even more dramatic changes.

In 1854 the Omahas signed a treaty with the United States agreeing to surrender large areas of their hunting grounds and locate on a reservation of 142,345 acres on the banks of the Missouri.⁶⁶ The treaty stipulated that the land would be allotted to individuals. In 1872 the reservation was surveyed and ten years later, by an Act of Congress, the Indians were awarded their lands in severalty.⁶⁷

64 Fletcher and La Flesche, op. cit., p.211.

65 Ibid., pp.134-143, 595-610.

66 U.S. Stat. L., Vol. X, p.1043.

67 U.S. Stat. L., Vol. XXII, p.341.

To begin with, the Omaha's location on a reservation made little difference to their lives. They continued to go out on their annual hunt and farmed their fields, increasingly adopting new agricultural methods learnt from the missionaries. But as the buffalo decreased in number the Indians were forced to become more and more dependent on their farm produce. They grew larger amounts of maize and wheat and began to raise small numbers of pigs and cattle. But slowly they became poor. They never received rations from the government but as their situation worsened they turned to their old ceremonial rites.

They revived the ceremony of Anointing the Pole. The Pole was a sacred object which, according to legend, had been given to the tribe as a symbol of their unity. It represented both the authority by which the tribe was governed (which had been granted by supernatural powers) and also the men of the tribe as defenders and providers of the home. Associated with a system of complicated mythology it was respected and feared by all the Omaha and was the central object in a complicated ritual that was performed annually.⁶⁸

The loss of the buffalo was felt by the tribe for more than economic reasons, for the herds were important to the Omahas' social patterns and religious ceremonies. Because of the loss of the buffalo the tribe, one year, invested in thirty head of cattle as a substitute to serve in the Anointing the Pole ceremony. The ceremony was performed three times before the Omaha despaired

68 The Pole is now in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The mysteries surrounding it meant that until September 1888 La Flesche and Fletcher were unable to discover the legend associated with it; the Pole commanded so much fear and respect none of the Omaha was prepared to talk about it.

of its power to help.⁶⁹

The comparative "advancement" of the Omaha tribe, their peaceful and sedentary habits, and their knowledge of agriculture meant that government officials frequently were oblivious to the changes that were being forced on the tribe and regarded their civilizing as a more or less straight forward task.

The Omahas had sound agricultural knowledge, despite the fact that, until the first Mission was established for them by the Presbyterians in 1845, they had never seen corn planted in rows or used a plough. The Omaha for generations had grown corn and squash in small garden patches on the borders of streams.⁷⁰ Because of their long standing familiarity with agriculture, and the fertility of the soil in Nebraska, the Omahas appeared to respond well to the government's programme for encouraging farming among the Indians. Traditionally, agricultural work had been carried out by women, although when necessary the men did help.⁷¹ In 1872 the agent to the Omaha was able to report the farm "labor having been performed almost exclusively by the men."⁷² In the seventies constant progress was reported also in "the Indians' management of their farm work."⁷³ In 1870 only 506 acres of ground were under cultivation; twenty seven years later 9,000

69 Fletcher and La Flesche, op. cit., pp.217-260, 634-635.

70 Ibid., pp.269, 614, 626.

71 Alice C. Fletcher, Lands in Severalty to Indians, Salem, 1885, p.7.

72 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent E. Painter) in Report of C.I.A., 1878, p.603.

73 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Jacob Vore) in Report of C.I.A., 1878, p.287.

acres were being cultivated.⁷⁴

The Omaha was one of the first tribes to have its lands allotted (even by 1890 there were only half a dozen tribes living on their own patented individual plots).⁷⁵ So they were frequently used as an example of the benefits to be gained through the official policy of allotment.⁷⁶ The tribe had also petitioned Congress to ask to have its land granted in severalty.⁷⁷ When their kindred tribe, the Ponca, were forcibly removed to the dreaded "hot country" (Indian Territory), an event which attracted the sympathy of all America, the Omahas became anxious that their own homes might be in danger. On discovering that the land certificates they held did not guarantee legal ownership they began an active campaign to secure their land in severalty. This action, although only supported by part of the tribe, was seen as public proof of the Omahas' progress towards "civilization" and taken as general evidence of all Indians' desire to own their land.⁷⁸

However, it was among the Omaha that some of the early evidence that the allotment policy was not a total success can be found. In the early 1890's rumours began to be heard that the Omaha were less hard working and thrifty than before; a secret document was circulated in the House of Representatives that substantiated the rumour. At the Lake Mohonk Conference Professor C.C. Painter publicly denied that the Omaha were raising less grain than before

74 Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.340; Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.502.

75 Mohonk, 1890, p.13. Patents had at this time been granted to the Sissetons in Dakota, the Chippewas on Lake Superior and two or three tribes on the west coast and in Indian Territory.

76 Fletcher, op. cit., p.13.

77 Sen. Misc. Doc., No. 31, 47 Cong., 1st Sess.

78 Fletcher and La Flesche, op. cit., pp.635-641.

when their land had been unallotted. But the Indians' agent reported to the Commissioner that "little, if any, improvement can be noted, and in some respects I am obliged to say the change has been for the worse." He explained that the money the Indians received from annuities, plus that which they gained through leasing their tribal lands and individual allotments, was "enough to enable them to live without exertion on their part. As a result the area of cultivation has decreased."⁷⁹

To white officials the Omaha appeared to have a more cohesive and "civilized" form of government than many other tribes. Although their traditional council, which had been vested with all tribal authority, had been disrupted and weakened since the tribe's contact with white traders, nevertheless it was still a recognizable power.⁸⁰ The agent superimposed government authority on this traditional tribal institution. Appointing the chiefs himself he enlisted their help in governing the tribe.⁸¹ But as all councilmen were selected by the agent rather than chosen by the people, there was no opportunity for any but the most "progressive" Indians to share in the administration of power. All authority was centred not in the Indians but in the United States Indian agent, and the government agents simultaneously exploited the traditional power structure while seeking to end the Indians' tribal relations.

While it is clear that even before 1870 factions existed within the tribe, they subsequently became a glaring feature of Omaha life.

79 Mohonk, 1891, pp.71-73; "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Robert H. Ashley) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.306.

80 Fletcher and La Flesche, op. cit., pp.134-196, 635.

81 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent E. Painter) in Report of C.I.A., 1872, p.604.

In 1889 a visitor from the Women's National Indian Association noted, "Politically they are in a divided state, there are cliques growing out of old family feuds."⁸² The disruption of the traditional power structure and the pressure exerted by government officials meant that existing divisions within the tribe deepened and became permanent. During their early days on the reservation one group formed a village, laid out roads, built houses and grew the first wheat ever cultivated by the Omahas; this group became known to the "conservative" members of the tribe as "the village of the make believe white men."⁸³ Discord within the tribe grew, and although in the 1870's it was considered that the tribe was capable of administering its own affairs, the rapid decline in morale meant that by 1892 the agent was complaining that although "nominally the Omahas are supposed not to be under the charge of an agent" he spent more time working for them than for their neighbouring tribe the Winnebagoes.⁸⁴

The Omaha tribe, despite their peaceful inclinations, did not receive the uninterrupted attention of any missionary group. Under Grant's Peace Policy the Omaha Agency was assigned to the Friends, who administered the Agency briefly although the Presbyterians continued their missionary work. The Presbyterians had established their first permanent mission among the Omaha in 1845. When the Indians moved to their reservation the Mission followed, and in 1858 a large school was built which functioned for nearly thirty years. However, only a few of the Indians were attracted

82 Mohonk, 1889, p.105 cf. speech of Mrs. A. S. Dunton; P. Richard Metcalf, "Who Should Rule at Home?" Journal of American History, Vol. LXI, June '74 - March '75, pp.651-665.

83 Fletcher and La Flesche, op. cit., pp.631-633.

84 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Robert H. Ashley) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.306.



The Omaha School and seventy scholars, 1879.

to Christianity; the majority continued to follow their traditional religion.⁸⁵ "They have never been the subject of persistent missionary labour," their agent reported in 1884, "and as a consequence . . . have more faith in the teaching of their medicine man than in Gospel teachings."⁸⁶ At the end of the century there were only forty five church members.⁸⁷

Although in terms of their tribal government, their adherence to Christianity, and their farming activities, it appeared to many officials at the end of the century that the Omahas were not fulfilling previous hopes for their advancement, and in many cases were retrograding, they did show an increasing interest in their schools. In 1870 there was already one school on the reservation, with seventy six pupils, and the agent planned to open two more "as the Omahas manifest great interest in the education of their children."⁸⁸ The influence of the schools and the Indians past trading traditions meant a large number spoke English and could read and write fluently.⁸⁹ In 1897, out of a population of one thousand one hundred and seventy, four hundred and twenty five could read; there was ample accommodation in the school and most of the children were attending.⁹⁰ In the face of numerous

85 Fletcher and La Flesche, op. cit., pp.631-633.

86 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1884, p.164.

87 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent W.A. Mercer) in Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.486. At the present time the majority of Omahas are not Christian. Although they no longer adhere to the traditional beliefs of the tribe the majority are members of the Native American Church.

88 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent E. Painter) in Report of C.I.A., 1870, pp.714-716.

89 Ibid., p.717; "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Arthur Edwards) in Report of C.I.A., 1881, pp.187-189.

90 Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.486.

discouraging signs it was possible for Agent Ashley to remain optimistic about government policy and to report, "I have no doubt of the policy now pursued by the Department in giving first importance to the education of the youth, and then in using all available means in assisting allottees who will go to work to open up farms."⁹¹

The Winnebago Reservation, Nebraska.

In 1870 over two thirds of the Winnebago tribe lived on a reservation north of the Omaha, on lands that had once belonged to the Omaha tribe. The Winnebago came from Wisconsin; when they had come to Wisconsin is unknown and their legends and traditions have no details of the migration, but they were probably the tribe that constructed the curious earth mounds in that state. Signing treaties with the United States government in 1825 and 1832, they had ceded most of their lands and moved to a small reservation. In 1840 they relinquished all title to their old country east of the Mississippi and moved to the territory of Iowa, although some of the tribe remained behind in their old lands. In 1846, 1853 and again in 1856, the majority of the tribe moved to a series of different reservations in Minnesota, finally ending up on the Blue Earth reservation. They remained at Blue Earth for six years, but after the Indian outbreak of 1862 the whites in the area became hostile to all Indians and demanded their removal. In consequence they were taken to Crow Creek reservation, South Dakota; but here they suffered severely from hunger and disease and so escaped down the Missouri to the Omaha, who sold them a part of their

91 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Robert H. Ashley) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.307.

lands.⁹² Thus the Winnebago living in Nebraska in 1870 were the remnants of a once powerful woodlands tribe who in the course of forty years had moved their habitat seven times.

At the time of their removal from Minnesota it was reported that the Winnebago were peaceably engaged in agriculture and that the majority were thriving industrious farmers.⁹³ However, these Indians were not exclusively farmers by tradition. In Wisconsin they had lived in permanent villages, in bark lodges, and had grown corn, squash and beans. Their contact with whites since the seventeenth century meant that for a long time they had used European farm implements; they also fished and collected wild fruits and berries. But hunting had been their most important means of subsistence, and provided the basis of their system of social standing.⁹⁴

In the early 1870's the Winnebagoes were allotted their own individual plots of land in Nebraska. However, allottees were often ignorant of the fact that they had been given land; sometimes they would have been given an English name for this purpose and so would be unable to recognize themselves on the patent. Alice C. Fletcher, an anthropologist who had been employed by the government to allot the lands of the Winnebago, arrived on the reservation in 1888. She made an effort to clarify past patents,

92 John Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1952, pp.258-259; Edward E. Hill, "Winnebago Agency," in Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Headings Used for the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880, Washington D.C.: National Archives, 1967, pp.1-5; Report of C.I.A., 1872, pp.414-415.

93 Report of C.I.A., 1872, p.414.

94 Paul Radin, "The Winnebago Tribe," in Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1923, pp.49-157.

as well as to encourage as many Indians as possible to move away from the bottom lands of the Missouri river (where firewood was in good supply) to the more fertile western extremity of the reservation. However, the allotment of Winnebago lands did not encourage the Indians in farming. Frequently their hay and crops were destroyed by wandering cattle and many submitted to pressure from whites to lease their land.⁹⁵ One agent expressed serious doubts about the efficiency of allotting land in severalty to the Winnebago. He suggested that "splendid theories often prove faulty in application and actual practice. It seems to my mind we are trying to erect a new superstructure without removing the debris of the past." His doubts were to be substantiated for in 1892 Agent Beck found that large areas of the reservation had been leased by a big company, and plots were then being sub-let to individual white farmers.⁹⁶ The Winnebago, like the Omaha, came to be associated, even by reformers themselves (who had supported the Dawes Act of 1887), with all the problems associated with allotment. By the end of the century "nearly all the Winnebago had their allotments or at least a portion of their land leased to white settlers."⁹⁷

Although the frequent migrations of the Winnebago split up the tribe and destroyed its old economic base, the Indians maintained their traditional religious practices. They believed in a world "people by an indefinite number of spirits who manifested their existence in many ways." These spirits had the power to bestow all socio-economic blessings and could be appealed to through fasting

95 Alice C. Fletcher to S. Whittlesey, September 20, 1888, in Mohonk, 1888, p.7; Mohonk, 1889, p.86; Mohonk, 1899, p.36.

96 Mohonk, 1895, pp.11, 44.

97 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent W.A. Mercer) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.105.

and the offering of tobacco. Individuals in a vision might also be given their own guardian spirit. Winnebago religion had been closely intertwined with everyday life. Before going to war a warrior had to fast, and sometimes would receive guidance from the spirits as to the best strategy. Appeals for success, happiness and a long life were frequently made to the spirits and ceremonies and feasts were common events.⁹⁸ As the tribe was forced to change socially and economically these ties were inevitably loosened, but the religious ceremonies continued. In 1883 the Winnebagoes' agent reported, "these people are nearly all under the control of their own religious teachers, there is little outward respect shown the Sabbath, and dances, all more or less religious, are frequent."⁹⁹ At the end of the century the Winnebagoes' adherence to their past customs was seen as a major impediment to the "civilization" of the tribe. The Superintendent for Indian Schools and many reformers believed that it was ridiculous to send children back to such an environment, as their old life was still so strong they would not be able to resist succumbing.¹⁰⁰ Paul Radin, the anthropologist visited the tribe in the early twentieth century and discovered that despite radical economic and political disruption "the ideological superstructure of the tribe, based on religion, ritual, music and mythology, was still

98 Paul Radin, "The Winnebago Tribe," op.cit., pp.207-213. Radin examines in detail not only the religious beliefs of the Winnebago but the different types of ceremonials.

99 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.105.

100 Mohonk, 1897, p.27.

strong and was receiving new emphasis."¹⁰¹

The wandering character of the Winnebagoes was constantly noted by their agents. Nebraska was not their traditional home and they would make frequent visits to the Winnebago in Wisconsin, and also often take jobs off the reservation. "They are prone to leave their comfortable houses," reported Agent Wilkinson, "and take their teepee and family and go on the railroad in the summer, or to the timber in the winter, and work by the day."¹⁰² Often they would stay on the reservation during the crop season and then seek other employment."¹⁰³

The experiment of "self-government" first attempted with the Omaha was also tried in a more limited way with the Winnebago, although the latter remained under the agent's administration. The experiment was intended to foster a knowledge of republican government while simultaneously breaking down the tribal relations, but the elected chiefs never held ultimate authority. The first "election" was held in 1871, but the previous year the agent, annoyed by the obstructiveness of the conservative chiefs, had "thought it expedient to make an entire change of the chiefs." He therefore "selected and appointed to that station twelve of the most enterprising young men."¹⁰⁴ Although he retained ultimate

- 101 Paul Radin, "The Culture of the Winnebago as Described by Themselves," International Journal of American Linguistics, Memoir 2, Indiana Univ. Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, pp.1-2.
- 102 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1882, pp.172-173.
- 103 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1884, p.162.
- 104 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Howard White) in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.705; "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Howard White) in Report of C.I.A., 1871, p.866.

authority the agent felt that he needed more financial power so that he could "persuade" the Indians to send their children to school. When in 1874 eleven out of the twelve elected chiefs were "conservatives" who all supported traditional tribal customs including the medicine dance, the agent complained that they used their influence against the school, "and by the end of the term it was difficult, and almost impossible, to get the children on the school-house."¹⁰⁵

In terms of the government's educational goals the Winnebago were fairly advanced. A large number in the tribe could speak English, and in 1870 there were already three day schools, dotted between the nine miles of Indian settlement, enrolling two hundred and forty of the children. However, opposition from the parents was common. The agent complained that they "consider when a child goes to school that they confer a favor on the white man instead of themselves," and after the construction of the Winnebago boarding school, as there was now sufficient school accommodation for all the children, he suggested that compulsory education should be enforced.¹⁰⁶ By 1884 all the Winnebago children were in school and the Indian headmen were appointed as inspectors to listen to any grievances the parents might have.¹⁰⁷ Although some of the children were sent away to the off-reservation schools, the Winnebago, like all the Indian tribes, preferred them to be educated on the reservation.¹⁰⁸

105 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Taylor Bradley) in Report of C.I.A., 1874, p.289.

106 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Edwards) in Report of C.I.A., 1881, p.188.

107 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1884, p.163.

108 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent W.A. Mercer) in Report of C.I.A., 1899, p.178.

In September 1873 Agent Howard White returned to the Winnebago Agency after an absence of two years. He had been the Winnebago agent from 1869 to 1873 and was favourably impressed with the progress they had made. Making comparisons with their situation seven years earlier he noted their progress in agriculture, the discontinuance of rations, the impact made by the schools and the work of the elected headmen, all of which he found very encouraging.¹⁰⁹

However, by the end of the century not only had the boarding school been burnt to the ground, but also there were other less accidental signs that the Winnebago were far from "civilization". Leasing their lands to white farmers and cattlemen the Winnebago lived in poverty and idleness, and despite a superficial veneer of white "civilization", they clung to their traditional religion and beliefs. But now their traditional religion, rituals, mythology and music were divorced from their immediate daily life; there was a gap between the demands of their life on the reservation and their grim and inflexible attachment to their old traditions. "Whatever creative energy still existed in the tribe was feverishly concentrated on these aspects of the past and very little remained over for any new developments."¹¹⁰

The Sioux or Dakota

The Sioux as a tribe are probably the best known Indians in the United States. The word 'sioux' means 'enemies' in the language of the Chippewa, but the Indians called themselves 'Dakota' meaning 'allies'. Numbering around 25,000 in the mid-eighteenth

109 "Report of Winnebago Agency," (Agent Howard White) in Report of C.I.A., 1871, p.867.

110 Paul Radin, "The Winnebago Tribe," in Thirty Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1923, p.224.

century, the tribe was divided into small bands which fell into three groups; eastern, central and western. Sharing the same language the group spoke (and still speak) different dialects.¹¹¹

The Eastern, or Santee division, can be classified as four bands: Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, Sisseton. The Central division were the Yanktons and Yanktonais; and to the west of them were the Tetons, who fell into seven bands: Brule (Upper and Lower) Hunkpapa, Miniconjou, Oglala, Two Kettle, Sans Arc, Blackfoot.¹¹²

Although originally springing from the same group and aware of their common background, the separation of the three divisions meant that by the nineteenth century the Santee, Yankton and Teton Sioux had developed distinctive traits.

The Santee Reservation, Nebraska.

The bands of Sioux that were collected on the Santee reservation were the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute. Even in the eighteenth century their habits and culture were far more peaceful and sedentary than those of their western cousins, and the permanent villages of the Mdewakanton were well known to travellers visiting the upper Mississippi region. In the early nineteenth century their life was essentially that of a woodlands culture: living in bark cabins they grew small fields of corn and collected wild berries, fruits and nuts. They also fished in the surrounding streams, but

111 The Eastern group called themselves "Dakota", the Central group "Nakota" and the Western group "Lakota". However, when the Sioux language was produced in a written form by the missionaries the books were comprehensible to all.

112 John R. Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America, Washington, G.P.O., 1952, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145, pp.280-284; Robert A Lowrie, The Indians of the Plains, New York: McGraw Hill, 1954, pp.6-9.

remained largely dependent on hunting. Each year they left their villages to participate in an annual deer hunt. Although some of the families owned horses, by the mid-nineteenth century the Santee Sioux had not accomplished the transition to the plains culture achieved by the Yankton and Teton groups.¹¹³

The Santee Sioux signed a series of treaties with the United States government, ceding more and more lands. In 1851 they signed the Treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota and agreed to settle on a reservation.¹¹⁴ Although removed to a new location, their style of life did not change markedly; they continued to plant crops, and to hunt and fish. But as game was now scarce they were increasingly dependent on government annuities. Encouraged by white missionaries, John Williamson and Alfred Riggs, who had moved with them from their old location, the Indians farmed and cultivated the land. In 1856 Riggs formed the "Hazelwood Republic", a voluntary association of Indians whose members agreed to abandon their native habits and dress, and to farm their own individual allotments of land.¹¹⁵ The Indians were constantly harassed by white settlers; after a series of murders by the whites the republic was broken up in 1860.

In 1862 the famed Minnesota Sioux uprising took place. Caused largely by a build up of frustrations and grievances over unfulfilled treaties and numerous pressures from white settlers, various groups of Sioux Indians, in an uncoordinated war, attacked towns and government fortresses and murdered numbers of white civilians.

113 Lowrie, op. cit., The author analyses the culture of the Plains and argues that while the Santee shared certain cultural characteristics with the other Sioux theirs was not a Plains culture; Samuel W. Pond, "The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as they were in 1834," Minnesota Historical Collection, XII, 1905-1908, pp.319-501.

114 U.S. Stat. L., Vol. X, pp.949-953, 954-959.

115 Report of C.I.A., 1858, p.50.

Many of the Indians were opposed to the war, but when eventually it was crushed by the military, thirty eight Indians were hanged at Fort Snelling and the citizens of Minnesota united in a coordinated effort to expel the Indians from their state.¹¹⁶ The Santee Sioux were now forced to leave their traditional home in Minnesota and the tribe was divided. The Mdewkanton and Wahpekute bands were forcibly removed to a newly established reservation at Crow Creek, South Dakota. The land proved to be ill-suited for farming, and when a peace commission visited the Indians they found them in a "state of semi-starvation" and recommended that they be removed to a better reservation.¹¹⁷ So in 1866 the Indians and their agency were moved to a site on the Missouri in Nebraska, which proved to be their permanent settling place.¹¹⁸

The Santee's murderous past and their subsequent move in the direction of "civilization" was frequently cited as proof of the possibility of civilizing all Indians. Recognized as members of the Sioux tribe, the differences between them and their Teton relations were ignored. Stress was laid instead on the Santees' remarkable transformation, their long contacts with missionaries, their achievements in education and their progress in farming, all of which served to endorse the official Indian policy of the United States. During the 1870's, when the Peace Policy was still viewed

116 Roy W. Meyer, History of the Santee Sioux : United States Indian Policy on Trial, Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska, 1967, pp.136-139; Report of C.I.A., 1863, pp.294-296.

117 Report of C.I.A., 1866, p.230.

118 Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1888, pp.470-476.

with suspicion by many Americans, the Santees were pointed to as evidence of its efficacy.¹¹⁹ In 1881 their Quaker agent, referring to their location on individual farms, remarked "as they are thus located, like white people, a stranger travelling through the country would not know that he was travelling through an Indian reservation unless informed of the fact, for I am sure the majority of their places would compare favorably with their white neighbors."¹²⁰ In 1889 Herbert Welsh concluded that the Santee represented "the last stage when the Indian has gone all the way from barbarism until he emerges into the white man's civilization."¹²¹

When compared to the western Sioux, the Santee, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, can be said to have made rapid progress. In 1869 a group of Santee broke away from the rest of the tribe, saying they wished to live a life free from both their traditional chiefs and United States agents. They established the Flandreau Colony, and winning their own land through homestead rights, managed, with a minimum of government help, to establish themselves as independent Christian farmers.¹²² The remainder of the tribe, continuing under their agent, also achieved considerable success in the eyes of the Indian Bureau.

In their first year on the reservation the Indians, encouraged

119 Report of B.I.C., 1869, p.9.

120 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Isaiah Lightener) in Report of C.I.A., 1881, p.184.

121 Mohonk, 1889, p.51

122 Stephen R. Riggs, Mary and I : Forty Years with the Sioux, Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1880, pp.265-267; Petition of Flandreau Indians to C.I.A., B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

by Agent Janney, spread out on individual farms.¹²³ Through an act, passed by Congress in 1881, provision was made for the Indians to be issued with patents for their land.¹²⁴ Although the allotting and patenting of the Indian lands took some time, by 1885 the reservation was divided, and 41,160.56 acres were opened to settlement by whites.¹²⁵ The agent saw this as a huge advance, for he believed the Indians could only benefit from the contact with white farmers. However, it is clear that the whites were anxious to secure more Indian lands. In 1886 fifty-four Indians signed a petition asking that the clause protecting them in the ownership of their land be waived. While nothing was done to grant their wish, by the 1880's many Indians were unofficially leasing their lands to whites, and, instead of farming, living off the meagre rent.¹²⁶

The Santee reservation in Nebraska was not ideal for farming because of the erratic climatic conditions. In the 1870's there were good crops some years, but frequently either all or part of the crop was lost through drought or infestations of grasshoppers. At the end of the 1880's the drought was chronic, and one agent reported, "looking over the reports of my predecessors for the last ten years I am satisfied that agriculture has suffered retrogression."¹²⁷ In 1893, after nearly a decade of self-support,

123 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Asa M. Janney) in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.227.

124 Report of C.I.A., 1882, p.117.

125 Report of C.I.A., 1885, pp.lxiv, 136.

126 Report of C.I.A., 1894, p.193; Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.41; Report of C.I.A. 1898, p.332.

127 Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.190; Report of C.I.A., 1890, p.142; Report of C.I.A., 1893, p.199.

the Indians requested that rations be issued, and the agent reported them to be in a starving condition."¹²⁸

Although farming was not always totally successful the Indians gave other demonstrations of progress which encouraged their agents. In 1881 most of the agency staff, besides the clerk and school superintendent, were Indians.¹²⁹ Five years earlier the Commissioner was informed that "most of the Santees wear citizen's dress, live in houses, and some are excellent farmers . . . Nearly all are members and steady attenders of churches and send their children to school, and behave themselves as well as anybody."¹³⁰ In their political organization the Santee also began to adopt forms more acceptable to Americans. Although there was much disagreement among the Indians, and in 1874 they rejected the suggestion that they should vote for their chiefs, by 1880 they were electing councilmen by ballot, to stand for a term of two years.¹³¹ In the early 1890's, the Santees also made their debut in local government, two of the Indians being elected to the county board.¹³² However, while there were remarkable signs that the Santee were embracing a new life, there was also lingering evidence that their old beliefs and customs were not totally destroyed. As late as 1894 they still held what the agent described as "pagan" dances.¹³³

128 Agent Joseph Clements to D. Browning, June 22, 1894, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

129 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Isaiah Lightener) in Report of C.I.A., 1881, p.185.

130 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Charles H. Searing) in Report of C.I.A., 1876, p.197.

131 Agent Joseph Webster to C.I.A., June 16, 1874, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency; "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Isaiah Lightener) in Report of C.I.A., 1880, p.243.

132 Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.312.

133 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Joseph Clements) in Report of C.I.A., 1894, pp.192-193.

By the end of the century, more than half the Santee were members of a Christian church. Undeniably, much of their 'advance' had been accomplished by the missionaries. Not only had proselytizing efforts been continuous since Thomas S. Williamson and Gideon H. and Samuel W. Pond first went among the Santee in the late 1830's, but the missionaries had learnt the Dakota language, moved with the Indians when they moved, and represented and defended them to both the surrounding settlers and to the government.¹³⁴ Under the Peace Policy the Santee Agency was awarded to the Friends. Agent Janney, in his first report, noted that "the people very generally attend the churches and Sabbath-schools on the first day of the week, which is a very quiet day. They are industrious, sober and easily governed."¹³⁵ While the influence of the missionaries is undeniable it should be remembered that the religious societies had first chosen the Santee because of their permanent settlements and obvious leanings towards Christian ways.

For the Bureau of Indian Affairs one of the most notable features of the Santee reservation was its schools. In 1878 the agent reported "the educational facilities here are among the best, there being four boarding and four day schools in operation from six to ten months in the year."¹³⁶ In 1870 Alfred Riggs, a missionary's son who had grown up amongst the Sioux, had already opened the first building of the Santee Normal Training School and enrolled

134. Stephen R. Riggs, "Protestant Missions in the Northwest," Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. VI, 1894; Winifred W. Barton, John P. Williamson, A Brother to the Sioux, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1919.

135 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Asa M. Janney) in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.698.

136 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent John W. Douglas) in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.429.



The Santee Normal Training School was built as a group of "homes" for the Indian children. This is "The Dakota Home" c1890.

one hundred and ten pupils. His ambition was to expand the school to make it a training centre for teachers and preachers for all the Sioux bands. In 1874 a government manual labour school was also opened, and by then the Episcopalians were establishing day schools in different areas of the reservation.¹³⁷

The development of the schools was not always smooth, and on one occasion the government school was closed for a brief period.¹³⁸ During the 1890's there was much personal tension between the school superintendent and the agent and between 1895-1896 there were four fires at the Agency, including two deliberate arson attempts by some of the pupils.¹³⁹ The Episcopalians, who ran three day schools and a girls' boarding school on the reservation, also lost their Mission building in a fire in 1884. Two years previously they had established a boys' boarding school in Springfield (on the other side of the Missouri). So, when their Mission building at Santee burnt down, they moved the Mission and the girls' boarding school to Springfield. From 1896 they rented these two institutions to the government.¹⁴⁰ Alfred Riggs was less amenable to government demands and fought a hard battle to enable the Santee Normal Training School to be run on lines complementary with his educational ideas. In 1893 he lost his

137 Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions, "School Report," in Report of C.I.A., 1870, pp.703, 234, 240; Mary Riggs, Early Days at Santee, Santee, Nebraska: Santee Normal Training School Press, 1928, pp.9-11.

138 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Isaiah Lightener) in Report of C.I.A., 1885, pp.208-209.

139 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Joseph Clements) in Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.204.

140 Report of C.I.A., 1882, p.115; Report of C.I.A., 1884, p.123; Report of C.I.A., 1896, pp.203-204.

long fought battle and the government contract, which had subsidized the school, was terminated.¹⁴¹ The school survived but was run on a shoe-string and financed by the Mission.

The achievements of the schools on the Santee reservation were remarkable, particularly when measured against the limited success of other Indian schools. In 1897 seven hundred and ninety, of the nine hundred and eighty-eight Indians on the reservation, could read. The effect of Riggs' teaching, and his insistence that Indians should learn to read their own language before learning to read English, was reflected in the fact that only five hundred of the Indians on the reservation had "enough English for ordinary conversation."¹⁴² Therefore, a large proportion of those who could read were literate in Dakota and not English.

By the end of the century the Santee population had grown. There were nine hundred and seventy-four Indians on the reservation in 1870 and one thousand and nineteen in 1898. Some of the children were being sent to local white schools and educationally the Santee were probably the most advanced Indians in America.¹⁴³ However, there was a tendency to over-rate their progress. In 1890 their Agent suggested that the Indians urgently needed "about four white farmers" to instruct them in agricultural methods. He complained that the zeal of former agents, who wished to exaggerate the success of their administrations, had falsely created the impression that the Indians could manage on their own.¹⁴⁴ Exaggeration of the "progress" made by the Santee was indulged in by "friends of the Indian" as well as government officials. In 1899

141 Report of C.I.A., 1894, pp.194, 198.

142 Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.488.

143 Excluding the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma.

144 "Report of Santee Agency," (Agent Joseph Clements) in Report of C.I.A., 1890, p.142.

members of the Lake Mohonk Conference, who were interested in demonstrating the advances made by the Indians, as well as introducing economy measures, openly praised the Santee and suggested that their Agency was now dispensable.¹⁴⁵ At the turn of the century no-one was prepared to acknowledge either the extent of the change demanded of the Indian, or the existence of a residue of their former culture which might handicap them in American society.

The Crow Creek and Lower Brule Reservations, Dakota Territory
(South Dakota from 1889)

On the Crow Creek reservation lived part of the Lower Yanktonai band of the Sioux tribe. Lower Brule reservation was named after another Sioux band: the Lower Brule. The Lower Yanktonai's were central Sioux or "Wiciyela"; they had adopted some of the characteristics of the Plain tribes and their most important ceremony was the annual Sun Dance. However, although possessing large numbers of horses they were a more sedentary and peaceable group than the Tetons. The Lower Brule were Teton Sioux and as High Plains people had practically divested themselves of all Woodland traits. Although sharing similar social organization to the other Sioux they were more individualistic and warlike; their clothing and personal decoration was more elaborate and their nomadic life following the buffalo herds had developed in them a spirit for roving and raiding.¹⁴⁶ The Lower Brule was the smallest of the Teton bands, but they had participated in the negotiations and the signing of the Sioux Treaty of 1868. Until 1875, and then

145 Mohonk, 1899, pp.31-36. The Agency was not discontinued until more than twenty years later.

146 Frederick W. Hodge, The Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Washington: G.P.O., 1907, Vol.I, pp.376-380.

during the period 1882-1896, they shared a government agent with the Indians at Crow Creek, so the comparative difference in the "advancement" of the two groups of Indians was always a point noted by United States officials. "The Indians of both reservations are all Sioux," one agent reported, "but there is a wide difference between the two tribes in almost everything that would indicate unity."¹⁴⁷

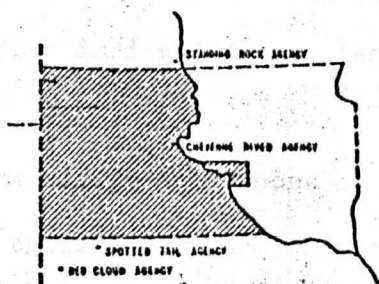
The Lower Brule appeared to successive agents and to the missionaries to be more intractable than the Indians at Crow Creek. In 1874 the Episcopal church removed their missionary as he was having such little success with the Lower Brules. A new Episcopalian missionary, Luke Walker, arrived in 1880, but he found he was impeded in his work because the Lower Brule, being camped on the west bank of the Missouri, were in contact with the "turbulent element which infects the back country."¹⁴⁸ While one group of the Brules did respond to the pressure to make them change, and the agent reported enthusiastically and exaggerately that while "once regarded as the worst class of Indians along the river, I now believe they are the best," a second group resisted.¹⁴⁹ They were reluctant to leave their band to spread out on the reservation to farm, and in the eyes of the agent made little progress "in any

147 Edward Hill, Historical Sketches for Jurisdictional and Subject Headings, Washington D.C.: National Archives, 1967; "Report of Lower Brule Agency," (Agent A.P. Dixon) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.432.

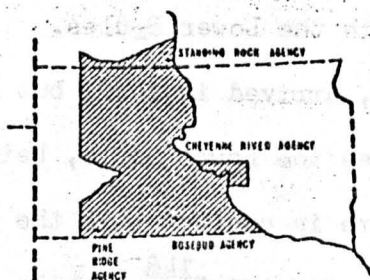
148 "Report of the Protestant Episcopal Indian Commission," in Report of B.I.C., 1874, p.177; "Report of the Bishop of Niobrara," in Report of B.I.C., 1880, p.89; James Douglas to C.I.A., May 21, 1878, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

149 "Report of Lower Brule Agency," (Agent William W. Anderson) in Report of C.I.A., 1889, p.139.

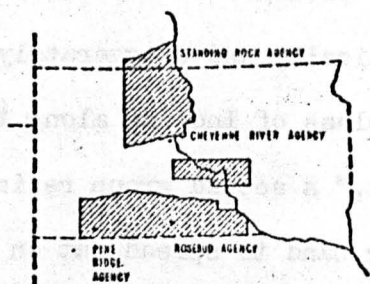
REDUCTION OF THE GREAT SIOUX RESERVATION
1868 to 1890



TREATY OF 1868



AGREEMENT OF 1876



ACT OF 1889

line except that of open rebellion to authority." Eventually this second group moved to join the large group of Brules on the Rosebud reservation.¹⁵⁰

As late as 1878 it was widely believed, even by Indian agents, that "another Sioux war was inevitable." Even in the 1880's troops were kept stationed close to the reservation. In 1886 they were called to the Lower Brule reservation to quieten a dispute, between an Indian called Useful Heart and the white farmer, which showed signs of leading to an Indian outbreak.¹⁵¹ Again in 1890 troops were called to the reservation when the Lower Brules joined the twenty thousand Indians (sixteen thousand of whom were Sioux) who believed in the prophesies of the Indian Messiah, Wovoka, and supported the ghost dance movement. However, on neither occasion did any violence occur on the reservation.¹⁵²

The Crow Creek and Lower Brule reservations straddled the Missouri river in what is now South Dakota. Established in 1863 they were at that time part of the Great Sioux Reservation.¹⁵³ The land was fertile but the recurrent droughts made it unsuitable for farming. Both the Santee Sioux and the Winnebago had fled from this area, and agents were to report consistently on the unreliability and inadequacy of the rainfall.¹⁵⁴ But the Sioux on both

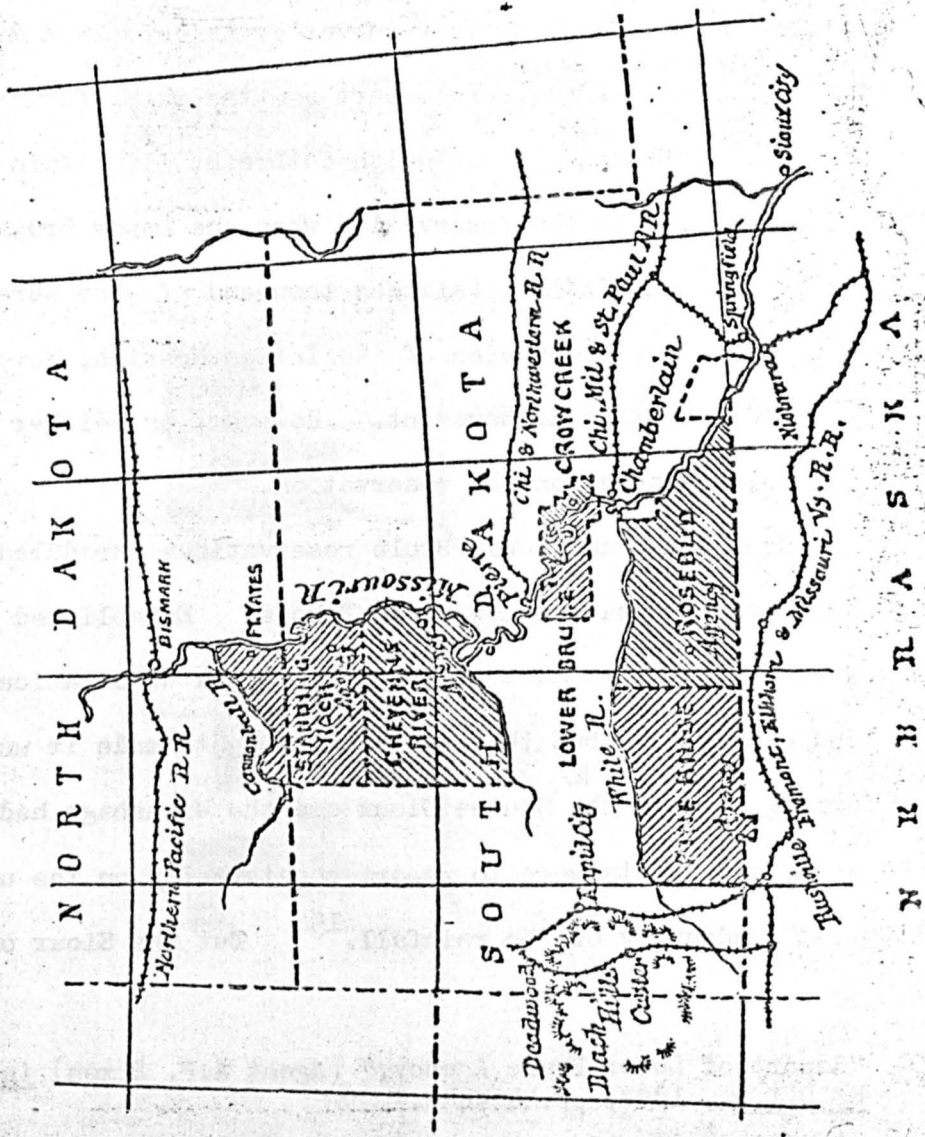
150 "Report of Lower Brule Agency," (Agent A.P. Dixon) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, pp.446-448.

151 Report of William Parsons, Special Agent, July 2, 1886, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Lower Brule Agency.

152 James Mooney, The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1896, p.817; Brig. Gen. T.H. Ruger to Asst. Adjutant Gen. U.S. Army, August 27, 1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Lower Brule Agency.

153 Clark Thompson to C.I.A., July 1, 1863, in Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1888, p.259.

154 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent Henry F. Livingstone) in Report of C.I.A., 1876, p.464.



MAP OF THE SIOUX RESERVATIONS IN 1893

reservations attempted to farm, "because of the lack of opportunity to engage in other lines of business." By 1880 the Yanktonais at Crow Creek were "prepared to take land in severalty." However at Lower Brule in 1887 when a surveyor was employed by the agent to survey the Indian lands in preparation for allotment, a group of Brules, under Little Pheasant, attempted to obstruct the work. They were arrested and imprisoned and the agent reported to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that the majority of Indians were anxious to take allotments.¹⁵⁵

Farming continued to be the Brules only opportunity for work, besides the occasional chance of freighting government supplies to the Agency. But the Yanktonais, encouraged by their agent, turned to stock raising. By 1894 they had achieved some success and were able to sell some of their beefs to the government; in three years they were able to make \$20,000 in this way. Although in 1897 a winter storm killed 65% of their herd, they slowly built it up again and by 1906 had over thirteen hundred head of cattle.¹⁵⁶

However, despite advances made towards economic self-sufficiency, these Sioux remained essentially what was known as "ration Indians". Food, clothing, wagons and farming equipment were issued regularly by the government. In 1886 sixty seven percent of the Indians on

155 "Report of Lower Brule Agency," (Agent A.P. Dixon) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.432; Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., November 17, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Lower Brule Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., October 12, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Lower Brule Agency.

156 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent Frederick Treon) in Report of C.I.A., 1897, pp. 264, 269; Gen. Terry to Senator William Allison, January 26, 1877, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

Crow Creek were subsisted by rations, and eighty five per cent of the Indians on Lower Brule. By the end of the century, although the figures had decreased, over half of both bands were still dependent on the government.¹⁵⁷

Although the land of the reservation was not ideal for farming, it was good grazing land and was wanted by white settlers, in particular the fertile valley or bottom lands of the Missouri river. In 1880 the railroad reached "so near the agency that the ordinary articles could now readily be obtained independent of river transport."¹⁵⁸ While this made the administration of the reservation easier it also put a new demand on Indian lands. As a result of pressure from local Senators, President Arthur, by Executive Order, declared that all parts of the Crow Creek reservation not occupied by Indians should be "restored to the public domain." Between February 27 and April 17, 1885, the reservation was open to white settlement. The Indians were desperate and their agent, missionaries and members of the Indian Rights Association fought to have their land restored to them.¹⁵⁹

President Cleveland, through a proclamation, announced that "the Executive was without proper power to restore these lands to the public domain," and declared the order "wholly inoperative

157 Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.412.

158 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., September 24, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.S., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

159 "Executive Order of Chester A. Arthur," February 27, 1885, in Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.319.

and void."¹⁶⁰ Troops had to be called in to remove the settlers, many of whom were poor and had already started to set up cabins to establish their homestead rights. But again in 1890 there were rumours that the reservation would be opened, "a rush was made for the reservation by whites." Troops were once more employed to remove the squatters. The squatters were removed but the Sioux bands remained very nervous. In 1889 the Great Sioux Reservation had been broken into small segments, and one agent reported that the Indians felt "there were no more vast tracts for them to fall back on, and that when the present tract is disposed of they will have no means of procuring further advantages from the government."¹⁶¹

The demand for land was only one way in which the Indians felt pressured and harassed by the local white population. Dakota was a territory where there was small profit to be made by farming, and thus the existence of Indian reservations meant not only the opportunity for jobs through political patronage, but also the chance of contracts to supply the Indians and also the army.¹⁶²

160 "Proclamation of Grover Cleveland," U.S. Stat. L. Vol. XXIII, pp.844-846; Grace Howard to C.I.A., January 1, 1892, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Geoffrey Litchfield to C.I.A., August 25, 1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

161 Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., July 10, 1886, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., March 15, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., April 21, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., April 25, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., December 26, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

162 Howard Lamar, Dakota Territory, 1861-1889, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1956, pp.180-189.

In the 1860's when there was a popular demand that the Santee Sioux be moved from Crow Creek, the Dakota politicians had proposed a new home for them in eastern Dakota "in the desire to regain the patronage of the agency."¹⁶³ For the Indians at Crow Creek and Lower Brule the existence of an "Indian ring" meant that their agents were frequently in league with the local population and eager to keep the Indians perpetually dependent on government contracts. Also, the Indians were often cheated out of their rations and annuities.¹⁶⁴ Henry F. Livingston, agent at Crow Creek from 1870 to 1878, was accused of corruption and relieved of his post; his counterpart at Lower Brule was also sacked. The new agent, Captain William Dougherty, was apparently well liked by the Indians, who even requested he be reappointed after his resignation, but even so his relationships with the Indians and the local white population were not unambiguous.¹⁶⁵ Dougherty appears to have been an honest and conscientious agent, nevertheless the problem of an agent's divided loyalties is well illustrated

163 Roy W. Meyer, History of the Santee Sioux, Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska, 1967, p.158.

164 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., September 18, 1877, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

165 Agent William G. Dougherty to Secretary of Interior, March 11, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234; Agent Henry E. Gregory to C.I.A., March 22, 1878, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234. Much of the correspondence for the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agencies, for 1878-1880, which relates to charges against Agents Livingston and Gregory has been segregated into Special File 248. It was reported in The Daily Press and Dakotian that Livingston was acquitted of the charges brought against him. All papers relating to his case have not been examined but it appears, from the evidence available, that the verdict of innocence may have been due to the fact that his trial was held in Dakota.

through his experience. Dougherty, although working for the Indians, obviously had an interest in the local white community. In 1881 he recommended to the Indian Service that it might be advisable for the Indians to sell some of their lands on the American Creek in order to help the expansion and growth of the town of Chamberlain. But the Indians were always bitterly opposed to any sale of land.¹⁶⁶

The attitude of the whites in Dakota to the Indian reservations was often inconsistent. More often than not Indians were regarded as an obstacle in the way of the development of the region. In 1881 John H. King, one of the owners of the townsite of Chamberlain (the terminus of the Chicago Milwaukee and Saint Paul Railway), was anxious to create a commission to persuade the Indians of Crow Creek to cede a part of their lands which adjoined the town. As the prosperity of the town would depend on the development of the surrounding agricultural community he saw the Indians as an obstacle in the way of this purpose. However, occasionally the Indians' presence was seen as a potential boon. During the 1890's the citizens of Chamberlain were anxious that an Indian Training School should be built there to help "boom" their town.¹⁶⁷

The Indians on the two reservations received fairly constant attention from Christian missionaries. In 1870, under the Peace Policy, the Crow Creek Agency, which included both reservations, was assigned to the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1872 Sister Anna Pritchard, of the Bishop Potter Memorial House, Philadelphia,

166 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., June 20, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

167 John H. King to C.I.A., July 8, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Special Agent Geoffrey R. Milburn to C.I.A., December 22, 1882, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.



Sister Anna's house, Crow Creek Reservation, was also a day school for the Indian girls, 1872.

arrived at Crow Creek and started a school.¹⁶⁸ She was followed soon after by the Reverend H. Burt, who was to remain forty three years among the Sioux. A day school was immediately begun and church services were held regularly. In the autumn of 1875 the missionaries moved the church and the school into one of the Indian camps (Medicine Crow's) and attendance at both immediately improved. But their presence on the reservation was not welcomed by all the Indians. It was reported from Dakota that "the conversion of a prominent ringleader of the heathen party has made feeling run high among the Yanktonais for twelve months, the heathen party being more determined than ever in their opposition to the Church."¹⁶⁹ However, the missionaries did make a considerable number of converts and as the Sioux language had already been rendered in a written form they were able to hold services in Dakota.

Although work at Lower Brule was at first discouraging and the first missionary withdrew, by 1873 a day school was being operated successfully with an average attendance of twenty pupils.¹⁷⁰ In 1875 Burt went to live on the Lower Brule reservation for a while and found the Indians more receptive to Christian teaching, and in 1879 Luke Walker was appointed as priest-in-charge of the work on Lower Brule. A Minnesota Sioux from Birch Conlee, Walker had already spent some time at the Yankton Agency, where he had revised

168 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent Henry E. Livingstone) in Report of C.I.A., 1872, p.647.

169 Unheaded newspaper clipping, 1875, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234; "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent Henry F. Livingstone) in Report of C.I.A., 1875, p.740.

170 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent Henry E. Livingstone) in Report of C.I.A., 1873, p.601.

the Dakota version of the Book of Common Prayer, the new version being published in 1875. He too was to remain on the reservation until his retirement.¹⁷¹

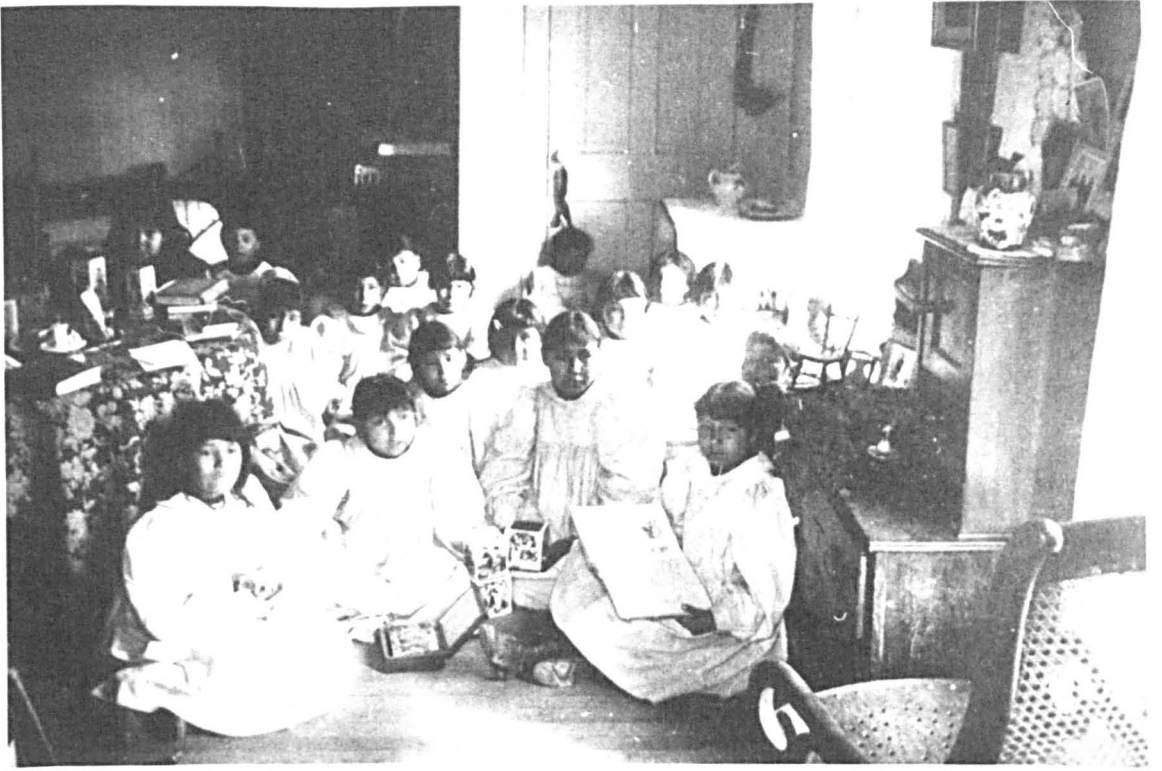
Several other Episcopalian missionaries were to work for periods on the reservation. In later years, both the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic denominations were also represented. However, the permanent presence of Burt and Walker, and their fluency in Dakota, worked as a constant influence on the Indians. In 1882 Burt married Harriet Blanchard, daughter of the trader at the Pine Ridge Agency. When she moved to Crow Creek she brought her sister, Mary Elizabeth Blanchard, who became girls' matron at the government boarding school. Agent Dougherty, an army officer who was not a church appointment, and indeed often rather unfriendly to the missionaries, observed that "the majority of the people are but little removed from the savage state," but was quick to report that the "few who are reclaimed . . . have been won over entirely by the exertions of the missionaries."¹⁷²

On being given responsibility for the Sioux Agencies the Episcopalians developed an elaborate schooling programme; by 1875 Bishop Hare was able to report that there were already nine schools in operation among the Indians at the different agencies.¹⁷³ The interest of the Indians slowly increased but was rarely wholehearted; in 1876 Hare, depressed at the irregular attendance of the children at the Yankton, Ponca and Crow Creek schools, requested that some

171 Parish Register of the Crow Creek Mission, Crow Creek Agency, Dakota Territory, Vol. I, 1873-1891; Elizabeth Rosenthal and David Clark Jr., The David Clark Memorial Exhibit, pp.1-2.

172 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent William E. Dougherty) in Report of C.I.A., 1878, p.

173 Bishop William Hare, Financial Report, September 21, 1875, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.



Little girls in Miss Blanchard's room, Crow Creek Government Boarding School, late 1880's.

coercion be used and that rations be withheld from parents whose children did not attend. His idea was endorsed by the agents and missionaries.¹⁷⁴

In 1874 there was both a day school and a boarding school on Crow Creek, the latter being situated at the agency.¹⁷⁵ The following year another day school was established.¹⁷⁶ In 1878 although the agent complained that "no amount of perseverance and energy on the part of the teachers and missionaries can fully overcome the opposition and persecution of the disaffected and unfriendly portion of the tribe to education or the introduction of the Christian faith," he reported that the boarding school was constantly filled to capacity, and recommended that as it was so successfully conducted it should be enlarged to three times the size.¹⁷⁷ However, the success of the boarding school was not uninterrupted. In 1881 the agent reported that he had had to close the school temporarily as it was being badly mismanaged and the staff were subsisting on the children's rations.¹⁷⁸ Again in 1887 when a new superintendent arrived he reported that the school

174 Bishop William Hare to C.I.A., November 29, 1876, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234; James Lawrence to Bishop William Hare, December 11, 1876, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234; Joseph Cool to C.I.A., December 1 1876, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234; Reverend Samuel Hinman to C.I.A., December 5, 1876, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234; Agent John G. Gasmann to C.I.A., November 29, 1876, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

175 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent Henry F. Livingstone) in Report of C.I.A., 1874, p.560.

176 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent Henry F. Livingstone) in Report of C.I.A., 1875, p.740.

177 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent William Dougherty) in Report of C.I.A., 1878, p.

178 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., April 1, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

was in total chaos.¹⁷⁹

In June 1879 the agent closed the day schools in the Indian camp on Crow Creek because of the difficulty of getting teachers and also because he believed the Indians should be "amid the surroundings of civilized life while being schooled."¹⁸⁰ The missionaries continued to conduct sabbath evening schools and in 1890 the Grace Mission Day School was established. Grace Howard, the daughter of a New York journalist, went to Crow Creek to attempt to help the girls returning from boarding schools by finding them work sewing, making clothes and dairying. She worked under the auspices of the Episcopal church, and in 1890 opened a school for the children living near the Mission. Until 1896 she had a contract with the government, but that year the government purchased the farm and buildings and proceeded to run it as a government boarding school.¹⁸¹ In the late 1870's the Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission had also established a boarding school. By 1894 there were almost no children at Crow Creek not in school, and the agent reported "the effects to be marvellous."¹⁸²

- 179 Williar Davison, "Report on the Industrial Boarding School at Crow Creek," October 23, 1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.
- 180 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent William G. Dougherty) in Report of C.I.A., 1880, p.148.
- 181 S. S. Cox to C.I.A., May 14, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Grace Howard to C.I.A., January 4, 1889, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; J. J. Gravall to C.I.A., January 2, 1889, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Grace Howard to C.I.A., January 14, 1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Report of B.I.C., 1887, p.19; "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent Frederick Treon) in Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.267.
- 182 Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to Carl Schurz, November 26, 1877, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

The Lower Brule Indians made less rapid educational advance. In 1880 their agent recommended that an industrial boarding school be built for them, similar to the one at Crow Creek which he described as "the best of its kind in Dakota." However, as the Indians on Lower Brule continued to live close together in their camps small day schools remained an important educational influence. In 1890 the Indian Bureau inspector recommended "that the number of day schools be increased, and that the boarding school be expanded." However, some of the children were sent to the western boarding schools which was always dispiriting for the ones who remained, and one year the agent reported that there had been a loud "clamour for day schools." By 1897 the agent was able to report that all the children on the Lower Brule reservation were in school.¹⁸³

Crow Creek and Lower Brule reservations were deeply involved in the broader national experiment in Indian education. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, principal of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Training College, watched developments there with interest. By 1887 there were one hundred and four children from the two reservations attending Hampton. Armstrong's efforts were "largely staked on the success of our training Indians from that Agency." He told the Commissioner that "we mean to do everything we can for these two Sioux tribes, and watch their course with

183 Elaine Goodale, "General Remarks on Schools at Crow Creek and Lower Brule," May 20, 1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; P. Parker to C.I.A., November 19, 1892, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., November 19, 1892, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; P. Parker to C.I.A., September 24, 1892, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent Frederick Treon) in Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.269.

interest. We wish to concentrate on these and show what education can do, co-operating with government work on the ground."¹⁸⁴ It was on these two reservations that some of the problems of the returned students--bad health, few opportunities for work, arrogance and loss of identity--first became evident.¹⁸⁵ The agent, noting these problems, concluded that "as a rule I believe Indian children should be educated on or near the reservation."¹⁸⁶ Amongst the Indians a strong hostility to letting their children leave the reservation slowly developed.¹⁸⁷

In three decades the general condition of the Indians on Crow Creek and Lower Brule changed remarkably. Officials were enthusiastic about their progress. However, judging their progress in terms of measurable factors they failed to notice the disillusionment and malaise that accompanied the Indians' abrupt transformation into partial Americans. The ghost dancing in 1890 was an indication of the Sioux hankering for their past life. The majority of whites were so shaken by the event they refused to consider its deep implications, and considered that as only the "wilder" Indians

184 Samuel C. Armstrong to C.I.A., January 20, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Dougherty to C.I.A., April 17, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

185 Report of B.I.C., 1887, p.19; Agent Geoffrey H. Spencer to C.I.A., December 1, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., April 20, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., December 9, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., December 14, 1888, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

186 Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., April 20, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

187 Interviews with: Ruth Fire, August 22 - September 1, 1875, Crow Creek Reservation; Reverend Clive Estes, August 30-31, 1874, Lower Brule Reservation; Maggie Smith, September 3, Winnebago Reservation.

participated it had no long-term meaning. Occasionally officials did note the feeling of the Indians. One agent on Crow Creek reported that despite their progress he did not consider his Indians a happy people, for they were prone to "brood discontentedly over their subdued condition and over the loss of their territory and freedom."¹⁸⁸

Conclusion

Although government officials did recognize that tribal cultures varied, they tended to classify Indians under two headings: wild or semi-civilized. It was therefore expected that the educational programme would achieve varying degrees of success on the different reservations. However, by 1900 it was clear that on no reservation had it been an unqualified success. The situation of the tribes had changed markedly since 1870, but the Indians had not been assimilated into American society. Although tribes such as the Mescalero Apache and the Lower Brule Sioux were no longer the strong warrior societies they had been, what was of particular concern to officials was the fact that tribes like the Omaha, deemed for decades to be semi-civilized, had "retrograded" instead of "advancing." At the turn of the century general belief that the Indian problem could be solved in a generation was fading, although more than twenty years were to pass before the well established tenets of Indian policy would be questioned.

188 "Report of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency," (Agent A.P. Dixon) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, pp.434-435.

Chapter V

Education on the Reservation

Despite its shifting emphasis the basic tenets of Indian policy remained consistent throughout the years 1870 - 1900. The "civilizing" of the Indian was the ultimate goal, and to the majority of people this meant broadly not only that all Indians should be economically self-supporting, but that in dress, housing, appearance and behaviour they should as nearly as possible resemble Americans. Each year the agents had to report to the Indian Bureau on how many of their charges wore "citizens' clothes", attended church, were able to read, earned their living in a "civilized" manner, occupied houses, could communicate in English and were married to the women they were living with. These clearly defined categories, while limited and superficial, can be seen as reflections of the broad goals of Indian policy.

The majority of government employees on Indian reservations had little or no interest in the broad project in which they were officially engaged: the civilizing of the Indians. Teachers, farmers, clerks, tradesmen and agents frequently regarded their work as a job, a means of earning a living, and had no theoretical or abstract ideas about the best way to coax the Indians towards a different style of life. They enforced the orders that came from Washington or simply pragmatically found answers to day to day problems as they arose. But there were individuals who were actively committed to Americanizing the Indian; who, whether in response to the immediate challenge or for more deeply held beliefs, offered reasons and explanations for all their actions and behaviour. Most whites who were concerned to "help" the Indian lived in the

East; they rarely encountered an Indian let alone visited a reservation. But there were some who not only theorized but attempted to put their beliefs into practice.

As has been demonstrated in chapter two, many who believed that the Indian could be civilized attributed his undeniable "inferiority" to his social situation. However, whites who were active on the reservation, and who were committed to confronting the question of the Indian's educability, often pin-pointed the essence of the problem differently and framed their solutions and educational programmes accordingly. These individuals, acting not only to implement government policy but also their own views, attempted to bring about the Indian's "civilization" by different means. While such people were in the minority they were of vital significance in the practical implementation of federal Indian policy.

Officially, the civilizing of the Indian was to be a unilateral activity, through which American habits and values would be permanently instilled in the Indian. However, although whites held power and authority over the Indians the latter were not mere passive recipients of white dictates. As Indians responded and reacted to white policy officials on the reservation were often forced to adapt or modify their methods. Usually the answers they formulated were coloured by the character and situation of the particular Indians in question, but always they were based on some theoretical notion of what constituted the basic difference between Indian and white society.

In the following chapter four different approaches to the civilizing of the Indian will be examined. Each is individual and specific but each represents the practical application of a broader scheme of thought about the Indian.

* * * * *

When President Grant inaugurated his new policy, based on the premise that the Indian problem could more easily be solved through peaceful than through military means, he turned to the Quakers for help, asserting, "If I can make Quakers out of the Indians it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace."¹ It was perhaps ironic that the Central Superintendency, allocated to the Orthodox Friends, held jurisdiction over some of the wildest tribes in the United States. At the Kiowa and Comanche Agency in Indian Territory, the extreme pacifism of the Quakers was to collide directly with the warrior societies of the Kiowa and Comanche Indians. Their first Quaker agent was to conclude that "they were probably the worst Indians east of the Rocky mountains."²

The Quakers saw the Indians as men who needed to be "redeemed with the precious blood of Christ," but who if "treated honestly and candidly on the basis of 'peace, goodwill towards men,'" would respond and live in peace and harmony with the Americans. The idea that the Indian's aggressive behaviour was prompted by the unjust actions of whites was shared by others in America who were not Quaker and such a belief ran deep in the thinking of the reformers. Helen Hunt Jackson, attempting to redirect the finger of blame and force Americans to consider their own responsibility for Indian wars, carefully documented the crimes of what she called "a century of dishonor."³ But the belief that it was violence and

1 Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant, Philadelphia: 1899, pp.xvii-xviii.

2 Ibid., p.25.

3 Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor: The Early Crusade for Indian Reform, New York: Harper and Rowe, 1961, (original publishing date 1881)

corruption that had caused all Indian wars was held in its most extreme form by the Quakers, who likewise saw fairness and honesty as providing the only basis for a solution to the "Indian problem." Approaching the problem from a Christian standpoint they regarded the Indians as being essentially the same as whites both morally and physically. They were thus able to consider the different aspects of Indian culture as totally irrelevant to the problem. The Indians' wildness and savagery, although never denied, were to the Quakers simply a product of their having been treated unjustly and excluded from a knowledge of Christ.⁴

Quaker belief in the essential unity of mankind, and thus in the similarity of behaviour of all people, is well illustrated in the frequent parallels they drew between Indian and white behaviour. Agent Tatum, in attempting to explain the chiefs' persistent inability to control their younger men and stop them raiding, did not designate the problem as typically Indian. He did not see this as a symptom of the Indian's tribal government, and an indication of their inferior society, nor did he question whether raiding had some important function for the Indian, instead he saw it as a general problem common to all societies and suggested it was "as impracticable for the chiefs to prevent their young men from stealing as it is for civil officers to prevent the commission of crime by wicked men in civilized communities."⁵

Convinced that there was no real difference between themselves and the Indians the Quakers believed that change could be wrought in the Indians' habits through good example. Agent Tatum

4 Tatum, op. cit., pp.vii-xviii, 21-23; "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent L. Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1869, p.385.

5 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent L. Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.725.

suggested that most of the wheat for the Indians could be grown on the reservation. Not only would that save government money and help keep the Indians secluded from undesirable whites who would otherwise be needed to deliver the goods, but it would mean that the Indians would see the agency employees actively engaged in labour. "If we civilize the Indian we must associate with him," asserted Tatum, "and in that association should be industrious if we would have him become so."⁶

The Quaker principles of fairness, generosity, passivity, example and Christian teaching were to be put to the test when confronted with the Kiowa and Comanche Indians. Lawrie Tatum, the first Quaker agent to be appointed to the agency, was an Iowa farmer totally ignorant of Indians but fervently religious and firm in his belief that the new Quaker policy was a "holy experiment."⁷ In his four years as agent he was to be forced to modify his methods to such a degree that eventually his resignation was sought by the Executive Committee who believed he had compromised the Quaker principle of passivity. Not only did Tatum frequently question government policy but he was forced, in some degree, to revise his opinion of the Indian. Reporting with surprise that the Kiowas appeared "to have no higher wish than to roam unmolested on the plains, and occasionally make a raid into Texas to get some horses," he came to believe that they should not be treated softly: that they should be punished for criminal offences in the same way as white people, and that no allowance should be made for their being Indians.⁸

6 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1869, p.385.

7 Tatum, op. cit., pp.v-xi, 106.

8 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1869, p.385; Tatum, op. cit., p.115.

To enable the Indian to understand "civilization" and Christian teaching Tatum believed he must be treated with fairness. One of Tatum's major criticisms while he was agent concerned the basic inequity of government policy. Commissioner Francis Walker regarded as both shrewd and expedient the policy of providing rations and gifts to the fiercer tribes, to encourage them to cease fighting, while forcing the more peaceful Indians to work.⁹ This approach reached an extreme at the Kiowa and Comanche Agency where the peaceful Indians actually lost their land, and the United States Special Indian Commissioner complained:

"The present relative position of the Wichitas and the Kiowas and Comanches suggests an evil demoralizing to both, which should at once be corrected. The former being patient and obedient, are neglected and poor, and their lands are taken from them; the latter being wild and troublesome, are made the recipients of the lands. It is rewarding evil and punishing good."¹⁰

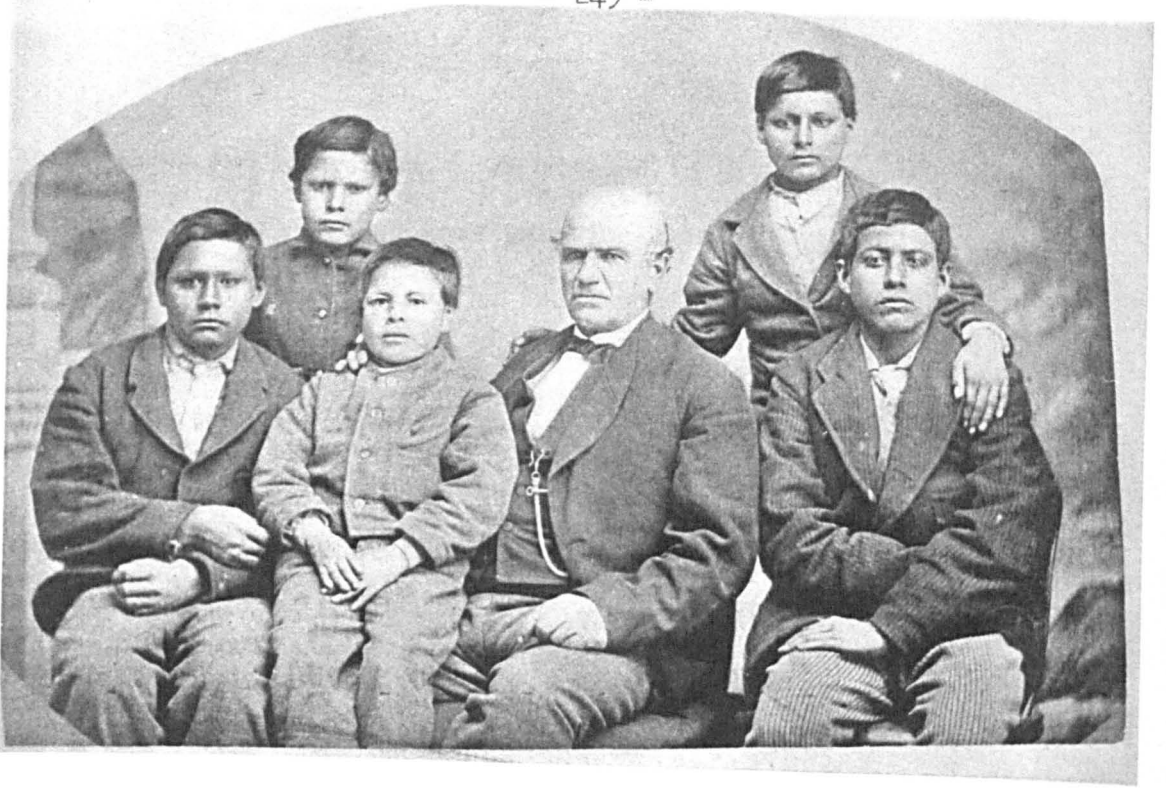
Tatum endorsed the Commissioner's view and struggled not only to secure land, money and help for the Wichita Indians but also to enforce a less cowering policy towards the raiding tribes.¹¹ He believed that giving in to the demands of the Indians, after they had committed an outrage, left "but little room for Christian labour among them, as it must be almost wholly paralysed by such a course."¹² When he had been at the agency only a few months

9 Francis Walker, The Indian Question, Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874, pp.34-38.

10 "Report of a talk between the U.S. Special Indian Commission and the Chiefs and Headmen of the Kiowa and Comanche Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1869, pp.61-65.

11 Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, August 31, 1872, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234; Enoch Hoag to C.I.A., February 5, 1870, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234; Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, October 16, 1869, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

12 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent L. Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.725; Tatum op. cit., pp.30, 35.



Lawrie Tatum at Fort Sill with a group of Mexican children recently freed from Indian captivity, 1872.

there was an Indian attack. He refused to give back-rations to Indians who had failed to come into the agency, but as they continued their depredations he found their actions "very discouraging."¹³ As the Indians did not respond to gentle treatment Tatum began to get tougher.

The most generally hated of the Indians' activities was the practice of taking captives. Often large ransom sums were paid to secure these captives' return. Tatum, to begin with, paid the ransom money, but later, when becoming aware that the Indians held a captive, he refused to issue them with their rations.

"The plan of withholding rations from a tribe or band that had white captives until they had delivered was new and experimental. No one knew whether it would work well or not. But I thought it was right and therefore the thing to do. In practice it worked grandly."¹⁴

Eventually, through his iron tactics, he managed to secure the release of twenty six captives. This was recognized as an astounding success by both his fellow Friends and officials of the Indian Bureau.¹⁵

Tatum was distressed "that with kindness and fair dealing the Indians would not be brought into subjection and cease their almost continuous depredations." He became convinced that he had to be more forceful and admitted that he now recognized that not mildness but "firm restraint was the kindness I thought was needed."¹⁶ After a visit from the agent from the Cheyenne Agency Tatum dismissed the guard who was stationed close to his office. "What is this?" the Fellow Friend had demanded, "Dost thou realize that

13 Tatum, op. cit., pp.33-40.

14 Ibid., p.47.

15 Hugh D. Corwin, Comanche and Kiowa Captives in Oklahoma and Texas, Oklahoma: Oklahoma Publishing Co., 1959, p.175.

16 Tatum, op. cit., pp.165, 166.

thou art violating the precepts of the Society by using armed force?"¹⁷ But increasingly Tatum came to believe that force, or its suggestion, was necessary for disciplining the Indians. He saw the mere presence of the army contributed to his power to claim captives from the Indians.¹⁸ In 1872, when several bands of Comanches were raiding continually, he wrote to the army officers at Fort Sill asking that they take further steps against the Indians. Superintendent Hoag strongly disapproved this action believing it unworthy of a Quaker. But Tatum was adamant, if the Indians were to appreciate Christian society they must be made to understand what was good and what was evil. When Satanta and Big Tree, two Chiefs who had openly taken part in a raid, were captured and then released without punishment, Tatum resigned.¹⁹

Disappointed by his failure but nevertheless convinced that his firm policy was the only one Tatum returned to the East. He had, to some degree, understood the warrior nature of Kiowa and Comanche society, but remaining loyal to the Quaker principle of "the family of man" he remained incapable of articulating his own understanding. And ultimately, while acknowledging the importance of the army, he could not endorse a policy of total force.²⁰

Tatum's successor, James Haworth, was openly critical of the former's actions and attempted to re-establish what he saw as strict Quaker principles. Calling the Indians to a council he

17 Ibid.; W.S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, The Story of Old Fort Sill, Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1937, p.144.

18 Tatum, op. cit., p.45.

19 Ibid., pp.159-161; Nye, op. cit., p.212.

20 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent L. Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1869, p.386.



Kicking Bird headed the Kiowa peace faction; he invited the Quaker missionary, Thomas Battey, to his camp to teach the children. This photograph was taken in 1868 and Kicking Bird died in 1875.

told them he wanted to live with them as friends and asked them "to abstain from raiding."²¹ Convinced of the "wisdom and righteousness of the present peace policy" Haworth came to be charged with "weakness and incompetency in the performance of his official duties." The United States inspector who investigated the charges found that Haworth had "mingled freely" with the Indians, "and won their respect and confidence to a greater degree than any of his predecessors." But in explaining why the agent had not been able to prevent some of his charges from going on the war path the Inspector saw it as a result of Haworth's "endeavour to carry out strictly the non-combatant doctrine of the society that has charge at this Agency as that doctrine is understood and I believe insisted upon by the Superintendent at Lawrence."²² Brigadier General Augur, from Fort Sill, was nervous that what he saw as Haworth's "weakness and indecision" might lead to trouble. He regarded the Kiowa and Comanche agency as the most important in the country and argued that "the agent here should be a man of force and ability and practical common sense." Noting the difference between the two Quaker agents he suggested that Lawrie Tatum should be re-appointed.²³ However, Inspector Kemble was pessimistic about the possibility of any Friend proving to be a successful agent and reported to the Indian Bureau that, "if the construction which has been put upon the Peace Policy of the Government by these worthy and sincere Friends who have charge

21 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent James Haworth) in Report of C.I.A., 1873, pp.219-220.

22 Inspector Edward Kemble, Investigation of Charges Against Agent Haworth, January 7, 1878, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

23 Brigadier General C.C. Augur to General W.T. Sherman, September 9, 1874, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

of this agency is to prevail, I do not believe it will be possible for them to nominate an agent to this post whose administration will not prove a disastrous failure."²⁴

During the whole period of Quaker administration the issuance of government rations was one of the agent's most important activities, and this was especially true in the early 1870's. Even the Commissioner, on considering the Indians of the Kiowa and Comanche agency, was obliged to report "even the best of them have given small signs of improvement in the arts of life, and, substantially, the whole dealing of the Government with them, thus far, has been in the way of supplying their necessities for food and clothing."²⁵ The importance of rations as a means of keeping the Indians peaceful was recognized. Felix Brunot, Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, urged "upon the department the importance of immediately resuming the issue of coffee and sugar rations" as being "more effective in holding them here in peace than any other measure which the government can adopt," and in August 1869 Agent Tatum insisted he would be unable to hold the Indians on their reservation unless he increased their rations.²⁶

By 1871 Agent Tatum believed that the Indians' continued raiding meant that they had "forfeited their treaty." Insisting that they should nevertheless be helped he asserted that "there should be magnanimity enough in the government to suitably provide for their wants and to advance them in the arts of civilized life

24 Kemble, op. cit.

25 Report of C.I.A., 1872, p.166.

26 Felix Brunot to C.I.A., August 21, 1869, in Report of C.I.A., 1869, pp.60-61; Lawrie Tatum to C.I.A., August 10, 1869, (telegram), B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

without making further treaties with them."²⁷ Tatum's attitude to the issuance of rations well reflected his own beliefs about the treatment of the Indian. He worked and pleaded to ensure that sufficient supplies were provided by the Indian Bureau and he used these supplies, in the form of persuasion and bribes, to encourage the Indians to settle down, return captives and begin farming.²⁸

In his final monthly report to the Commissioner Tatum claimed that the chiefs were keen to have houses built. He felt that they should prove their seriousness by at least farming for one season and concluded:

"the time is not very distant when it would be right to inform the Indian that the 'white man's road' is not only to eat beef, flour, coffee and sugar, but to earn or produce it."²⁹

The Quakers believed in the power of moral suasion, and while Tatum came to feel that an element of firmness was also necessary he never lost his belief that essentially fairness, kindness and generosity were necessary in dealing with the Indian. When one of the "progressive" chief's wife died, Tatum sent blankets and calico to him to replace those that had been burnt as part of the Indian's mourning. He was clearly pleased that after his resignation several Indians expressed regret at his departure and one told him, "no other agent has treated us with the uniform kindness that you have."³⁰

27 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent L. Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1871, pp.503-504.

28 Agent Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, March 22, 1870, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

29 Agent Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, Monthly Report, March 31, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

30 Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers, op. cit., pp.61-63, 160-161.

In educating the Indians the Quakers thought that persuasion and coaxing were necessary. They placed great faith in the power of the Gospel, and in 1872 the Associated Executive Committee of Friends attributed the reluctance of the Indians to settle down to the grave lack of religious instruction on the reservation.

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends adopted a resolution:

"That in each agency, some person or persons (to be designated by the general agent) shall be responsible to the Executive Committee for religious instruction of the Indians.

That each agent shall be responsible to the Executive Committee that so far as possible, every member of each tribe under his care . . . shall be told the saving truths of the gospel.

That First-day schools for Scriptural Instruction be established in every Agency where it is possible. Great care should be taken that the lessons are interesting, attractive, and very simple, and especial pains be taken to win the love of the parents and chiefs.

That agents stimulate the Indian Councils to enact and enforce the laws of marriage for their tribes."³¹

There were no schools on the Kiowa and Comanche reservation and Tatum quickly established one although he was unable to persuade any of his own Indians to send their children there.³² However, he believed that

"Could there be several religious praying teachers or missionaries procured to go to the various camps of the Indians of this agency to teach their children . . . I believe that the witness of God in their hearts would be reached and, a portion of them would cease their nomadic and roving habits."³³

31 Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. X, No. 11, June 1932; Martha Buntin, The Quaker Indian Agents of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Reservation, unpub. M.A. thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, 1931, p.212.

32 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent Lawrie Tatum) in Report of C.I.A., 1871, p.504; Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, January 20, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

33 Tatum, op. cit., p.81.

In December 1872 Thomas Battey, a Quaker teacher who had been working amongst the Caddoes since November 1871, went to live with the Kiowas of Killing Bear's camp. The school he established was not wholly successful, owing to the fact that there was much illness amongst the children for which the Indians blamed his presence,³⁴ but his work was greeted enthusiastically by the agent who asserted, "there are few if any employees in the agency, whose practical nature is of more service than T.C. Battey, both to the children and to the Government."³⁵ Within a year several of the Comanche and Apache chiefs were requesting to have teachers in their camps.³⁶ By 1875 chiefs from both the Kiowa and Comanche tribes were willing to "give their children for the school."³⁷ Battey learnt the Kiowa language, he ate and travelled with the Indians and attended some of their most private ceremonies. While it was through his writings that anthropologists have gained details of traditional Kiowa customs, Battey merely observed and reported the details. Able to realize the importance of fighting and carnage to the Kiowa he nevertheless was unable to view this in a cultural context, for he believed in an absolute system of morality, and was certain of the ultimate appeal of this to the Indians. On hearing the Christian truths explained to the Caddoe Indians Battey was convinced "they knew that something told them in their hearts that it was wrong to lie, to steal, to get

34 Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among Indians, Boston, 1875, p.118.

35 Agent Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, January 20, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

36 Agent Lawrie Tatum to C.I.A., March 31, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

37 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent J. Haworth) in Report of C.I.A., 1875, p.775.

drunk, and to murder, but they did not know it was the Great Spirit that was telling them."³⁸

In considering Tatum's time as agent Battey wrote, "I know that in his own estimation his administration has not been a successful one, and perhaps in some respects it has not."³⁹ It was hard for the Quakers to acknowledge the failure of their work with the Indians when they saw it as being based on such sound principles. Believing in the universality of Christian teaching they were unable to comprehend the large cultural barrier that separated their assumptions from those of the Indians. "I am persuaded," wrote Battey, that, "whatever errors there may be discovered in the management of affairs at this agency, they will be of the head and not of the heart."⁴⁰

* * * * *

The missionaries of the Dakota Mission, like the Friends, believed that the Bible and Christian teaching were vital for civilizing the Indian. But, unlike the Friends, they did not believe that the god the Indians worshipped was the same as the one white Christians prayed to. They regarded the Indian's false gods as being at the root of his savagery. Indian education to these missionaries meant not only treating the Indians fairly, and by good example and kind treatment coaxing them towards civilization, but also actively attempting to substitute Christian truths for their pagan superstitions. As the Indian's savagery was essentially a religious problem to the missionaries of the

38 Battey, op. cit., p.313.

39 Battey, op. cit., pp.136-137.

40 Ibid.

Dakota Mission, they believed Indian education could never succeed if it was conceived of only in secular terms; the Indian would not be civilized if he merely lived and dresses as a white man and was economically self-sufficient. However, as Christianity was not an addition to Indian belief, but had to replace his pagan system of thinking, formal teaching was necessary to help him make this change. Thus for the missionaries of the Dakota Mission education and Christianity were inseparable.

Some of the mission families had lived with the Sioux tribe for several generations. Through study of the Dakota language and examination of the Indians' behaviour they came to understand many of the intricacies of the tribe's culture. The Dakota Mission was at first attached to the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions, but it was transferred to the American Missionary Association. The missionaries were therefore Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

The early missionaries were often worried that the Indians might fail to grasp the essential Christian message. The Indians did not share the Christian doctrine of sin; the missionary's main task was therefore to convince them that they were sinners, in order to make the Christian doctrine of redemption appear sensible.⁴¹ But many Indians were unable to see the opposition to their own beliefs contained in Christian teaching. Samuel Pond who, with his brother Gideon, began work with the Sioux in the 1830's, wrote despairingly, "This afternoon I had some conversation with Kayan Hotanka, who is strongly of the opinion that their religion and

41 S.W. Pond, Jr., Two Volunteer Missionaries Among the Dakotas, Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School Publishing Ho., 1893, p.102.

that of the Bible are the same, and that he has been a Christian twenty years. Deluded man!"⁴²

Stephen Riggs arrived among the Sioux after the Ponds. He, and his son Alfred who continued his work, made detailed studies of tribal life, but they both took pains to show that the Indians were not worshipping a single god, the Creator, but rather innumeral different spirits. Stephen Riggs stressed that, "In addition to the common hindrances of grossness, sensuality, and selfishness, dulling the ear, deafening the mind, and fortifying the heart, the gospel here met a powerful enemy in their false religion."⁴³

Slowly the Sioux came to realize that this new religion being offered to them could not coexist with their own. Stephen Riggs noted that, "From the time the chief men came to understand that the religion of Christ was an exclusive religion, and that it would require the giving up of their ancestral faith, they set themselves in opposition to it."⁴⁴

Whilst anxious to understand the Sioux, the missionary's study and analysis was not only based on the premise that the Indian was heathen, but was also aimed at knowing how best to bring him to Christianity and civilization. Stephen Riggs came to know about all the important Sioux gods; to him they were "so far as forms and names were concerned . . . the creation of their own deluded and foul imaginings."⁴⁵ Riggs was therefore rather contemptuous of Indian gods. In describing the four varieties

42 Ibid., p.103.

43 Stephen R. Riggs, Tah-Koo Wah-Kan, or, The Gospel Among the Dakotas, Boston: 1869, p.54

44 Stephen R. Riggs, Mary and I: or Forty Years Among the Sioux, Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1880, pp.127-128.

45 Stephen R. Riggs, The Gospel Among the Dakotas, op. cit., p.42.

of the Ha-yo-ka, or anti-natural God he writes, "They are all armed with the bow and arrow and the deer-hoof rattle, which are charged with electricity. One of the varieties carries a drum, and for a drumstick holds a little wake'yan god by the tail, striking the drum with its beak. This would seem an unfortunate position for a god to be in, but it must be remembered that it is wakan, and the more absurd a thing is, the more wakan."⁴⁶ However, he also saw their gods as dangerous and as having "substantial spiritual powers, for the worship of the Dakota does not fall on vacancy, but is consciously paid to spiritual beings which can be none other than the spirits of darkness."⁴⁷ He himself unconsciously showed his recognition of their gods (or devils, in his terms) when, after his wife's brother was suddenly and tragically drowned in the river he wrote "the Indians said their water god, Oonktehe, was displeased with us for coming to build here. He had seized the young man. It did seem at times as though God was against us."⁴⁸

Unable to accept Indian gods the missionaries nevertheless stood the extent to which religion permeated the whole of Indian life. They recognized that the Indians' religion gave the law to all their social customs and domestic industries, that it regulated the hunt, the journey, and the formation and activities of the camp. It was for this reason that Riggs could declare with such assurance that the Indian "must be a savage as long as he is a pagan."⁴⁹

46 Ibid., pp.78-79.

47 Ibid., p.92.

48 Stephen R. Riggs, Mary and I: or Forty Years Among the Sioux, op. cit., p.108.

49 Ibid., pp.102-103.

This was also the reason that they realized they had to aim to both educate and convert the whole community. So long as the Christian Indians represented only a minority the overwhelming pressure of the society was working against them: those who attempted to save or store food were breaking one of the essential principles of Indian life; men who farmed were plagued with the taunt that they had made themselves into women; but worst of all the Christian Indians were accused of having abandoned the religion of their fathers. Ehnamane, a Santee pastor, who was active converting his people on the reservation, having become a Christian after the 1862 massacre, once told Riggs that before he died his father had said to him:

"The white man is coming into the country, and your children may learn to read. But promise me that you will never leave the religion of your ancestors."⁵⁰

The Dakota believed that every man and race were under the protection of their own special divinities. Samuel Pond found that even when the Indians had nothing to disagree with in Christianity, "they maintained that though it was a good religion for us, it was not for them."⁵¹ After the Sioux uprising in 1862, when three hundred and three Indians were found guilty of murder and sentenced to death (although eventually only thirty eight were hanged) a mass conversion took place. Whatever the reason for the Indians' change of heart it was, the missionaries thought, a sign that the Indians now recognized the weakness of their own gods who had been unable to protect them from the revenge and justice of the whites.⁵²

50 Stephen R. Riggs, Mary and I, op. cit., pp.282-283.

51 Pond, op. cit., p.218.

52 Stephen R. Riggs, The Gospel Among the Dakotas, op. cit., pp.341-345.

As part of the effort to reach the whole community the missionaries developed a Dakota alphabet which was to elevate Sioux to a written language. The project was "undertaken as a means to a greater end. To put God's words in their thoughts," Riggs wrote, "and to teach them to read in their own tongue the wonderful words of God."⁵³ The alphabet was actually developed by the Pond brothers, but all the missionaries took part in deducing the grammar and collecting the vocabulary.⁵⁴ By speaking Dakota they hoped not only to gain a greater understanding of the Indian, but also to be able to channel his thought "which cannot be easily educated except through a familiar language."⁵⁵

Despite their scorn for Indian religion the missionaries did not fall victim to the belief that Indian languages were deficient and necessarily inferior. Aware that Dakota lacked certain words and concepts, for example there was no word for colour, time or space, they also recognized it was rich in other aspects. "the Dakota verb," wrote Pond, "is peculiarly complex and by means of inflections expresses certain shades of meaning not expressed by any of the languages of civilization without the introduction of adverbial phrases." However the language of counting was limited; while this presented certain problems in teaching arithmetic, terms having to be devised by the missionaries for fractions and arithmetical concepts, it gave them an insight into the children's difficulty with that subject.⁵⁶ Speaking Dakota daily Stephen

53 Ibid., p.60.

54 Pond, op. cit., pp.51-88.

55 Stephen R. Riggs, The Gospel Among the Dakotas, op. cit., p.412.

56 Ibid., pp.7-12; Pond, op. cit., pp.50-51; Stephen R. Riggs, Mary and I: or, Forty Years Among the Sioux, op. cit., pp.80-81.

Riggs confessed that he thought and dreamed in the language, and while there had been times when it had seemed to him "barren and meaningless" that feeling passed and it became for him "a heart language" equally as capable of expressing his profoundest thoughts as English."⁵⁷

In thirty three years of work with the Sioux Stephen Riggs claimed that he had learned six major lessons:

1. "That teaching Indians to read and write in their own language when they are willing and desirous to learn is very easy . . .
2. The ability to read and write in an Indian language is of itself a great step in education. It gives the man an understanding of what letters mean . . .
3. The Dakota scholar, by having learned the act of reading in his own tongue, which he understands, is thereby able more intelligently and vigourously to take hold of the English, which he does not and for a long time cannot understand.
4. It follows from these experiences that the boarding school in which young children are taken and cared for and taught in and through the English language alone, is not the quickest and most economical way of reaching the desired end . . . a few are raised above their people in culture and knowledge, only to be dragged down again, in many cases, to nearly the same level.
5. Above all as a means of evangelization, education should be in the vernacular. Men's hearts are reached through their understanding.
6. Most easily and successfully to accomplish these great ends of education, all members of a tribe, as far as possible, should be reached by some system of common schools; and so all, or a large portion, will be educated together, through their own language first, and then up through the English tongue."⁵⁸

Alfred Riggs was to endorse all these points and to continue to expand the work when the Indians were moved to the Santee Reservation.

57 Ibid., p.130.

58 Stephen R. Riggs, The Gospel Among the Dakotas, op. cit., pp.408-411.



Faculty of the Santee Normal Training School -seated left Rev. A L Riggs, standing left Mrs A L Riggs, c1885.

Having developed and put into practice a theory of education which involved extensive use of an Indian language, Alfred Riggs was forced to defend the educational system that was operating at the Santee Manual Training School when it was attacked from Washington. In 1880 the Bureau adopted a regulation requiring the exclusive use of English. A more stringent ruling was passed four years later when the Government threatened to withdraw funds from any school using the vernacular.⁵⁹ Riggs and the Dakota Mission had managed to evade the previous rule by applying for funds exclusively for the English Department of the Santee School.⁶⁰ In 1887 Commissioner John D.C. Atkins forbade any teaching in the vernacular and insisted, "The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught."⁶¹ While Riggs did terminate his native theology class, Dakota continued to be used as a means of explaining subjects to the children in church services, although any such use was suspected by officials of the Bureau.⁶²

Riggs wrote constantly to the Bureau of Indian Affairs explaining his methods and justifying his position. Not only was his and his father's work at stake, but so also was the funding of the Santee school. Rations for the school children were provided by the government and in 1880 tuition payment for thirty students

59 Report of C.I.A., 1887, pp.xx-xxi.

60 John O'Means (Sect. of the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions), to C.I.A., August 25, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75., L.R., Santee Agency.

61 Report of C.I.A., 1887, p.xxii.

62 Special Agent W.H. Sallmadge to C.I.A., June 20, 1888, B.I.A., R.G. 75., L.R., Santee Agency.

was also supplied at Riggs request. Increasingly, the school became dependent on government money. After 1883 about \$12,000 was provided annually.⁶³ But Riggs refused to change the teaching methods of the Santee school so in 1893 the government contract was terminated and the school was forced to survive solely on funds provided by the American Missionary Association.

Although the Santee were "far in advance of all the other Sioux," the school was intended for the whole tribe.⁶⁴ Alfred Riggs stated clearly that his main object was "to create a native agency that shall work as leaven for the regeneration of their own people. Hence, while we plan to fit them as individuals for citizenship with us, we are also careful to maintain their common interests and sympathy with their own race."⁶⁵

In 1889 Riggs was sure that the school was proving a success and fulfilling its purpose, seeing evidence for this in the fact "that returned pupils find it easy to obtain employment with often very good wages."⁶⁶ However, although anxious for the Indians to retain their ties with their own communities, Riggs never suggested that their tribal relations should be perpetuated; seeing these as intimately connected with their traditional customs he felt that they became "more and more a drag on mankind and independence as the Indians make advancement."⁶⁷

The Santee school slowly grew; in 1870 there were one hundred

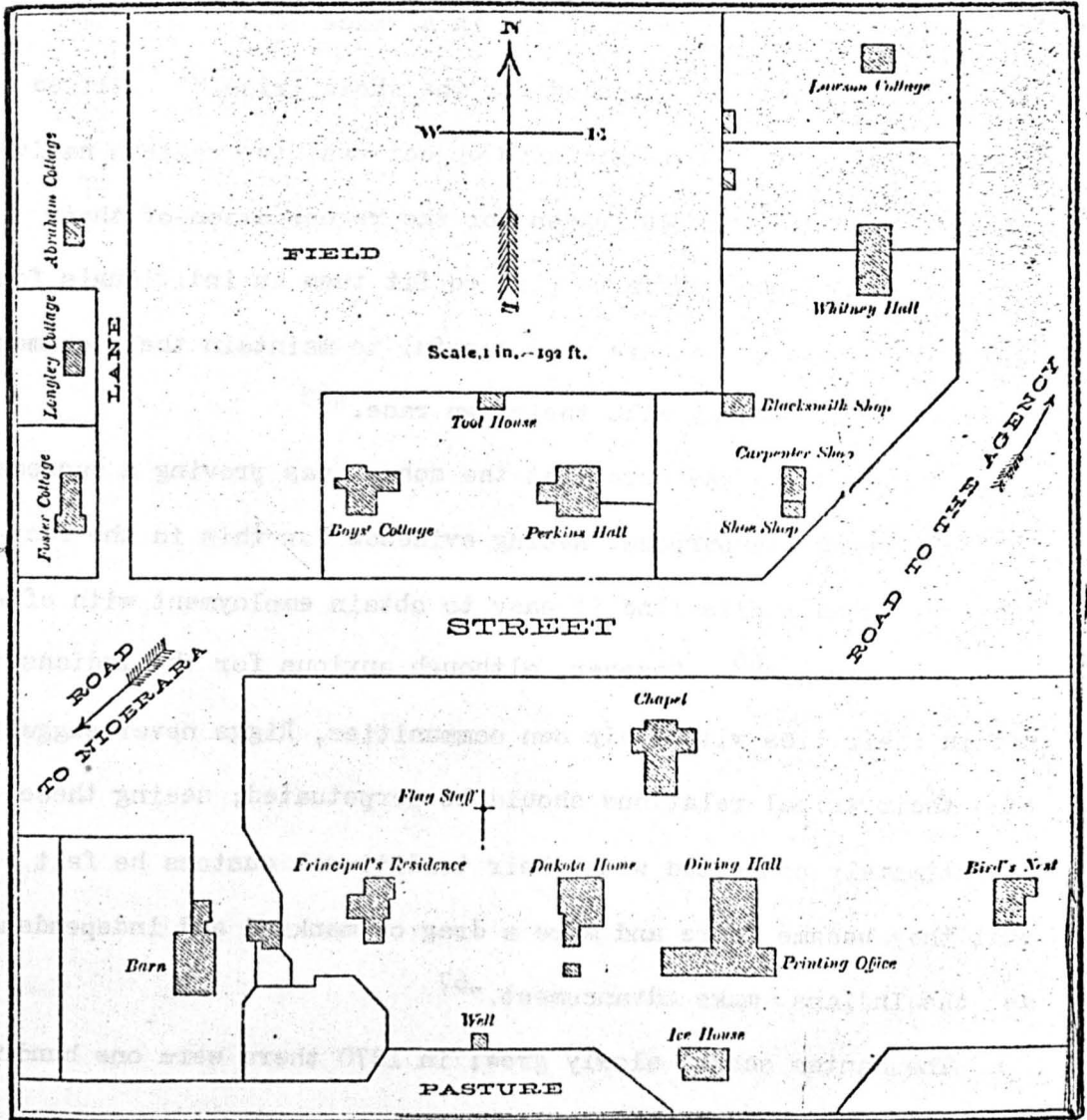
63 Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.245; Report of C.I.A., 1884, p.123; Report of C.I.A., 1885, p.138; Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.193; Report of C.I.A., 1893, p.626.

64 Report of B.I.C., 1874, p.115.

65 Alfred L. Riggs, Santee Normal Training School, n.d., n.p.

66 Alfred L. Riggs, Report of the Santee Normal Training School, 1889, B.I.A., L.R., R.G. 75, Santee Agency.

67 "Report of the Santee Mission," in Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.703.



PLAT OF SANTEE NORMAL TRAINING SCHOOL.



Pupils' gardens at Santee.

pupils with an average attendance of fifty five and in 1884 there were one hundred and forty four pupils representing ten different agencies, with an average attendance of ninety nine.⁶⁸ Both the standard of scholarship and the breadth of study slowly improved; as new subjects were introduced the Dakota speaking teachers were challenged not only to produce new text books, but also to evolve terms with "proper and definite scientific meaning."⁶⁹ Although different in its philosophy from Carlisle, working with only one tribe and not being as regimented in its activities, the main aim at Santee was also to "teach cleanly and orderly habits" and to "develop habits of patient and careful labor."⁷⁰ Practical training in housekeeping, farming and various trades was given, by 1885 there were blacksmith, shoe and carpenter shops, whose work was seen as basic to the school's educational purpose.

Although anxious that the Indians should not be removed far from their homes for their elementary schooling, in 1883 Riggs borrowed the idea of "outing" developed at Carlisle, and asked the Bureau if he could place some pupils in white families for the summer. Those Indians who advanced higher than the standard reached at Santee, Riggs also suggested should be given opportunities in white schools.⁷¹

Santee came to be recognized as a good Indian school. In

68 Ibid.; "Report of the Santee Mission," in Report of C.I.A., 1884, pp.167-168; Alfred L. Riggs to C.I.A., February 24, 1883, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

69 Alfred L. Riggs, "Report of the Santee Mission," in Report of C.I.A., 1871, p.860.

70 Report of the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions, 1881, p.87.

71 Alfred L. Riggs to C.I.A., July 2, 1883, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency; Alfred L. Riggs to C.I.A., June 17, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

1890 those associated with the government industrial training school at Santee regarded the Manual Training school (as well as the school of the Episcopalians) as greatly superior to their own. In 1884 the National Education Association invited Riggs to bring some of his pupils to their meeting in Wisconsin.⁷² Riggs' work was strongly praised by other educators; the Director of the Chicago Manual Training School wrote to tell the Commissioner he believed "the intellectual and moral culture which the Indians receive from Mr. Riggs and his associates, seems to me the true solution of the much vexed Indian question."⁷³

The missionaries at Santee, like the majority of Christians, believed the Indians were worshipping "false gods." Anxious to correct them they saw this as also necessitating education to give them a true comprehension of the Christian home and Christian life. "In carrying to the Indians the religion of the Bible," Riggs wrote, "we have desired to carry to them the education of the Bible, education in the most extended sense."⁷⁴ Thus while at times their methods were openly criticized by officials their main purpose never deviated from that of the government's.

* * * * *

In August 1882 Congress passed a bill authorizing the Omaha tribe to have their lands allotted to them in severalty. The bill

72 Alfred L. Riggs to C.I.A., June 5, 1885, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

73 H.H. Belfield to C.I.A., September 20, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency; C. M. Woodward to C.I.A., September 25, 1885, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

74 Stephen Riggs, "Dakota Portraits," Minnesota Historical Review, November 1918, Vol. 2, No. 8, p.546.

had been drawn up after Congress had received a petition from the tribe asking for this privilege. Alice C. Fletcher, an ethnology student from the Peabody Ethnological Institute, was instrumental in the formulation and presentation of the Indians' petition, and also in the implementation of the provisions of the bill.⁷⁵

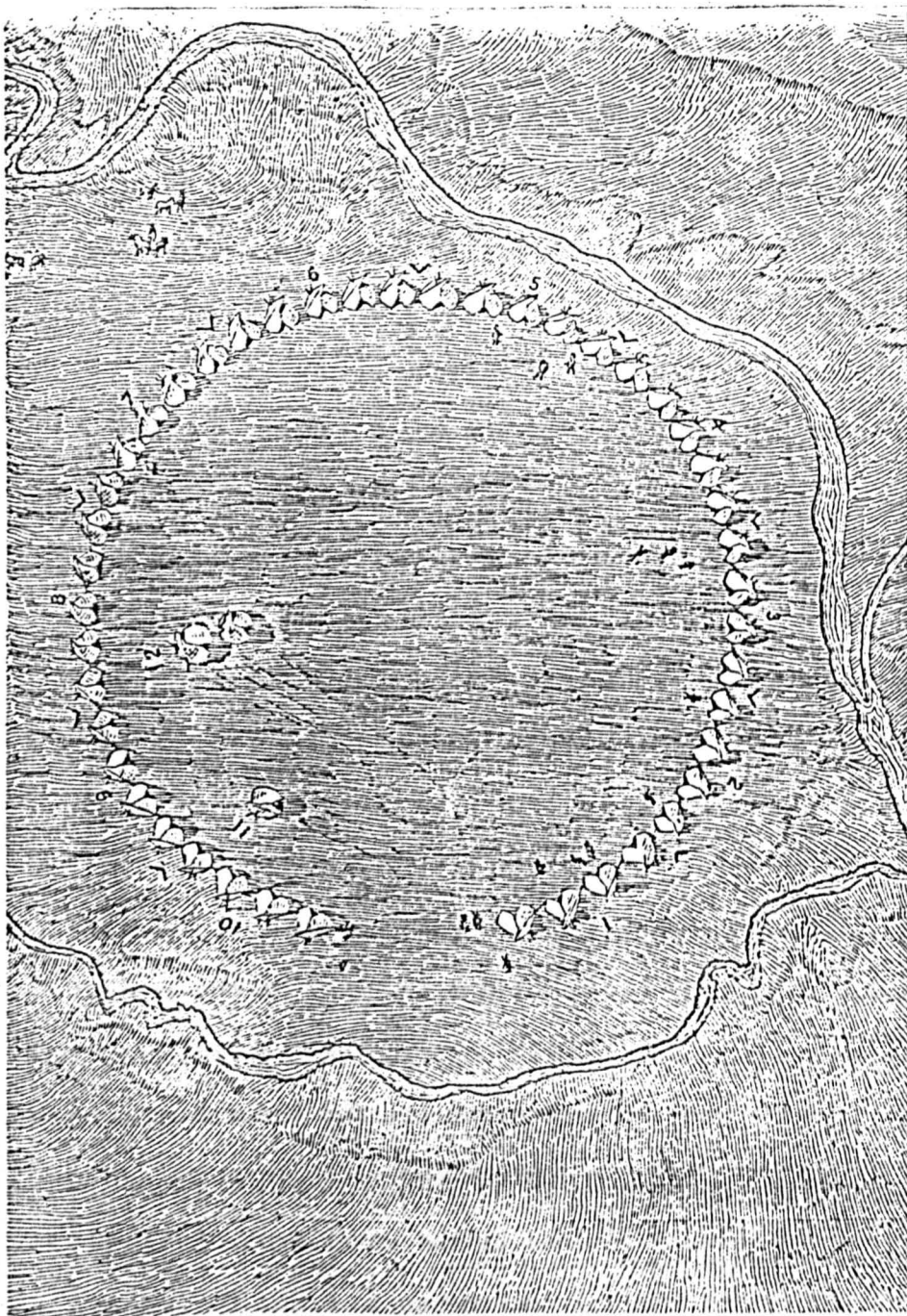
Miss Fletcher had arrived among the tribe in 1881 and had begun a study of their traditions. She became sympathetic towards their desire to be legally secure in the ownership of their land. However, her support of the allotment scheme stemmed not only from sympathy but also from a firm belief that property ownership of this type was necessary for the Indian's civilization.⁷⁶ Miss Fletcher studied the tribe through the eyes of an anthropologist; she noted the characteristics of their beliefs and behaviour, their social and family organization. Fletcher came to identify their government and family organizations as being at the root of their "backward" state. She regarded the Indians' social structure as restrictive and also saw it as responsible for their feeble sense of property ownership. Her conclusions endorsed, in anthropological language, those already reached by the government.⁷⁷

Alice Fletcher first visited the Omahas in order to begin "the study of the Indian in his own home, by his side, from his standpoint." However, she approached the study with a pre-cast

75 Petition of Omaha Indians, January, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

76 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.105.

77 Alice C. Fletcher, The Omaha Tribe, Washington D.C., G.P.O., 1911, gives the results of Fletcher's research and investigations; Alice C. Fletcher, "Tribal Studies Among the Omahas: Personal Studies on Indian Life," The Century Magazine, XLV, No. 3, January 1893, pp.451-461, gives Fletcher's personal opinion of what these studies indicate about Indian life.



In-sta-sun-da
side of tri-
bal circle.
North half. { 1. In-sta-sun-da.
2. In-gri-zhe-da.
3. Ta-pa.
4. Tae-sin-da.
5. Ma-thin-ka-ga-he.

11. Sacred tent of warceremonies,
under charge of the Wae-jin-ste
gens.

Hun-ga-chey-nu
side of tribal
circle. South
half. { 6. Kan-se.
7. Tha-ta-da.
8. Hun-ga.
9. In-kae-sab-ba.
10. Wae-jin-ste.

12. Two sacred tents dedicated to
the sustaining of life, containing sa-
cred pole and sacred white buffalo
cow's hide, in charge of the Hun-
ga gens.

Alice C Fletcher's diagram of the Omaha tribal circle.

theoretical framework. Anxious to show the Indians were not living simply in an "unrestrained state of nature" she went to great lengths to show how every activity of the tribe had a specific function; even their journeyings were not the "mere wanderings of a homeless people, but had always a purpose and an objective point in view." The camp of the tribe was also always arranged in an organized pattern and it appeared to Fletcher as the very symbol of the restrictiveness of Omaha life. She regarded the patterns and customs of Omaha society as precluding both freedom and change and asserted:

"Instead of going back to an unrestrained state of nature, about which the philosophers of the eighteenth century loved to discourse, we are returning to elaborate ceremonies, to forms which become more and more fixed, and to the loss of individual liberty; freedom from the product of civilization, evolved through the centuries by the slow process of ideas."⁷⁸

Fletcher believed it was necessary for Indian society to change not only to ensure the Indian's survival, but also to guarantee his freedom from the prison of his restrictive traditions. She did not contest that tribal customs had not altered, but rather that they encompassed so thoroughly all aspects of the Indian's life that they denied him his individual freedom.

Working in the field Fletcher presented the problem to the Indians, pragmatically insisting that, "the past is irretrievably gone, and that the tribe is lost in the State" and urging them to change and adopt the American life-style. The Omahas had received a prophecy from one of their old chiefs, Umpa-tunga, or Big Elk, "which foretold in a picture drawn from the overflowing of the Missouri, the coming of the white man, and bade the Indians prepare to meet this flood, which would obliterate all their old ways."

78 Fletcher, "Tribal Studies Among the Omaha," op. cit., p.458.

Fletcher jubilantly reported how when she was with the tribe an old Indian recited the parable and called out at the end "the flood has come," but she added that despite the advance of some there were also Indians who were "loath to part with ancient habits and customs."⁷⁹ Perhaps, despite her professional interest, Fletcher's own attitude to the Omaha traditional culture is best demonstrated when, after asserting that "no rash or iconoclastic hand has been placed upon their ancient beliefs and ceremonies," she explained how the keepers of the sacred tent of war and sacred pole had been persuaded to give up those holy objects, "for safe keeping where the history of their tribe is also to be preserved-- in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University."⁸⁰

Recognizing the inter-relatedness of all aspects of Omaha culture Fletcher nevertheless identified the family, or kinship pattern, as the main cause of their inability to advance and explained, "in the native order of society, the home, as we understand it, cannot exist." Describing the true American home as "one roof sheltering father and mother, and their children, secure in the sharing and inheritance of the property resulting from the toil of the family," she explained how in an Indian tribe the band or village into which a person is born has prior claim to his property and therefore the children could not inherit directly but had to share their parent's property with the band. In Fletcher's terms the fatal flaw in Indian society was its lack of structured channels for passing on property to the individual. She regarded the civilized "home" as the most efficient mechanism for property transmission, and so stressed the "prime importance of rearing

79 Ibid., p.457; Mohonk, 1890, p.152.

80 Fletcher; "Tribal Studies Among the Omahas," op. cit., p.461.

homes in the midst of the people," and "giving to the members of the tribe individual ownership of land and homes." Hostile to the "tribal relation" she saw this as being largely supported by their "peculiar kinship organization."⁸¹

As part of her effort to civilize the Omahas Fletcher initiated a scheme to have young married couples trained together at Hampton who would be "not only instructed in the school and shop, but each pair dwell in a cottage, simple in its appointments, but fitted to give them a knowledge of home-life and civilized appliances." On their return to the reservation she asserted, "a house must be provided for them to live in on the reservation, in order that they may continue in a civilized way of living." Thus, in collaboration with the Women's National Indian Association, she supported a programme for lending money to Indian couples to help them break their land, begin farming and build a house. The money had to be returned in order to sustain the fund, but more particularly to prevent the Indians from becoming paupers in having received alms.⁸² The first cottage was built on the Omaha reservation, and after that the Association expanded the scheme and in five years they had helped build or "make over" fifty or sixty cottages.⁸³

A belief in the importance of the home was shared by all who supported the allotment programme. General E. Whittlesey, chairman of the Lake Mohonk Conference in 1891, said:

"the subject of land in severalty has become pretty familiar to this conference. I myself prefer the phrase Indian homesteads. That conveys a better idea of what we are trying to do; that is to enable the Indians to make for themselves homes, as we understand that dear word."⁸⁴

81 Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Home Building, New York: Women's National Indian Association, 1883.

82 Ibid.

83 Mohonk, 1891, p.84.

84 Ibid., p.82.

Senator Dawes also supported the idea of "the home;" he saw the severalty bill as a necessary development in Indian policy after it had been shown that education alone was not sufficient to "elevate" the Indian. "The Indian could not be civilized or Christianized by mere intellectual training. If he was to become a Christian, self-supporting citizen of the United States, he must have a home."⁸⁵ Alice Fletcher was thus using kinship analysis to support a view which was widely endorsed by those concerned with Indian civilization.⁸⁶

In her work allotting Indian lands Fletcher thought **not only** of providing a home but also of enforcing the nuclear family. Thus, on the Omaha reservation inheritance was to operate according to the laws of the state, which even the agent noted would "render valuable assistance in maintaining the integrity of the family, a most important matter in the welfare of these people."⁸⁷ In dividing the lands she deliberately tried to locate members of a family together, not for sentimental reasons but to attempt to guarantee the growth of their land base. "I always regarded the law, as far as allotment was concerned," asserted Fletcher, "in one single aspect; that it is the dividing of inherited property."⁸⁸

Fletcher was aware that allotment would introduce previously unknown inequalities into the tribe, but this was something that

85 Mohonk, 1895, p.48.

86 Report of B.I.C., 1882, p.7.

87 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1884, p.118.

88 Mohonk, 1892, p.28.

she saw as a sign of their advance in civilization. It was when the "conservative" Indians held back the more "progressive" ones that the whole tribe's move towards civilization was slowed.

"One must always pick out those who are enterprising: the first thing one must do is to make inequalities." So she would deliberately attempt to select the best land for those who had already shown themselves anxious to work. She also constantly aligned herself with this group in their requests.⁸⁹ Even after the petition requesting allotment had been presented Fletcher acknowledged that the majority had been opposed to allotment by two-thirds.⁹⁰ In 1885 a petition was presented to the Indian Bureau signed by all the Omaha Councilmen asking to have Miss Fletcher to watch permanently over their affairs. However, another section of the tribe, led by Little Cook, remained hostile to her; writing to the Bureau they not only criticized her for misrepresenting the tribe, but complained that as a United States Officer she had shown partiality to a portion of the tribe, and thereby drawn a distinct party line.⁹¹

Fletcher saw allotment as only the first step towards the civilizing of the Indian, after which all other parts of his society had to be changed; there was a necessity for "new governmental methods, new plans for the education of the people, not only in schools, but in the forms of orderly society."⁹² In attempting to explain the

89 Ibid., pp.26, 27.

90 Mohonk, 1884, p.26.

91 Petition from Omaha Councilmen, May 21, 1885, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

92 Mohonk, 1888, p.7.

of the Council, a modification of the Indians' traditional governing body, as an obstruction to the introduction of American forms of government, observing that "the Councilmen will die strong in the love of their own office." Welcoming the establishment of an Indian Court of Judges, she suggested that the judges should be both instructed in abstract law, and should be paid for their services. In 1884 she encouraged and supported the Omahas in their desire to become independent of the agency employees, who were paid out of tribal funds and at the service of all Indians. A scheme was set up to allow individual Indians to employ whom they wished and to pay for such services from their own funds. Such a development would not only break down the homogeneity of the tribe but would also obviously benefit the more advanced and richer Indians.⁹⁷

In 1886 Fletcher accompanied a delegation of Indians to Washington to present some plans for Omaha self-government to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Thuida-Haha, one of the "progressive" members of the tribe, informed the Commissioner, "we want to attend to our own matters and we want no outsiders to interfere with us."⁹⁸ However the plan failed to gain the Commissioner's approval, and at the end of 1886 the agent reported the Indians to be disgruntled and in a state of chaos, with many favouring a return to the old system of agency organization with government

97 Alice C. Fletcher, Observations upon the Condition of the Omaha Indians in Reference to the Adviseability of Inaugurating Certain Changes in the Management of Their Affairs, June 25, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

98 "Report of the Omaha Delegation's Interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," March 24, 1886, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.S., Omaha Agency.

employees and workshops.⁹⁹ Three years later a different agent reported on the anomalous situation of the Omaha: stranded between reservation and State law but with no machinery to enforce either he claimed that not only were the Indians suffering but it was unclear how they could be properly protected. On considering the question of severalty he concluded:

"That we are working upon an unsolved problem in this matter cannot be denied. We are travelling upon an unknown road. Even the prime movers in this measure cannot tell us where we are. Splendid theories often prove faulty in application and actual practice. It appears to my mind that we are trying to erect a new superstructure without removing the debris of the past."¹⁰⁰

Although in their "state of transition" the Omaha tribe presented many problems, Alice Fletcher remained convinced of the pressing need to grant the Indians their lands individually and incorporate them within the states' system of government.¹⁰¹ However, while identifying the Indian's family and government structure as the main division between them and civilization, she also believed that schools were absolutely essential for "civilizing" the Indians, and she observed that she always found the most "progressive" men were "those who had had their children in school."¹⁰² Fletcher's support of Indian schools was consistent with her belief that

99 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Charles H. Potter) in Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.187.

100 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Jesse F. Warner) in Report of C.I.A., 1889, p.238.

101 After being granted their lands in severalty the Omaha Indians came under the laws of the state of Nebraska. The tribe, although divided on other issues, were unanimous in their agreement "that they never consented to a condition of state allegiance until twenty-five years after their lands were patented to them," cf. "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Robert H. Ashley) in Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.187.

102 Mohonk, 1892, p.26.

everything should be done to break down the traditional Indian family and band structure. The progress of the Indian she concluded would be slow "because of an isolation of language and of habits formed by old reservation lines and precedents," but she saw the possibility of hastening this advance if the Indian was given not only a knowledge of English but a chance to "see and imbibe" something of the world in which Americans lived and which stimulated their thoughts and actions. Despite her knowledge of Omaha society Fletcher remained convinced that if the Indians could see and experience American society they would be more likely to want to share in its advantages. Fletcher advocated that: "Education in a wider sense than merely getting children into school to learn "the three R's," should be enforced, to the extent of removing everyone of school age having sufficient physical and mental vigor to schools beyond the reservations."¹⁰³ When schools were built on the reservation Fletcher was keen that they should not be solely for the Indian community, but should act as a meeting point for the two races. She even suggested that they would be consciously built on the borders of reservations to facilitate this purpose.¹⁰⁴ Her attitude to the schools was consistent with her general belief that at every point the Indian's own social pattern and traditions should be actively discouraged if not ignored.

Although Fletcher had originally gone to study the Omaha "from their own standpoint," and applied the techniques of anthropological analysis to examine their culture, she not only became active in enforcing federal Indian policy but used the conclusions

103 Mohonk, 1890, p.152.

104 Mohonk, 1887, pp.15-16.

of her academic study to justify active interference in both their ~~economy~~ ~~economic base~~ and their family and government organization. Insistent that work in the field and a knowledge of the Indians was essential to an understanding of their needs, she in fact recapitulated the traditional conclusion: that while the Indian as a man was not inferior to the whites his society held him in a savage or backward state, thus once freed from this he would readily progress.

Fletcher was critical of all aspects of Indian society, but she located the essence of the problem in the Indian family structure. If this could be changed the Indian's appreciation of private property would develop and he would then be receptive to all the other facets of civilized life. Without this appreciation of private property he would not only be incapable of advance but would be unable to benefit from or understand American law, American government, or the promise of American society. Fletcher's theory thus neatly paralleled federal Indian policy. To the growing belief that the Indian must be integrated she gave not only theoretical support, but also practical help. While not actively concerned to establish schools, she offered a forceful and "informed" argument of the nature of the changes these institutions should be attempting to achieve.

By 1900 the Omaha tribe was indeed no longer isolated from the surrounding settler communities. The school superintendent reported that the field-day sports and literary exercises at the close of school were celebrated by a large gathering of "the Indians and whites of the vicinity and people from the surrounding towns."¹⁰⁵ However, while this was exactly the type of integration

105 "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1898, p.329.

Fletcher had advocated some of the other developments on the reservation were seen as discouraging. Many of the Indians were leasing their lands and living on the rent they received, instead of farming; alcoholic drinks bought from the neighbouring towns were used widely, and more importantly, Captain Beck of the Tenth Cavalry, who acted as Omaha agent for a time, reported that the Indians "continued to carry out many of their old customs which are an antagonism to their civilization."¹⁰⁶ Regarded as one of the more advanced tribes the progress of the Omaha Indian was seen as disappointing by those concerned with Indian affairs. In attempting to find explanations for the tribe's retrograding, the reformers were critical of the way the policy had been implemented. Senator Dawes was certain that the Omahas had lacked guidance having been made responsible for their own affairs and having lost the protection of the government too soon:

"It is the fault of the administration of Indian affairs from beginning to end . . . It should have held to the idea that the severalty act was only an open door to make a home, and that the home was to be built thereafter and by the same processes by which you are educating the Indians, and with the same care and solicitude."¹⁰⁷

Alfred Riggs from Santee also asserted that the Omahas had been abandoned by the government; that no sustained effort had been made to integrate them into the white community and provide them with a proper functioning legal system. But Riggs also felt that the contrasting success of the Santee Sioux was a direct result of the latter's Christian training and education.¹⁰⁸ Many

106 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent William H. Beck) in Report of C.I.A., 1894, pp.189-190.

107 Mohonk, 1895, p.50.

108 Ibid., pp.51, 53.

reformers endorsed this view attributing the situation of the Omahas to both lack of guidance and the absence of Christian teaching.¹⁰⁹ Alice Fletcher however continued to insist that once the Indian had been freed from his tribal relation and established as an individual the way was open for him to advance. She regarded the onrush of American settlement as the guarantee that he would not be able to revert to his former ways. She saw the enactment of special laws as almost irrelevant, stating, "each year as I work among these people I am more and more impressed with the futility of relying upon legal enactments or broadcast measures or policy, to raise them out of ignorance and habits born of conditions now almost swept away by our advancing settlement." Instead she looked to the individual Indian, now liberated from his restrictive past, to find his own way in American society:

"The Indian cannot be lifted as a race out of his present condition solely by outside aid, but by his own individual efforts; he must find his way forward through experience and tribulation."¹¹⁰

With the enforced change in their tribal structure and the level of help and education offered to an ordinary American citizen, Alice Fletcher believed that the Indians could be both civilized and absorbed into American society.

* * * * *

Despite the various theoretical approaches to the question of how best to change the Indian, when put into practice they were all supported, whether openly or covertly, by force and coercion. After 1870 the United States army held jurisdiction

109 Ibid., p.47; Mohonk, 1896, pp.65-67.

110 Mohonk, 1890, p.152.

only over those Indians who left the reservation; however, troops were frequently stationed near the reservation and the agent was free to call on their help when needed. But the agent also held other less obvious powers with which to coerce the Indians, the majority of whom were now dependent on the government for food, clothing and general supplies. These items, many promised to the Indians in treaties, could be withheld at any time as a way of inducing the tribes to respond to the agent's orders, whether these be to return prisoners, to work farms, or to place their children in school. As the Indians' military power declined the agent could resort more easily to these non-violent methods of coercion.

Probably almost every agent exploited the Indians' dependent state to "encourage" them towards civilization. This was a tactic recognized and supported by the Bureau. Even on the peaceful Omaha reservation annuities were withheld from parents until they had placed their children in school.¹¹¹ However, certain agents not only used coercive means, but saw them as the best and only way to elevate the Indian.

All those who sought to change the Indian wanted to induce the tribes to behave like whites. Some, like Riggs and Fletcher, believed they had isolated the key to the Indians' savagery: the central aspect of their society which once eradicated would allow the spread of "civilization." But the agents who believed primarily in force had a more behavioural approach and thought that if the tribe could be forced to live and behave like Americans then their "civilization" would have been achieved. At Pine Ridge

111 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent G. W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.105.

Agency, South Dakota, Dr. V.T. McGillicuddy became famous for his forceful methods in controlling the Teton Dakota, and for the accompanying animosity these fostered in the Indian Chief Red Cloud.¹¹² McGillicuddy became perhaps the best known authoritarian agent, due largely to the size of the Teton band, their traditional hostility to white ways, and the uprising that occurred on Pine Ridge in 1890 after McGillicuddy had left. However, there were many other agents who believed in forceful tactics. The majority were army officers who were not dependent on political patronage and who shared a belief in discipline and control.

The Mescalero Apache had a long history of contact with the army. They were for a period almost entirely under military authority.¹¹³ But they had advanced very slowly towards "civilization". By 1895 they were still physically isolated from American society, the nearest railroad station being a hundred miles away and many of the nearby settlers being Mexican. They continued to live in teepees, depended on government rations and supplies, and clung to their traditional dress and beliefs. Their new agent, a retired army officer, Captain V.E. Stottler, thought their condition resulted from the fact that "the situation had evidently been handled from the beginning from a so-called humanitarian and not from a business standpoint." He described the Apache as, "ignorant, cruel, superstitious,

112 James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem, Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1965, pp.264-285.

113 Agent Samuel A. Russell to C.I.A., December 22, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency; Russell to Lieut. B. Henry, September 26, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency; Agent W.H.H. Llewellyn to C.I.A., September 13, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency.

cunning, filthy, lazy, stubborn, treacherous, immoral, intemperate, audacious, and an inveterate beggar," but for all that he did not see him as essentially different from "his white brethren, with whom our charitable societies in the East have had so much experience."¹¹⁴ He thought the Apache's reluctance to work was, considering the government's generosity in providing for his needs, eminently comprehensible for, he explained, "Indians resemble other people in not working for things provided gratuitously."¹¹⁵

Stottler decided the only way to "civilize" the Apache was to force him to work and live and behave as a white man. He saw his main goal as being to render the Indian economically self-sufficient. While he also intended to stamp out all obvious traits of Indianness, this was primarily because he saw these as symptoms of the Apache's wildness, and therefore synonymous with his reluctance to work, or live in a "civilized" manner. Once forced to live in a house, to wear "citizens' clothes," to work for his living, and see a proper return for that work, Stottler believed the Indian would have been "civilized." While he saw the latter's resistance to "civilization" as both real and determined, once this was overcome he believed the problem would have been solved.

Stottler quickly determined on his "intention of lavishly using force or pressure." He set out to break the "status quo"; to show the Indians that the government was supreme, that it would do "what it pleases with them and theirs," and that they could no

114 V.E. Stottler, "Pressure as a Civilizer of Wild Indians," The Outlook, June 12, 1897, Vol. 56, No. 7, p.397; "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent V.E. Stottler) in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.215.

115 Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.192.

longer expect to be fed and maintained.¹¹⁶ He resolved to "stretch to its elastic limit" the Indian Bureau regulation ordering agents to "bring every influence to bear to make the Indians labour in civilized pursuits."¹¹⁷ Adopting the motto, "No work, no rations," he progressively "pinched off" the supplies of coffee, sugar, salt, flour, matches and beef with which the government was supplying them, while simultaneously compelling them to work and try in "every way to prepare themselves for the inevitable."¹¹⁸ When the withholding of supplies proved insufficient Stottler confined Indians in the guardhouse and fed them on bread and water, or assigned them to a spell of hard labour.

Arable land on the Mescalero reservation amounted to under five hundred acres, owing to the lack of water. However Stottler deemed this enough to allow all Indians to have a small plot and in his first year as agent he ordered every male to select a piece of land and fence it. Rations were withheld until the order was carried out. Seed was then issued to them, with the warning that they must save enough from their crop to supply themselves the following year. Aware that farming alone would not supply all the Indians' needs Stottler considered other sources of income. Noting that the Mescalero had once before been supplied with beef herds, but had failed to care for them, losing many to the surrounding settlers, he decided sheep would be a better alternative.

116 Stottler, "Pressure as a Civilizer of Wild Indians," op. cit., p.397.

117 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent V.E. Stottler) in Report of C.I.A., 1895, pp.215, 218. For the remainder of this chapter, unless otherwise indicated, it can be assumed that Stottler was the Mescalero Agent.

118 Ibid., p.218; "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.213.

Ten sheep were therefore supplied to every man, woman and child on the reservation. Their presence was intended to stop the settlers' cattle from trespassing (cattle being reluctant to pasture in the same land as sheep). They were to be a source of meat for the Indians, and the women were to work at herding as well as use the wool to make blankets. As the Mescalero had no experience of weaving Stottler imported some expert Navaho instructors. "A few acres of land and a flock of sheep to each family ought in a few years to get these people from under the fostering hand of the Government."¹¹⁹

Anxious that the Indians should have as much farming land as possible Stottler suggested that the government buy land along the Tularose River, both on and off the reservation. He reported to the Commissioner, "It were better for the United States to spend a lump sum at once and get these Indians self-supporting in a few years than to make dribbling appropriations for them for many years and then be still issuing them food and clothing."¹²⁰ He also suggested that the whites, who held four hundred acres of land on the reservation by squatters' rights, should have their claim extinguished by the government. (This was something agents had been suggesting for years but which had never been carried out.)¹²¹ Stottler was slow to decide whether or not the Mescalero should be granted their lands in severalty, having seen the problems

119 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.218; Stottler, "Pressure as a Civilizer of Wild Indians," op. cit., pp.398-399.

120 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.218.

121 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.210; Agent W.H.H. Llewellyn to C.I.A., October 28, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency; Dr. J.H. Blazer to C.I.A., December 20, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency; Agent W.H.H. Llewellyn to C.I.A., December 27, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency.

which occurred on other reservations. But after two years he concluded it was best to "give them this security, and at the same time allow those lands rumoured to be rich in minerals to be taken over by whites."¹²²

Stottler's programme to turn the Mescalero Apaches into self-sufficient herders and farmers was accompanied by other pressures on the Indians to work. Before he ordered them to farm, Stottler summoned every adult Indian to work six days on a ditch to irrigate the school farm.¹²³ During his first year in office Stottler also requested permission to let the Indians transport the supplies for the agency the hundred miles from the freight station of the El Paso and Northeastern Railway. Previously the work had been done by Mexicans but Stottler asserted, "There is no reason why the Indians should not earn this money, and thus in some degree learn its value and the value of their labour."¹²⁴ Women who had no men, but who had children to look after, were also to become self-supporting; they were compelled to make gardens and grow vegetables, and Stottler hoped to give them their own land.¹²⁵ His programme for the Mescalero was not just forceful, it was comprehensive.

Stottler wanted all the Mescalero to live in log cabins rather than teepees; this was largely for pragmatic reasons, as it would

122 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.215; "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.210; "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.192.

123 V.E. Stottler, "Pressure as a Civilizer of Wild Indians," *op. cit.*, p.397.

124 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.214.

125 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.110.

discourage them from wandering and cause them to pay full attention to their crops. But the Apaches had a terrible fear of ghosts and believed that when someone died the house in which he died should be burnt. Stottler disregarded this "superstition" and ceased to issue linsey, the material the Indians used to repair their teepees. He encouraged them to cut timber and build cabins, promising a stove to all who did. However no chimney was allowed in order to make "camp working" impossible.¹²⁶

Parts of Stottler's programme were not strictly "practical" but were enforced to break the Indian's past habits and make him more amenable to civilization. Within a year he had forced all the Indians to wear short hair. First he insisted that all the police should cut their hair, and doubled their rations "to make it worth their while to think twice before leaving the force." Then he used the police to compel first the former school boys and then all the male Indians to cut their hair, having previously requested a letter from the Bureau making this an official order. "Some demurred," Stottler reported, "but a little force and a judicious use of the guardhouse accomplished the desired end." Reporting that the returned educated Indians wore long hair "because, as they boasted, it 'made them wild,'" he was satisfied with the general effect of the shearing on the whole tribe, declaring that "the task of moving them upwards has been perceptibly easier from the time the scissors clipped off their wildness."¹²⁷

126 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.215; "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.192; Stottler, "Pressure as a Civilizer of Wild Indians," op. cit., p.398.

127 Ibid.; "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1896, pp.210-211.

Apart from forcing the Indians to change their hair and dress styles, Stottler banned their dances, the social function of which he described as being "principally to advertise the grown girls for sale to the highest bidder." Scornful of their tribal organization he not only refused to recognize any headmen, but abolished the Indian court, assuming all punitive responsibility for himself and asserting, "summary action on the part of the agent in quickly incarcerating offenders and working them at hard labour has a much better effect."¹²⁸

Stottler not only excluded the Indians from having a voice in their own affairs, but in December 1895 he extended his personal authority to the school by discharging the superintendent. He asserted that this was necessary in order that the children might "be trained on exactly the same lines as the old people." Believing that it was necessary to educate all of the children and not just a few, he applied his same policy of force and coercion, and within a year had secured one hundred per cent school attendance through "firmness and a judicious use of the guardhouse and starvation of the parents."¹²⁹

One of the agent's main problems with the Mescalero Apaches was the mother-in-law taboo, a strict custom of the Indians which forbade a man to speak to or even look at his mother-in-law. "The 'old woman'" Stottler reported, "not the 'new' reigns on this reservation. A simple superstition of these people creates a

128 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.215; Stottler, "Pressure as a Civilizer of Wild Indians," op. cit., p.398.

129 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1896, pp.211-212.

stumbling block that is made manifest very often when the agent or the 'man in Washington' tries to inaugurate a policy or a movement in the interest of their better condition and support." The older women, often hostile to the introduction of the new ways, were frequently able to discourage their families from adopting them. "If the agent," complained Stottler, "encounters the ill-will of these women his trouble will begin." However he circumvented the problem by imprisoning the older women and subjecting them to hard labour when they used their influence to counteract any of his orders.¹³⁰

Stottler's schooling policy was a reflection of his broader purpose to use every available method to force the Mescalero Apaches to be self-supporting. Within this context he supported the idea of a reservation boarding school. While never extending his observations to embrace all Indians he concluded that on the Mescalero reservation the children should be educated within their community, "There is here a band of four hundred and fifty Indians and a section of country with fixed conditions from which they must make their living, and all their education should be with a view to utilizing the means at hand." He suggested that it was pointless to teach the Indians to farm in other regions as they had to learn mountain farming, which along with sheep rearing could be taught best to them on their own reservation. The Indians who had been trained in trades such as blacksmithing or cabinet making had no use for such training at home, whereas with a "handy knowledge of tools" Stottler suggested the Mescalero boy would "be equipped to strike out for himself."¹³¹

130 Ibid., p.212; Stottler, "Pressure as a Civilizer of Wild Indians," op.cit., p.399.

131 Agent Samuel A. Russell to C.I.A., December 24, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency; Bill Thomas to C.I.A., April 4, 1882, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency.



Government Boarding School on the Mescalero reservation, c1895.

Stottler was certain that in his three and a half years as agent he had succeeded in his task, and he left "well satisfied that, with the material to work on and the condition of the Indians and of the section of country, I could not have accomplished more."¹³² The Governor of New Mexico likewise was greatly impressed by the "marvellous transformation that took place on the Mescalero Apache Reservation," the Indians having been "transformed from lazy, filthy savages in red paint and breech clouts into reasonable working human beings with a care for tomorrow and a desire to become useful citizens."¹³³ The importance of Stottler's administration continued to be acknowledged and one of his successors, in tracing the history of the reservation, observed that it was due to Stottler's "policy of urging, pushing and shoving these Indians to work that much of the improvement in this tribe is due."¹³⁴ Stottler had never elaborated a theory which set out the best way of inducing the Indians to abandon their old habits and adopt those of the whites. Neither had he looked to Christian influence to render a change in the Apache. Instead he had couched the problem in purely practical terms and with the help of planning and force he had brought about a practical solution. On leaving the reservation he was able to report, "The Mescalero has adopted white man's attire, including short hair, and has his house to live in and lives in it. There is plenty of agricultural land for his self-support, but none to spare. All the children, five years and

132 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1898, p.205.

133 "Report of the Governor of New Mexico," in Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1899, Vol. II, 56 Cong., 1st Sess., Ho. Exec. Doc. 5.

134 "Report of Superintendent in Charge of Mescalero Apache," (Walter M. Luttrell) in Report of C.I.A., 1900, p.290.



Issue day at the Mescalero Agency -the Indians collect their rations watched by the government Inspector's wife, 1903.

upwards, are in school." He went on to suggest that "if a firm hand be kept on them, they should soon be off the gratuity roll and the reservation thrown open."¹³⁵ However, although by 1902 all rations were stopped, by 1918 a field visitor from the Indian Rights Association reported the Mescalero "living in the most wretched conditions in bush shelters and tipis," and an official explained to him that "there is no use in building houses for them; they will not live in them. Some cabins were put up for them years ago but they would not live in them."¹³⁶ Stottler, despite his optimism, had not solved the Indian problem in the long term. His policy of force and coercion had not succeeded in replacing the Mescaleros' essentially Indian characteristics with the attributes and qualities of American "civilization."

* * * * *

Each of the nineteenth century Americans examined above concluded that the Indians' savagery was something total that had to be eliminated as a whole. But each located the source of true "Indianness" in a different area and adapted their approach to combat the problem at the root. The Quakers thought that it was not only ignorance of Christ but also ill treatment and treachery that had prevented the Indian from espousing civilization, so they set out to win the tribes to "civilization" through moral suasion. The Riggs at Santee were certain it was the Dakotas' pagan beliefs that underlay all other signs of barbarity, and sought both to convert and educate the Indians in the true religion. To Alice Fletcher it was the family structure that was wrong, inducing

135 "Report of Mescalero Agency," in Report of C.I.A., 1898, p.205.

136 C.L. Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches, Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1958, p.235.

"communism" and depriving the Indian of a proper appreciation of private property, so essential for "civilization." And to Captain V.E. Stottler on the Mescalero reservation it was the long term policy of softness and leniency that had held the Indians in their degraded state.

Ironically, the approach of the Quakers and that of Stottler shared most in common. Although the one was concerned with example and persuasion and the other with force and compulsion, both considered the problem to be superficial treatment of the Indian, and not the radical reconstruction of the Indians' social or religious patterns. To Stephen and Alfred Riggs and to Alice Fletcher fundamental changes in the Indians' thinking and behaviour were necessary before "civilization" could be achieved. To the Quakers and to Stottler such changes would automatically develop from a specific type of treatment.

All these men and women endorsed the government's general policy and believed the Indians should adopt American habits and values. Naturally the Indians reacted to the attack on their lives and their culture, but officials on the reservation did not change or adjust their methods. Signs of resistance were interpreted as symptoms of the reassertion of savagery, requiring an increased dose of the same medicine. Thus the Quakers sent a milder co-religionist to replace Tatum; the Riggs recommended proper Christian teaching for all tribes that were faltering; Alice Fletcher saw the answer to the Omahas' backsliding as resting with the individual Indian, whom she herself had detached from his traditional family relations; and Stottler left the Mescalero insisting that a firm

hand would be necessary with the tribe for a certain time. Not one of these officials, when confronted with the resistance of the Indians, reconsidered or adapted his plan and tactics for their "civilization". All were engaged in the same task--the Americanization of the Indian--but each one offered a different solution to what was known as "the Indian problem."

Chapter VI

The Reservation

In the mid-nineteenth century, when Americans began to settle lands which previously it had been thought would remain the exclusive home of Indians, the federal government began to develop the reservation policy. The type of restriction and control this policy involved for Indians was new to many of the tribes, but the reservation as such did not indicate a change in official American thinking. It represented instead an elaboration of the belief that Indians and Americans were distinct and separate.¹ By 1870 the majority of American Indians had been assigned a particular area of land, or reservation, and in the following decade the rest would receive the same treatment. Reservations were, therefore, both the enforced physical home of United States' Indians and a visible symbol of American belief in their separateness.

Indians had always maintained a geographical distance from whites, either voluntarily or because they were forced to. This Americans regarded as being not only desirable for the white population, but also necessary for the protection of the tribes. The removal of tribes in the 1830's was justified by the first Indian Commissioner in these terms, and in 1867 Commissioner Nathaniel Taylor, lamenting the vicious and unscrupulous behaviour of whites towards Indians, concluded that "evidently the remedy for these evils lies in securing to the Indians a permanent home in a country exclusively set apart for them, upon which no whites

¹ Annual Report of the Indian Bureau, 1831, p.172. The head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was not denominated Commissioner until 1832.

or citizens, except government agents and employees, shall be permitted to reside or intrude."² Historically, treatment of the Indians as independent nation powers had involved not only recognising the tribes' territorial separateness but also their legal autonomy. Treaties, drawn up by the United States' government and signed by the various tribes, commonly stipulated that citizens of the United States within the territory of the Indian nations were to be subject to the laws of those nations.³ Although this practice was to create numerous problems of law enforcement in the territories, which Congress made efforts to solve, the concept of "Indian Country" continued to be maintained and enforced.⁴ Even in the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 it was declared "that all parts of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or in a territory in Arkansas, and also that part of the United States east of the Mississippi river, and not within any state to which the Indian title has not been extinguished, for the purposes of this act, be taken and deemed to be the Indian country."⁵

When tribes were confined on reservations they lost not only their freedom of movement but also their political autonomy. Although it was obvious that reservation life would threaten traditional systems of law enforcement, not only because of the accompanying change in living patterns, but also because

2 Report of C.I.A., 1867, p.2.

3 Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1945, p.6.

4 Ibid.

5 House Report No. 474, 23 Cong., 1st Sess., Vol.4, May 20, 1834, cited in Cohen, op. cit., p.6.

leaders and chiefs no longer held the same authority, at first no provision was made for the new situation. Francis Walker pointed out that the Indians were living in a state of practical anarchy, and Bishop Whipple was continuously drawing attention to the Indians' lack of legal protection.⁶ In the light of traditional Indian policy it was logical progressively to restrict the movements of the tribes by confining them on reservations. However, there was no precedent for providing them with legal controls, nor, more importantly, for embracing them within an American system of justice. Crimes committed by Indians against whites could be tried in the courts, but not crimes committed by Indians against Indians. The need for some type of law was clear and so in 1882 Congress passed a bill enumerating seven capital crimes that could be tried in the Federal courts. A minimal system of law enforcement was thus established, although significantly it was under the jurisdiction of the federal government and not the governments of the states in which the Indians resided.

Minor crimes were obviously committed on the reservations and in the absence of any system of law the authority and judgment of the agent was the only substitute. Several agents, beginning in the early 1870's, started to recruit Indian police forces to help them guard the reservation boundaries and make arrests for minor offences. These forces were so successful that they gained official recognition and from 1878 Congress made annual appropriations to pay the officers. The Indian police could not leave the reservation so that the efficiency of the service was often impaired by the reservation boundary, but the

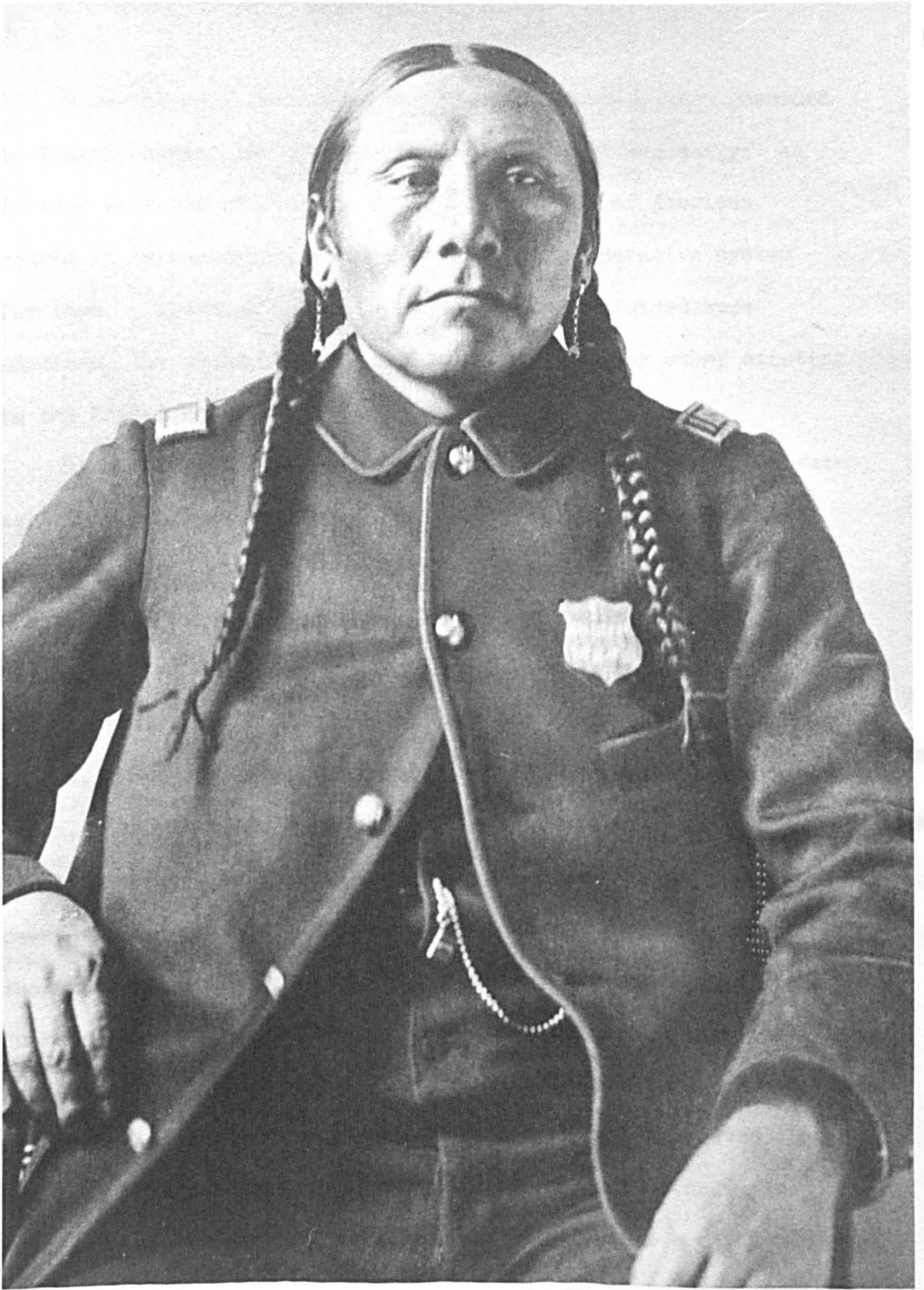
6 Francis Walker, The Indian Question, Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1874, pp.5-16.

idea was popular among agents and ultimately police forces were organized on the majority of reservations.⁷

In 1883 agents were instructed to appoint Indians as judges; the crimes they were to judge were all those not counted as felonies and thus not covered by the federal courts. Also included were certain Indian customs deemed savage by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, such as polygamy and the Sun Dance. The sentences the judges passed were often peculiar, but then so also were the circumstances in which the judges were working. In one marital dispute an Indian judge ordered a woman to return to her husband and remain with him until his other wife, her sister, had recovered from her current illness and could return to her wifely duties. On another occasion an Indian, found guilty of bigamy, was ordered to pay the first, or cast-off wife, a sum of \$10.00 and to present her with a well broken pony. Prison sentences were rarely given. In a situation where a spell in the guardhouse meant that an Indian was not only fed but also did not have to work, the system of punishment had to be adjusted. In American terms this Indian legal system was anomalous. But however peculiar the fashion^{ing} of meting out justice it is sometimes regarded as one of the few successful measures employed, albeit inadvertently, to help the Indian integrate into American society: Indian institutions were used, in a modified way, to help enforce the rules of American society.⁸

7 William T. Hagan, Indian Police and Judges, New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1966, pp.25-45.

8 Ibid., p.135.



Bert Arko, Captain, Kiowa Agency Police, c. 1895.

Nevertheless, while some remarkable successes were recorded in Indian courts, the system did develop out of necessity: as Indians were not offered the normal protection of American courts it became imperative to organize some operative system for them. Although the concepts of justice enforced were American, the system was totally separate from any other existing in the United States.

The history of law enforcement on the reservation illustrates well the complications associated with the Indian's adjustment to American society. But it is just one symptom of a general policy which was based on the principle of separation and exclusion, and which was recapitulated in all the American government's dealings with the Indians from the very early national period. Supporting such a policy was a system of racial thinking which, although not always explicitly articulated, was always implied. Thus, for example, in the very year (1870) that the government ceased to recognise the tribes as nations and began to regard the tribesmen individually as wards, it was also made clear in a Supreme Court decision (*United States versus Flynn*) that the Indian did not lose his identity as an Indian, within the meaning of criminal jurisdictional acts. This remained true even though he might have received an allotment of land, not be under the immediate supervision of an agent, and have become a citizen of the United States.⁹ After 1870 there was an increasing tendency to regard the Indian if not as an American then as an apprentice citizen, who, having served his apprenticeship, would be absorbed into the general population. However, despite official support

9 *United States versus Flynn*, 25 Fed. Cas. No.15124, (C.C. Minn.) 1870, cited in Cohen, *op. cit.*, p.3.

for this policy traditional belief and practice died hard. Many of the old laws and attitudes remain unchanged and new legislation was passed which specifically differentiated between Indians and whites. For example, in 1892, Congress made it a crime to sell alcohol to Indians anywhere in the United States.¹⁰

The reservation was the physical symbol of this policy of exclusion. When reformers and humanitarians, concerned for the fate of the Indians, began to realize the consequences of leaving them always beyond the pale of American society, they identified the reservation as being at the root of the problem. "I think there is no question," asserted Charles C. Painter, "that the reservation system,--the system of isolation and non-absorption, has held the Indian aloof from our civilization and denied him the opportunities of a citizen and a man. The difficulties of this reservation system are immense, it is an incubus upon every effort for the advancement of the Indian."¹¹ Painter was an important figure in the movement for Indian reform. From 1884 he worked full-time for the Indian Rights Association in Washington and his criticisms of the reservation were echoed by many other reformers at this time.

It had taken some years for the reformers to single out the reservation as the main target for criticism. During the 1870's it was often seen as offering protection to the Indian. Many of the missionaries, particularly the Quakers, regarded the reservation as essential to the Indians' safety and future hope of civilization. Ironically, the Flandreau Sioux, who were later to be

10 Act of July 23, 1892, 27 Stat. L., p.260.

11 Mohonk, 1885, p.29.

used as proof that the Indian could survive and prosper as a farmer, were actively discouraged from attempting to establish an independent farming colony of their own. The Flandreaux broke away from the main body of the Santee Sioux, which was living on the Santee reservation, and claimed that they wanted "to live like white men" but were finding this was impossible on the reservation. Planting a small field of corn and supplementing their income by trapping, they lived in log cabins and teepees and to begin with received no help from the government. Asa Janney, Superintendent for Dakota, was convinced that they could not succeed and Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Eli Parker, a Seneca Indian, was similarly dubious.¹²

However, as the little colony prospered (by 1878 three hundred and sixty-five persons were living at Flandreau) the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to take more interest. The Indians had been helped in their earlier efforts by John Williamson, the missionary who had been with the Santee since their Minnesota days, and in 1878 he wrote to his brother observing that "the Indian Department are beginning to take considerable interest in the Indians here and in this plan of civilization. They have of late granted every cent I have asked for and sent it on promptly."¹³

Although the reservation had always been anathema to such reformers as Alfred Love, Wendell Phillips and Helen Hunt Jackson, the majority of Americans concerned with the fate of the Indian in the 1870's were more interested in the Indian's spiritual

12 John P. Williamson to John A. Burbank, October 22, 1869, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

13 John P. Williamson to Andrew Williamson, June 20, 1878, Williamson Family Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

well being and had spent little time formulating practical economic solutions.¹⁴ By the 1880's individuals who were active in trying to secure justice and help for the Indian had begun to concentrate on drawing up a practical programme of reform. Christian teaching, and the spiritual and moral benefits associated with it, was still regarded as important, but school education and the abolition of the reservation were the prime goals.

There was still no general interest in Indian affairs in the United States at this time. The "cause" of the Indian never attracted the same popular attention as that of the Negro, although reformers would frequently draw parallels between the problems of the two races. By the mid-1880's there was more widespread concern; in 1886 an article in Harpers Weekly argued that there was now a powerful public opinion favourable to the settlement of the Indian question. The author complained that Congress paid little serious attention to the Indians; he described how when the House was in the midst of debating the Indian Appropriation bill "suddenly the oleomargarine tax was sprung upon the House . . . and the Indians, who have no votes, and long-delayed justice, and despised rights, and honourable claims, were swept aside, and the house slipped into a long debate upon oleomargarine."¹⁵

14 Robert Winston Mardock, The Reformers and the American Indian, Columbia, Mo. : Missouri Univ. Press, 1971, pp.183, 198, Mardock, in examining the Indian reform movement discovers two different waves of reform: the first being initiated by old anti-slavery reformers, and the second, beginning in 1879, by a younger group of reformers.

15 Harper's Weekly, June 19, 1886.

However, numerous societies and groups were organizing with the aim of arousing public interest in the Indian and of working to bring educational help to the tribes to "hasten their civilization." In 1879 the Women's National Indian Association was founded. Members organized into local branches and their numbers quickly grew. They sent petitions to Congress, issued pamphlets, addressed meetings, and raised money to send workers west to the reservations to help teach the Indians the arts of home making.¹⁶ The same year the governor of Massachusetts (John Long), Helen Hunt Jackson and Senator Henry Dawes organized the Boston Indian Citizenship Association. This group aimed to gain for the Indian proper recognition in the courts and the full rights of citizenship.¹⁷

Public sympathy for the Indian was increasing as news about the suffering of particular tribes reached the east: Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce Indians' heroic battles against the army; the investigation of the Ute uprising; and the sad plight of the Poncas who, after removal to Indian Territory, made successive attempts to return to their old lands. All these events helped convince Americans of the need to confront "the Indian problem."¹⁸ In 1882 the Indian Rights Association was organized by Herbert Welsh in Philadelphia. Active in the east, and also in Washington where they maintained a lobbyist, the Association worked mainly for political and legislative change.¹⁹ To this end they

16 Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Home Building, Philadelphia: Women's National Indian Association, 1883.

17 Mardock, op. cit., p.198.

18 Ibid., p.197.

19 Report of the Indian Rights Association, 1886, pp.4, 11-14.

published numerous articles and reprinted and circulated long debates and features on Indian affairs which had appeared in the general press.²⁰ When the first Lake Mohonk Conference met in 1883, organized by a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Alfred K. Smiley, the reform groups at last had a broad organizational base. At their first meeting they announced their intention of creating "a public sentiment in favor of the Indians," and also recorded their unanimous support for a civilizing programme which included education, Christian teaching, and individual ownership of land for the Indian.²¹

Support for the belief that Indians should own their lands individually, rather than tribally, dated back to the early nineteenth century when the government had signed a treaty with the Choctaws and reserved specific tracts of land for individuals to whom patents would later be granted.²² The idea seemed natural and was frequently reiterated. "Giving to every Indian a home he can call his own," noted the Commissioner in 1870, was not only wise but was what the Indians wanted.²³ Until the reservation policy was well established the suggestion that Indians should be given their own private land was seen as being merely instrumental to their civilization. It was not part of a coherent programme of reform. However, by the 1880's support for individual ownership, or allotment, was accompanied by a strongly articulated hostility to the reservation and the tribal

20 Examples of these reprinted articles are: "Friendship that Asks For Pay," New York Tribune, March 13, 1887; "Defense of The Dawes Indian Severalty Bill," Boston Post, April 6, 1887.

21 Mohonk, 1885, p.1; Mohonk, 1883, pp.8-9.

22 Report of C.I.A., 1885, pp.320-321.

23 Report of C.I.A., 1870, p.9.

system. If the establishment of the Indian as an independent farmer was the prime objective, then the break-up of reservation and the undermining of the autonomy of the tribe were seen as the surest way of bringing this about.²⁴

Members of the different associations, missionaries and educators, annually attended the Lake Mohonk Conference and formulated a programme for civilizing the Indians.²⁵ Although an unofficial body, the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian can be seen as a powerful force in the shaping of government policy; it was attended not only by members of the Board of Indian Commissioners but also by several Commissioners of Indian Affairs.²⁶ The passing of the Dawes Act in 1887 was regarded by members of the Conference as a major achievement. This single piece of Congressional legislation was seen as closing the "century of dishonor."²⁷

When the reformers met once again at Lake Mohonk, New York, in the autumn of 1887, they immediately began to consider "what changes in Indian Governmental Administration are required by the abolition of the Indian Reservation System?"²⁸ They saw the Dawes Act as opening a wholly new era of Indian affairs, and in part they were correct. Although the act can be seen as giving general legislative support to a trend that was already developing-- by 1885 the government had by different laws and treaties given

24 Report of C.I.A., 1889, pp.3-4.

25 See above, Chapter II.

26 In 1889 Commissioner Thomas Jefferson Morgan chose to present, at the Lake Mohonk Conference, his elaborate new plans for systematizing the Indian schools. His scheme was greeted with great enthusiasm.

27 Mohonk, 1887, p.104

28 Ibid., p.3.

11,000 patents to individual Indians and issued 1,290 certificates of allotment²⁹ --it nevertheless represented a radical change in the direction of Indian policy. Whereas government policy had previously focused on the need to separate the Indian from the white population, whether it be for his own good or for that of the settlers, the Dawes Act insisted on his inclusion. In this sense it directly contradicted not only a long established policy, but also a deep-rooted tradition designating the Indian as distinct and separate.

The reservation had become both the symbol and the physical evidence of the Indian's exclusion, and by its abolition the reformers thought that the age-old barriers that divided the races would disappear. In demanding equal rights for the Indians humanitarians who met at the Lake Mohonk Conference were not eccentric or atypical; they fitted closely into the American reform tradition that espoused a philosophy of individual freedom and believed in the possibility of social progress. They wanted for the Indian things that were important to themselves: "protection for our homes; protection to go where we wish; a right to buy in the cheapest market; a right to education; the right to appeal to the protection of the laws; protection for ourselves and children . . ."³⁰ In attacking the reservation they were confronting the tradition that denied these "American rights" to Indians; they were contradicting the view that Indians were essentially different. But because of their insistence that Indians could readily be absorbed into American society, they were frequently blind to the real cultural differences that divided Indians and whites. To the reformers these were super-

29 Report of C.I.A., 1885, pp.320-321

30 Mohonk, 1885, p.52.

ficial symptoms of the Indian's uncivilized state.

Despite the success of the reformers who attended the Lake Mohonk Conferences, and the enactment of a legislative programme which received their wholehearted support, it is important to note that even during the 1880's there was some determined and organized opposition to both their methods and their broad philosophy. Resistance and abuse flowed from those sectors of the population, and their political representatives, who continued to regard the Indian as worthless and who fought against any measure requiring public financial support. But there were also individuals who were concerned for the fate of the Indian and who regarded the new trend in federal policy as misguided and destructive.

Opposition to the immediate break-up of the reservation was evident both inside Congress and amongst some of the reformers. Henry M. Teller from Colorado was probably the most outspoken Senator who viewed the allotment of Indian lands with alarm. "If I stand alone in the Senate," he asserted "I want to put upon the record my prophecy in this matter, that when thirty or forty years will have passed and these Indians shall have parted with their title, they will curse the hand that was raised professedly in their defense to secure this kind of legislation." The Coke Bill, which Teller fought, did not pass, but Teller's sense that there was an "inherent objection in the Indian mind against land in severalty" was not shared by many. Indeed it was frequently argued that the Indians were now demanding allotment, an idea which Teller scoffed at.³¹ "It is," explained Teller "a part of the Indian's religion not to divide his land."

³¹ Congressional Record, XI, 46 Cong., 2sess., January 20, 1881, pp.934-935.

To substantiate his point he explained how one of the Nez Perce chiefs explained his reasons for going to war:

"They asked us to divide the land, to divide our mother upon whose bosom we had been born, upon whose lap we had been reared. To that Indian, [Teller concluded], it was a crime equal to the homicide of his own mother. Do you suppose when the Indians have those religious ideas that you can violate their moral sentiments and compel them to live on land and own it in severalty?"³²

Individual ownership, for Senator Teller, was to be the final stage in the Indian's civilization, to be introduced only after he had learned the value of private property and been Christianized. The supporters of the measure had "adopted the ends for the means." But even though Henry M. Teller was President Garfield's Secretary of the Interior from 1882 to 1885, he was unable to quell the demand for the allotment of Indian lands.

A minority of the House Committee on Indian Affairs was also sceptical about the exclusive power of a plot of land to convert the Indian into a farmer. "There are hundreds and thousands of white men," they reported, "rich with the experiences of centuries of Anglo-Saxon civilization, who cannot be transformed into cultivators of the land by any such gift."³³

In 1885 the National Indian Defense Association was established in an attempt to resist the growing public demand for allotment. Its platform asserted that "the fact that powerful organizations are already the advocates of the policy to be opposed renders it necessary that the effort to counteract their influences should be an organized effort also." The members of the group were not

32 Ibid., p.781.

33 Ho. Rep. No. 1576, 46 Cong., 2sess., p.8.

opposed in principle to the allotment of land but they believed that it was not in the immediate interests of the Indian.

Unlike members of the Lake Mohonk Conference they did not regard the tribal system as the root of the problem, but stated instead:

"The immediate dissolution of the tribal relation would prove to be an impediment to the civilization of the Indians by depriving them of a conservative influence tending to preserve order, respect for person and property, and repress vagrancy and vagabondage."

They argued that the Indians, if granted individual title to their lands, would quickly lose them and if the title was made inalienable for a number of years they "would be placed in an anomalous condition, unlike any that has been the concomitant of any known civilization." In contrast to the other reformers they did not place great faith in the power of schools, believing that while it might help the children "the patrimony of the Indian may be gone before his capacity for managing it is developed." Instead they looked to the law of the United States, which should be extended to the Indians "with such modifications . . . as the case may demand." They thought the land should be patented to the tribes, to be distributed according to their own decisions, and rather than abolishing tribal governments, they looked on these as important controlling and stabilizing forces which would "with such modifications as may be necessary . . . eventually merge into some political institution in harmony with the general system of our Government."³⁴

The National Indian Defence Association was fairly short lived but while in existence its major spokesman, Thomas A. Bland, became a target of criticism for the supporters of the Lake Mohonk

34 Preamble, Platform, and Constitution of the National Indian Defence Association, Washington, 1885, pp.4-6.

Conference. Bland had long been a supporter of a reformed Indian policy. In 1877 he accompanied Alfred B. Meacham on a lecturing tour of the mid-west in an attempt to gain public support for an informed and humane Indian policy. In 1873 Meacham had been part of the three man commission sent to pacify the Modocs; his two colleagues were murdered by the Indians and Meacham was severely wounded. The following year, still convinced of the importance of the Peace Policy, he was well enough to resume his work for the Indians and to speak out on platforms in their defence.³⁵ He continued this lecturing and in the summer of 1872 began work on a journal, announcing that "The Council Fire was kindled January, 1878, for the avowed purpose of promoting peace between the Indians and the white man." After Meacham's death in 1881 Bland took over the editorship and reaffirmed his belief in the two ideas the journal stood for: "justice to the Indian and arbitration as a remedy for war."³⁶ In its early days the purpose of the journal did not conflict with that of other reformers. A petition of the Women's National Indian Society was reprinted in it in 1882, and also a memorial from the general assembly of a Presbyterian church in Madison, Wisconsin, which approved the President's declaration that the Indians should be absorbed into the mass of the population.³⁷ From the beginning, the journal operated as a channel through which the complaints of the Indians

35 Thomas A. Bland, Life of Alfred B. Meacham, Washington: T.A. and M.C. Bland, 1883, pp.3, 9.

36 Ibid., The Council Fire, March 1882, Vol. V, No. 3, p.1. The magazine at this time was called The Council Fire and Arbitrator, but in following years it dropped the longer name and seems always to have been known to contemporaries as The Council Fire.

37 The Council Fire, March 1882, Vol. V, No. 3, pp.83, 92-95.

could reach the Commissioner. Investigations into the behaviour of agents suspected of fraud or corruption were instigated, and occasionally when a well-respected agent was threatening to leave the Service because of inadequate pay, the journal would make a private collection. A sum of \$400 was raised for Agent James McLaughlin, of Standing Rock, to induce him to retain his post.³⁸

The journal was read by Indians as well as whites and was regularly "put into the hands of every Senator."³⁹ But it slowly developed a policy different from that of the government and the other reformers. After Bland had published an article suggesting the superiority of day over boarding schools Chief Standing Bear wrote to the paper in approval:

"my people here are doing very wel [sic] improving their farms and geting in their wheat. We have no Church or School and hav to send our children away to school, your plan of schooling children at home is what al the indians want, then, they can se their children when ever their parents want to. If they are sent away and are sick and in som cases die and their parents and relations can't go to se them it makes us feel bad, where if the school was on our agency we could se them when we wanted to."⁴⁰

In June 1883 the paper published a speech, made by Secretary Teller at Carlisle, emphasizing the importance of education over "land in severalty." As public support for allotment grew the editorial policy of The Council Fire diverged sharply from official Indian policy. Even after the founding of the National

38 The Council Fire, March 1883, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp.35-45; The Council Fire, May 1883, Vol. VI, No. 5, p.66.

39 The Council Fire, May 1883, Vol. VI, p.40; The Council Fire, April 1883, Vol. VI, No. 4, p.62.

40 Ibid.

Indian Defence Association the paper remained the chief organ of criticism.⁴¹

Bland became persona non grata with many of the self-styled friends of the Indian. He supported Chief Red Cloud in his struggle to have the autocratic McGillicuddy removed from his position as agent at Pine Ridge.⁴² Arriving at the reservation McGillicuddy ordered that he be immediately sent away. When in August 1884 a local newspaper, the Springfield Republican, printed an article entitled, "Red Cloud's Sioux and their Agent," Senator Henry Dawes, wrote a letter explaining, "you should know more about this Dr. Bland before you devote a column to anything he says about the treatment of Indians. He is a very strange man, having some notions about Indians which seem kind, but on the contrary making trouble and mischief with everybody who is trying to help that people. He has the confidence of no one in Washington . . ." Bland's support of Red Cloud was deemed not only perverse but also against the best interests of the Indians. Because he believed that reform and change should come to the Indians through their own leaders and institutions, Bland threatened to undermine the reforms planned by men such as Dawes. To Dawes Red Cloud was in no way the legitimate leader of the Sioux. Despite the fact that it was he who was invited to Washington to meet the Commissioner and negotiate agreements for his tribe, when he opposed the programme of reform his authority was not respected.

41 The Council Fire, June 1883, Vol. VI, No. 6, pp.91-92.

42 Julia B. McGillicuddy, McGillicuddy Agent, Stanford : Stanford Univ. Press, 1941, pp.222-228.
Although after numerous investigations McGillicuddy was cleared of charges of corruption, he was eventually dismissed from his post as Indian Agent for failing to accept the appointment of a clerk sent to the reservation by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

"I will tell you briefly what is the trouble at Pine Ridge agency and what has resulted from it," wrote Dawes, "It is a question between the old and the new, between the power of the chiefs and the power of the law. Old Chief Red Cloud and Dr. Bland are for the old order of things, when chiefs ruled and made themselves rich out of the Indians. Agent McGillicuddy administers the law, and assigns Red Cloud no other position and permits him to exercise no more power than any other Indian."⁴³ All reformers who supported the Dawes Bill, acclaiming it as the Indian Emancipation Act, opposed Bland's approach. They accused him of fostering savagery by recognizing the Indian's tribal rather than his individual identity and they were at pains to point out the difference between his opinions and their own. A year before the Indian Allotment Bill was passed Herbert Welsh, Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, formally reviewed and criticized some of Bland's statements. His purpose was not only to correct certain of Bland's mis-statements but also "to make clear an irreconcilable difference of opinion regarding the whole Indian problem which separates him and his association from Senator Dawes and other prominent leaders of Indian rights. Dr. Bland's efforts have been directed towards keeping the Indian as he is, his tribal relations untouched, his reservations intact; and in opposing the sale of his unused lands, upon no matter how equitable conditions, for white settlement . . . Senator Dawes of the Indian Rights Association on the other hand, believe that such a theory is

43 Henry L. Dawes, "The Case of McGillicuddy," a letter addressed to the editor of the Springfield Republican, printed August 7, 1887, and reprinted and circulated by the Indian Rights Association.

prejudicial to the best interest of the Indians, and even were it not so, that it is wholly impracticable."⁴⁴

After the Dawes Bill was enacted Dr. T.A. Bland attempted to encourage the Indians not to accept it. He also employed a lawyer and began collecting money to "have the question of the constitutionality of the Severalty Bill tested in the courts."⁴⁵ The Indian Rights Association inveighed against Bland for collecting money from the Indians for this purpose, and for, they claimed, seeking to deter even those Indians who were most ready for allotment from taking their land in severalty.⁴⁶ But apart from repeated attacks from outside, the National Indian Defence Association also began to suffer internal divisions. A committee of six, appointed to persuade the President not to sign the Dawes Bill, split and three members decided instead to support the bill. Colonel S.F. Tappan, one of the members of the Peace Commission of 1868, had been president of the Association. After this change of heart he was expelled from the National Indian Defence Association and began to publish attacks on Bland.⁴⁷ Thus the National Indian Defence Association, attacked by other Indian reformers and struggling always against enormous odds, was able to make little impression on the overwhelming demand for the break-up of the reservation and the allotment of Indian lands.

44 Herbert Welsh, "The Indian Problem," Boston Herald, December 27, 1886, reprinted and circulated by The Indian Rights Association.

45 "Friendship That Asks For Pay," New York Tribune, March 13, 1887, reprinted and circulated by The Indian Rights Association.

46 "Defense of the Dawes Indian Severalty Bill," Boston Post, April 6, 1887, reprinted and circulated by The Indian Rights Association.

47 S.F. Tappan to T.A. Bland, April 14, 1887, in New York Tribune, April 26, 1887.

The destruction of the reservation was meant to facilitate the "civilizing" of the Indian. Henry Dawes encouraged the "friends of the Indian" to continue their support and help the Indian make the necessary transition. "The Indian," he reminded them, "remains today just what he was before, himself and nothing else. The law has only enacted an opportunity and nothing more." But he was confident that the elaborate system that had grown up with the reservation would slowly disappear. Strongly against any new administrative organization to replace the old he saw time, and some effort initially, as being necessary to bring about the final destruction of the old system. Once the Indians were citizens, he asked, "What becomes of the Indian Reservation, what becomes of the Indian Bureau, what becomes of all this machinery, what becomes of the six commissioners appointed for life? Their occupation is gone" Convinced that the Dawes Act sounded a death knell for these, he concluded, "You are not mending this fabric; you are taking it down stone by stone, and if you do your duty it will all crumble down and go off of itself, and there will be no more use for it. That is why I don't worry at all about how to change it" ⁴⁸ Dawes believed that with education and guidance the Indian would be able to step from tribal life into American society. That the reservation, a monument to an old and misguided Indian policy, would thus disappear.

But the reservation was more than an area of land inhabited exclusively by Indians, that would disappear as an entity once each man was separated from the others and settled on his own individual plot of land. The reservation was a distinct political,

48 Mohonk, 1887, pp.63-64, 12-13.

economic, social and legal unit. It reflected past Indian-white relations but it also had a dynamic of its own which was to influence those of the future. Abolition of the boundary of a reservation brought certain changes but it did not destroy the unit. The established system of relationships and authority not only dictated the lives of the tribe, even after allotment had taken place, but also shaped and influenced all programmes introduced to change or educate the Indian.

It was on the reservation that the Indian's assimilation into white culture was to take place; or, as projected, on the ex-reservation, now broken into hundreds of tiny parcels of land of 160 acres each. But the reservation was a peculiar unit in America; its own distinctive features were not repeated anywhere else. And its special peculiarities, although changing and modifying over the years, did not disappear or fade. Far from blending and merging with the surrounding American society Indian reservations remained isolated, different, and readily identifiable. One visitor in later years was struck by "the repetition of certain combinations of Indian and Anglo-American ways." Despite the varying histories of the two tribes he visited, their different habits and cultures, he concluded: "nevertheless one feels that somehow one is moving among the same people in the two places; attitudes and views of life seem essentially the same; and, perhaps most definitely, the way of dealing with non-Indians has the same quality." Travelling to other reservations his initial impression is continually reinforced. "It is not that all reservations are felt to be the same . . . it is rather that one begins to feel that there are only a few patterns which keep

cropping up under the diversity of detail."⁴⁹

These patterns, so readily identifiable in the twentieth century, were growing slowly in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. All reservations at this time shared in common the quality of isolation. To begin with this was most obviously a physical characteristic, a direct product of the traditional Indian policy. Being beyond the frontier of settlement reservations were far from the towns and villages of white America. For Americans living there life was that of the pioneering frontier. At Crow Creek drinking water had to be regularly hauled from the Missouri river and left to stand so that the silt would settle. While such practices persisted well into the twentieth century the advance of settlement meant that life became easier for the Americans: mail and supplies were delivered faster, travel was easier and the more rugged aspects of living disappeared.

As the tide of settlement slowly engulfed all the reservations, paradoxically, the isolation of the reservation was heightened. Villages and towns sprang up along its borders; white settlers ceased to be subsistence farmers as the new railroads could now transport their products to distant markets; and as the western territories slowly claimed statehood a new buoyant, optimistic American state surrounded the Indian. As the white community advanced west the contrast between life on the reservation and life in the state grew. In 1870 C.K. Howard, a Sioux Falls merchant, reported that the Flandreau Indians (probably the most advanced of all the United States Indians) gave more indication of civilization and industry and "a show of living like white people than

49 Edward H. Spicer, Perspectives in Indian Culture Change, Chicago : Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961, pp.1-2.

the same number of Norwegian^a families located a few miles below."⁵⁰ Such favourable comparisons were impossible to make two decades later about the same tribe, and progressively the situation of the Indian and the American citizen diverged. Although reservations were increasingly surrounded by white settlers they remained apart and cut-off. Albert H. Kneale, who served for over thirty years on different reservations in the early twentieth century, noticed that even at that time one "respect in which practically all agencies were alike was that they were remote from civilization, frequently being from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles from any railroad."⁵¹

The reservation's separateness from its host state was not merely physical; beneath the widening gap which served to emphasize the Indian's anomalous situation in the United States lay a stratum of legal and political restraints that dominated and controlled life on the reservation.

Reservations were not an integral part of any state. They were small pockets of federal land with an autonomous existence of their own. They were not subject to the laws of the state but to a code of rules drawn up in Washington. All laws passed by the territorial or state government were null and void inside the reservation line. When Dr. Thomas A. Bland arrived at Pine Ridge with a letter from the Secretary of the Interior authorizing his visit and guaranteeing he would not interfere with the affairs of

50 Roy M. Meyer, History of the Santee Sioux, Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska, 1967, p.245.

51 Albert H. Kneale, Indian Agent, Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1950, pp.29-31.

the agency, Agent McGillycuddy refused him entry, claiming that he had been inciting Red Cloud and the other Indians to rebel. Bland protested that he was a United States citizen, but McGillycuddy retorted, that they were not talking about the United States, they were talking about the Indian country where affairs had to be handled according to a code of their own.⁵²

When Indians left their reservation a further set of problems was created. After the Kiowa chiefs Satanta and Big Tree were captured while raiding in 1873, the government promised their release if the Kiowas "behaved." However, the Governor of Texas, who held the chiefs, refused to release them after some of the Comanches made further raids into Texas. Agent Haworth, in putting the Indians' case to the Secretary of the Interior, stressed that the Indians were losing confidence in the power of the government, but indicated that he was not critical "of the governments representatives, believing that the arbitrary stand taken by the Governor of Texas deprived them of making such terms with the Indians as would have promoted the cause of peace and Indian civilization."⁵³ Such lack of co-operation between the state and federal governments was symptomatic of a situation in which lines of jurisdiction were blurred.

Of even graver importance was the lack of legal liason between the state and the reservation, which produced increasing problems as more and more settlers clustered in nearby towns. If a white committed an offence against an Indian, the latter was unable to take the offender to the local courts. He had instead to appeal to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

52 McGillycuddy, op. cit., p.223.

53 James Haworth to the Secretary of the Interior, December 15, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

Indians could not give evidence in state courts, and could only be tried for seven major offences in federal courts. As the Indians "advanced" they had more and more business dealings with whites. Inevitably, owing to their lack of experience, they were often cheated. On Crow Creek the chief, Don't Know How--who would sign himself D.K. Howe--sold some beef hides to one E.B. Crawford of Sioux City. He received in exchange a draft which was "protested for non-acceptance." The Indian was thus swindled out of \$126.05. Agent Dougherty, an army officer who worked many years on Crow Creek and who had a strong sympathy for the Indian, asked that the case be referred to the law officer of the Indian office and also asked authorization to enter a complaint before the United States Indian Commissioner. He could do no more. He could only ask "that the policy for protecting Indians be strictly enforced in this case."⁵⁴

Even when settlers could be taken to court this was not always in the Indian's long term interests. If the American population was antagonized the life of the Indian was only made harder. Mr. C.N. Penny, a white settler living on the Winnebago reservation, complained of cattle trespassing on his land. Agent Wilkinson, although agreeing this was true, explained to the Commissioner that as Penny lived twenty miles from the agency and six miles from any member of the tribe it was impossible for the reservation police force to protect him, "and if the Government authorities should arrest and prosecute all those people whose cattle accidentally trespass on the reservation we would fill the United States courts with cases to no good purpose or effect, and

54 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., August 12, 1881, B.I.A., RG 75, Crow Creek Agency.

would so embitter the settlers on all sides of the reservation against the agent and Indians that serious results would follow."⁵⁵

The white settlers were rarely friendly towards the Indian populations in their midst. For this reason the tribes were usually fearful of being subjected to state laws and coming before American juries. When the Omahas had their lands allotted they were under the impression that the laws of Nebraska would not be enforced on the reservation until, at the expiration of twenty-five years, they would receive full title to their land. Their agent, describing the commotion that occurred when he explained that this was not so, was "of the opinion that an attempt to enforce the laws of Nebraska in a civil action brought by a white man would result in a general remonstrance from the Indians."⁵⁶

The Indian agent, possessing as he did almost total authority over the Indian and having in his gift jobs and contracts, was largely responsible for co-ordinating relationships with the white community. Often, as in the case of the law suits mentioned above, his task was a very delicate one. The interests of the Indians did not always coincide with those of the settlers. As the agent was not himself a part of the Indian community, and was sometimes even appointed from the host state, his sympathies were frequently with the American citizens. At Lower Brule Agency, in 1890, the Indians protested strongly against the actions of their agent, and Agent Anderson reported they were so unruly that troops were needed to restore peace. However, Anderson himself was the main cause of the trouble; he and his employees were more

55 Agent Geoffrey W. Wilkinson to C.I.A., March 21, 1884, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

56 Agent Charles A. Potter to C.I.A., February 8, 1886, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R. Omaha Agency.

interested in the town of Chamberlain than in the Indians.⁵⁷ This situation, repeated in varying forms on many of the reservations, was partly a product of the enforced isolation of Indian reservations. Controlled by policy decisions in Washington and unresponsive to local economic determinants they were, by design, autarkic economic pockets. In 1871, Asa Janney, responsible for the Dakota superintendency, noted the commendable progress made by the Santee Indians. For him one of the primary advantages was that the tribe would soon act as a "buffer" to protect the settlements. They will, he predicted, "soon become self-supporting and shields to white settlement, and will effectively protect white settlers from the savage sorties of the wild prairie Indians." Janney's report implied that the Indians would not be integrated into the white community, and such a view was basic to the organization of Indian affairs.⁵⁸

Economic life on the reservation was controlled by policy decisions in Washington and not by local economic determinants. It was stressed constantly that the main aim of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was to make the Indians self-sufficient, which in practice meant establishing the tribes as insulated communities able to survive without government aid. During the 1870's the need to maintain the Indians' isolation sprang partly from fear: if Indians were allowed to mix and trade freely with whites they could supply themselves with both arms and ammunition. The government issued licences to traders on reservations and forbade the sale of

57 Geoffrey P. Litchfield, "Report on Township Trouble Near Lower Brule Agency," August 25, 1890, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R., Lower Brule Agency.

58 Agent Asa Janney to C.I.A., July 31, 1871, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

arms or alcohol. When individual Indians began to trade in the local towns with beef hides, the agent at Lower Brule commandeered the hides and sold them to "the Indian trader at the legitimate price, the proceeds to be distributed per capita to the whole tribe."⁵⁹ However, all reservation traders not only had a monopoly on Indian custom, which was often abused, but they automatically prevented the forging of economic ties with the outside community. As the Omahas began to take control of their tribal affairs they became resentful of the activities of the reservation trader; he would only sell goods for cash but would only give the Indian goods in exchange for things they sold him. Also, due to "some arrangement" between the agent and the trader, the tribe's annuities would be withheld "until the credits of the people had about equalled their annuity," thus the Indians would be obliged to rely again on the trader's credit. Although traders had always dealt with the Omahas this way by 1886 "several towns had sprung up along the railroad and the competition between them made it possible for the Omahas to buy at the same prices as white men." Thus, feeling the trader's presence "a disadvantage to the people" they wished him to remain only "for one year, provided he sells his goods at the same rate as the goods are sold in the towns and conducts his business in the same manner."⁶⁰

The Indian's isolation from white society was in part natural: whites were often many miles away and normal human motivation meant that Indians generally sought friends and contacts

59 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., January 15, 1880, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

60 Charles H. Potter, "Memo Pertaining to Affairs of the Omaha," March 24, 1886, B.I.A., L.R., Omaha Agency.

among their own people. However, this isolation was also for years deliberately fostered. Even the Santee band, whose land was allotted, were prevented from leaving their reservation. Trading that occurred over any reservation border was illegal and so suppressed. Ironically, as more Indians became educated and the Bureau enforced a policy of Indian employment and also itself appointed white employees from Washington, the reservation became increasingly an autarkic unit within the separate states. Changes occurred in an economic vacuum, often contrasting sharply with the economic development of the community within which the reservation was encapsulated.

The physical, legal and economic isolation of the Indian on the reservation was a symptom of the deliberate policy of the federal government, yet it did not decrease when the government reversed its policy and took deliberate steps to incorporate the Indian into American society. The Indian's isolation was sustained by the system of political control imposed and maintained on the reservation. When Indian agents were first appointed the tribes were roaming over vast areas of land and the agents' principal task was to ensure they remained at peace with the United States and to supervise the negotiation and signing of treaties. As the tribes were slowly confined on reservations the job of the agent was transformed: he was required to administer the affairs of the tribe and to encourage and educate the Indians in farming. The agent was thus responsible for both the political and economic affairs of the tribe. The Indians' own system of organization

did not break down instantaneously on the reservation; the chiefs lived on and old habits prevailed. An agent on one of the Sioux reservations, Albert H. Kneale, remarked how orderly life was there; only very rarely was anything stolen, and then only an axe or a hoe. He reported with apparent surprise:

"for nearly two years I had lived in an Indian community far remote from the influence of white man's laws, white man's customs, white man's codes, white man's ethics--so far remote that this influence was practically nil. Yet, I had never lived in a community so peaceful, so well governed."⁶¹

However, once on a reservation a tribe's affairs were administered by the Bureau. The reservation was a department of the federal government, far from Washington but nevertheless subject to a hierarchical bureaucracy itself under the control of both the administrative and executive branches of government. The tribal governments were ignored, except when it was useful to enlist the help of the chiefs in support of the government programmes. A contradictory and pragmatic policy was followed. The chiefs were recognized as such when, due to their individual authority, the government could not ignore them, or, when it was useful to enlist their help; but the manner by which they held their authority--the Indian system of government and leadership--was ignored, dismissed and rarely understood. No attempt was made to encourage institutions which might liaise between the two forms of government or engineer a way for the existing tribal institutions to be grafted onto those of the United States. The reasons for this have been made plain: tribal society was seen as being diametrically

61 Kneale, op. cit., - it should be noted, to protect Kneale from the accusation of sentimentality, that he made a quite opposite observation when he was on the Navaho reservation where things were regularly stolen.

opposed to American society, and was one of the prime causes of "the Indian problem." However, had the tribal institutions been wholly accepted, and the chiefs acknowledged as full-blooded leaders rather than mere figureheads, the pattern of tribal authority could only have remained uncorrupted and responsive to change if the Indians had been allowed to decide themselves their proper course of development. The majority of tribes lost their political and economic independence simultaneously, when confined on a reservation. The political independence of the tribes, even within the United States system, could only have been maintained if they had been granted more economic freedom: if the Indians themselves could have chosen (with advice perhaps but not dictates) or at least participated in formulating their path of economic transformation. But the Americans already had certain defined notions of what they wanted Indians to become and they slowly evolved a programme for achieving their aims. This inevitably meant that certain factions, already existing within Indian tribes, were helped and encouraged as being the "progressive" and responsible element, and others were criticized and opposed.⁶² Such a development was inevitable when the agent, the representative of the federal government, held ultimate political and economic power and was intent on implementing a specific policy.

The Indian agent was crucial in defining the peculiar quality of life on any reservation. His role was principally determined by the very particular situation in which he found himself. "There are," asserted Leo Crane, "only two kinds of Indian agents: those who compromise with everything and have interminable hell

62 Mohonk, 1889, p.105.

on their weakling hands, to the end that they are respected neither at home nor abroad, and those who compromise with nothing."⁶³ Responsible for all affairs on a reservation the agent's duties and power were enormous. The widow of the controversial agent, Dr. Valentine T McGillycuddy of Pine Ridge, was to claim that in the late nineteenth century "there was probably no more autocratic position under the United States government than that of an Indian agent at a remote agency."⁶⁴

As the representative of the federal government and responsible for implementing Indian policy, the task of the agent was in essence identical on every reservation. His influence, and that of his staff, on the growth and dynamic of reservation communities was strong and universal. Although, in the course of three decades, the agent's job and the organization of the agency underwent change and development, the basic patterns of social behaviour and control were constant and persisted.

On the reservation the agent was all but omnipotent; Agent Kneale was sentimental in his description of such power but emphasized its essentially paternalistic nature:

"The uninitiated can never realize the relationship that existed between the old-time Indian agent and his Indians . . . The agent was 'Father' to them all. Did a loved one die? Did some family trouble disturb? Did some white man or neighbour encroach? Did financial matters distress? Were they hungry, or cold, or sick of mind or body or soul? There was but one place to go for sympathy and assistance."⁶⁵

63 Leo Crane, Indians of the Enchanted Desert, London: Leonard Parsons, 1926, p.38.

64 McGillycuddy, op. cit., p.5.

65 Kneale, op. cit., p.67.

Every aspect of the Indians' lives, and those of all whites on the reservation, were under the control of the agent. This was illustrated in most basic terms over the question of food. The majority of tribes were not agricultural; confined on the reservation they were compelled to farm but were far from being self-sufficient. Many had signed treaties with the government and been promised financial annuities and rations of food, clothing, implements and equipment. The issuing of such rations was the responsibility of the agent. Thus supplying or withholding food was one way in which the Indians could be manipulated. Agent Tatum reported in detail on what he felt were the necessities for "his" Indians; he added, "a liberal supply of sugar and coffee would, in my opinion, do much towards promoting peace among the Indians of this Reservation, and would be a strong inducement to the roving ones to come in and settle down."⁶⁶ The withholding of rations was also used as a disciplinary measure. On Crow Creek a majority of the Indians, led by their principal chief, White Ghost, once refused to co-operate with the butchering of their beef ration, because of the employment of a white butcher. The agent succeeding in persuading a minority of the tribe to help him kill, skin and dress the cattle, informed the Bureau that unless otherwise instructed he would "not issue one ounce of rations of any kind to the rebels for the next month." Although he was well aware that such action might well "produce more trouble," he felt the Indians had "behaved very badly" and that having been treated with "too much kindness and consideration"

66 Agent Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, March 22, 1870, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.



The beef corral on issue day, Crow Creek Reservation, 1892.

they now required the "strictest discipline."⁶⁷ At Pine Ridge McGillicuddy used rations to "persuade" the Indians to abandon their camp at the agency and spread out on individual farms: he increased the rations according to the Indians' distance from camp.⁶⁸

The agent controlled the Indians' livelihood and also physical movements. They could not leave the reservation without a pass and, being dependent on government supplies and provisions, they had to make regular visits to the agency. At the Kiowa agency in the 1870's one agent never granted passes to any Indian, unless he was to be accompanied by a military escort.⁶⁹

The agent was appointed direct from Washington and was responsible for rather than to the Indians. Thus their only way of correcting wrongs or drawing attention to complaints was through appeal. Either these had to be made direct to the agent, who in many cases was the cause of the grievance, or by written protest or personal visits to Washington. Writing petitions, for the majority of Indians, required finding someone who was sympathetic to their case and competent to express their problems in written English. Groups of Indians frequently visited the Commissioner in Washington, but when the question of who should represent the tribe was in dispute the agent of course had the final word. As Indians became more accustomed to white ways it might be thought that the influence of the agent decreased. But progress "down the white man's road" frequently meant that distinct factions

67 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., January 7, 1880, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234.

68 McGillicuddy, op. cit., p.104.

69 D. Nicholson to C.I.A., August 24, 1877, B.I.A., RG 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

developed within tribes and the agent was able to exploit such divisions for his own purposes. At the Winnebago reservation, affairs in 1881 reached a total impasse over who should represent the tribe, and a federal inspector had to be sent to report on the situation. General O.O. Howard, (who had, in the 1860's, helped set up the Freedman's Bureau) called a full council and discovered the Indians were entirely unanimous in their opposition to the delegation that had been selected by the agent and to the manner of its selection. Howard reported that he was convinced the tribe "would refuse to ratify anything the delegation might agree to in Washington." He went on to explain that the tribe was very bitter about the behaviour and activities of the agent and from reports of citizens and employers the inspector thought the agent should be removed. The case of the Winnebagoes was extreme: the tribe was united and the agent in question was corrupt. But frequently neither of these facts applied and the Indians remained powerless to reverse the choice of the agent.⁷⁰

Owing to the peculiar organization of political life on the reservation the agent was the nexus of all authority. Countless petitions were sent to Washington and the agent would independently send his report judging whether or not he felt the demands of the Indians should be complied with.⁷¹ Insulated from the life of

70 General O.O. Howard to C.I.A., August 11, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Winnebago Agency, M234.

71 Agent A.P. Dixon to C.I.A., July 23, 1892, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Petition from Chiefs and Principal Men of the Yanktonai Tribe at Crow Creek, July 24, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency, M234; V.N. Swan to C.I.A., January 24, 1889, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency; Petition of Poncas Disowning their Previous Petition, January 29, 1889, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency; William Black Elk, et alia, Petition to get rid of John E. Smith, February 19, 1889, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency; John E. Smith to C.I.A., February 11, 1889, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency; Charles Hill to C.I.A., February 12, 1889, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

the state in all but physical terms the Indians appealed always to Washington. As there were no institutions that linked the Indians to the settlers which could be used to liaise between their separate demands and find a solution, the Indians always saw Washington as their ultimate source of help--whether it be to rid them of an unpopular agent, to provide them with more rations, equipment or houses, or to protect their land against the intrusion of settlers. The Indians' dependence on "Washington"--a word they often used in a personalised way--was particularly striking when they were beset by any serious problem. In the late 1870's the Indians of the Southwest were desperate when the buffalo herds rapidly and suddenly began disappearing. The agent of the Kiowas forwarded the request of their chief, Big Bow, begging "Washington" to save the buffalo:

"We wish you to understand that we consider ourselves passing away as our buffalo are passing away. We shall soon be gone. This is what weighs down the hearts of the Kiowa people with a heavy grief."⁷²

The agent supported their request with an explanation that in all the time he had been amongst them they had never talked with more anxiety on the subject, and that they clearly believed the slaughter of the buffalo involved "the future life or death of themselves and children." Their attitude, he explained, was "not of a defiant threatening talk or manner but as one asking for succor from what he regarded as a terrible fall, if not averted; they think Washington can make a road for their escape, hence their anxiety to have their talks forwarded immediately to him."⁷³

72 James Haworth to C.I.A., February 27, 1876, B.I.A., R.G.75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

73 Ibid.

United States Commissioners and Delegations of Sioux Chiefs Visiting Washington, October 15, 1888

1 Capt. R H Pratt	} Commissioners	4 Hon. J H Oberly, Comm. of Ind. Aff.	7 R V Belt, Ind. Dept.	9 Col. S F Tappan
2 Rev. W J Cleveland		5 Gov. I K Church of Dakota	8 Col. R S Gardner,	10 G I Stevick
3 Hon. J V Wright		6 Hon. E Rice, Minn.		

ROSEBUD AGENCY DELEGATION

11 Ugly Wild Horse
 12 Pretty Eagle
 13 He-Dog
 14 Good Voice
 15 Quick Bear
 16 Black Wolf
 17 Swift Bear
 25 Thos. Flood, Interpreter
 26 Col. L F Spencer, Agent

18 King Thunder
 19 Two Strike
 20 Gray Eagle-tail
 21 Sky Bull
 22 Red Fish
 23 Yellow Hair
 24 Eagle Horse

STANDING ROCK AGENCY DELEGATION

27 Sitting Bull
 28 Steph Two-bee
 29 Bear's Rib
 30 Thunder Hawk
 31 High Eagle
 32 Big Head
 33 Mad Bear
 41 Louis Prineau, Interpreter
 42 Maj. J McLaughlin, Agent

34 Gray Eagle
 35 Hairy Chin
 36 Walking Eagle
 37 High Bear
 38 Fire Heart
 39 John Grasse
 40 Gaul

PINE RIDGE AGENCY DELEGATION

43 Dog Back
 44 Standing Soldier
 45 Yellow Bear
 46 Little Hawk
 47 Little Wound
 48 Little Chief
 49 Pretty Lance
 57 Philip Wells, Interpreter
 58 Col. H G Gallagher, Agent

50 Standing Elk
 51 Fast Thunder
 52 No Flesh
 53 American Horse
 54 Capt. George Sword
 55 Plenty Bears
 56 B Rowland, Interpreter

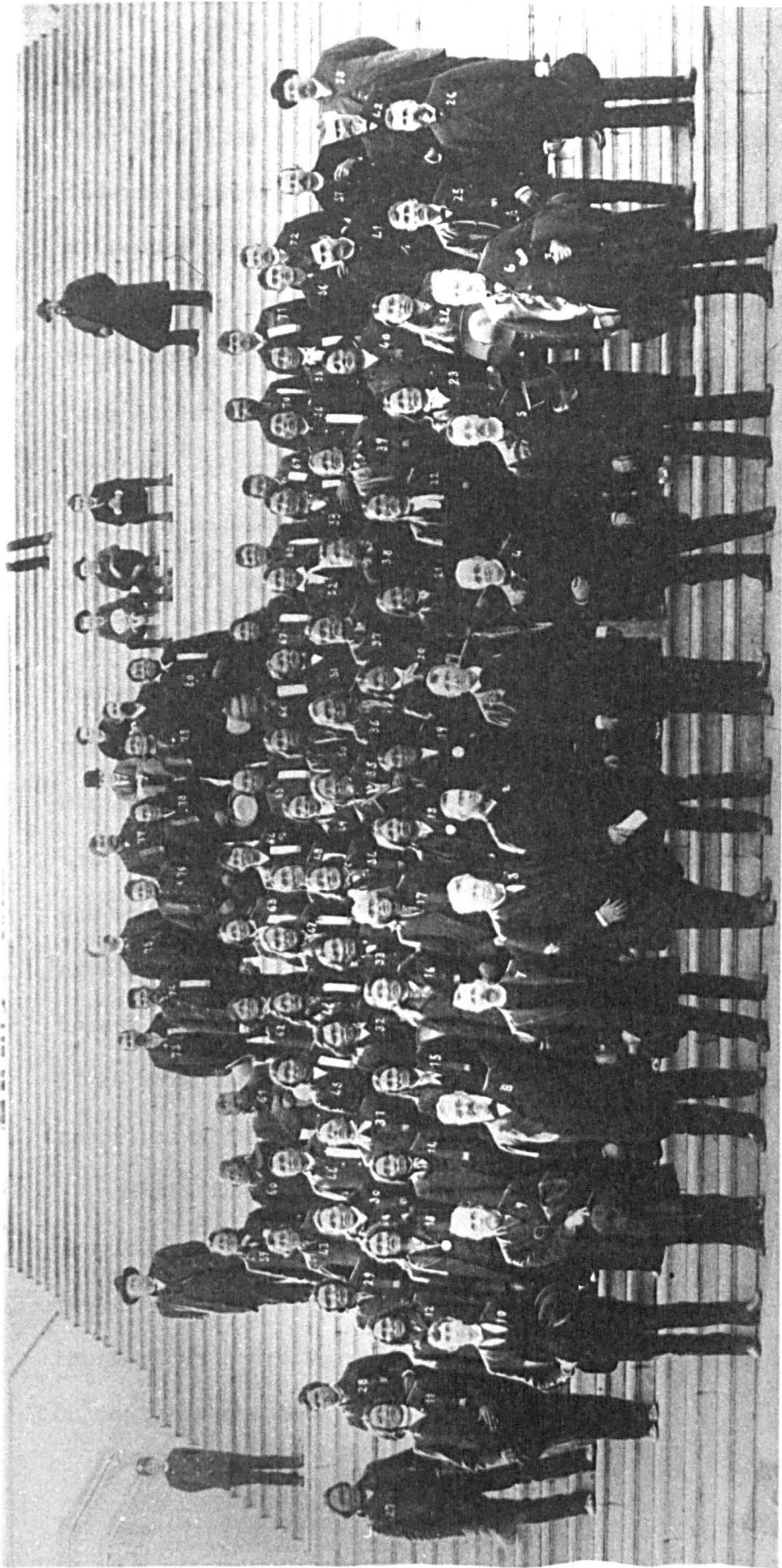
CHEYENNE RIVER, CROW CREEK AND LOWER BRULE DELEGATIONS

59 White Ghost
 60 Drifting Goose
 61 Bowed Head
 62 Little Bear
 63 Spotted Elk

64 Crow Eagle
 65 White Swan
 66 Charger
 67 Spotted Eagle
 68 Swift Bird

69 Little No-heart
 70 Narcisse Narcell
 71 W Larabee, Interp.
 72 Dr C E McChesney
 (Cheyenne River Agt.)
 73 Mark Wells, Interp.

74 Capt. Wm. Carpenter
 75 Maj. W Anderson (Agent, Crow Creek)
 76 Capt. Fire Thunder
 77 Alex Rencontre, Interpreter
 78 Medicine Bull
 79 Bull Head
 80 Wizi



The agency was the physical evidence that the federal government was in the Indians' midst. It symbolized their lost political autonomy but also the welcome possibility of federal support. The Navaho tribe frequently expressed their awareness of its double-edged function; when the agencies of the reservation were centralized the administration invited the tribe to choose a name for the new agency. They decided on "Nee Alneeng," which translated means, "the centre of the Navaho world." It was only after a time that the Bureau realized it had been made the butt of a bitter Navaho joke: the name literally meant "Hell" in the Navaho language.⁷⁴

However well intended an agent might be, where the Indian leadership had been there was now a vacuum. The agent was the new chief and he took his orders from Washington. Only rarely did agents make an effort to understand the history and customs of the tribe amongst which they lived. Any proclivity to do this was weakened by their very position and by the fact that most agents stayed only ^aon average of three years. If an agent were honest and hard working he could still be autocratic and tough. If he were dishonest then the extent of his power gave him the opportunity for untrammelled corruption.

While the agent supplanted and superseded the role that had previously been played by the Indian chiefs his authority on the reservation was final, but it was not exclusive. The army and the various churches were organized and authoritative institutions on most reservations.

⁷⁴ Kneale, op. cit., p.372.

At the time of Grant's Peace Policy, when the agents on most reservations were nominated by the different church groups, the authority of the church and that of the government coincided in the same person. This practice slowly gave way to the familiar patronage system and under President Hayes the churches were deliberately relieved of their nominating powers. However, they remained a powerful force on the reservation; their teaching and missionary work were deemed essential to the government civilization programme. But the missionaries were not under the direct control of the government, they were answerable to their own church bodies; thus the Christian churches represented separate and individual hierarchies on the reservation which sometimes conflicted with that of the government. On Crow Creek blatant antagonism broke out between Agent Dougherty and Bishop Hare of the Protestant Episcopal church. Every year the Episcopalians would organize a Convocation: a huge gathering of all the Indians of their church from all the Sioux reservations. Convocation was originally organized to replace the mass gathering the Sioux would hold before their autumn hunt.⁷⁵ The agent became exasperated by the way it interfered with the Indians' farming activities and asked the Commissioner if it could take place at some other time, when it would be less detrimental to the tribe's progress. But his objection to Convocation was only the beginning of a developing antagonism.

On Crow Creek the Episcopalians were responsible for much of the school work. Bishop Hare selected and appointed not only Episcopal clergymen but also teachers. His selections and

75 Interview with Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, October 6, 1974, (widow of David Clark, Episcopalian Missionary on the Crow Creek Reservation).

dismissals were often disputed by Dougherty, who claimed that Hare's actions were often arbitrary, and that being far from the reservation he was singularly ill qualified to judge the work and ability of his appointees. Dougherty accused Hare of supporting an agent who was corrupt and even suggested that Hare himself had been compromised by certain fraudulent dealings. Hare responded bitterly to Dougherty's accusations. On the question of the teachers he informed the Commissioner, after one such incident, that "were Mr. Brown's case the first one in which Captain Dougherty has found the presence of a missionary teacher obnoxious to him, I should not hesitate to comply with his wishes, but I have already removed one teacher and one clergyman because of Captain Dougherty's opposition to them, and in both cases there were not a few who believed that the opposition of the agent was owing, not to the shortcomings of the person removed, but merely the personal feelings of the agent."⁷⁶ The Indians obviously were always indirectly affected by such disputes.

Once the rule authorizing only one denomination on each reservation had been lifted, the Indians were often caught up in inter-denominational conflicts. At Santee the agency was in the charge of the Quakers, but the American Board for many years had been active amongst the Indians. After the Reverend Samuel Hinman arrived, some of the headmen, at his instigation, asked

76 Agent William G. Dougherty to C.I.A., May 20, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Dougherty to C.I.A., August 11, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Bishop William Hare to C.I.A., enclosing also a letter from Dougherty, November 15, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

that the agency be placed under the Episcopal Church.⁷⁷ The superintendent, himself a Quaker, suggested that the mission work should remain under the American Board. He reported to the Commissioner that a report in a Washington newspaper, publicising the Indians' alleged demands, was inaccurate and that the Indians had not called a Council but had been summoned to one by Hinman. Later the Indians sent a petition objecting to their previous claim and asking to remain with the American Board.⁷⁸

The church missions were granted one hundred and sixty acres of reservation land for their church work. They thus held a privileged position on the reservation. On Crow Creek, when Bishop Hare wanted to set up branch churches, the land in certain of the areas he desired had already been taken up by the Indians. However, the agent reported that the Indians in question were prepared to relinquish their acres and take other land elsewhere. Ironically, the churches were here re-enacting in miniature the age-old pattern of Indian-white relations.⁷⁹

The churches, although supplying another alien source of authority, also often worked to help the Indian. Although associated with the government and helping implement some of the

77 Headmen of Santee Sioux to Asa Janney, December 15, 1870, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

78 Hinman appears to have been an odd character and in 1878 was to appear before an Ecclesiastical Court on charges of immorality, cf. Fred J. Fox to C.I.A., August 8, 1878, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency.

79 Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., May 20, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

worst aspects of Indian policy, they were not hated and feared as was the army.⁸⁰ At Pine Ridge McGillicuddy was anxious to have a flagstaff and brought the one from the abandoned Fort Sheridan to the agency. When a crowd of Indians gathered, "Red Cloud shouted to the bystanders that he did not want a flag that had stood on the parade grounds of an army post. The flag represented the white man's victory over the Indians."⁸¹ To the Indians the army was associated with their military defeat and the continued presence of fortresses and troops near the reservations was a real and perpetual warning. While the tribes remained a military threat the reservation was officially a place of refuge: all other territory was under the jurisdiction of the War Department. But even when peace was established posts were still manned and troops could be called to the reservation to help in emergencies. Sometimes the army was used as a brutal substitute for fulfilment of treaty provisions. In 1881 the agent on the Mescalero reservation sent a desperate telegram to the Commissioner. He informed them that as Congress had failed to provide the appropriate funds to subsist the tribe, and as his supplies of beef and flour were running low, he suggested they be placed under the authority of the army. If left to starve, he ironically continued, they would be forced to make raids and he therefore suggested that troops should take charge of them at once.⁸²

80 Clergymen were often members of government delegations organized to persuade the Indians to relinquish areas of their land. Rev. Clive Estes, the Episcopal clergyman on the Lower Brule reservation (1974) claims, with shame, that ministers from his own church came to the Indians, "a bible in one hand and a paper to sign in the other."

81 McGillicuddy, op. cit., p.157.

82 Agent W.H.H. Llewellyn to C.I.A. (telegram), May 17, 1882, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

At Mescalero the Indians had frequently fallen under army control; in 1880 their agent had reported the army had "exercised full authority in the government and control of the Indians, while I have simply fed and clothed them. Under these circumstances I do not know that it is my province to advise or even make suggestions."⁸³ At such a time the reservation became a branch of the War Department as opposed to the Department of the Interior, but frequently the authority of the two rubbed uncomfortably together and accentuated further the anomalous conditions on the reservation.

Throughout the 1870's there was an open struggle between the two departments as to which should hold authority over the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Thus the reservations were caught in a power struggle which inevitably effected the Indians. From Santee, one of the native teachers reported (through an interpreter) on the improved attendance at his school and the good behaviour of the Indians. He had "talked with many of the chiefs and headmen of this tribe during the winter about this matter, and they said the reason of [sic] this change was that heretofore the Indians had been allowed to do as they pleased, that the chiefs had no means of controlling them, but now the military assuming charge and assisting the chiefs had been the means of making this improvement. All the Indians say that disarming and dismounting them and punishing all those who do wrong has been the means of making them behave better."⁸⁴ The teacher's report might

83 Albert J. Fountain to W.H.H. Llewellyn, August 21, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency.
Agent Samuel A. Russell to C.I.A., December 22, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency.

84 John Kitto to C.I.A., School Report, April 28, 1877, B.I.A. R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency, M234.

have been made independently but this seems doubtful. It was written only five days after a letter from a Winnebago chief, Little Heart, living on the Cheyenne reservation very close to Santee, and making a similar observation; significantly, his complaint was reported to the Commissioner through an army interpreter. In the same month the Commissioner received numerous letters from Indians and army officers insisting on this point.⁸⁵

It was frequently argued that if the aim of the government was to civilize the Indians then the task would be more successfully accomplished by the Department of the Interior rather than the Department of War. While army officers, except when prohibited for brief periods, held posts as Indian agents, the demoralizing effects of a fort, when situated close to a reservation, was pointed out incessantly by the missionaries. Lawrie Tatum writing from New York, several years after he relinquished his post as agent to the Kiowa and Comanches, was very outspoken about the detrimental influence of Fort Sill. "If the Indians are camped near to the soldiers, the latter will frequently, and sometimes in large numbers, be in the Indian camps both day and night, and thus more than counteracting all the good that the agent is likely to exert."⁸⁶

85 Group of military officers to C.I.A., April 28, 1877, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency, M234; Little Heart to C.I.A., April 25, 1877, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency, M234; Black Spotted Horse and Little Black Foot to C.I.A., April 25, 1877, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency, M234.

86 Agent Lawrie Tatum to C.I.A., June 3, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

The influence of the army was felt on the reservation when the post was near the Indians and even when it was situated off the reservation. For the War Department was another branch of the federal government under whose authority the tribes could fall. The Indian police forces were organized in part as an attempt to impose law and order on the reservation without the help of the army; but as a last resort the army was always waiting. Its policing role, even if at most times only potential, contributed to the special atmosphere on the reservation and perpetrated the impression, felt keenly by the tribes, that the Indians were conquered peoples.

To the peculiar system of authority on the reservation--the power of the agent and the parallel systems of control represented by the church and the army--was added a further influential factor: the political patronage system. Being federal departments linked to the central administration, reservations also could be regarded as a source of jobs to be given as rewards to party worthies. Many an able man lost his post when a new president came to power. As late as 1891 the Commissioner informed one nervous enquirer that all officers would be retained unless they had not done their duty; however, three months later the man who was the subject of the enquiry--William Davison--had lost his job. Davison had spent three years as Superintendent of Indian schools at Santee, and was then transferred to be Superintendent of the Crow Creek school. In 1891 he was dismissed,

but no charges were preferred against him.⁸⁷ Such cases were common, and at times the reservation appeared to many whites as primarily representing the chance of a "political" job. One resident of Chamberlain, South Dakota, wrote openly to the Commissioner about a trader's licence on Crow Creek: "If a licence is to be given to a person living here, for God's sake give it to one of the many Democrats that have worked in the cause of democracy for more than a quarter of a century, and not to a republican who was a republican trader's clerk."⁸⁸

Everyone who lived on a reservation was conscious of the extraordinary nature of reservation society. The Bureau of Indian Affairs insisted that employees should have their families living with them, in an attempt to prevent immoral behaviour. But often pretexts would be made for wives and children to be sent back to "civilization" and the style of living on most reservations often discouraged employees from staying long. The lack of the usual restraints existing in more normal American towns meant that when corruption occurred it was often unchecked, and could develop enormous proportions. At Crow Creek, for example, Henry Livingstone who was agent from 1870 to 1878, ran the affairs of the agency as a profit-making business for himself

87 Hon. J.P. Dolliver to C.I.A., n.d., c 1891, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Hon. J.P. Dolliver to C.I.A., August 13, 1891, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; C.I.A. to Hon. J.P. Dolliver, May 25, 1891, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; William Davison to C.I.A., August 15, 1891, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Isaac Howard to Hon. W.B. Allison, May 20, 1891, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

88 Charles Le Blond to C.I.A., (endorsed by Dan F. Burkholder), May 25, 1886, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

and partners.⁸⁹ He set up a cattle ranch with the ex-agent from a neighbouring reservation. They built the ranch with materials delivered to the agency and stocked it with agency cattle: eight hundred in two years. He ran a further ranch with the trader from Crow Creek which he stocked with the natural increase of the domestic herd of that agency. Livingstone commandeered other government and Indian property: in 1870 he condemned two saw mills and reported selling them for scrap, but he transported them and then sold them in Sioux City; he constantly reported the numbers of Indians to be three times their real level and sold the supplies he received for the fictitious Indians; when the development of the Black Hills took place he ordered one hundred and eight thousand feet of timber for the agency, and then used a large part of it to build a private hotel. To protect himself he employed only foreigners, and he paid them less than the sums he reported. After examining the accounts of the agency, Inspector Randall, chief of the Division of Accounts, concluded that "so many fraudulent transactions are revealed that it seems unsafe to say that any voucher in the entire seven and a half years' service, except perhaps those for his own salary, is not in some particular irregular." Such systematic crime was not perhaps the general rule on reservations, however at this time many people regarded Indian agents as corrupt by definition and certainly fraud, embezzlement and nepotism were

89 C.I.A. to Agent William G. Dougherty, December 20, 1879, B.I.A., L.S., Crow Creek Agency; Agent Dougherty to C.I.A., January 22, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.



"Issue" wagons being taken to the Rosebud Agency, c1885.

rife.⁹⁰

All types of crime were common on the American frontier where the probability of apprehension was less and the machinery of law enforcement under-developed. However, the situation of the Indian reservation was special; for here was a source of government funds, contracts and jobs, with none of the normal restraints present even in young settler communities. Indians had no votes, they had no court of appeal except the agent, therefore they could be robbed with relative ease.

It was the special character of reservation society that made crime simple and commonplace. This "special chapter" was created in part by the existence of the agency. All the Americans on the reservation lived clustered together at the agency. Some were the employees of the church missions, but the majority worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. All were there to perform some specific task which related to the Indian. Thus the pattern of life at the agency town, and even its very existence, was determined by American purpose.

90 Ibid., The Daily Press and Dakotian, April 22, 1879, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Dakota Superintendency, M234; William G. Dougherty to Carl Schurz, March 11, 1880, B.I.A., R.G., 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; William G. Dougherty, Report of his Services as Indian Agent at the Lower Brule and Crow Creek Agencies Covering a Period from March 21, 1878 until September 30, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Special Agent G.R. Millburn to C.I.A., January 1, 1883, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Agent William W. Anderson, Investigation of a Charge of Drunkenness Brought by Agent Gasman against Agency Clerk Swindoll, February 10, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

Agency towns shared little in common with other towns in America. The population was always strikingly small; it grew steadily during the last three decades of the century, but, for example, even in 1892 there were only forty whites living at the Lower Brule Agency.⁹¹ Even the individuals present in the town were a reflection of government policy--the agent, the farmer, the teacher, the missionary, the trader--their roles were repeated at every agency, and the normal body of people common to any other town, was lacking.

Identical in purpose the agencies also resembled each other physically. Agent Kneale drew "a composite picture of what might be called an average agency":

"There was an administrative building, known as the 'office'--usually a number of Indians loafing in front of it; a flagpole, a warehouse--probably more than one; a large stockade where implements and vehicles were stored; stables for the necessary driving and work stock; a jail, a blacksmith shop, a carpenter shop, a room where the government physician dispensed drugs and received those who sought his services; a pump house with water tower close by; a trading post . . . residences for employees . . . The entire assembly covered an area the equal possibly to two or three city blocks . . . The buildings were painted and generally in a fair state of repair . . . Somewhat detached from the other buildings was a church, usually at least two . . . Still more remote, but within the range of vision, was a group of buildings comprising the agency boarding school. Hovering about the outskirts of the agency was a plentiful sprinkling of teepees, wall tents, and squalid shacks, where Indian employees, together with their families and hangers-on, dwelt . . ."92

Unlike other towns in America Indian agencies did not grow spontaneously and possess a dynamic of their own: they were

91 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1892, p.58.

92 Kneale, op. cit., p.28.



The Mescalero Agency, c1900.

... of life on the reservation
... American House, 1900, p. 271.

imposed and nurtured. Their size and prosperity was not dependent on their closeness to transportation routes, the extension of a railroad, or the presence of a county seat, but on the amount of funds allocated in Washington.

The population of the reservation did not represent a single integrated community. There was no organized contact between Indians and whites that did not involve the one being instructed, advised or controlled by the other; there were no common interests. The agency might be avoided by the Indians but it could not be ignored. It was, as one visitor observed, "an outpost of civilization, whereas the nearby Indian camp was the rearguard of paganism in full retreat. On the reservation one could shuttle back and forth from one order of life to the other."⁹³

The reservation, even by the 1880's, was a highly complex unit. Created originally to keep the Indians at a distance from white Americans, it stood as a symbol of the traditional policy of separation. On the reservation a system of administrative authority slowly grew up and patterns of relationships developed between whites and Indians that both reflected and reinforced this policy. When reformers looked at these vast areas of land, (for some reservations were indeed large) they saw their defining and most dangerous characteristic as being the fact that the tribes held their land in common. It was believed that if the Indians were educated and given individual allotment of land, then the barriers that separated them from American settlers--symbolized in the boundary of the reservation--would disappear. Even in the

93 Clark Wissler, Indian Cavalcade or Life on the Old-Time Indian Reservation, New York: Sheridan House, 1938, p.273.

twentieth century, despite numerous setbacks, faith in the solution persisted. In 1910 Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1904-1909, asserted that "the Indian problem has now reached a stage where its solution is almost wholly a matter of administration."⁹⁴ However, the reservation did not disappear but survived, even into the 1970's. The allotment of land in severalty was not enough to incorporate the Indian into the individualistic society of nineteenth century America, nor to undermine the distinctiveness of the Indian that the reservation both represented and fostered.

94 Francis E. Leupp, The Indian and His Problem, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, preface.

Chapter VII

The School on the Reservation

Isolated on the reservation, itself a peculiar unit in American society, the Indians had few opportunities for mixing with ordinary American citizens. Thus it was the school that was generally regarded as the institution that would bring about Indian assimilation. The school would bring to Indians the values and skills necessary to step from one society into another. The school, so contemporaries believed, would span the gap of several hundred years of progress and raise the Indians to the advanced level of American "civilization". It would first counter-balance and then out-weigh the accumulation of forces and traditions which separated the Indian from white society. Organized to bring education and "civilization" to each Indian individually, the school would introduce the child to American society and simultaneously destroy the "communistic" organization and traditions of tribal life. The Indian then, living and behaving as any white, would no longer be subjected to discrimination and exclusion, which were responses to his barbaric state, and would assume his place in American society. Or, so it was projected.

"Education" and "civilization" were, in the language of nineteenth century officials, almost synonymous when applied to the Indians. A successful education in school implied a civilized Indian. But "education" as a word is ambiguous. It can be used in a general sense to mean "the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations,"¹ or it can be used in a

1 Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society, Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1960, p.6.

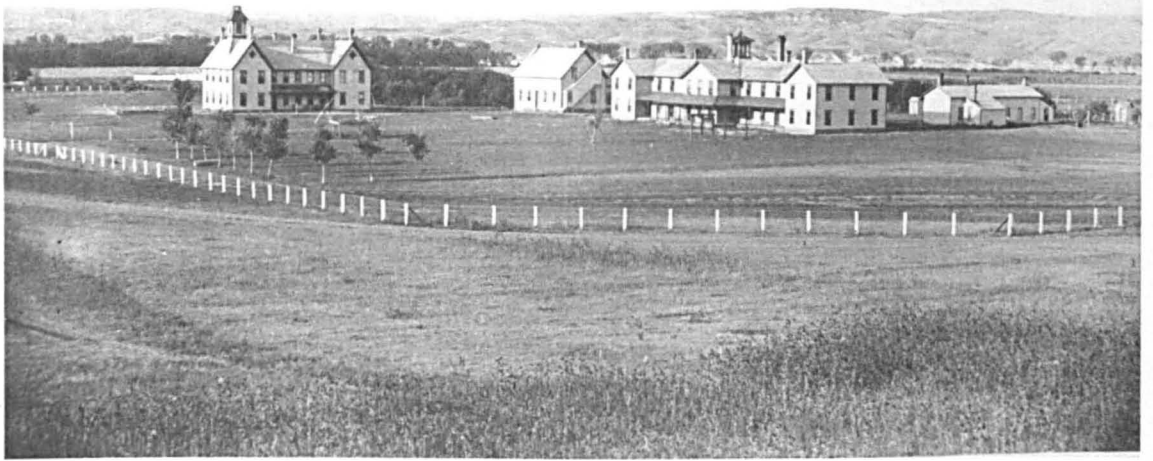
more restricted sense to mean formal education, or the acquisition of a defined set of skills and abilities. The two separate meanings often merge and become synonymous when used in connection with children who, as the most malleable members of any society, usually receive their formal and general education concurrently. Yet if the term is applied cross-culturally, when a group of individuals from one culture is being educated in both the values and skills of another, then, even though the individuals may be children, the two meanings can attain important separate significance. Skills and abilities acquired through formal education can be accumulated in almost indeterminate numbers. Although not infrequently such qualities are inextricably connected with social and moral patterns, they need not necessarily interfere with one another. A man may learn blacksmithing without decreasing his ability to chop timber. However, education in the broader sense involves the acquisition of religious, moral and social values. The adoption of a new pattern of values generally requires the rejection of older and perhaps deeply held beliefs.

The task being attempted in the Indian schools was "education" in both senses of the word. The institution that was used to supply formal education in American communities would be used to bring education, in its broad sense, to the Indians. The enormity of the task assigned to the school can in part be attributed to the faith most nineteenth century Americans shared in the power of the school to improve and elevate men. It also sprang from their idea of how society worked; instead of seeing economic, political and religious factors as being intricately connected and contributing equally to the pattern of men's lives, the individual was regarded as supreme and able to direct the future development of

society. In American society at this time the successful entrepreneur was accorded much praise and the achievements of such individuals were regarded as benefitting the whole of society. In a comparable way it was argued that if individual Indians could be educated, even if their achievements were unsupported by the rest of the culture and they represented a peak of accomplishment unattained by the majority, nevertheless they would be equipped to elevate their fellow tribesmen to "civilization".² Thus the school as an institution was meant to bring about the assimilation of the Indian: to achieve alone what was not being accomplished by complimentary economic, legal and political means.

The school was the spearhead of the whole attempt to teach the Indian about American culture. While the Spanish had worked to build up self-supporting compact villages amongst the Indians of the Southwest, irrespective of the establishment of an educational centre, the Americans paid little attention to community reform and instead looked to the disembodied institution of the American school to achieve the goal of "civilization". But the school did not exist in a vacuum unaffected by its surroundings; uprooted from the American community from which it sprang and planted on the reservation the "little red school house" was transformed. The distinctive nature of the reservation shaped and determined the character of the reservation school. Established to bring "civilization" to the Indian, to counteract the forces separating the tribes from American society, the school rapidly

2 This attitude to cultural change persisted until well after World War II, c.f. Margaret Mead, "Cultural Factors in Community Education Programmes," in George D. Swindler, Education and Culture, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963.



Crow Creek Agency, c1885.

became an integral part of reservation life and was controlled and influenced by the dominating forces there. The distinctive characteristics of the reservation, its isolation, its insularity and its bureaucratic status, pervaded the school and coloured all aspects of its activity.

The reservation school was founded and then run on assumptions that were similar to those that originally had led to the creation of reservations. Once confined on reservations the tribes had been forced to surrender most of their political independence. Although the motives for this often stemmed from strong humanitarian sentiments--it being thought that the Indians would fare much better if administered by whites--it also represented the enforcement of the dominant view that Indians had no political rights comparable to those of white society. In the same way the Indians were forced to surrender any effective control over the formal education of their children. Plans to abolish the reservation did not herald any change in the government's long-term educational goal, and the organization of the reservation schools served both to recapitulate and to enforce the Indian's dependent status.

Government policy was consistent in its concentration on ends rather than means. The goal for which they aimed, the "civilization" of the Indian, was clear if elusive. The method or programme by which they planned to achieve this aim was less certain and, (as demonstrated in chapter five) often varied on the different reservations. However, concentration on a specific end or goal brought with it a disregard for the process by which this was to be achieved; the day to day effect of the programme. The final result was all important, and the different stages were significant

only when measured against it.

But the manner in which the school functioned on the reservation was of vital importance to the nature and extent of its influence. The attitude of the teachers, the tactics for enrolling pupils, the teaching methods, the style of building, the financial resources, the superintendent's authority in relation to the agent, all these characteristics of the school were as important in determining its effect as was the ultimate goal for which it existed.

The school was not a neutral agent on the reservation, a "nebulous locus" where knowledge would be transmitted. It was the arena of an intense social drama, the place not only where the long term aims of federal Indian policy were to be achieved, but more particularly where the Indian children were to be remoulded and equipped to be satisfactory American citizens. The children were the prime targets and one of the acknowledged goals of the school was to break the parents' influence. When struggling to stop their children being taken to school or when hostile to the type of schooling offered by the whites, the Indians were not only fighting for their off-spring in an individual personal sense, but for the future members of their tribe, the carriers of their traditions and history. Although the benevolent effects of schooling were always stressed by both reformers and officials, the school was being used as an instrument of social change and as such was to help implement the broader goals of government policy. Results not achieved by other means would, it was projected, be achieved with the help of the school; school children were often used as hostages to keep a tribe peaceful and whenever officials despaired at the "progress" of the adult Indians they looked

confidently to the children.³ The Reverend Myron Eells, a missionary of the American Missionary Association who continued the work his father had begun among the tribes of the Northwest, described how the Indians continued to follow the same economic pursuits as their fathers, and how they demanded why they should attempt to farm their barren land or work for the agent for a dollar or a dollar and a half a day when they could "in a few days catch seals whose fur will be worth from twenty to forty dollars." The missionary did not attempt to confront the good sense of their economic reasoning but instead confided that "for these reasons those in charge for many years have felt that their main chance of success is with the children in school."⁴ It was always the school that was expected to achieve the social, political, economic and psychological changes that were necessary for civilizing the Indian.

It was due to the breadth of the educational goals of the school that the institution became so totally integrated with all affairs on the reservation. It did not exist to transmit a limited number of skills, but was part of a broad and fundamental programme of change. In aim and purpose the school was linked to all other white activities on the reservation, and it was also tied to the same administrative roots. Controlled, financed and organized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, on the reservation the traditional "little red school house" assumed a new character.

3 The first pupils of the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania were originally hostages of the U.S. army and this pattern was to continue.

4 Myron Eells, History of Indian Missions on the Pacific Coast, Philadelphia: The American Sunday School Mission, 1882, pp.137-138.

The agent, as the representative of the federal government, held authority over the school. It was his responsibility to organize the building, staffing and running of the school and to find ways of ensuring the children attended. He was able to use the power of his office to force the children to school by withholding the rations and money of the adult Indians; these were tactics frequently used on all reservations although not always successfully. On the Omaha reservation the agent, despite loud protest from the Indians, refused to supply the Indians' annuities until the school was full. However once the annuities were issued the Indians removed their children. The agent then requested that the Commissioner issue an order that only parents of children who had attended school for at least two hundred and ten days would receive their payment and the Commissioner obliged him despite the vociferous objections of the Omaha Indians.⁵

The teachers, superintendent, matrons, seamstresses and other staff of the school were all chosen by the agent. He could select whom he liked and dismiss them at will. In 1885 a rule was introduced requiring the agent to "make a statement of the qualifications of every person he nominates for a position in a school, and to state a reason for every dismissal he makes." The inevitable ineffectiveness of such a rule was commented on by the Superintendent of Indian Schools who realized the agent's power was still practically unlimited and that he might continue to "fill all the positions in a school with his own friends, or the friends of his bondsmen, or the friends of the persons whose influence obtained

5 Agent G.W. Wilkinson to C.I.A., September 15, 1882, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency; James Whitewater to the President of the U.S., May 3, 1885, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency; Agent C.H. Potter to C.I.A., September 28, 1885, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

for him his place."⁶ The competence of the officials chosen by the agent was bound to directly influence the standards in the school. As a generation of Indian children grew up having gained the rudiments of an American education, they too began to seek employment at the agency or in the school. The agent thus had power over their chances of gaining employment. In 1885 out of a total of one hundred and one reservation schools forty six had a staff that was all white; out of a total of eight hundred and sixty seven employees in these schools only one hundred and seventy seven were Indians, a proportion of less than one fifth.⁷ As many of the reservation schools were boarding schools there were a large number of fairly menial tasks necessary for keeping the children clean, clothed and fed. Sixty per cent of Indians who were employed by the Bureau at this date were women. The job most frequently held was that of laundress, but a large proportion of the Indians worked as seamstresses or cooks. No Indian held a job as superintendent, although Thomas Wildcat Alford, who was an ex-Hampton student and was later to write his autobiography, did hold the job of principal teacher at the Absentee Shawnee Indian Boarding School.⁸ In 1885 twenty four Indians were employed as teachers, significantly, the numbers of Indians employed in a school was no reflection of the state of "advancement" of that tribe. The Santee Indians were considered some of the most "advanced", and

6 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885, p.3.

7 These figures and those that follow were collected from the Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885.

8 Thomas Wildcat Alford, Civilization, Norman: Oklahoma Univ. Press, 1936.

at the Santee Industrial School four Indians were employed as assistant cooks and one as an assistant laundress. However, the Omahas were also considered to be a tribe almost ready for self government, yet only one half-breed Indian was employed in the school; this was not something desired by the Indians who were continually agitating for control of the school.⁹ At Crow Creek and Lower Brule also there were no Indians employed in the boarding schools. But among the Kiowa and Comanche, who were deemed to be two of the least "advanced" tribes, ten out of a total of twenty six employees were Indian. It seems likely that the demand by local whites for jobs in the Indian Service was as important a factor in deciding the ratio of the two races employed as were the qualifications and eligibility of the Indians. At Cheyenne River Agency in Dakota not only was there not a single full-blood Indian employed in either the boarding or the day school, but also all the white employees had been appointed from Dakota, they were thus locals chosen by the agent. At the Kiowa and Comanche School in Indian Territory, of the sixteen white employees, only five had been appointed from the Indian Territory. It is possible to assume therefore that the smaller the demand from whites for jobs in the Indian school the more likely it was that the Indians would be employed.¹⁰

Slowly, as the lack of employment for Indians who had attended school became a growing problem, the government encouraged the agents to employ as many Indians as possible around the agency and at the school. By 1900, out of a total of two thousand seven

9 For a closer examination of Omaha demands see below, Chapter VIII.

10 Details for employees' state of residence when appointed are not complete for the Dakota agencies under study, and it is for this reason that Cheyenne River Agency is used as an example of a Dakota Agency.

hundred and fifty nine employees, seven hundred and one were Indians, which amounted to over a quarter.¹¹ At the Crow Creek Boarding School there were an equal number of employees of each race, but nevertheless here as elsewhere whites held the senior positions and Indians continued to depend on their favour to gain jobs.¹²

The power of the agent was curtailed slightly as the Bureau began to employ inspectors to report on the activities of the agency and school. These inspectors could only give superficial accounts relying primarily on outward appearances. Even so they represented a diminution of the agent's power and their presence was often resented; at Crow Creek in 1890 Agent Anderson refused to allow the inspector to see the quarterly school reports. On all the reservations the inspectors were generally known as "big cats".¹³

The Bureau of Indian Affairs could and sometimes did appoint school employees direct from Washington. As criticism of the "spoils system" developed during the 1890's this became a more frequent practice. In 1893 several of the positions in the Indian service came under the civil service examination system, but this merely served to make the appointments more bureaucratic and not necessarily better. The Superintendent of Indian Schools in 1894 expressed his dissatisfaction with the examination system by which, "candidates for the position of superintendent merely answered questions a little harder and matrons questions a little

11 "Statistics as to Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1900, p.634.

12 Ibid., p.631.

13 Elaine Goodale to C.I.A., April 5, 1890, B.I.C., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

easier than those asked of candidates for the position of teacher, and on the same subjects."¹⁴ So the examinations were changed, with the help of the Board of Indian Commissioners, in order to take account of the special needs of the Indian Service. In the late 1890's emphasis began to be given to the special abilities and training needs of school employees. Details of the Indian School service examination were sent to prominent educational institutions and normal schools and appointments were made on the basis of these examinations. Ironically, at the very time that there was a new insistence that more Indians should be employed, the possibility of their achieving positions in anything except menial tasks had moved further away.

While the agent held the strongest authority over the school, when a school was run by one of the religious organizations there was sometimes tension or open hostility between the church representative and the government representative. Alfred Riggs, principal of the successful Santee Normal Training School, which drew children from all the Sioux reservations, was reprimanded by the Bureau for exceeding his authority by placing eight children in other schools off the reservation. That type of decision, it was insisted, should always be made by a representative of the Bureau.¹⁵ Riggs however had the support of the Santee agent who wrote to inform the Commissioner of the former's thorough understanding of the needs of the Indian. "Through his knowledge," the agent wrote, and by the assistance of the members of the Association, he has

14 "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1894, p.358.

15 Secretary of the Interior Teller to C.I.A., July 11, 1883, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

good facilities for obtaining competent teachers and employers, their work is confined to Christianity and education, they devote their entire time to said work and can bring out better results than an agent who has so many things to look after throughout the Agency beside the school." The agent went on to suggest that the American Missionary Association should take over the running of the agency boarding school.¹⁶ This suggestion was not taken up by the Bureau but it illustrated well the co-operation between the different groups of whites on the Santee reservation.

On Crow Creek the hostility that developed between the agent and Bishop Hare was to lead the former to question not only the Bishop's competence to select employees, but also the whole system of church authority. "The system of contract," asserted Agent Dougherty, in 1880, "is impracticable and was inherited from a time when every branch of Indian affairs was administered very easily." The inefficient organization of the school had led to bickering, back-biting and jealousy among the teachers who had ceased to be concerned about the main purpose of the school. The representatives of Bishop Hare had become so jealous of their rights that when Captain Pratt had visited the reservation to enrol children to go to Eastern boarding schools "the whole establishment from the Bishop down opposed him." The church influence, Dougherty complained, had made it impossible "for the agents to exercise any supervisory authority over the education of the children."¹⁷

16 Agent I. Lightner to C.I.A., June 17, 1885, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Santee Agency.

17 Agent W.G. Dougherty to C.I.A., November 5 and August 24, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency, M234; Bishop W. Hare to C.I.A., August 9 and June 2, 1880, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek, M234; Agent W.G. Dougherty to C.I.A., July 1 and 7, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

No school on a reservation was able to operate independently. Indian schools were not autonomous units subject to the needs and demands of the Indian community. If a government school it was controlled directly by the Bureau, and if a contract school it was often caught in a power struggle between the two separate sources of authority operative on the reservation. The system of authority that operated on all reservations thus inevitably embroiled the school.

As important to the school as the source of authority was the source of money. Reservation schools were financed in three separate ways: by funds from missionary societies; by money appropriated by Congress and by money allocated to certain tribes in treaties for educational purposes. While the last category can in some sense be considered as the Indians' own money, the tribes to whom it belonged had no control over how it was spent and thus it can be frankly stated that the reservation schools were financed totally from the outside. They thus bore no resemblance to American schools in their method of support.

The money appropriated by Congress for Indian schools increased steadily over the last three decades of the nineteenth century. The first sum of \$100,000 was designated for the Indians as part of President Grant's Peace Policy in 1870. For several years money for schools was taken from the general funds allocated to the tribes by the annual Indian Appropriation Act. But in 1877 a specific sum began to be set aside exclusively for educational purposes; in that year it was \$20,000 but by 1900 it had risen to \$2,936,080 and was to go on rising. The years 1888, 1894, 1895, and 1896 marked the only four occasions when Congress reduced rather than increased

this sum.¹⁸ The amount contributed to Indian education by church organizations and private individuals also rose progressively, reaching a peak of \$558,130 in 1892. After that date the government's discouragement of sectarian schools meant that the contributions and activities of these groups slowly declined.¹⁹ The final appropriation for sectarian schools was made in 1900.²⁰ Money promised to about a dozen tribes for education purposes, through treaties signed with the United States government, reached its highest level of \$81,056 in 1878, and steadily decreased as the various treaties expired.²¹ Thus the Indian schools were largely financially supported by Congress and were dependent on sustaining the confidence and support of Congressmen in Washington. Although the number of day and boarding schools were approximately equal throughout the period, the number of children attending boarding school was always higher and steadily increased, so that in 1900 over seventeen thousand children were at boarding schools as opposed to almost four thousand at day schools. Children at boarding schools had to be housed, fed, clothed, and cared for when sick. Nevertheless the Commissioner boasted in 1900 that "the expenditures on behalf of Indian schools will exhibit a most favourable showing when compared with those of similar white institutions, such as industrial boarding or reform schools."²²

18 Figures are from Report of B.I.C., 1902, p.81

19 Figures are from Report of C.I.A., 1893, p.17. They include sums contributed by: Roman Catholics; Presbyterians; Congregationalists; Episcopalians; Friends; Mennonites; Unitarians; Lutherans; Methodists; Mrs. L.H. Daggett; Miss Grace Howard; Women's National Indian Association; Point Iroquois, Michigan.

20 Report of C.I.A., 1900, p.24.

21 Report of C.I.A., 1882, p.xl.

22 Report of C.I.A., 1900, p.44.

Despite the Commissioner's assertion, Indian schools were expensive institutions and the funds provided were rarely adequate to fulfil all the many demands. Attempts were made to economize wherever possible. In 1885 the Superintendent of Indian Schools, John Oberly, put forward some plans for a uniform school building. This standardized building was meant to save the money that would have been spent in duplicating similar buildings while guaranteeing certain standards of hygiene and morality, the necessary provisions being made for an abundance of light and air and to ensure the two sexes were kept apart.²³ Eight years later however another superintendent was to complain that despite all the money spent by the government on school buildings, "in most cases these are not only lacking in the simplest requirements of architectural grace, but quite deficient in the provisions made for sewage, lighting, ventilation, and sanitary requirements generally."²⁴ The faith that was placed in the large off-reservation boarding school, particularly in the early 1890's, frequently meant that the reservation school was neglected. "It is not a little painful to me," reported one superintendent, "to find some of the worthiest agents in the Indian service, upon some of the larger reservations, having within their bounds more children of school age than there are pupils in all the great schools combined, scrimped to the most meager sums in their appropriations for a hundred pupils, while the great schools receive their money for additional school accommodations by the tens of thousands."²⁵ Often this meant that many of the necessities and the embellishments of "civilized"

23 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885, pp.58, 60-61.

24 "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1894, p.355.

25 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1890, p.15.

life, which the schools were founded to teach, did not exist in those very institutions. Frequently there was no sitting-room, or, if it existed it was "underground, with only a few hard benches, no curtains at the windows, with neither books nor papers, with no pictures on the wall, and so small and crowded that the little girls are often trampled and ill-used by the larger." And many of the niceties, such as handkerchiefs and night gowns were entirely lacking.²⁶ At the Mescalero day school the teacher reported on even an insufficient number of desks and chairs.²⁷ The function of the school was to teach "white civilization" but the teachers were often confronted with the problem that "the standard of society around some of our schools is not the one we wish to recognize as the white man's standard of living."²⁸ But if the surrounding society was sadly lacking, often so were the schools. Not only were the physical buildings generally spartan but the children were also expected to work hard performing chores. Often the work performed was justified in terms of its educational value, but as the schools grew larger and obtained "steam-washers, or at least good washing machines" and other types of machinery, the children spent time performing household tasks with equipment they would never use once they had left the school. The indispensability of the children's labour was acknowledged; in one school a small girl "was kept in the laundry one-half of each day for two years . . . because she was a good washer and the work must

26 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1889, pp.23, 35; Elaine Goodale, Report on Lower Brule Industrial School, 1890, April 29, B.I.A., L.R., Lower Brule Agency, R9 75.

27 Annie C. Gans, Monthly Report for the Mescalero Day School, November 1, 1882, B.I.A., L.R., Mescalero Agency, R9 75

28 "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.604.

be done."²⁹ In the running of many schools the short term efficiency of the institution often came before the education and well-being of the children.

The system of financing Indian education affected not only the building and physical aspects of the schools, but also the teachers. Paid by funds coming from Washington and channelled through the agent, the teachers' payment was not always guaranteed. Delays or reductions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs funds meant that economies had to be made on the reservation and often it seemed that the teacher's job was the most dispensable. On the Kiowa reservation the most "advanced" of the chiefs first asked for a school in 1874; at that time all the money allowed to the Kiowa tribe by the Indian Appropriation Act had been spent. Superintendent Enoch Hoag agreed that some of the general Civilization Fund could be used to pay a teacher, and so the agent opened a small school. It was then learnt that the money from the Fund would be subtracted from the following year's allowance. The agent thus felt compelled to close the school in August, after only a few months.³⁰ Although the Kiowa school was reopened in November, funds were still short and the wages of employees had to be reduced.³¹ Such problems were common to many reservations and did not improve. Ten years after the Kiowa story a boarding school was opened on the Mescalero reservation and rapidly filled to capacity, then the salaries of the staff were reduced and the

29 Report of C.I.A., 1889, pp.35-36.

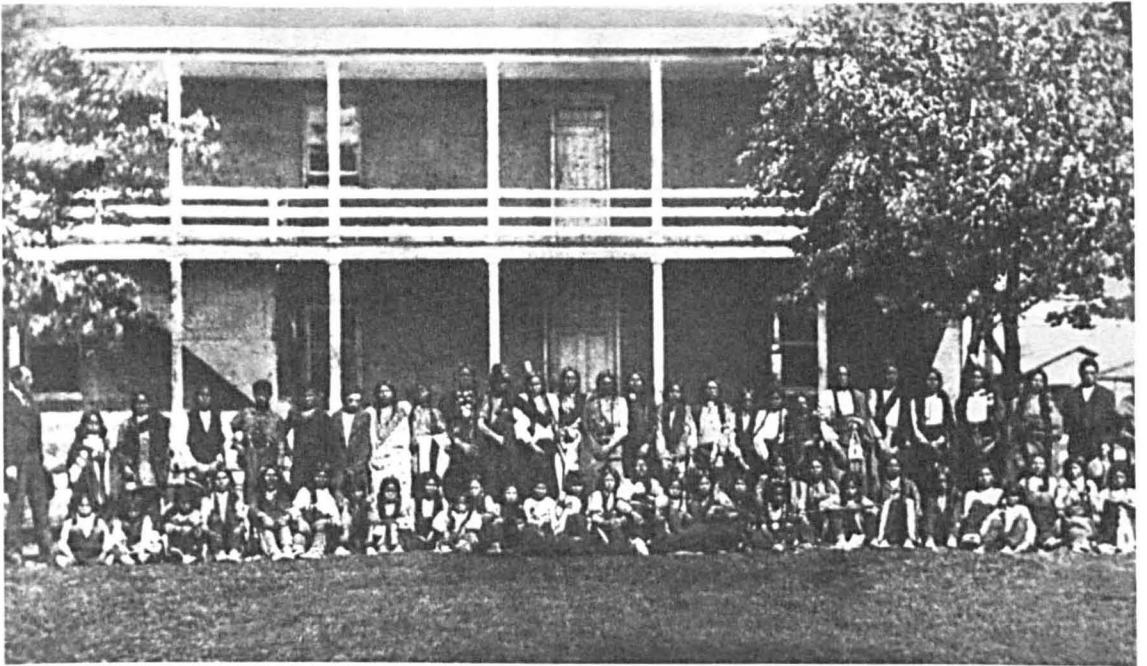
30 James Haworth to Enoch Hoag, November 19, 1874 and May 20, 1875, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234; Sally Cowgill to C.I.A., October 20, 1876, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

31 Enoch Hoag to C.I.A., August 5, 1875, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

agent was fearful they would leave. At Lower Brule in 1889, the agent discharged six teachers and assistants and two seamstresses because of insufficient funds for their pay.³² Although the aim of the reservation schools was to help the Indian to see, and then to step beyond, the inadequacies of his life, they themselves were never free from the harsh realities of reservation society. The peculiar system of authority on the reservation, maintained by the Bureau (and its officials) and the various church groups, and the accompanying system of inadequate and irregular financial support from a distant and disconnected source, were two of the defining characteristics of all reservation schools. If the uniform plans suggested for all school buildings were originally put forward as an economy measure, these plans can as well be seen as an apt symbol for the net-work of schools that was slowly spreading out over the reservations of the western states. Like the plans, the schools were functional and unelaborate and were designed for a simple and defined purpose; like the plans, the schools could be and were duplicated over and over again regardless of geography, climate or people; and again like the plans (only less predictably) the schools gained a further dimension when established on the reservation--ceasing to exist as an abstract construct they started to function as individual institutions in a very special type of society.

Once enrolled in the school it was envisaged that the Indian child would receive a basic education and emerge several years later as a "civilized" being. This process was unconsciously parodied in the photographs frequently taken of groups of children

32 Bureau of Indian Affairs Circulars to Agents, No. 145,
B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.S.;
Agent W. H. Llewellyn to C.I.A., March 31 and August 6, 1885,
B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency.



Carlisle Indian School. Sioux boys, who formed part of the first student body, immediately after their arrival at Carlisle, October 1879.

...at Carlisle,
...have been care-
...the photo-
...Nathan Standing
...Marshall had
...the Indian
...the child accord-



Carlisle Indian School. Sioux boys after eight months at Carlisle, June 1880. The boys are dressed in army uniforms and have been carefully posed in an interior setting. Their names accompany the photograph: (standing left to right) David Blue Tooth, Nathan Standing Cloud, Pollock Spotted Tail, (sitting left to right) Marshall Bad Milk and Hugh Wirlwind Soldier -it was common practice in the Indian schools to use a translation of the father's name for the child accompanied by an American Christian name. Workers in Indian schools took great delight in the striking contrast between such "before" and "after" photographs.

before and after they entered the school. With the help of scrubbing, hair-cuts and new suits of clothing the "camp Indians" were transformed into tidy, polished, school children. Concern for the final product distracted attention from the necessary complementary psychological and social transformation. The delight with which such photographs were greeted portended a more serious deception. When one Sioux agent remarked to a German priest that the children seemed to be rapidly taking on the ways of civilization he was a little shocked at the German's warning, "Young man, I dell you dis, zivilization gomes not in mit de glothes."³³ Such a warning might have been heeded by many an Indian educator.

Once the first children had completed their education the most pressing question was how they should be employed. The children from the Eastern training schools, who had often spent years away from the reservation totally isolated from their people, posed the question in starkest terms, but for all children who had been given the rudiments of education and the veneer of "civilization" the problem was the same. Farming was the most obvious, if not the ideal work for the Indians, and on this the government doggedly insisted. But the children's education was not principally in farming; the majority had achieved a smattering of literacy and often had learnt the basic skills of a trade, and there was a general feeling that they should be encouraged by being offered employment by the government. In 1883 a special agent visited Crow Creek, the reservation which had sent the first group of

33 Albert H. Kneale, Indian Agent, Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1950, p.57.

children to Hampton, and reported that he thought it specially important that the returned students should be given jobs. Thus not only would they stand as an example and so encourage others to follow in their path, but also they themselves would see the advantages their education had brought them.³⁴

As reservations were not economically self-sufficient communities almost the sole employer was the government. The educated Indian could become the agency carpenter, blacksmith, teacher or just the odd job man, but instead of his schooling helping him to enter American society, it merely modified his relationship with the government: he became an employee as well as a ward. This peculiar mixed status created many problems. On Crow Creek the returned students were still given rations and paid very low wages; aware of their new economic worth and objecting to the lack of incentive offered to them they requested that they be paid and treated as white employees. In the case of one Indian, his request (endorsed by the agent) was granted, but that of two friends who were equally well qualified was not. And the question was never solved in principle for ten years later a group of Indians from the same reservation was making an identical request.³⁵

The special nature of the reservation meant that the Indians who found employment there fell into a new and special category. As their numbers increased and their identity as a group became obvious they became known as "agency Indians". Their existence

34 E.B. Townsend to C.I.A., October 20, 1883, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

35 Agent G.H. Spencer to C.I.A., December 1, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Cora M. Folson to C.I.A., July 22, 1891, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

became another recognizable feature of reservation life. Living in frame houses grouped near the reservation, and dressing wholly or partly in American clothes, these Indians had indeed been assimilated into a society that was not their own. However it was not American society, it was the government created society of the agency.

Each Indian who became educated had to decide how much of his own traditions he would repudiate. It quickly became clear to the government that the benefits of white civilization were not, even when accessible, consistently preferred by the Indians. Once the difficulty became clear it was constantly analyzed. In 1892 the Superintendent of Indian Schools reported:

"Boys and girls go back to their parents in teepees or huts, with few of the accompaniments of civilized life. They have, in the camps, absolutely no application of the industries they have learned. Their parents will not let them introduce the better way and deride them as "white folks". After a while they despair of being able to carry out the life they were taught to live at school, and in utter discouragement give themselves up again to the barbarism around them. They know better but are unable in this environment to apply their knowledge."³⁶

The adult Indians were often blamed for dragging their children back to barbarism, "for they can ostracize one of their own more cruelly and effectively even than their white brothers." Reasons were offered for the frequency of this "deterioration" and suggestions made to combat it. One teacher from Mescalero suggested that as few Indians wanted their children to leave the reservation, those who were sent were often "the halt, maimed and blind, mentally, morally and physically." Such children not only had

36 "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.587.

less resistance to reservation influences when they returned, but also commanded less respect and so had less chance of converting their elders.³⁷ Solutions to the problem nearly always involved perpetuating the child's severance from his people in some way, for example by "colonizing young couples in congenial communities of their own, apart from degenerating influences. These may either be at the borders of a reservation or at a distance from it."³⁸ Even when physical isolation was not suggested it was hoped that the children would achieve an effective personal isolation, for it was asserted that it was only when an Indian attained "the condition of throwing off his people and seeking to isolate himself from them, that we will get the moral and spiritual character sufficiently established to make him a guide for his people."³⁹

The problem of the "returned student," (the relapse of the educated Indian into "barbarism") called forth excuses and qualifications from all who believed in the efficacy of Indian schooling, because the cases of Indians who had "returned to the blanket" were cited by many as proof of the impossibility of the task being attempted. Thus Bishop Hare, while admitting that his "prepossessions are altogether enlisted in behalf of schools situated on Indian Reservations: and my judgement is that most of the educational work for Indians should be done there," nevertheless wrote

37 Proceedings of the Indian School Service Institute, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1898, pp.18, 19.

38 "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.587.

39 Proceedings of Indian School Service Institute, op. cit., p.49.

defiantly, "But I cannot shut my eyes to the incalculable service which well conducted eastern boarding schools have done the Indian, and I am filled with alarm when I hear it suggested that from thirty to seventy per cent of the pupils of Carlisle and Hampton die within four years of their return home, die like sheep with the murrain, and also for their inhumanity in creating a gulf between the generations 'which cannot be bridged.'"⁴⁰ All Indian educators, whatever their private differences, felt compelled to defend any work in this field from outside criticism.

Some of the criticisms were valid however. One of the schools' principal aims was to create a gulf; they might not, as General Armstrong of Hampton insisted, set out to teach "the young Indians to despise their kinsmen, to lose the natural gratitude and affection due their parents," but it was intended that the children should reject the values and life-style of their parents. However, Armstrong was adamant that "these charges are untrue and mischievous. We deny them for Hampton, and have no doubt that they are also incorrect as to Carlisle."⁴¹ He painstakingly assembled data on all the students who left Hampton, classifying their progress as "excellent", "good", "fair", "poor" or "bad". The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the information provided by agents, make a similar compilation. Of the fifty Hampton students who had returned to the Crow Creek reservation in 1886, forty-six were described as "doing well", and four were "not

40 W.H. Hare to H. Welsh, March 19, 1886, in Helen W. Ludlow, Ten Years Work for Indians, New York, 1905.

41 Samuel Chapman Armstrong, The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Its Reply to A New Attack on Eastern Schools, Hampton, Va.: Hampton N. and A.I. Press, 1890, pp.1-16.

doing well". However, thirty-six had died at the school or on their return to the reservation.⁴² The appallingly high death rate was often excused by pointing out the large number of Indian children who also died, never having left the reservation. But it was perhaps this factor above all others that created the active resistance of the Indians to the schools, although it was the problems caused by the returned students that carried most weight with officials.⁴³ Even when the behaviour of the returned students was satisfactory to officials, their success, and that of Indians educated on the reservation, did not provide the solution to "the Indian problem". Instead of opening the way for the Indians' assimilation into American society the educated Indians merely added a new facet to reservation life. They formed a group of wage earners with a sense of their earning value and a dependence on the government which matched, if it did not duplicate, that of their elders.

The clearly defined aim of the government--to "civilize" the Indian--had become distorted. The strength of Indian culture, the peculiar nature of reservation society and the limited opportunities that it offered to educated Indians had, by 1890, created a situation unforeseen by officials in Washington. The majority of the Indians remained dependent on the government and the few that were educated had generally joined the government pay-roll.

The problems associated with educated Indians were discussed and debated in terms of the type of education they had received.

42 Ibid., p.15; Cora Folsom, Report on Returned Indian Students, Washington: G.P.O., 1888, p.46.

43 Interviews with Maggie Smith, Winnebago, September 15, 1974; James Hamilton, Omaha, September 15 - 20, 1974.

If the schooling had not led to the desired end, then there must be some deficiency in the schooling given. Were reservation boarding schools superior to distant training schools? Did education received in a day school lead to a more permanent if less advanced result? These were questions that were continually discussed although no consistent or generally accepted answers were ever arrived at. In 1882 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs acknowledged that the importance of the training school was widely recognized, but he looked to the day when the Indians would have their own community schools. However, he also reported that that very year twelve small schools, "maintained in the Indian camps by religious societies," had been discontinued. After referring to these closures he continued:

"It is as common a belief that the boarding school should supersede the day school as it is that training schools, remote from the Indian country ought to be substituted for those located in the midst of the Indians. But I trust that the time is not far distant when a system of distinct schools will be established in Indian settlements, which will serve not only as centres of enlightenment for those neighbourhoods, but will give suitable employment to returned students."⁴⁴

The type of confusion displayed by the Commissioner was not uncommon; it was felt that the Indians should eventually have a school system similar to other Americans, but in the meantime they needed something different, and opinions shifted and swung as to what that different system should be. In 1885 the Superintendent of Indian Schools, John H. Oberly, was to designate the reservation boarding schools as the "most effective civilizing instrumentalities that can be used among the Indians." He felt its strength rested on

44 Report of C.I.A., 1882, p.27.

the fact that the Indian child was removed from "the demoralizing and barbarizing environments of the Indian camp," but was not "taken away from its parents, as it is when it goes to one of the training schools," so the parents of such children "may see them often and have opportunity to observe the development of the children out of barbarism into civilization."⁴⁵ John Oberly was to be Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1888; his opinion on schooling was to be endorsed by Daniel Dorchester, the superintendent appointed by Commissioner Morgan. But while Dorchester felt, in 1891, that the time had "fully come for greater advances and larger expenditures for schools on Indian reservations," Morgan was a proponent of the training school and an educational scheme which made "ample provision for the higher education of the few who are endowed with special capacity and ambition."⁴⁶ Morgan however felt that the Indian educational system should eventually merge with public schools, and he made provisions for Indian school children to go to schools of the near-by white communities at the government's expense. The Board of Indian Commissioners supported this venture but reported in 1902 that "for reasons which deserve careful study, but which have continued to be effective, the number attending such schools has steadily decreased each year since 1896."⁴⁷

Despite oscillating support for the different types of schools, both the day and the boarding school on the reservation continued to be officially recognized as the place where "the large majority of Indian youth acquired whatever knowledge they have of books,

45 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885, p.44.

46 "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1891, p.490; Report of C.I.A., 1889, p.4.

47 Report of B.I.C., 1902, p.8.

of the English language, and of civilized ways of living." The day schools, although serving fewer pupils, and "whatever their limitations and disadvantages," always had, as one Commissioner explained, "their ardent supporters and unquestionable usefulness."⁴⁸ They provided the foundations on which the boarding schools could build, and in 1897 the Commissioner was to describe them as corresponding "more nearly to the average white public schools located in country hamlets."⁴⁹ But the schools on the reservation only superficially resembled American rural schools. Their organization and the source of their authority and of their funds was, as has been demonstrated, very different. Even the teacher who taught in Indian schools was not the traditional school teacher.

The unique nature of reservation society effected the appointment of teachers. During the 1870's, when many of the tribes were still militarily strong, many whites, who were not missionaries, were reluctant to live under what they feared might be the threat of attack. Even later, whenever there was "trouble" on a reservation, it became hard to find people ready to accept jobs, particularly in the day schools that were situated some distance from the agency and close to the Indian camps. In 1881 Agent Dixon, writing from Crow Creek, reported that he was having difficulty finding a teacher for the Driving Hawk school of the Lower Brules. Having "tried several times to induce a competent teacher to accept the position" he eventually nominated a man who was not by profession a teacher, but a practical surveyor.⁵⁰

48 Report of C.I.A., 1893, p.15.

49 Report of C.I.A., 1897, p.11.

50 Agent A.P. Dixon to C.I.A., B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

When tribes were peaceable, finding teachers was usually an easy task, except when a reservation was very isolated. But appointments were not made from the local community, as they might be in a territory or state. In 1888 every single one of the two hundred and forty one teachers and sixty three industrial teachers was white, and even by 1900 the number of Indian teachers was insignificant.⁵¹ These teachers were appointed from off the reservation, or occasionally from amongst the wives and families of the agency staff.

What motivated the teachers and other workers in Indian schools to go to live on an Indian reservation is very hard to know, as so few have left any written record outside their official reports. But often they were drawn from far afield. At the Kiowa and Comanche Industrial Boarding School in 1885 two of the teachers were appointed from Indian Territory, two from Indiana, one from New York and one from Kentucky.⁵² Of the other white employees, three were from Indian Territory, and one each from Kansas, Iowa, Texas, Ohio, New York and Kentucky. Although some of the teachers worked in contract schools and were appointed by mission groups, and others were appointed directly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the majority were the agent's appointees. In 1890 Agent Anderson of Crow Creek wrote to inform the Commissioner that one of the teachers had resigned because her mother was ill and that he had therefore employed the wife of the school superintendent. Appointments from within the agency community were not unusual; wives and children of the missionaries, farmers,

51 Report of C.I.A., 1888, p.xx.

52 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885, pp.72-73.

traders, and teachers were frequently given jobs.⁵³ But also the agent would give work to friends, relatives and people to whom he owed a favour. Taking at random the year 1885, and examining exclusively the question of nepotism, we find that at the Kiowa agency the brother of the agent was employed as superintendent of the school; at Crow Creek the wife of the agent was matron and his daughter assistant teacher and seamstress; at Mescalero, the daughter of the agent was matron and seamstress; at the Comanche agency the agent had appointed himself as superintendent of the school, and collected an extra \$700 salary, and his brother was a teacher; only at Santee (of the five agencies under consideration) was there no person on the staff of the school who was obviously a member of the agent's immediate family.⁵⁴ This type of situation obviously derived from both the extraordinary power wielded by the agent, and the peculiarly enclosed and "incestuous" nature of reservation society. But whatever its cause it clearly had an influence on the atmosphere in the school. Sometimes it was an asset; on Crow Creek the sister-in-law of the Protestant Episcopal missionary, Reverend H. Burt, was appointed as matron to the boarding school. Miss Mary Blanchard, as she was called, was clearly an able and caring worker and received the praise of both the agency community and outside inspectors for being "a lady, and a good "mother" to all the girls." The wife of the school superintendent also worked in the school as a teacher, but the community spirit shared in by the staff of the school was in this case, a

53 Agent G. H. Spencer to C.I.A., December 19, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

54 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885, pp.66-99.



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strength and one outsider commented, "I think I have never seen teachers more ladylike, more efficient and more united than these."⁵⁵ The agent was to report the school was in "a prosperous condition."⁵⁶ But only a few years previously the same institution had been in a shocking state. The school building was filthy and the children contracted lice. They were given inadequate food as the rations of syrup, prunes, peaches and dried apples that were regularly given to the school were consumed by the staff. The Indians complained bitterly and removed their children, and the agent eventually dismissed the principal and all the teachers for complicity in mismanagement and dishonesty.⁵⁷ In this case the tight and circumscribed nature of the agency community worked to the detriment of the school, and although this was not always so, the special relationship of whites on the reservation always had some impact on the running of the Indian schools.

Increasingly, jobs in Indian schools became Civil Service posts, and Agent Kneale was to report in the early twentieth century that "school employees, appointed like ourselves from the civil service roster came from many different sections of the country." But while officially a new importance was given to college degrees, in the 1890's the teaching staff of the Indian schools were still essentially unqualified.⁵⁸ One young woman, who began teaching at the Kiowa agency in 1898 and was to remain within the Indian Service and work on several reservations, took

55 Cora M. Folsom to C.I.A., July 22, 1891, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

56 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent A.P. Dixon) in Report of C.I.A., 1890, p.47.

57 Agent W.G. Dougherty to C.I.A., April 1, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency; Clerk Beveridge to Agent Dougherty, March 3, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

58 Kneale, op. cit., p.123.

the examination for admission as a teacher aged sixteen and began work when seventeen, even though this was a job officially only open to those over twenty-one. She wrote to her mother to report on her progress:

"I room with the kindergarten teacher. I need never have been afraid of what I didn't know. She took a course and then a post-graduate course in Chicago, and the superintendent is wondering how soon he can get her away from here. She don't know beans. And the rest don't know very much. Think of a class of children four years in school and can't read or write yet."⁵⁹

Although untrained teachers were the norm in rural American schools at this time, their employment in Indian schools often retarded the Indians' education, particularly when many were not only untrained but also poorly educated. An Omaha Indian recalled how the English the Indian children spoke "was gathered from the imperfect comprehension of their books, the provincialisms of the teachers, and the slang and bad grammar picked up from uneducated white persons employed at the school or at the Government Agents." And because oddities of speech, profanity, localisms, and slang were unknown in the Omaha language, when such expressions fell upon the ears of these lads they innocently learned and used them without the slightest suspicion that there could be bad as well as good English."⁶⁰ Although by 1890 all teachers employed in the Indian Service were required to give details of their own education and of their special qualifications for teaching Indian children, these regulations did little to raise the level of teaching and did much to make the post of Indian teacher "merely another government job," so that by the early twentieth century one visitor

59 Mabel M. Gould to Helen R. Gould, November 17, 1898, Box 6, No. 32, Nebraska State Historical Society.

60 Francis Laflesche, The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe, Madison, Wisconsin: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1963, p.4.

reported ruefully that "to find a real educational enthusiast was a rare event."⁶¹

The pay of teachers in the reservation schools varied enormously. In 1873 Enoch Hoag, responsible for the Central Superintendency, reported that at the Kiowa Agency teachers were receiving \$1,000 and assistants \$600, and that as these sums were higher than at any other school in the superintendency he suggested the salaries be equalized.⁶² However, high pay was not the usual problem of Indian schools. In 1883 James Haworth, Superintendent of Indian Schools asserted:

"The matter of pay of teachers and other employees is worthy of more consideration than has been given to it. In many cases it is too small; so small, in fact, that it is impossible to get the best talent unless a missionary spirit prompts the acceptance of less pay than can be obtained in civilization. Persons are employed at less or no more salary than can be obtained in the States, and cut themselves off from society and comforts of home and go hundreds of miles from civilization, occupy poor quarters, with scarcely enough furniture to make them comfortable, in many cases compelled to live upon very poor food. I think all these things ought to be taken into consideration in fixing the pay of the school employees, and the same ability should have better pay in the Indian service than in civilization."⁶³

Haworth made an effort to adjust levels of pay "to give those at agencies where the cost of living is most the greatest salaries," although he was not entirely satisfied with the results. The high cost of living on reservations remained a problem and in 1887 one agent reported an extremely high turnover among employees at the schools owing to the "hardships and inconveniences connected with the service." He even went so far as to suggest it might "be the

61 Application Form for Appointment in the Indian Service, c.1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

62 Enoch Hoag to C.I.A., April 15, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

63 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1883, p.4.

better policy to pay such salaries as will secure and retain the services of efficient teachers, even though the additional outlay might render it necessary to close some of the schools in order to keep their cost within the amount appropriated for their maintenance."⁶⁴

Whatever the problems in obtaining good staff for the schools, jobs on Indian reservations were of sufficient popularity to be used as rewards for political services. "The appointment of superintendents, teachers, and other employees, on the nomination and solicitation of politicians, as rewards for party services," asserted Daniel Dorchester in 1890, "more seriously than any other cause militates against the welfare of the Indian schools Some applicants presented are utterly wanting in character, competency, or fitness The removal of devoted, self-sacrificing laborers, who have performed the best of services in the Indian schools, to make places for such make-shift candidates is a serious offense I cannot help asking why Indian schools should be subjected to such political interference, when partisanship is not allowed to touch our public school system."⁶⁵ The answer to this query of the Superintendent of Indian Schools was of course that the Indian schools were controlled and organized in a way radically different from American public schools, where such political interference could be challenged and questioned by the parents of the pupils.

Although the schools on the reservations did constitute an educational system that was distinct and separate and which was

64 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1887, p.11.

65 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1890, p.27.

becoming increasingly controlled and organized from Washington, nevertheless there remained great diversity among the schools. There were government day and boarding schools under the control of the agent; there were government day and boarding schools contracted out to mission societies or to individuals; and there were mission schools supported solely by religious societies. While the diversity amongst Indian schools was progressively to diminish as the Indian Bureau slowly took all the schools under its control, until the end of the nineteenth century this diversity remained an important characteristic of the reservation school system.

The Grace Howard Mission on the Crow Creek reservation provides a good example of a school that was in many ways unique, yet in its goals and work was well integrated into the government systems of schools. In 1887 Miss Grace Howard, the daughter of a well known New York writer and journalist, Joe Howard, went to Crow Creek, and twelve miles from the agency built "a commodious home where Indian girls returning from Eastern schools, as well as other young women of the reservation, will be taught useful industries." Grace Howard, although only a young woman in her twenties, felt a keen interest in the cause of the Indian.⁶⁶ The year she arrived at Crow Creek there were still one hundred and forty children attached to the Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency for whom there was no school accommodation.⁶⁷ But to begin with Grace Howard aimed specifically at helping women who had already spent some time at school, and those who aspired to learn domestic skills.

66 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent William W. Anderson) in Report of C.I.A., 1887, pp.23-24.

67 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1887, pp.54-55.

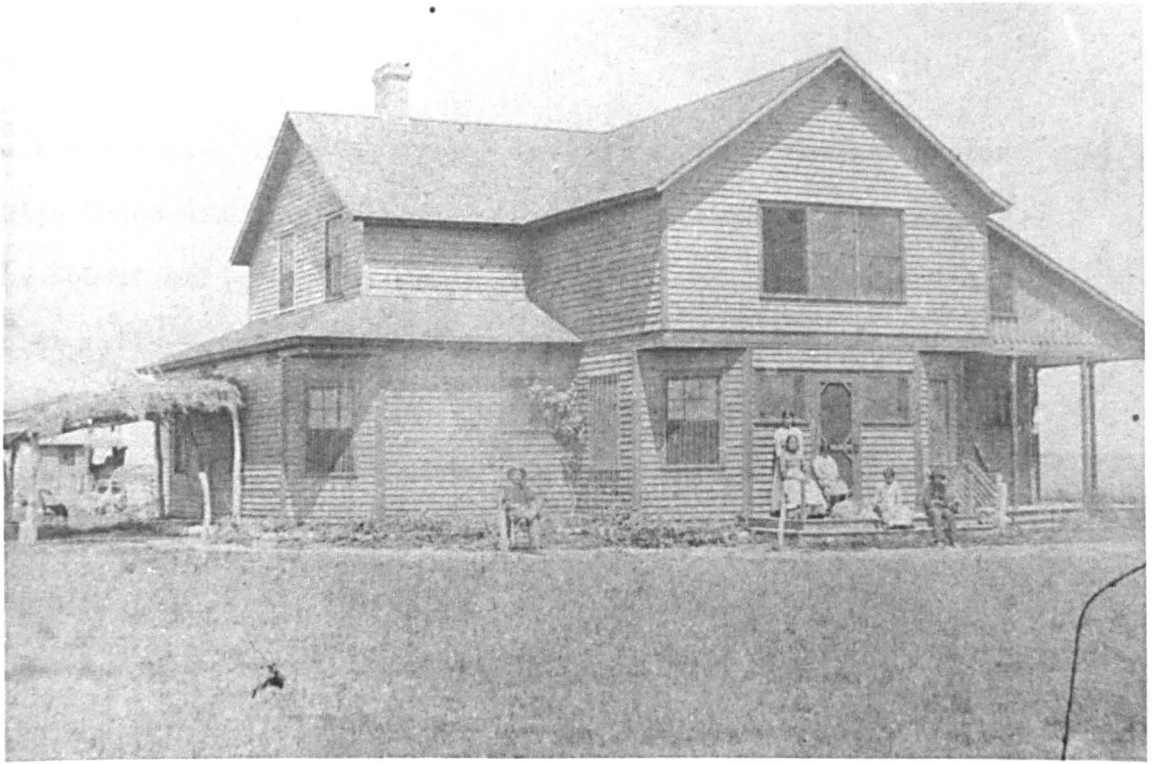
In 1890 Grace Howard extended her work to open a day school, where children from neighbouring families could receive schooling. But although the school was well conducted the attendance of the day scholars was always irregular, the average attendance in 1892 being only one! At the Grace Howard Mission the twenty-five girls who were boarders resided in a home that was similar to that of a white American, they attended the nearby Episcopalian church regularly, and learned sewing, home industries and practical housekeeping.⁶⁸

The school was consistently praised by the government agents and inspectors. Agent Treon, who had previously been the physician at Crow Creek, was enthusiastic about the "excellent management" provided by Grace Howard. "The advantages of a home school, such as Miss Howard conducts," he concluded, "has an influence far reaching in its results, and it is evident that a small school does more thorough work than a large one." He went on to report how the children at the school were "well clothed and well behaved," and the energy and care shown by Grace Howard to the children was clearly appreciated by the Indians who named her "Good-hearted Woman."⁶⁹

Despite the fact that the aims and purpose of Grace Howard's school coincided with those of the government, the management was in her hands. She herself provided the building and the initial running costs. But by 1891 the government was paying for over

68 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent A. P. Dixon) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.440; "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent F. Treon) in Report of C.I.A., 1893, p.282; "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent W. W. Anderson) in Report of C.I.A., 1894, p.277.

69 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent W.W. Anderson) in Report of C.I.A., 1888, p.33; "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent F.Treon) in Report of C.I.A., 1894, p.277.



Grace Howard Indian Mission in its prime, 1890.

half the school's costs, giving \$1,500 per annum for its support while Grace Howard provided \$1,200. By the end of the century the school had been taken over by the government; it expanded to enrol fifty-five pupils, and all costs, amounting to \$7,332.56, were paid by the government.⁷⁰ But while the school remained under Grace Howard's management she retained the privilege of selecting the teacher or of declining the nominee of the agent.⁷¹ She also planned and regulated the activities of the school. When Grace Howard left the Crow Creek reservation (there is a rumour that she "ran off with an Indian") the school began to be called the Grace Boarding School, and became part of the expanding system of government Indian Schools.⁷²

That Grace Howard's school became absorbed into the Indian education system was symptomatic of a trend, for during the 1890's a sustained effort was made to organize the schools into an integrated system. And as diversity in the schools' organization and control disappeared, so also did the variety and differences in the methods and curriculum.

In the 1870's, when the government first became actively involved in educating the Indians, the main concern was to establish schools and the details of how they should be run received little attention. In 1872 Commissioner Francis Walker wrote, with a degree of defensiveness:

70 "School Statistics," in Report of C.I.A., 1891, pp.10-11; "Statistics as to Indian Schools," in Report of C.I.A., 1900, pp.630-631.

71 Agent William W. Anderson to C.I.A., "Descriptive Changes in School Employees," (cf. note added by C.I.A.), September 20, k890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

72 Interview with Henry Spotted Eagle, Yankton Reservation, S.D., September 12, 1974.

"Nothing that the Government is doing toward the Indians can be vindicated on grounds of practical usefulness and economy as completely as the expenditures of our American communities for the young."⁷³

How the Indians should be taught, what methods should be used, what subjects introduced, and what standard should be expected, were problems that were left largely to the missionaries and other whites who were working in the schools. At the Iowa Indian reservation in 1869 Mary Lightfoot, the wife of the Quaker agent, taught "reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic." She had been told when starting work that the attendance of the Indian children was irregular but reported that "upon learning that we were going to supply a few crackers for lunch, and give some articles of summer clothing to those who needed, (these things being furnished by the committee from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends) they soon flocked in."⁷⁴ At the school started for the Kiowa just a few years later the approach was a little different. The main instruction was in English, and the boys were taught agriculture and the use of mechanical tools, and the girls given lessons in household duties.⁷⁵

Although the ultimate aim of all Indian schools was identical, the "civilizing" of the Indians, the methods used were haphazard until the 1890's. In 1887 the Superintendent of Indian Schools reported:

"No course of study has ever been adopted for the Indian schools. Each agent or superintendent is allowed to select such text books and pursue such

73 Report of C.I.A., 1872, p.400.

74 Mary B. Lightfoot to Thomas Lightfoot, August 30, 1869, in Report of C.I.A., 1869, p.356.

75 Hugh D. Corwin, The Kiowa Indians Their History and Life Stories, Lawton, Oklahoma, 1958, p.99.

course of study as to him seems best. The results obtained vary as widely as do the methods pursued."⁷⁶

Claiming that this lack of system made it impossible for the Indian Bureau to control the school-room work, he recommended that "a series of text books and a course of study for all Indian schools controlled by the Government be adopted." Although three years later the superintendent was to report the work of Indian education as still being "quite incoherent and without matured system," in 1894 the Bureau published syllabuses on language and number work for use in elementary Indian schools, and the subjects taught to all Indian children slowly became more uniform. This growth of uniformity was no mere accident. At an Institute for Indian teachers held in 1899 the subject was discussed and "it was the unanimous sentiment of the section that a uniform course of study was an object much desired."⁷⁷ William N. Hailman, a distinguished educator who became Superintendent of Indian schools in 1894, was a firm proponent of systematic organization in schools. In a monograph outlining a system of object teaching he had asserted:

"Now, while courses of study may vary indefinitely, there can be but one best method of teaching the formation and expression of ideas, just as there can be but one mode of forming and expressing ideas completely and accurately."⁷⁸

Thus the urge to organize the Indian schools into a system with a planned course of study sprang not only from a desire to make the schools more uniform to facilitate administration, but was also backed by theoretical arguments positing the concept of a single ideal system.

76 Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1887, p.9.

77 Proceedings of Indian School Service Institute, Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1899, p.455.

78 William N. Hailman, Outlines of a System of Object-Teaching, New York: J.N. McElligott, 1867, p.23.

In the 1870's, when the problem of educating the Indians was first being broached, there were many theories and suggestions as to the best course to pursue. One army officer who wrote to the Bureau of Indian Affairs from Fort Sill in 1877, recognized that his "ideas of education differed from those of many persons connected with the bureau," but nevertheless presented a scheme for "civilizing" the Indians. He recommended that money should be spent to provide the tribes with cattle, and suggested to the Bureau that they "abandon the idea so long held that they can be made self-supporting by agriculture. Do not neglect agriculture but give it a subordinate position." He also regarded the school as important, but primarily to offer a practical education. "It is of more importance to this entirely savage people," he asserted, "that a boy should know how to cut and square a log than to write; and better that a girl be taught to make soap than be instructed in geography."⁷⁹

Although the debate about how best to "civilize" the Indian continued into the 1880's and 90's (as has been demonstrated in chapter V), the way in which he was to be schooled became increasingly standardized. The Bureau of Indian Affairs began not only to plan out a course of study, but also to impose it on all the schools. Institutions which deviated or followed their own curriculum were soon brought into line.

If the methods used and subjects taught in Indian schools closely resembled those found in white schools of the same period, in Indian schools there were always two important emphases, the

79 John P. Statin to C.I.A., "Report on the Condition of the Indian Pony Fund and the Practical Working of the Experiment of Making the Indians at the Fort Sill Reserve a Pastoral People," April 19, 1877, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

teaching of the English language, and industrial training, and these were to become of increasing significance as time progressed. John Riley, Superintendent of Indian Schools in 1887, advised:

"Teach the present generation of Indian children to speak the English language, at the same time giving them such industrial training as will cultivate habits of industry and thrift, making the provision for the allotment of land to them as they reach proper age, and the Government will have discharged its duty, and they may be left to meet the duties and responsibilities that devolve upon others."⁸⁰

The English language was regarded as an important passport into American society and its teaching became a matter of principle. While disdain for Indian languages was rife, it was paralleled at this time by a similar scorn for the languages of all immigrant Americans.⁸¹ Of almost equal importance was industrial training, to which constant lip service was paid. In the case of the Indian, industrial training meant basic instruction in the skills of a trade or craft, that would either set the Indian up with a saleable skill or provide him with the knowledge to enable him to handle and repair his own farm tools. However, despite constant assertions that, "book knowledge was not sufficient," and the cry for "more systematic training along industrial lines," this type of education was not found in the majority of reservation schools.⁸²

The supplying of adequate practical training always lagged sadly behind the demands and speeches of the educators. Fundamentally, despite genuine support for language teaching and industrial training, the educational question was viewed in moral terms. The elevation of the Indian required the instillation of sound values and a sense of "true manhood," and the English language and

80 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1887, p.9.

81 For a fuller discussion of this question see chapters II and III.

82 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1885, p.40.

a knowledge of practical skills were only instrumental in this ultimate goal.⁸³

"We regard manual training and industrial occupations," wrote Alfred Riggs, "as the best means for that discipline of mind and will which gives the fibre of high moral character."⁸⁴ Many other educators were to endorse this view. More important than the debate over the value of manual education was the fact that all educators focused their attention on the moulding of the Indian's social and moral sense. In the Indian schools there was a constant attempt to nurture "good character." However, a concern with the qualities generally considered undesirable in white children, meant that educators were often blind to what might have been the particular weaknesses or strengths of Indian children. In 1894 the Superintendent of Indian Schools, on considering the "social training to be given at Indian schools" wrote:

"Unfortunately the school, as such, has an excessive tendency towards egoistic individualism . . . While, to a certain extent, this isolation of children is unavoidable, and even desirable, the school should provide opportunities for the exercise and nurture of the children's social instincts. They should learn to take a common interest in the condition of their mess table, their dormitory, their schoolroom, the school grounds. Each individual should indeed zealously hoe his own row, but he should do so with a constant and benevolent regard to his neighbors' rows, and with an intelligent and generous pride in the entire field . . . In the schoolroom, too, methods should be so modified--and this is plainly indicated in the new syllabuses on language and number work mentioned above--as to connect every individual effort with some social aim in which the school as a whole or convenient groups of children have a common vital interest."⁸⁵

83 "Proceedings of the Institute on Indian Education," in Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1900, p.450; School Report of Crow Creek Industrial School, April 17, 1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

84 Alfred L. Riggs, Santee Normal Training School, Santee Normal Training School Press, June 30, 1885, n.p.

85 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1894, pp.352-353.

Yet Indian children were supremely conscious of the community in which they lived; they were rarely competitive or individually assertive at school. Indeed, their reluctance to stand out was often commented on, and one teacher in the Kiowa school was struck by the close bond of friendship between her pupils.⁸⁶ In early days officials had frequently noted the undesirable communistic tendencies of the Indians. Yet by the 1890's consideration of the problems of Indian education had become generalized, and the special qualities of Indian school children went unnoticed.

A knowledge of educational theory was not widespread among teachers at Indian schools, but changes in educational thinking did influence the system of Indian schools in a broad sense, as policy makers became familiar with the new ideas. In 1890 the principal of the Lower Brule Industrial School began a letter to the Commissioner with a quotation from Pestalozzi--"Things before words; things before ideas; first the thing then its symbol; the intellect rests on the sense perceptions." He then went on to outline a course of study founded on the principles set out by Froebel. This new educational trend, which involved gearing the instruction of a child to his own special needs and abilities, also influenced the Indian schools. But the planned stages of schooling associated with these European educators rapidly disintegrated into rigid systemization in the Indian schools.⁸⁷ The emphasis on organization quickly took precedence over the "needs of the child." The movement towards grading and classifying children

86 Mabel M. Gould to Helen P. Gould, February 3, 1898, Box 6, No. 32, Nebraska State Historical Society.

87 T.E. Knotts to C.I.A., April 1890, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

which was spreading in American schools also effected Indian schools and added to the general trend towards standardization. In 1890 the Superintendent of Indian Schools was to warn, "it is important to guard against the unduly intensified and overstrained methods of many modern educators."⁸⁸

From 1889, under the supervision of Commissioner Morgan, Indian schools became progressively more systematized. The demands made on the school became more rather than less, but the debate about Indian education narrowed its focus and improvements came to be seen solely in terms of tinkering with the school system. Commissioner Morgan projected that in time the Indian school system would link up and then merge with the public school system. The fact that the development of the Indian school was mutated, and that Indian schools bore no close resemblance to American schools, was not recognized until well into the twentieth century.

Not only were Indian schools different, and unique within the American system, they provided the Indian child with an experience that was also different and unique. Instead of helping to integrate the Indian child into American society they provided an additional force that served to separate him from his white neighbours. Margaret Mead wrote about this process in her study of the Omaha tribe (who, for the protection of individuals are referred to as the Antlers). She sees the tribe's life on the reservation and in the Indian schools as providing them with a distinct and separate experience. "A way of life defined as Indian had become standardized," and it set "a permanent barrier between the Antlers and the

88 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1890, pp.25-26.

people of the wider society."⁸⁹ And the same was true for all the tribes. The Indian schools not only failed to perform the function for which they were created, they succeeded in achieving an entirely opposite result and in fact widened the gap that existed between the Indians and white Americans.

89 Margaret Mead, "A Plains Indian Tribe in 1930: The Antlers," in G. D. Spindler and A.I. Hallowell (eds.), Education and Culture, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1963, p. 498.

Chapter VIII

The Indians and the Schools

Whenever a school was established on a reservation it was always predicted that the benefits it brought would quickly be reflected in the behaviour and attitudes of the Indian population. But the schools' accomplishments always lagged far behind expectations and hopes. Between 1900 and 1905 Clark Wissler, an American anthropologist who was interested in the Indian and aware that "the Indian way of living was on the way out," made a tour of ten Indian reservations. He was struck by the pitiful standards of the government schools: the wretched conditions, the amount of hard work performed by the children to keep the institutions running, and above all the absence of any consciousness of the schools' real purpose. Approaching one school superintendent, Wissler "asked some questions concerning class work, but the superintendent preferred to talk about food, clothing, beds and how often his charges tried to run away."¹ Lamenting the sorry conditions, the lack of success and the depressing miasma that seemed to surround all the schools, Wissler concluded:

"Perhaps all of us expected too much of the Government Indian School, because we failed to see it as an outpost of white culture in the raw."²

However much Wissler deplored the inadequacy of the government schools, he did not regard them as the main determining factor in the fate of the Indians. As an anthropologist he regarded Indian culture, despite its enforced transformation, as the most important force that shaped and trimmed the Indians' response to historical

1 Clark Wissler, Indian Cavalcade, New York: Sheridan Ho., 1938, p.177.

2 Ibid., p.187.

events and day to day happenings. Edward Spicer, a modern anthropologist, agreed with Wissler and insisted that "however influential white policies have been, the development of Indian life involves a great deal more than responses to those policies."³

When judging the schools which were established for them on the reservations, the Indians were naturally influenced by the type of policy the government pursued, and, more particularly, by the growing power held by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the very special type of community that grew up on the reservations. But, of more vital importance to the Indian response were the traditions and values of their own native culture. This is not to suggest that the reaction to the schools called forth from the Indians was predetermined by the patterns of their culture, but rather that there was a constant dialogue going on in which the history and traditions of the Indians necessarily shaped and moulded their reactions and response.

The principal aim of the Indian schools was the "civilizing" of the children, or, stated more precisely, the inculcation of behaviour and values that were characteristic of American society. Thus the Indians' response to the schools was necessarily dependent on their attitude to American society and to whites. As the ultimate purpose of the school was the Indians' assimilation, their view of the society with which they were to merge was crucial to their judgement and acceptance of the schools.

The different Indian tribes, as has frequently been pointed out, readily accepted technical innovations introduced to America

3 Edward Spicer, A Short History of the Indians of the United States, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1969, p.3.

by the whites. They welcomed sophisticated weapons and in early colonial days many of the tribes substituted manufactured beads for the traditional porcupine quills of their decorative art. Such changes often jarred the whole social system, making the tribes more dependent on the white trader and altering standards of individual ownership, social obligations and the whole hunting and trapping calendar. In the early days of contact such changes in Indian society were often cushioned by the accompanying advantages they brought.⁴ However, the technological superiority of the whites in America not only continued over the centuries, but increased. As the influence of America's burgeoning technology spread westwards in the nineteenth century, the Indians were forced to confront it not only militarily but also philosophically, and as something that could not always be borrowed and adapted.

Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux who was later to be educated as a doctor, explained his wonderment when, during his "Indian boyhood," he slowly came into contact with white inventions:

"I learned that they had made a 'fireboat,' I could not understand how they could unite two elements which cannot exist together. I thought the water would put out the fire, and the fire would consume the boat if it had a shadow of a chance. This was a preposterous thing! But when I was told that the Big Knives had created a fire-boat-walks-on-mountains (locomotive) it was too much to believe."⁵

Indians were amazed at and scared by American technology, and they found explanations for it in the terms of their own culture: they regarded machines as being powered and controlled by a living

4 Clark Wissler, "The Conflict and Survival of Cultures," in Carl A. Murchison, The Foundations of Experimental Psychology, Worcester, Mass.: Clark Univ. Press, 1929, p.799.

5 Charles Eastman, Indian Boyhood, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Page & Co., 1914, pp.279-280.

agent; they thought Edison was very lucky to have "discovered" the phonograph, and did not attribute to him any cleverness for having invented it. Nevertheless, despite their ability to provide explanations, Eastman explains that the power which accompanied technological inventions made the Indians regard the whites as Wakan (mysterious), a race whose power bordered upon the supernatural.⁶

Wakan is a word from the Dakota language but it conveys a concept common to the majority of Indian tribes. The anthropologist Ruth Underhill regards this concept as part of the substratum of belief which links Indian tribes to each other. Francis Laflesche, a member of the Omaha tribe, describes the meaning of Wakan in the following way:

"All life is wakan. So also is everything which exhibits power, whether in action as the winds and drifting clouds, or in passive endurance, as the boulder by the wayside. For even the commonest sticks and stones have a spiritual essence which must be revered as a manifestation of the all-pervading mysterious power that fills the universe."⁷

The word could be used to describe anything inexplicable and as such was used by the Indians not only to account for technological marvels, but also the apparently mysterious power involved in reading and doing arithmetical calculations, which appeared to necessitate supernatural intervention. An old Dakota who watched his grandchild compute the weight of a sack of grain, without seeing or touching it, and heard him announce that it would be about as heavy as that girl in the front row exclaimed, "the boy is wakan." However, despite acknowledgement of the mysterious

6 Ibid., Wissler, Indian Cavalcade, op. cit., p.302.

7 Ruth Underhill, Red Man's Religion, Underhill, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965, p.21.

powers brought by the whites, the Indians were not zealous to embrace them. Thomas Wildcat Alford, a member of the absentee Shoshone tribe, who, like Eastman, was one of the first of his people to be educated in an American school, developed a desire to learn the ways of the whites but nevertheless admitted that "there were some warm friendships between Indians and white men, but generally the Indians hated the thought of civilization."⁸

The strange power of the white people was impossible to deny. The Indians viewed it with bewilderment, fear and frequently resentment. This quiet sense of outrage is perhaps best reflected in a story told to an anthropologist by an Indian who was a judge in the Indian court. He arrived for dinner with the anthropologist, with his two fellow judges, "resplendent in a Prince Albert coat, white tie, spotless creased trousers, shiny shoes and carrying a gold-headed cane." Nevertheless, despite appearances, his emotional responses remained Indian. In relating to the anthropologist some of the "sayings of our fathers as they came down to us" he explained not only the creation of the white man and the Indian, but the reason for the white's eventual triumph over the Indian. It will be illuminating to retell most of the story here, remembering that Indian myths often undergo changes to accommodate new information while always still insisting that they date from long ago.

"Whenever white people come together there is much writing . . . The white people must think that paper has some mysterious power to help them on in the world. The Indian needs no writings, words that are true sink into his heart where they remain; he never forgets them. On the other hand, if the white man loses his papers he is helpless. I once

8 Thomas Wildcat Alford, Civilization, Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1936, p.76.

heard one of their preachers say that no white man was admitted to heaven unless there were writings about him in a great book . . . The Great Spirit made the world. He made two great bodies of land, separating them by water. Then he made many kinds of plants and living creatures, different in these two great lands. However, in the course of time, he thought it best to make people to enjoy all these wonderful things. There being two separate lands, he decided to make two kinds of people--Indian and white. We know there are black people in the white man's world, but the Great Spirit had nothing to do with them; they were invented by white people as slaves to do their dirty work. . . . The Great Spirit first made the Indian. He said to him, 'you are the one I love the most, you are my favorite son.' He spent several days instructing the Indian how he was to live, all of which he was expected to remember and pass on from generation to generation without change. When the Great Spirit completed these instructions he placed the Indian in this new land . . . Then the Great Spirit remembered that there was another large body of land on the other side of the great water. To live in this land he created the white man. When this, his second son, stood forth, he also was instructed as to how he should live in order to possess and enjoy the land, but before sending him on his way, the Great Spirit sat in silence for a long time. At last he sorrowfully admitted that this, his second son, had such a poor memory that he feared for the outcome. So he decided to have all these instructions written down in a book. In due time the book was ready, but before handing it to his son the Great Spirit again lapsed into silence. It was plain from his countenance that he was sad. At last he raised his eyes, his face expressing shame and sorrow, because this, his second son, could or would not tell the truth. The Great Spirit knew his descendants would be known as liars for ever and ever. Hence, no one would believe these white children when they claimed the Great Spirit as the giver of their book. Therefore, the Great Spirit would sign the book. Naturally, the white man possessing a book in which was written the way of life and signed by the Great Spirit, has a great advantage over the Indian, eventually surpassing him and overrunning the whole earth."9

The story is interesting for several reasons. It shows how information learnt from the whites--the existence of two land masses--has been incorporated into Indian mythology. It reflects

a view held by the whites, that the Indians are one people rather than a host of different tribes. But, most interesting, is the power attributed to writing, and a recognition of the Bible as coming from "the Great Spirit" even though it was not intended to be the "instructions" for the Indians. However, significantly, the dominant theme is that of the Indian being the "favourite son" and the whites being innate liars.

The idea that Indians and whites were very separate peoples was reiterated by spokesmen from many of the different tribes. And just as it was recognized that the white people had special powers of invention, so it was deemed that perhaps it was wrong for the Indians to share in these. The advantages brought by superior weapons were never refused. However, many Indians felt more nervous when confronting the philosophical dimension of skills taught in the white schools. Chief Che Sah Hunka of the Osage tribe betrayed both confusion and anxiety when he explained his feelings about the effect of the government school on his people:

"But at this school they make our young men do things like white man; but he is Indian . . . This is not good I believe. I am troubled in my mind about these things. I do not know if it is good for Indian to learn from white man. Indian knows many things, but white man says that these things are not good. I believe white man does not know many things that Indian knows . . . But my mind is troubled about my people. I think they are like dog who has lost trail; they run in circles saying, 'here is trail, here is trail,' but trail is lost and they sit down like dog that has lost trail, and wait with no thoughts in their head."¹⁰

Feelings such as those voiced by this Osage chief indicated not only fear and insecurity, but often cloaked a complex and deep-seated hostility to white society. There is much evidence to

10 John J. Mathews, Wah Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road, Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1932, pp.71-72.

indicate that the Indians did regard themselves as very separate from the whites and feared anything that might lead to loss of their tribal identity. Such fears became particularly strong when death was near. The Captain of the Pine Ridge police, George Sword, was unequivocally loyal to the agent, but on his chest he had scars that proved he had participated in the Sun Dance, and although he did not continue this practice he admitted to still fearing the Indian gods, "because the spirit of an Oglala may go to the spirit land of the Lakota."¹¹ Likewise, the mother of an Indian girl, who had requested that she be buried in a white dress, insisted on painting the face of her daughter.

"He [sic] wanted to be buried in burying ground of white man. I said it is good to be buried in white clothes of white woman. I do not know about these things. I looked at face of my girl and said he is Indian. They will not know who he is. It will be good if we paint the face of my girl."¹²

The view that the Indians and the whites were two very separate peoples was probably shared by all the tribes, and often it carried with it an unassertive but firm conviction of superiority. The story of the Dakota chief was unique in its details but its main theme, the superiority of the Indians, was repeated in different ways by many of the tribes. The Maricopa Indians, who for generations had been potters, had their own version of the creation of the different races. According to them the Great Spirit had made a man out of clay and put him in the oven to bake. But this first man was left too long and was burnt; he was the Negro. So then the Great Spirit made another man,

11 William T. Hagan, Indian Police and Judges, New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, pp.165-167.

12 Mathews, op. cit., p.263.

but this time he took him out too soon and he was under-baked; he was the white. Then the Great Spirit made a third man, and this time he achieved a perfect bake; this was the Indian! Agent Alfred Kneale, who by 1904 had worked among the Dakotas, the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes and the Shoshones, noted the recurrence of this belief in Indian superiority even in the face of all the problems faced by the tribes at the end of the century.

"Every tribe with which I have associated is inbred with the idea that it is superior to all other peoples. Its members are thoroughly convinced of their superiority not alone over members of other tribes but over the whites as well. This assurance is as much a part of them as is their color or their right hand. It is taken for granted. I have never known an Indian who would consent to being changed into a white man even were he convinced that such change could readily be accomplished."¹³

The belief of a group in its own superiority is commonplace, yet for the Indians it necessarily entailed a degree of ambivalence. The strength and advantages of the whites were so obvious that they could not automatically be dismissed. Thomas Alford admitted that as a young boy, "I loved my people and I liked their ways . . . Deep down in my nature however, there was a yearning desire for things which civilization represented."¹⁴ Alford went eagerly to the mission school, and then was sent East, to Hampton, as a representative of one of the Shoshone tribe's principal clans, because "the chiefs realized that times were changing, that the government was continually adopting new policies with the Indians, and that a tribe should have some of their men educated so that they might understand the treaties and messages sent from Washington." Yet these chiefs, although realizing the necessity for "the white

13 Albert H. Kneale, Indian Agent, Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printer, 1950, p.105.

14 Alford, op. cit., p.76.

man's wisdom," also made "a positive demand that we should not accept the white man's religion; we must remain true to the Shoshone faith."¹⁵

Thomas Wildcat Alford was not typical of the majority of Indian children. He represented the peak of success achieved by educated Indians at this time and a correspondingly high degree of adjustment to American culture. He not only graduated from an Eastern training school and returned to the west to find work, but he held many jobs within the Indian service including those usually filled only by whites, such as principal of an Indian boarding school.¹⁶ Alford was not only successful in his own life, but articulate enough to leave behind a written record. From his autobiography one can gain an impression of the problems facing an Indian who attempted to claim the advantages offered by white culture while remaining loyal to his own people.

Alford went to Hampton with the blessing of the chiefs of his tribe, but three years later he was not received back with the same enthusiasm:

"My homecoming was a bitter disappointment to me. Noticing at once the change in my dress and manner, in my speech and conduct, my people received me oddly and with suspicion. Almost at once they suspected that I had taken up the white man's religion, along with his habits and manner of conduct. There was no happy gathering of family and friends, as I had so fondly dreamed there might be. Instead of being eager to learn the new ideas I had to teach them, they gave me to understand very plainly that they did not approve of me. I had no real home to go to, and my relatives did not welcome my presence."¹⁷

15 Ibid., pp.83, 90.

16 Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1887, p.69.

17 Alford, op. cit., p.111.

He turned to the missionary for help and advice and set about finding work. Having been rejected by his own people he had little success in finding any job where he could use his newly acquired skills. However, he did eventually find a job as teacher among the Pottawatomie tribe, although he still retained a desire to offer to his own people "the benefit of what he had learned."¹⁸ Alford was rare in both his determination and his relative success. Another such remarkable Indian of this period was Ohiyesa or Charles Eastman, a Santee Sioux, who grew up as a traditional Indian but was educated, converted to Christianity, and who then trained and practised as a doctor. He married a white woman, Elaine Goodale, but continued to work among and for his own people. He was detached enough to view his Indian culture critically and to write that "behind the material and intellectual splendor of our civilization, primitive savagery and cruelty and lust held sway, undiminished and as it seems unheeded." Yet Eastman, despite his learning and sophistication, was sad and disillusioned with the new culture he had claimed:

"When I let go my simple, instinctive native religion, I hoped to gain something far loftier as well as more satisfying to the reason. Alas! it is also more confusing and contradictory. The higher and spiritual life, though first in theory, is clearly secondary, if not entirely neglected in actual practice. When I reduce civilization to its lowest terms, it becomes a system of life based upon trade. The dollar is the measure of value, and might still spells right."¹⁹

The advantages of American culture were not always available to the Indians. Only a tiny minority of Indian children attended

18 Ibid., pp.111-113, 121.

19 Charles Eastman, From the Deep Woods to Civilization, Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1902, p.194.

school beyond the very elementary level. Few had the opportunity to choose between different life styles, and the majority remained on the reservation mixing principally with their own people and having very limited knowledge of anything outside. Yet for those who stepped outside, who entered the white world or remained uncomfortably with one foot in each culture, the differences between the two worlds were striking.

At the end of the nineteenth century there were still over a hundred separate Indian tribes each with its own language, history and customs. Although the important unit of loyalty had been, and remained the tribe, the generic term of "Indian" used by the whites did hold some real meaning. Not only racially but also culturally the tribes of America shared certain characteristics in common. "The Indian character, point of view, and set of values are pretty much the same, regardless of tribal and language differences," asserted one Dakota woman, and her view is supported and elaborated on by many anthropologists as well as laymen.²⁰

The subject which lay at the root of all hostilities between the Americans and Indians was land. While some tribes practiced agriculture and others were totally dependent on game, none had a view of land ownership which was in any way commensurate with that of Americans. The concepts of boundaries, trespass and exclusive ownership were totally foreign to the Indians. In attempting to explain the essence of the difference one agent concluded that, "they considered land much as the white man considers the high seas." He went on to explain:

20 Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians, New York: Friendship Press, 1944, p.129.

"The white man insists that he has the right to traverse the seas to his heart's content and to remove from its waters any of its denizens. But he would have little interest in some small area of the ocean that had been set aside as his individual allotment. No more did the Indian prize individual ownership of a small portion of the earth's surface."²¹

Although many tribes were forced to accept individual ownership, as the only means of preventing inroads on their land, it often ran contrary to their spiritual beliefs. In 1881 when the Nez Percés went on the war path their chief explained, "They asked us to divide the land, to divide our mother upon whose bosom we had been born, upon whose lap we had been reared."²² There was a fundamental difference in Indian and white concepts of land ownership which was rarely understood and never accommodated in government policy.

Of vital importance to all of the tribes was religion. Practices and beliefs varied enormously. The Indian concept of the supernatural cannot be summed up as a belief in the proverbial Great Spirit and the happy hunting ground. The latter was something that only made sense to hunting tribes and other tribes had very different views of death. But essential to all Indian religions was ceremony. Performed for different reasons, by individuals or by groups, Indian ceremonies were regarded as having been established by supernaturals. Whatever their purpose, to avert evil, cure sickness, bring rain or the buffalo, they were a vital part of Indian life. "Ceremonies great and small," writes Ruth Underhill, "were the very fabric of life . . . They combined the functions not only of a church, but a school, clinic, theatre and law court." Common to all ceremonies was a focus on

21 Kneale, op. cit., p.108.

22 Congressional Record, XI, January 20, 1881, p.781.

duty towards the supernatural rather than towards fellowman. The Indians, as the missionaries discovered, had no concept of individual sin, only a sense of their power to offend the supernatural. The particular economy of the tribe influenced the type of ceremony that developed. Among hunting tribes, such as the Dakota, or hunting and gathering tribes like the Winnebago, the personal vision, (through which a hunter could gain the special help or protection of a supernatural being, usually personified in an animal) was earnestly sought after by the young warriors. The Sun Dance of the Dakota, an annual ceremony, was the only community rite. But among the Hopi, who were agricultural, almost all ceremonies were shared in by a group.²³

As Indian ceremonies were generally geared to the pragmatic demands of daily life, and not to the salvation of the soul, there was a natural unity between the religious practices and economic lives of the tribe. Likewise, the educational system of Indian tribes was integrated into the daily lives of the tribesmen. Education was not something that took place in a particular institution; it occurred informally through parents, relatives, religious societies, ceremonies, and hunting or work parties.²⁴ "It is commonly supposed that there is no systematic education of their children among the aborigines of this country," wrote Charles Eastman, and he continued, "nothing could be further from the truth. All the customs of this primitive people were held to be

23 Underhill, op. cit., pp.4-9.

24 Robert J. Havighurst, "Education Among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects," in Evon Z. Vogt, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXL, May 1957.

divinely instituted, and those in connection with the training of children were scrupulously adhered to and transmitted from one generation to another."²⁵

All societies make provisions to insure that their beliefs, aspirations, traditions and ideals are passed down to the younger generation. In modern societies many educational functions have been institutionalized, but in Indian societies these were incorporated and reflected in the culture as a whole. Ceremonies of both a public and a personal nature were important, not only to teach the traditions of the tribe, but also to embrace the child within them. Daily events performed a consistently vital role. As the Indian societies were illiterate all myths and traditions were transmitted orally:

"Very early, the Indian boy assumed the task of preserving and transmitting the legends of his ancestors and his race. Almost every evening a myth, or a true story of some deed done in the past, was narrated by one of the parents or grandparents while the boy listened with parted lips and glistening eyes. On the following evening he was usually required to repeat it."²⁶

Such story-telling not only bound the generations together in a shared experience, but offered a means of inculcating attitudes in harmony with the tribes own system of values.

In all societies children are being constantly trained, controlled, instructed and encouraged according to accepted patterns of behaviour. But in Indian societies certain special activities also had implicit educational functions. For example in many tribes personal names were awarded in very special ways. They were regarded as having spiritual power; some were conferred with

25 Eastman, Indian Boyhood, op. cit., p.49.

26 Ibid., p.51.

a ceremony; sometimes an individual had several names in the course of a lifetime; often a name had a reality of its own aside from the individuals who possessed it. The method of naming among the tribes varied from area to area, but it has been convincingly argued "that naming practices were integrally related to the problems of educating and socializing the individual."²⁷

A fundamental element in Indian society, and as such an integral part of the Indian child's education, was the kinship system. The pattern of relationships and the duties associated with them varied from tribe to tribe, but kinship attachments always extended far outside the nuclear family of parents and children, and carried a network of responsibilities. "The ultimate aim of Dakota life, stripped of accessories was quite simple," Ella Deloria explained, "One must obey kinship rules; one must be a good relative . . . In the last analysis every other consideration was secondary--property, personal ambition, glory, good times, life itself."²⁸ The kinship system worked as a system of social organization and control and functioned continuously. It dictated how one individual should not only treat but also address another, "it was improper to plunge into conversation without first using the polite term of kinship."²⁹ And it was the means by which a child was taught good manners. "Among my earliest recollections," recalls the Omaha, Francis Laflesche, "are the instructions wherein we were taught respect and courtesy toward our elders; to say "thank you" when receiving a gift, or when returning a borrowed

27 George A. Pettitt, Primitive Education in North America, Berkeley and L.A.: Univ. of California Press, 1946, p.59.

28 Deloria, op. cit., p.25.

29 Ibid., p.28.

article; to use the proper and conventional term of relationship when speaking to another; and never to address anyone by his personal name."³⁰ Thus the kinship system functioned as an informal but constant system of education in human relations and social responsibility. It exerted such a powerful force that even when Indian children in the schools were made to speak English, and thus lost the extensive case system of their own language which carried a host of special nuances, they still often refrained from using personal names. Miss Mabel Gould, teaching at the Kiowa School, was intrigued by the Indian children's language. "They call each other 'brother' and 'friend'," she explained to her mother, "and that word is the talisman by which ones does everything for the other."³¹ In Indian societies the rules that determined the means of addressing someone carried with them duties and responsibilities as well as privileges.

Within Indian society the roles of the sexes were also very clearly defined, with men and women performing very different tasks. It is hard to make generalizations which cover all tribes, because the individual tribal cultures varied greatly. However, among the warrior tribes of the plains hunting and fighting were the major responsibilities of the men, and the women did the domestic and household tasks. These separate roles were reflected in the games the children would play and in the toys that were presented to them by the adults.³² When a tribe was forced to live on a

30 Francis Laflesche, The Middle Five, Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1963 (original publishing date 1900), p.x.

31 Miss M.M. Gould to Mrs. H.R. Gould, February 3, 1898, Box 6, No. 32, Nebraska State Historical Society.

32 Pettitt, op. cit., pp.41-45.

reservation Margaret Mead has concluded that the men suffered more problems of role adjustment because their economic dislocation was greater. Although the women's situation was changed there remained "sufficient economic tasks for any married woman with children."³³ But, outside the economic sphere, the type of behaviour expected of both Indian men and women by Americans was very different from the patterns found in Indian society.

Through ceremonials and religious rites, through the informal educational system, and through the elaborate kinship system, an Indian child learnt not only the traditions and behaviour of his society, but also the values. These values varied superficially from tribe to tribe, but there was a deeper system that was common to them all which had evolved pragmatically. As the anthropologist Claude Nichols explains it:

"The ethical morality of the Indians did not grow out of their theories about spirits but originated from their immediate social experiences and from their observation of the natural environment. In other words they developed a rational morality based on its connection with actual human needs and social relationships. The ideal aims of Indian education in ethical morality, then, were clear and specific, as they were conceived as a means for the attainment of definite human ends."³⁴

The values of the tribes dictated generosity and hospitality; food and possessions had to be shared, and no-one should starve while his relatives had something to eat. While seen from one perspective as altruistic, it was nevertheless a system for guaranteeing food, clothing and shelter for all and an old age free from want.³⁵

33 Margaret Mead, The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe, New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932, p.219.

34 Claude Nichols, Moral Education Among the North American Indians, New York: Teachers' College, Columbia Univ., 1930, pp.95-96.

35 Deloria, op. cit., p.120.

Religious, economic and family life in Indian society were closely intertwined, and the day to day functioning of the society simultaneously ensured the instruction and education of the young. To Americans, arriving among the tribes, it often appeared that there was no proper means of education. The introduction of the school was seen as necessary to fill a disturbing gap in Indian life.

The school, however, was not simply an addition to Indian society, providing knowledge and skills otherwise absent from that life. The school cut sharply across the educative mechanisms of Indian society, and, integrated as these were in the fabric of Indian culture, it cut deeply into that culture.

The purpose of the school, as envisaged by the Americans, was to alter the Indians' mode of living. It was intended that the school should radically transform, and eventually obliterate, Indian society. But because the nature of that society was not understood, the actual task confronting the school was not realized; and because Indian societies were not credited with having their own schooling methods, the obstructions and problems that developed were not comprehended.

The power of the Indian's spiritual beliefs was recognized, and conversely the necessity for converting the "pagans" to Christianity was always one of the whites' principal aims. Although conversion was not always entirely straight forward, as few whites understood that Indians were not exclusive in their beliefs and were often able to adopt Christianity without relinquishing much of their old faith, yet at least the confrontation of religions was direct and their respective power over the individual

acknowledged. Whites frequently noted that once an Indian was converted he would readily abandon his old dress and habits and show willingness to work. The cultural complexity of such a change was not understood but its ultimate import was readily grasped. However, with the school the problem was more complicated. Because the institution of the school was not duplicated in Indian society, the conflict that occurred between it and the behaviour and traditions of the Indians were often oblique and muted, although none the less fierce. The school cut into the fabric of Indian culture like a million little knives. The change it was meant to bring about was total. If it did not bring about the Americanization of the Indian it did bring inevitable change and disruption to the tribes' own cultures.

Certain demands of the school were explicit. The children were supposed to attend punctually and regularly. The Indians' failure to comply with this demand was one of the arguments given to support boarding schools, and their tardy and lackadaisical attitude was designated as typical and pervasive. But the ramifications of other demands imposed by the school were implicit if more insidious. They changed not only the children who went to school but also the life and relationships of the tribe.

The extent of such changes is immeasurable; to enumerate even a part requires a detailed anthropological study. However, a brief indication of some of the impact of the school on the different activities of the tribes will be given.

Firstly, education in a school usually entailed that the child be removed from his family and community. Although there were day schools these were attended by only a small minority,

and, while most children did not attend the off-reservation schools, the boarding schools on the reservation also ensured that the children were well secluded from their family. This removal of the children meant that many social and religious functions, which had previously had pedagogical significance, lost some of their importance. The children were not learning the traditions so the ceremonies themselves lost some of their cultural purpose. Most specifically, the close unity between the generations was dissolved. The grand-parents and old people who had been revered for their wisdom and knowledge of the myths and legends, were now relegated to a position of unimportance, their task and importance within the tribe had suddenly diminished. The parents also had been robbed of their traditional role as educators. As education had been a community project in which all reputable elders had participated it was a two way process by which the beliefs and loyalty of the adults were reinforced simultaneously as the children were taught.³⁶ The children were the ones who were educated but their education performed an important function for everyone. As White Ghost, a chief at Crow Creek, was to complain to the Commissioner, "We have given our children to the schools and now we are sad and lost."³⁷

The removal of the children not only effected the tribe but also, far from the guidance and tutelage of their elders, the children no longer received the informal education previously guaranteed to them. No longer were the elders able to choose their

36 Pettitt, op. cit., pp.3-5.

37 Agent William Dougherty to C.I.A., December 11, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.



White Ghost, a prominent chief on the Crow Creek reservation, c1880.

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WASHINGTON, D. C., 1881

children's play-mates. Before schools were known Francis Laflesche explains how they were always warned against playing with children of persons who did not bear good character, but "at school we were all thrown together and left to form our own associates." No longer did the children associate with Indians of all ages and learn the appropriate respect and manner of address. At school the children were often given American names, or their father's name was translated and used as a last name for the child. The removal of the children to school meant that the Indians' system of informal education was interrupted. But more importantly, the children learnt behaviour and attitudes at school that were anathema to Indians. If the schools were not wholly successful in Americanizing the Indians they nevertheless left an imprint that was permanent. One agent noticed that after only a few terms at the agency boarding school "there is an indelible stamp put on them; they can be singled out from the camp children after an absence of months from the school."³⁸ Traditionally, all the knowledge and wisdom had been carried by the older Indians; as the children learnt a language and skills that were "foreign" they not only gained a familiarity, albeit imperfect, with the alien world of America, but their special knowledge shook the hierarchical system of the tribe. If their respect for their elders remained, nevertheless their bearing and attitude was altered. Similarly, the way in which the children had learnt to treat each other was new. Amongst most tribes the two sexes were kept very separate and the chastity of the girls was carefully guarded. At school boys and

38 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent W. W. Anderson) in Report of C.I.A., 1880, p.31.

girls, although living separately, associated freely; but once back on the reservation such behaviour was considered libertine. The values and behaviour of the school children were not only strange to the Indians but conflicted with their own deeply held values. Often, when the children returned from school, the links that bound the two generations together were fractured instantaneously when the older Indians saw the fissure that had already been created. One agent recalled these awful "homecomings" when the children dressed in the latest fashions would stare at their parents in abject horror, and the parents "would glance fleetingly on these visions of civilized loveliness, then turn away in disgust, returning to their homes, leaving the children to shift for themselves."³⁹

The school made an impact on the Indians and it was an impact that deepened as time passed. Yet while the problems of adjustment faced by the different tribes can be seen as similar, opinions about the schools varied enormously, not only from reservation to reservation, but among the Indians of the same tribe.

As already mentioned, the general attitude of an individual Indian to the civilization of the whites was vital in determining his and probably his children's view of the school. But also of importance were more specific local factors: the relations of the Indians with the missionaries and government officials; the type of school available; the relative advantages that appeared to accompany the schooling, and the Indian's sense of their strength and ability to confront the changes being thrust upon them. In the early 1870's the majority of the tribes remained hostile to

39 Kneale, op. cit., pp.170-171.

any type of schooling, and it was usually insecurity and uncertainty that made them weaken their resistance. Kicking Bird, the Kiowa chief, watched the great plains of the southwest being staked out, and despite the fact that parties from his tribe and the neighbouring Comanches were still raiding he had an uncomfortable presentiment of what lay ahead:

"This country from the Arkansas river to the Red river was given by Washington to his red children . . . It was a country of peace, now I see white men in it making lines, setting up stones and sticks with marks on them. We do not know what it means but are afraid it is not for our good . . . The Commissioner has required a hard thing insisting the Indians stay on the reservation, which was not in the road our fathers travelled, it is a new road to us, the Comanches cannot walk in it [he refers to the fact that they have raided] . . . It is a new road to all the Indians in this country, and they will all be affected by it . . . By and by when I am riding on the prairies and see the bones of the Comanches or the skull of a white man lying on the ground, my heart will feel very sad, and I shall say why is this? It is because the Commissioner made a road the Indians could not travel . . . I do not want to see trouble in the land of peace, but I fear blood must flow and my heart is sad. The white man is strong but he cannot destroy us all in one year, it will take him two or three, maybe four years and then the world will turn to water or burn up. It cannot live when the Indians are all dead."⁴⁰

Almost contemporaneously with making this speech Kicking Bird invited Thomas Battey, the Quaker minister, to establish a school in his camp. The Kiowas were not interested in abandoning their traditional life-style. When Battey explained to them "the advantages of living and dressing like the white people, giving up raiding, raising cattle and hogs instead of ponies, raising corn and living in houses . . . they generally listened attentively to any talk, but mostly they think their own mode of life far preferable for them."⁴¹ But Kicking Bird was anxious for peace and the

40 Kicking Bird to C.I.A., n.d. cl872, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

41 "Report of Thomas Battey to Kiowa Agent," July 31, 1873, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

well-being of his people, "he had given his hand to the white people, and had taken a firm hold on theirs," and aware of the increasing weakness of the Indians he had agreed that a school be established in his camp. However the tribe remained nervous and suspicious, and when sickness broke out among the children it was quickly concluded that Battey was "bad medicine."⁴²

None of the tribes showed a ready enthusiasm to have schools established. Increasing contact with Americans slowly persuaded them of the necessity and at the Omaha reservation, as early as 1873, the agent was able to report that the Indians showed "a very commendable interest upon the subject of the education of their children."⁴³ But often an interest in education developed independent from a determination to send the children to school. On Crow Creek the Indians had asked for schools to be built but in 1885 the agent complained:

"One would naturally think that after thus insisting on having schools built for them, when they were furnished they would gladly send their children to them. This, however, for some unaccountable reason is not the case. I find every imaginable excuse is invented to keep their children at home, and it takes generally quite an effort on the part of the agent to fill his schools."⁴⁴

Such occurrences were common as the Indians felt torn between an awareness of their need to gain certain skills and their dislike of the institution of the school. On the Omaha reservation, where interest in schooling was high, the tribe was nevertheless reluctant to agree to compulsory attendance. "When the idea was

42 Ibid.; Agent J. Haworth to Superintendent E. Hoag, May 4, 1875, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Kiowa Agency, M234.

43 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent E. Painter) in Report of C.I.A., 1873, p.192.

44 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent J.G. Gasmann) in Report of C.I.A., 1885, p.21.

first presented to the Indians it was received with great disfavor," reported the agent in 1883. "But by bringing it before them at every council, and answering all their objections, they at last consented to try it."⁴⁵ This awareness of an inadequacy to deal with changes taking place, among tribes where schooling was already established, was often reflected in a desire for more education. In 1894 Agent Beck was able to report of the Omaha that "their consciousness of their needs foreshadows their future." He was delighted that some, who had been away to school, "now desire to go to school again to enable them to learn enough to transact their business," and, referring to the Omaha tribe he reported, "heretofore they thought that they "knew enough," they now see that they do not, and it is this faint glimmer of their necessities and duties to themselves that makes me sure that there is an improvement."⁴⁶

Resistance to the school remained strong on many reservations. At Mescalero in 1886, "when called upon for children, the chiefs, almost without exception, declared there were none suitable for school in their camps." On this occasion a detachment of police was sent to "seize such children as were proper and take them away to school, willing or unwilling."⁴⁷ However this proved no real answer, for the following year filling the boarding school proved equally as difficult and the agent was to report despairingly, "the intensity of their opposition to the school is almost incredible." So desperate were the Mescalero that their children

45 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent G.W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.106.

46 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Acting Agent Beck) in Report of C.I.A., 1894, p.190.

47 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent F.J. Cowart) in Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.194.

should not attend school that not only did they attempt to bribe the agent to leave their children alone, but "in several instances where men have been required to furnish a child they have given their horses to other members of their band--generally poor women--for a substitute." "There is nothing," the agent concluded, "that so demoralizes them as a requisition upon the camps for pupils."⁴⁸ Eight years later the Mescalero were just as adamant in their opposition to the school. They were "willing to do anything the Government desires, so far as lies in their power, with the exception that many of them dislike to place their children in school."⁴⁹

Opposition to the school was particularly strong on the Mescalero reservation, and even when the Indians there were forced to give way, they clung persistently to their view that the girls must not be allowed to attend. Whether from fear for their chastity or (as the agent supposed) because of the girls' usefulness at home, in the Mescalero school girls were always greatly outnumbered by boys. When General Pratt arrived from the Carlisle Training School to collect equal numbers of both sexes from Mescalero, the agent managed to secure thirty-five boys and only fifteen girls.⁵⁰ The cultural values of the Mescalero persisted even when their opposition to the schools had been forcibly broken.

The root of the reasons for the Indians' opposition to their

48 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent F.J. Cowart) in Report of C.I.A., 1887, p.168.

49 "Report of Mescalero Agency," (Agent L.F. Burnett) in Report of C.I.A., 1894, p.206.

50 R.H. Pratt to C.I.A. (telegram), September 5, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency; Agent W.H. Llewellyn to C.I.A., September 8, September 14, and September 26, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Mescalero Agency.

children's attendance at school, found in varying degrees among all the tribes, is hard if not impossible to discover. One of the most commonly voiced complaints of the Indians was that at the boarding schools the children sickened and died, and even to this day elderly Indians claim that the reason why their parents opposed their schooling was for fear of losing them.⁵¹ The health records of the reservation and Eastern boarding schools was not good, and during the 1880's, as these institutions grew and more and more children attended them, the health of the Indian children was a matter constantly referred to by officials. At Crow Creek the superintendent of the school reported that "the difference between total enrolment and average attendance is almost wholly due to health considerations. A large number who were enrolled were subsequently excused by the physician for varying lengths of time because they were found to be breaking down in school." To explain this the superintendent continued, "it may be mentioned that (this being a reservation school) it frequently seems desirable, because of home conditions, to enrol pupils whose health is doubtful or unsatisfactory." However he went on to say that "with painful regularity each year, some of those who have previously been considered strong and healthy break down more or less suddenly into consumption."⁵² The superintendent at Crow Creek concluded that "the truth seems to be that the entire tribe of Crow Creek (Lower Yanktonai) Sioux Indians is scrofulous and consumptive." Yet at all the schools poor health dogged the Indian children. The physician from the Omaha and Winnebago

51 Interview with Emma Firecloud, Crow Creek, September 10, 1974.

52 "Report of Crow Creek School," in Report of C.I.A., 1898, p.271.

Agency examined different groups of Indians and found "the death rate very high with returned students from Eastern schools."

Many, he found, returned already affected with tuberculosis in some form, and the physician ventured an explanation:

"The cause of the development of tuberculosis, in so many cases during their course at the different schools in the East perhaps is not in my province to say, but I offer the following, not as a criticism, but my opinion. First, the mode of life is entirely different at school from what they have been used to; second too close application and confinement and too long a course, considering their present stage of civilization."⁵³

Whatever the reason, it was undeniable that the health of Indian children who went to school was atrocious, and at the Winnebago reservation, "in view of the fact that so many have died," the agency physician feared it would "be a difficult matter to induce many of the Indians to send their children off to school in the future."⁵⁴

The real fear of illness and death, which frequently followed a few years of schooling, cannot be underestimated. One agent collected statistics to show that as many children died who were from the camp, who had never attended school, as from the boarding schools. But it is clear that although the general state of health of the Indians was poor, when so many children returned from school and died the Indians naturally blamed the school. Indeed, the superintendent at Crow Creek deemed it a real mark of progress when an epidemic broke out and the Indians continued to support the school:

53 "Report of Agency Physician," (Omaha and Winnebago) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.308.

54 Ibid.

"Two died during this epidemic, and many others were seriously sick. The attitude of their parents toward the school at this time was admirable, and would have done credit to the most intelligent white community. Those having sick children were allowed to visit them in the hospital at all times, and never gave the nurses or physician the slightest trouble. The parents of those who died were careful to let us know, even in their first grief, that they did not blame anyone, and felt grateful for what had been done."⁵⁵

Fear of disease and illness contracted in the schools was the most common reason given for opposition to them. Indeed this was one of the things that made the tribes increasingly resistant to having their children sent far away, when often they would never return. Yet this was not the only articulated complaint. Conditions in the schools were not always satisfactory, and frequently the chores demanded of the children were excessive. At Crow Creek the physician criticized the overworking of children in a hot, dirty, laundry. He saw it as "work that is necessarily unhealthy, and also far too heavy for these children--work that would not be tolerated if it were within the pale of State law."⁵⁶ Not surprisingly the Indians were often reluctant to subject their children to such treatment.

Even among tribes, such as the Omaha, where the schools were accepted and generally supported by the Indians, they did not like the younger children to attend. Among most tribes children were considered almost as babies until they were about eight or nine. It was not uncommon to see an Indian woman carrying a large child "wrapped" on her back. Thus the Indians were reluctant to allow small children to go to school until, as the Omahas said, "they

55 "Report of Crow Creek School," in Report of C.I.A., 1896, p.290.

56 "Report of Agency Physician," (Crow Creek) in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.289.

are able to take care of themselves." However, the government opposed this, as an older child was "liable to take care of himself to the extent of staying from school altogether," so they wanted to bring in the children at as young and impressionable an age as possible; this policy was resisted by the Indians.⁵⁷

While the Indians were often hostile to the schools and, when they did let the children attend, were frequently resentful of the treatment they received, they were rarely directly critical of the teaching the children received. The type of education was never questioned, it was either resisted or complied with, but it was always accepted as the proper way to obtain knowledge of the white man's world. When the Indians on Crow Creek became nervous about discussions in Congress concerning the opening of their reservation for settlement, they demanded not only the support of the government but made requests for further schools to help them advance "down the white man's road." Their agent reported that:

"They seem willing to do anything reasonable. They say they do not wish another treaty enacted that is to be made a farce of, and they do not wish to be treated any longer as children. They say that they realize that they must adopt the white man's ways and become self-supporting. They think the Government owes it to them to furnish proper school facilities, to furnish the requisite amount of agricultural machinery, and give them a sufficient start whereby they can maintain themselves."⁵⁸

The one way in which the Crow Creek Indians did implicitly criticize the government's education programme was in their request for agricultural machinery. Other tribes were to echo this request and also to demand further help in farming. Yet when considering

57 "Report of Omaha School," in Report of C.I.A., 1895, p.201; Interview with Reverend Clive Estes, Lower Brule, September 1, 1974.

58 Agent W.W. Anderson to C.I.A., December 26, 1887, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

the schools, the Indians rarely criticized what their children were taught. The curriculum was never brought into question and it was as if the Indians accepted that American schools were the necessary path to American skills. On the Winnebago reservation in 1885 the tribe suddenly took to "writing their own language, and people who have never learned English have acquired this art." From the Sauk and Fox Indians they had acquired a phonetic alphabet and quickly adapted it for their own use. The agent found it "a very suggestive sight to see a dozen fellows in a group with their heads together working out a letter in these new characters; it illustrates the surprizing facility with which they acquire what they want to learn." The agent wrote to inform the anthropologist Alice Fletcher of this new development. But he did not make any attempt to introduce the new alphabet into the school to facilitate the Winnebago children's learning; and there is no record, even at the moment their language was achieving a written form, that the Winnebagoes made any request that the children's schooling should accommodate the new Winnebago alphabet.⁵⁹ Sadly, for the Winnebago Indians the activities of the school and their own endeavors to make Winnebago a written language remained very separate.

The tribes' unfamiliarity with American culture helps explain their reticence in both criticizing the programme of the schools and in making suggestions for improvements. The majority of Indians were baffled and confused by the strength and "wakan" abilities of the Americans. If they reluctantly accepted the

59 Alice C. Fletcher, "The Alphabet of the Winnebago Indians," in Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889, Vol. XXXVIII.

schools they felt unready to suggest what should be taught in them. However, on the Omaha reservation, the Indians (who were considered by the Bureau to be among the most advanced) demanded to partake in the running of the schools. Their desires were partly complied with and the agent, acting on advice given by a visiting government inspector, "appointed two of the councilmen as inspectors, to visit the school at least once a month for one month, to be succeeded by two others for the following month."⁶⁰ One of the Omaha Indians, Two Crow, wrote to the Commissioner:

"When the Inspector came he said you wished us to fill both schools. In less than two weeks we filled both schools to overflowing with scholars. The Inspector allowed us at least to share in the management of the schools, and they were immediately filled with children. This he did by appointing school directors among the Indians. If we were allowed only a little share in the management of our affairs, I think we would get along much better. We hope we will hear good news from you soon."⁶¹

To the Omahas, having their own school directors made a big difference. "To these men the parents state their grievances, real or imaginary, and they lay the matter before the superintendent and an explanation follows, and in nearly every case everything is adjustable harmoniously."⁶² Yet at this time the tribe was not competent in English and required a full-time interpreter to conduct their affairs.⁶³ Thus ironically, in 1884, the Bureau allowed the tribe to control their own property and to conduct

60 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent G.W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1883, p.106.

61 Two Crow to C.I.A., February 15, 1885, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

62 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent G.W. Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1884, p.119.

63 Omaha Petition, Asking that Louis Sampson be the Tribe's Interpreter, to C.I.A., March 24, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

their own affairs, but the school remained firmly in government hands.⁶⁴

The Indians' ignorance of American society and their status as wards of the nation often gave them a feeling of impotence and neglect. Ten of the Omaha sent a petition to Washington complaining:

"You do not realize what trouble we have about our land. Even when we tell of our difficulties no attention is paid to us and the white employees are always believed. We have money which has been due ten years. It must be that the agent does not let you know our wishes. The agent says the money all belongs to the white employees and not to us. We have received nothing for years. Therefore, as we have nothing at all which belongs to us, except the land, we wish to make as much as we can out of that."⁶⁵

Their land was the thing most precious to all the tribes and a constant source of consternation. "Guided by the light of history," Agent Anderson wrote from Crow Creek in 1887, "these Indians are jealous of their land interests. They are continually talking of it, and have frequently appealed to me to ask the "Great Father" [President] to have each of the Sioux agencies laid off into separate reserves, with a title so certain that they cannot be dispossessed without their own consent."⁶⁶ Five years later when the reservation was being allotted it was remarked how "the effect of this work upon Indians is very noticeable. They hold their lands dearer than all else, and a great interest has been manifested by them in protecting their rights to the certain tracts which they claim, and they examine the map in the office with

64 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent Wilkinson) in Report of C.I.A., 1885, p.135; Agent Wilkinson to C.I.A., December 8, 1884, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

65 Petition from Ten Omaha Indians, March 6, 1883, B.I.A., R.G., 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

66 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent W.W. Anderson) in Report of C.I.A., 1887, p.21.

frequency, lest some mistake should be made in regard to the boundaries."⁶⁷ Frequently, it was in the hope of being able to protect their land that the Indians wanted a white education for their children. "What do we know of the manners, the laws and the customs of the white people?" asked Black Hawk. "They might buy our bodies for dissection and we would touch the goose quill to confirm it and not know what we were doing. This was the case with me and my people."⁶⁸ Yet although the school was seen by the Indians, as well as by the government, as the bridge between Indian culture and that of the Americans, nevertheless the school remained under the control of the whites. And although the Indians conceded to its purpose they found no real way to connect the school's activities with their own lives.

A few of the tribes requested a hand in the running of the schools, as did the Omaha, but it is clear that often they felt overlooked and impotent. On Crow Creek the Lower Yanktonai Chief, White Ghost, complained bitterly about the corruption in the school and declared that unless something was done quickly to improve the standard then it would mean an end to education on that reservation.⁶⁹ The reservation school was always caught in the turmoil of squabbles and loyalties that existed on every reservation and was often the focus for various grievances. As the government desired full attendance at the schools, withholding children was a potent means

67 "Report of Crow Creek Agency," (Agent A.P. Dixon) in Report of C.I.A., 1892, p.443.

68 Katherine Turner, Red Men Calling on the Great White Father, Norman: Oklahoma Univ. Press, 1951, p.xvi.

69 Petition of White Ghost to C.I.A., March 18, 1881, B.I.A., R.G. 75, L.R., Crow Creek Agency.

of protest. On the Omaha reservation there was a concerted effort to get rid of Agent Potter; the Indian Young Prophet was one among many who indicated their hostility to the agent by not putting his children in school.⁷⁰ On the Kiowa and Comanche reservation the Comanches were reluctant to send their children to school because of their antipathy to the other tribes. They did not want "their boys and girls, especially the latter, to associate with the Kiowa and Apache children," but they were "clamorous for a school of their own near Fort Sill." As the tribe continued strong in its demand, the agent, after several years, conceded that he thought "it only right that their request should be granted."⁷¹ Thus the Indians had successfully used the government school in an inter-tribal conflict.

On the Kiowa and Comanche reservation the Indians had divided, along tribal lines, into different groups. But frequently Indians on the different reservations divided into opposing groups or factions within a single tribe. Such groups were evaluated by the agent in terms of their level of "advancement." "As in most Indian tribes," Agent Wilkinson reported, "the Omahas are divided into two parties; one progressive, desiring education, law and looking toward citizenship; the other, conservative, clinging to old customs and strongly opposed to changes." Wilkinson's successor also saw the tribe as being divided into a non-progressive and a progressive party, but although the latter were in the minority he was "convinced that the progressives will in time overcome the

70 Agent C.H. Potter to C.I.A., December 12, 1885, B.I.A., R.G., 75, L.R., Omaha Agency.

71 "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent J.L. Hall) in Report of C.I.A., 1886, p.127, and 1887, p.83; "Report of Kiowa Agency," (Agent W.D. Myers) in Report of C.I.A., 1889, p.189.

opposition, and that all will acknowledge it to be beneficial to the race."⁷²

Although division within tribes often seemed clear and indisputable to officials, such ready designations as "conservative" and "progressive" often masked a very complex situation. As Edward Spicer writes, "to whites intent on programmes of cultural assimilation all growth of heterogeneity tended to be interpreted in terms of "progressivism" and "traditionalism", but this was an extreme oversimplification."⁷³ Before contact with white divisions and differences of opinions existed within Indian tribes; but with active support being offered to the so-called progressives their position within the tribe was not only strong but also perpetually favoured. "One observed result in such situations," the anthropologist Clark Wissler notes, "is for the conservative wing to draw more into isolation, to reduce contact from outsiders to the minimum, to resist suggestions from without, in short to induce a state of mental and social stagnation."⁷⁴ The Indians' reaction to the attempt to Americanize them was very diverse. Their response could hardly have been unanimous for they were faced with a painful dilemma; one group hesitantly embraced the "opportunities" offered by white America, often at the cost of its identity, another clung tenaciously to the old culture and withdrew into isolation. But there were many Indians who remained uncomfortably between two worlds: uncertain of their attachment to past traditions they felt unable to claim those of the United States.

72 "Report of Omaha Agency," (Agent R.H. Ashley) in Report of C.I.A., 1890, p.139.

73 Spicer, op. cit., p.108.

74 Clark Wissler, "The Conflict and Survival of Cultures," op. cit., p.805.

The school had been introduced on the reservation as an agent of Americanization, but the adaptations demanded of the Indians brought not only panic and insecurity to individuals, but also division and rupture to the tribal group. Controlled and administered by white Americans their status was that of a colonial people. In the eighteenth century when a confederacy of Indian tribes had signed a treaty with the state of Virginia and the Virginians had offered to educate six of the chiefs' sons at a college in Williamsburg, the Indians had replied:

"Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your science; but when they came back to us they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods; unable to bear either cold or hunger; know neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counselors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged by your kind offer though we decline accepting it. And to show our grateful sense of it if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."⁷⁵

At the end of the nineteenth century the Indian tribes were no longer able to offer Indian education as an alternative to American schooling but they remained unconvinced of the advantages the latter could bring them.

75 Benjamin Franklin, Remarks Concerning the Savages of America, Two Tracts, 1794 (second edition), pp.28-29.

Appendix

Commissioners of Indian Affairs

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Appointment</u>
Dennis N. Cooley	July 10, 1865
Lewis V. Bogy	November 1, 1866
Nathaniel G. Taylor	March 29, 1867
Ely S. Parker	April 21, 1869
Francis A. Walker	November 21, 1871
Edward P. Smith	March 20, 1873
John Q. Smith	December 11, 1875
Ezra A. Hayt	September 27, 1877
Roland E. Trowbridge	March 2, 1880
Hiram Price	May 4, 1881
John D.C. Atkins	March 21, 1885
John H. Oberly	October 10, 1888
Thomas J. Morgan	June 10, 1889
Daniel M. Browning	April 17, 1893
William A. Jones	May 3, 1897
Francis E. Leupp	December 7, 1904

Bibliographical Essay

This is not an exhaustive bibliography and does not include every item cited in the footnotes, (these are listed in the bibliography below). It is rather an attempt to indicate the principal sources on which the thesis is based, grouping them by type of material in the first three sections and by particular subject matter in the remaining sections.

1. MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

An analysis of any aspect of federal Indian policy is inevitably very dependent on official sources. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) conducts the business of the U.S. government relating to Indian affairs. The records of the B.I.A., 1824 - 1939, are known as Record Group 75 and are to be found in the National Archives in Washington D.C.

Throughout the period under examination the bulk of the basic records of the B.I.A. were maintained in two separate series of incoming and outgoing correspondence. In addition there are other smaller series which usually consist of documents which were removed from the incoming correspondence and brought together by the B.I.A. for easier reference.

Letters Received

Incoming correspondence from all sources concerning Indian lands, emigration, treaty negotiations, subsistence, annuity payments, conflicts, depredations, claims, traders and licenses, population, education, progress in agriculture, health, employees, buildings, accounts, administration and other matters. Up until the year 1881 the series is arranged alphabetically by name of field jurisdiction (superintendency or agency) and thereunder by year. For the years 1824 - 1881 this series has been filmed as National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, and it is the microfilmed copies which are cited in this thesis.

From 1881 the B.I.A. used a different method of registering and filing its incoming correspondence. At present this is filed in two groups classified as "Land" and "Education", but with no jurisdictional or alphabetical breakdown. To order a letter requires a three-stage procedure:-

- i Consult Index to locate and discover file numbers of letters relating to a particular jurisdiction, person or subject.
- ii Check file number from index in Registers to discover date of letter, name of writer, some indication of the contents, and group classification.
- iii Order letter by number and group classification.

Letters Sent

Outgoing correspondence of the B.I.A. including specific and general instructions to superintendents, agents and other employees, as well as replies to incoming correspondence.

Until 1881 all outgoing correspondence was copied by hand into letter books according to general subjects such as land, civilization, etc., except for letters to the Secretary of the Interior which were copied into "Report Books." (These "Report Books" have been reproduced by the National Archives as Microfilm Publication 348). Under these general headings the correspondence is arranged chronologically. Registers for the correspondence also exist organized according to jurisdiction, and thereunder in chronological order.

Beginning in 1881 the abstracts of letters sent, like the registers of incoming correspondence, were arranged in chronological order with no alphabetical or jurisdictional breakdown. To order a letter again requires a three-stage procedure:-

- i Consult index, which is arranged alphabetically by agency and named persons, to find number of letter.
- ii Check the number in the Abstracts to discover the letter's content, date, and location.
- iii Order relevant letter.

The manuscript materials contain much information which can also be found in the published sources. However, they are indispensable to any real study of a reservation or agency as they also provide information on: individual Indians; the relationship between different individuals and groups on the reservation; the character and behaviour of the agents and other employees; the complaints and petitions of the Indians; the complaints of the settler population; the problems associated with running the school; and many telling details of day to day life on the reservation.

Special Cases

These contain incoming correspondence which has been removed from Letters Received files and collected under special subject headings. Of particular importance to this thesis were:

- No. 143 Churches and Missions on Indian Reservations.
- No. 188 The Ghost Dance Movement.

Educational Statistics and Circulars

Details of B.I.A. educational work in the field can be found in various separate series classified as General Records. Of special interest for this thesis were:

Statistics Relating to Indian Schools	1874 - 1884	4 vols.
Statistics Relating to Indian Schools	1882 - 1909	22 vols.
Summaries of Work Completed and Records Relating to Mission Schools	1887 - 1891	1 vol.
Circulars Issued by the Education Division	1897 - 1909	1 vol.
Circulars Issued by the Superintendent of Indian Schools	1899 - 1908	1 vol.
Examination Papers of Indian Pupils	1888, 1899	--
Reference Books concerning Schools (giving details of general physical conditions at schools)	1882 - 1909	8 vols.

2. U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Indian Treaties and Laws

Fundamental to Indian-white relations were the various treaties which, up until 1871, were signed between the government and the various tribes. The originals of most ratified Indian treaties form Record Group 11 in the National Archives. For printed copies of treaties and laws effecting Indians see Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, 2 vols., Washington: G.P.O., 1904. For details of Indian land cessions see Kenneth S. Murchison, Digest of Decisions Relating to Indian Affairs, 2 vols., Washington: G.P.O., 1901, Vol. I Judicial. A careful analysis of the Indian's changing legal status in the U.S. can be found in Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law, Washington: G.P.O., 1945.

Congressional Documents

Congressional debates and hearings are one of the best available sources for learning the views of politicians and other people. They are also useful for placing Indian affairs in the context of other developments in the nation. There are numerous government reports and documents which are also useful, for example Report of the Joint Special Committee of Congress on the Condition of the Indian Tribes, January, 1867, 39th Cong. 2nd Sess., Senate Report No. 156. Particularly helpful for this study was the history of Indian education from colonial days, Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, 1888, 48th Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 95.

Department of the Interior

The most important published source for this thesis were the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The reports are published as part of the multi-volumed Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior (for the years 1849 - 1909) and also as a separate and independent publication--it is in their latter form that they are cited in this thesis. The reports include the Commissioners' own report on Indian affairs,

and numerous reports from federal officials in the field. These field reports have been vital to this study, in particular the report from the individual agents. The agents' reports frequently reflect the official view-point and sometimes contain serious mistakes or even deliberate lies, but when studied over a span of thirty years for each agency they give a better indication than any other published source of the state of affairs on an individual reservation. As the number of federal officers in the field increased, so also did the amount of information published; physicians, school superintendents, missionaries, and farmers often made independent reports which are included in the reports for the individual agencies.

In 1883 the position of Superintendent of Indian Schools was established. For some years the superintendent was little more than an inspector and held little administrative authority, but he gradually assumed directorship of the expanding Indian school system. The Annual Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools is sometimes included in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but this is not always the case and the reports are also published separately--they are cited in this thesis in the two forms and the source is made obvious. The reports include important information about shifts in Indian education policy and also facts and statistics about all the Indian schools.

The Department's bulletins, although mainly published in the twentieth century, are useful to an understanding of Indian education. In particular:

- Bulletin No. 3 Suggested Course of Study for Rural One-Teacher School, Grades I, II and III, 1926.
- No. 8 Indian Missions of the United States, 1928.
- No. 9 Education of the Indians, 1928.

Department of Education

Although the Indian schools were not under the jurisdiction of this department the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Education give important information about educational developments in America.

Bureau of Ethnology

A large number of ethnographic and anthropological studies are published in the Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology. Of particular importance for general information about the different tribes are: No. 30 Frederick W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, 1912; No. 145 John Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America, 1952. For maps and details of all Indian land cession by state and tribe see: No. 18 Charles Royce, Indian Land Cessions in the United States, 1899. The reports contain numerous studies of different aspects of the tribal cultures. Of special interest is: No. 14 James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 1896, which places the ghost dance religion within the context

of the disintegration of Sioux culture. Two excellent studies of individual tribes are: No. 27 Francis Laflesche and Alice C. Fletcher, The Omaha Tribe, 1911, and No. 37 Paul Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, 1923.

Educational Studies and Circulars

In the mid-1870's the government began to publish guides and instructions to teachers working in the schools; Rules for Indian Schools with Course of Study was first published in 1890 and was reissued every alternate year until the end of the century. Pamphlets such as, Easy Reading Lessons for Indian Schools, 1875, Vernacular Teaching in Indian Schools, 1888, and Teaching Indian Students to speak English, 1904, are just three examples of the pedagogical literature for Indian schools which was published in growing quantities during this period. Beginning in the 1890's teachers began to meet to discuss teaching practices at Institutes organized by the B.I.A., their work was then published in the Proceedings of the Institute of the Indian School Service.

3. PRIVATE PAPERS

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
Indian Rights Association Papers.
Houghton Library, Harvard University
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Papers.
Helen Hunt Jackson Papers.
Minnesota State Historical Society, St. Paul
Williamson Family Papers.
Nebraska State Historical Society
Santee Normal Training School Correspondence and Printed Matter.
Correspondence of Mabel M. Gould.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington
Alice C. Fletcher--Field Book on the Omaha
Correspondence and Personal Papers
(including correspondence with Francis
Laflesche and also his personal papers).

4. INDIAN SOURCES

The severest handicap to any study of Indian-white relations is the paucity of the Indian sources. Among the B.I.A. records in Washington there are letters and petitions from Indians, but the majority of these are written and often also translated by an American.

A useful source for this thesis were the memoirs and autobiographies of the small group of Indians who were educated in American schools but who maintained their Indian identity: Francis Laflesche, The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe, (1963); Thomas Wildcat Alford, Civilization (1936);

Charles Eastman, Indian Boyhood (1902), The Soul of the Indian (1911), From the Deep Woods to Civilization (1916); Luther Standing Bear, My People the Sioux (1928). While none of these Indians can be said to be representative of their people, their personal awareness of the two cultures, and the nature of the gap that existed between them, make their writings an invaluable source.

Despite all the pit-falls and difficulties of oral history much important information about the old reservation schools can only be found in the memories of Indians who attended them and of their relations and friends who heard them talk about them. It is for this reason that interviews with Indians were an invaluable if rather unorthodox source for this thesis: Charles Edwards, Omaha; Clives Estes, Lower Brule Sioux; Ruth Fire, Crow Creek Sioux; Emma Firecloud, Crow Creek Sioux; James Hamilton, Omaha; Phyllis Hamilton, Winnebago; Francis Loudner, Crow Creek Sioux; Pearl Loudner, Crow Creek Sioux; Maggie Smith, Winnebago; Henry Spotted Eagle, Yankton Sioux; Jake Twinn, Winnebago; Bill Voice, Crow Creek Sioux.

5. PUBLICATIONS OF REFORM GROUPS AND MISSIONS

Annual Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners. This was a quasi-official body formed in 1869 as part of Grant's Peace Policy. The reports generally reflect the attitudes of the other reform organizations but are particularly useful for their reflections on the course of Indian policy. The Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference, the Annual Reports of the Indian Rights Association and the Annual Reports of the Women's National Indian Association are useful for learning the ideas and perceptions of the reformers. The Council Fire, the newspaper published by the National Indian Defense Association, is interesting as it contains the writings of the one group that did not endorse the general stand taken by the other reformers. The reformers were all members of Protestant churches but the Friends, or Quakers, held slightly different opinions which are elaborated in the Minutes of the Associated Executive of Friends.

6. GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Because the American Indians were organized tribally and did not perceive themselves to be a single people, there are some fundamental problems in writing a general history of the American Indian. Perhaps one of the most successful attempts is Wilcomb Washburn's The Indian in America (1975) which acknowledges tribal differences but attempts to pin-point both events and cultural characteristics which bind the Indians together. Washburn depends heavily on concepts associated with the discipline of anthropology and it is perhaps not surprising that a very good general Indian history is written by an anthropologist, Edward Spicer, A Short History of the Indians of the

United States (1969). Spicer has also written an excellent general history of the tribes of a geographical region, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on Indians of the Southwest, 1533 - 1960 (1962).

Another good general study is William T. Hagan's survey, American Indians (1961) which is organized chronologically, but the author is nevertheless constantly aware of the cultural dimension of Indian-white relations. Peter Farb's Man's Rise to Civilization as shown by the Indians of North America from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State, (1968) is certainly the best written general history, but Farb is rather selective in his use of evidence and the book is structured on a theory of cultural evolution which is both naive and simplistic.

7. HISTORIES OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Evelyn Adam's American Indian Education (1946) although short and now more than thirty years old, is still useful as it examines the schooling programmes of the different European nationalities and analyses them over a broad time span. A more recent general study can be found in Estelle Fuchs and Robert Havighurst, To Live on This Earth, 1972. As with many of the recent studies this book is less concerned with studying the past objectively than with discovering what mistakes have been made in Indian education and how these can now be rectified.

There are numerous books which include chapters or sections on Indian education, but one important contemporary work is Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian 1867 - 1904, (1964) by Richard Henry Pratt the founder of the first Indian off-reservation boarding school. A government study which is useful both for the information it provides on the school system and for the way in which it reflects changing attitudes to Indian education is Lewis Meriam's The Problem of Indian Administration (1928).

8. INDIAN METHODS OF EDUCATION

The Indians had no schools of their own; their methods of education were informal. Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (1961) examines educational patterns within Indian societies including the significance of the children's games. Claude Nichols, Moral Education Among the North American Indian, (1930) and George A. Pettitt, Primitive Education in North America (1946) are more specific studies dealing with this problem and are extremely helpful in explaining the educative functions of different aspects of Indian culture.

9. GOVERNMENT POLICY

The best work on government policy for this period is Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation 1860 - 1890 (1963). An earlier book which is still useful although it was written before all of the sources were available is Loring Benson Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865 - 1887 (1942). Elsie Rushmore's The Indian Policy During Grant's Administration (1914) is a dull work which offers nothing useful.

10. MISSIONARIES AND REFORMERS

Robert Winston Mardock's published version of his Ph.D. thesis, The Reformers and the American Indian (1971) is an excellent account of the protestant reform movement of this period. J. Rahill in The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870 - 1884 (1953), studies the work of the Catholics and although written from a slightly partisan viewpoint is nevertheless useful. Rayner W. Kelsey, Friends and the Indians, 1655 - 1917 (1917) looks at the disparate activities of the Quakers. Robert Pierce Beaver's Church, State, and the American Indians (1966) looks at two and a half centuries of Protestant missionary effort but is rather shallow. Probably the most interesting and useful book about the missions is Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Response, 1787 - 1862 (1965), which places the work of the missionaries in a broad cultural context. There are a number of useful works written by missionaries working in the field. Among the best are Stephen R. Riggs, Tah-Koo Wah-Kan; or the Gospel Among the Dakotas, (1869), and Mary and I; or Forty Years with the Sioux (1880); Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers (1899 and 1970), and Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among Indians (1875).

11. EDUCATORS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Works by officials working in the field are useful both for understanding how Indian policy was implemented and for discovering the white's response to the Indian. Albert H. Kneale, Indian Agent (1950) is excellent, as is James McLaughlin My Friend the Indian (1910). Richard Henry Pratt's Battlefield and Classroom (1964) is again useful in this context, and the numerous publications of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, principal at Hampton, help build up a good picture of the life and ideology of the big Indian training schools.

12. THE UNITED STATES ARMY

The best work on the army's role in "controlling" the Indians is Robert G. Athearn, William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West (1956). W.S. Nye Carbine and Lance (1937) is about the fighting in the vicinity of Fort Sill and is

rather unanalytical. Robert M. Utley, Frontiersmen in Blue (1967) and Frontier Regulars: the United States and the Indian, are both good. For an excellent account by a contemporary officer see Nelson A. Miles, Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles (1897).

13. THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN THE MIND OF THE WHITE MAN

White attitudes and views of the Indian were coloured by stereotypes and "images". Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization (1953) is excellent. Pearce argues that Americans were able to accept the "disappearance" of the Indian when they linked his fate to "manifest destiny". Three books are useful for understanding the significance to Americans of the Indian's racial distinctiveness: Thomas F. Gossett, Race, the History of an Idea in America (1963), Winthrop Jordan, White Over Black (1968) and William Stanton, The Leopard's Spots (1960).

14. TRIBAL STUDIES

Much of the history of Indian affairs has been written about the individual tribes. Of particular use to this study were, William T. Hagan, United States - Comanche Relations (1976); Roy M. Meyer, History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial (1967), and C.L. Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches (1958).

15. CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

This thesis owes much to concepts developed and used by anthropologists. For an understanding of culture and the dynamics of culture change certain works have been vital. Edward H. Spicer et al., Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change (1961), Margaret Mead, The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe (1932), Clark Wissler, "The Conflict and Survival of Cultures," (1929), G.D. Spindler, The Transmission of American Culture (1959) and Evon Z. Vogt, "The Acculturation of American Indians" (1957); R. Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Tribes (1940).

16. AMERICAN EDUCATION

Bernard Bailyn's exploratory study, Education in the Forming of American Society (1959) was useful in high-lighting some of the interesting questions that can be asked about schooling. Rush Welter, Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America (1962) argues that schooling came to be seen as a general panacea for most social ills. Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School (1961) makes a similar argument and also gives much information about the workings of the public school system. David B. Tyack, The One Best System (1974) examines how the schools became progressively systematized and standardized. For some vigorous questioning of the ideology of the public schools see Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform (1968) and, interesting but less good, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools (1971).

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