TRENDS IN INDIAN EDUCATION, HISTORICALLY TREATED

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by

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M. L. H.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problem of the American Indian is one which has not only concerned officials since the government was organized, but one with which explorers and colonists previously struggled. There have been few cases in history where two cultures were in contact between which there was such variance as between Indian and European cultures. Numerous mistakes have been made in Indian administration but many of them could have been avoided through an attempt at understanding and the application of sound principles of education.

Purpose of the Study. The main purpose of the study is the determination of present trends of Indian education in the light of their historical background. Except for minor references to other groups, the study will be limited to those tribes that reside, or have resided, within the territorial limits of the United States. Without a knowledge of the circumstances that surrounded the efforts of the white man to force his way of life on the red race, it would be difficult to determine whether the Indian has moved forward or backward since his introduction to civilization.

Lack of authentic records, the cunning nature of the Indian, and legendary accounts of his actions, have built up popular misconceptions concerning his life and educational status. He not only fooled Columbus as to his identity but, with the aid of literary artists, has mislead the public in various ways. Instead of a savage, bedecked with

war-paint and feathers, the Indian circulates within our midst as a peaceful, home-loving individual, whose looks, actions, and desires are not too different from those of his white neighbors. He is not a member of a race that is practically extinct, due to crowded conditions on reservations, but of one which is increasing more rapidly than the white race. In comparison to that of the white race, the progress of the Indian has been far more rapid and astounding, for within less than 500 years he has moved from savagery to a well-advanced stage of civilization. If given a fair chance and capable administration, he has proven himself proficient in all types of learning.

Any delay in the advancement of the Indian can be traced to one of four racial problems, physical, economic, social, or political; in most cases they have been aggravated by the method by which they have been handled by the whites. Treated as a ward of the government rather than a citizen, the Indian first became suspicious, then rebelled, and finally submitted to a superior conqueror. After that he very quickly lost his initiative and much of his culture. Finally, after more than a fourth of the twentieth century had passed, a few broad-minded statesmen, cognizant of his problem, were able to promote legislation that brought an end to a long period of injustice.

Plan of the Study. As a starting point, the study has endeavored to show that the Indian originally possessed an advanced culture that met most of his needs. The advent of the explorer and colonist, with their typical pattern of civilizing a race and their refusal to concede any benefits to be derived from native culture, resulted in a clash in which the Indians were subjugated.

As the power of the invader became stronger he could establish such policies as he chose, generally for the promotion of his own interests. The changes that resulted were too rapid for the Indian to assimilate. Forced into a new environment, his economic standards declined, his physical stamina was lowered, and his tribal customs and beliefs were pushed into the background. The study will review a few of the policies of Indian administration and attempt to show how the pattern of Indian education has been influenced by them.

An analysis of educational policies could hardly be made without showing a relation between them and the agencies through which they were administered. First came the period of mission schools, followed by that of the boarding school (which was a direct result of the reservation policy), and lastly the community-day-school era. The policy of assimilation through industrialization brought about the vocational schools and the coming of sizable groups of white settlers meant the arrival of the public schools. These were made available to the Indian as a result of government subsidies. The study will also show how such indirect agencies as the Indian Medical Service, the Extension Service and the Arts and Crafts Board have contributed to the education of the Indian.

Sources of Data. It has been necessary in the study to make considerable use of data originating in various departments of the government. Such data, while usually acceptable, has a tendency to reflect whatever policy happens to be currently in effect. This tendency must be kept in mind in interpreting it.

Voluminous material has been written about the Indian but much of

it is useful only for entertainment purposes. However, in recent years considerable research and investigation has been made. One of the outstanding contributions was the survey in 1928 made by Lewis Merian and others, conducted at the request of the Secretary of the Interior.[1] A study, but not so complete, was made in 1938 by the National Advisory Committee on Education,[2] and a Staff Study of "Educational Service for Indians" was made for the same committee in 1939 by Lloyd E. Blauch. Much valuable material of a historical nature is contained in the "Handbook of Federal Indian Law" edited by Felix S. Cohen, and published by the United States Department of Interior in 1942. The bibliography will indicate other important sources of information pertinent to an understanding of the Indian problem.

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1 Lewis Merian, et al, The Problem of Indian Administration.

2 U. S. National Advisory Committee on Education, The Report of the Committee, Chap. VII, pp. 173-176.

CHAPTER II

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIAN CULTURE AND WHITE CULTURE

Scattered throughout the western hemisphere, from Cape Horn to the Arctic Circle, are the increasing remnants of a race who are struggling to regain a lost culture. From whence it came, no one knows, but about it the conquerors have woven fantastic tales of glory and woe. This mysterious red race, little understood, with no authentic record of its past, subjected to the whims and caprices of avaricious invaders, has been, and still remains, one of the mysteries that has baffled historians.

The Aborigines of America

Origin and Distribution. Who the Indian is, how long he has been here, or who his ancestors may have been, is a matter of conjecture. The most competent authorities have reached no agreement on these questions. The greatest obstacle to scientific research into the origin of the Indian has been the absence of authentic records. Furthermore, the intellectual attainments of the race were not of such type as to leave many permanent traces. The Indian to the European was strictly a child of nature, with little knowledge of science, no written speech, and only a limited knowledge of numbers. Judged by standards of white culture he had failed to progress through the ages.

A brief examination of some theories advanced as to the origin of the Indian is essential to a proper perspective. Adair, in a study of Indian religious rites, civil and martial customs, marriages, funeral

ceremonies, manners, language and traditions, stated in 1775:

> From the most exact observations I could make in the long time I traded among the American Indians, I was forced to believe them lineally descended from the Israelites, either when they were a maritime power, or soon after the general captivity, the latter however is more probable.[1]

Josiah Priest in 1834 advanced the theory that:

> As it respects some of the ancient nations who may have found their way hither, we perceive a strong possibility that not only Asiatic nations, very soon after the flood, but that also all along the different eras of time different races of men, as Polynesians, Malays, Australasians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Israelites, Norwegians, Welsh and Scotch, have colonized different parts of the continent.[2]

Ten years later M'Kenney and Hall after careful study reached the conclusion that:

> Whence the Indians of America derived their origin, is a question long discussed, and although the particular causes, and route, and circumstances of their migration can never be ascertained, yet there is little doubt at this day, that they are branches of the great Tartar stock.[3]

Rose Amelia Palmer in a more recent publication makes the assertion that:

> Anthropologists are inclined to believe that the Indians are descended from the same ancestors as the reddish races of eastern Asia, and that they migrated from Asia to America, probably in several waves, many thousands, perhaps even tens of thousands of years ago.[4]

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[1] James Adair, Adair's History of the American Indian, p. 14.

[2] Josiah Priest, American Antiquities and Discoveries in the West, preface.

[3] Thomas M'Kenney and James Hall, History of the Indian Tribes of North America, Vol. I, p. 1.

[4] Rose Amelia Palmer, The North American Indians, p. 2.

The latter theory is now generally accepted but no definite proof has ever been found.

An attempt to determine accurately the number of Indians within the continental limits of the United States at the beginning of the colonization period, or even today, results in conflicting opinions. A report[5] by George Crogan in 1759 placed the number of Indians at 19,500. (See Table 1.) John Dodge in 1779 likewise estimated the number of Indians in what was then the United States to be 11,050.[6] The Secretary of War[7] in 1789 estimated the number of Indians to be 76,000 in territory under its control. Catlin,[8] writing about 1840, after eight years of travel among the tribes of North America, estimated their number to be 16,000,000. Palmer[9] in her 1929 study for the Smithsonian Institution is convinced that 1,150,000 Indians were to be found north of Mexico at the time the first white man arrived in this country. Of this number approximately 846,000 were in what is now the United States. James Mooney[10] had made a similar study in 1928 with almost the same results (849,000); hence, it can be assumed that his estimate, or that of Palmer, is a conservative figure of the population at the time of the discovery of America.

Tribes and Languages. Using Palmer or Mooney's estimate of the Indian population as a basis, the problem becomes even more perplexing

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[5]From Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States, (Except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census, 1890.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]George Catlin, North American Indians, Vol. I, p. 6.

[9]Rose Amelia Palmer, op. cit.

[10]James Mooney, The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, #7.

TABLE 1

INDIAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES
(1759-1945)

Year	Authority	Number*
1759	Estimate of George Croghan	19,500
1779	Estimate of John Dodge	11,050
1789	Estimate of the Sec. of War	76,000
1820	Report of Morse** on Indian Affairs	471,036
1834	Report of Sec. of War	312,610
1850	Report of H. R. Schoolcraft#	388,299
1853	Report of the U. S. Census, 1850	400,764
1860	Report of Indian Office	254,300
1870	Report of Indian Office	313,371
1880	Report of the U. S. Census	322,534
1880	Report of the Indian Office	256,127
1890	Report of the U. S. Census	248,253
1900	Report of Indian Office	270,544
1910	Report of Indian Office	304,950
1920	Report of Indian Office	336,337
1930	Report of the U. S. Census	332,397
1940	Report of the U. S. Census	333,969
1945	Estimate of the Sec. of Interior	400,000##

*Figures from 1759 to 1900 given in report of Indian Office for 1900.

**From report of Rev. Jedediah Morse, special United States Commissioner, June 6, 1882.

#From H. R. Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, published under the direction of the Indian Commissioner in 6 vol.

##Includes Alaska.

when a study is made of the distribution and lingual classification of the race. The beginning of the 16th century found them scattered over three million square miles of territory and speaking some 600 dialects, made up of over fifty linguistic stocks. As late as 1924, Hubert Work,[11]

[11] Hubert Work, Indian Policies, p. 10.

Secretary of the Interior, referred to 193 Indian tribes and fifty-eight different languages that were spoken; since that time relatively little change has taken place. (See Figure I.) Population on the 200 reservations at that time was approximately 350,000 but Indian land had shrunk to 50,000 square miles, much of which was semi-desert, unproductive, mountainous, or swampy. A decline of 59 per cent in population accompanied by a loss of over 98 per cent of original land was an alarming condition destined to be far-reaching in effects.

Reference to Table 1 shows no definite trend in population since 1820, when an enumeration was taken. Whether this is due to unknown conditions or to unreliable sources of information has not been determined. It is well known that Europeans were misled by the legendary belief that the whole country was thickly populated with the strange, copper-colored people they found here. Legend quickly became accepted as fact when early writers attempted to piece together the vague story of the new race.

Prior to 1846 no census had been taken of the Indian. Hunters and travelers brought in reports as to the number of red men and ofttimes these figures were recorded in official documents. Thomas Jefferson in 1782 made an analysis of the location of tribes and numbers but was concerned only with the territory east of the Mississippi and north of Florida. From time to time the Indian Office estimated the population but it was not until June 27, 1846, that a clause of the Indian Appropriation Act authorized a census of Indian population to be incorporated in the official U. S. Census of 1850. From that date to the present Indian population has been periodically tabulated but in many cases the figure was an approximation. These inaccurate statistics are due to three main causes: first, there is no general agreement as to the definition

FIGURE I

TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA

2m-1,'34

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
MAP SERIES
No. 8

TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA

Abittibi 210e (see Ojibwa)
Abnaki 188
Achomawi 58
Ahtena 3
Aleut 2
Algonkin 212
Alibamu 170
Alsea 44
Angmasalik (see Eskimo 1a)
Apache
  Chiricahua 95
  Jicarilla 99
  Mescalero 98
  White Mountain 97
Arapaho 144
Arawak 338
Arikara 139
Assiniboine 133
Atakapa 163
Atsugewi 59
Aztec 316
Babine 17
Baffin Land Eskimo (see Eskimo 1d)
Bannock 110
Beaver 15
Bella Bella 23
Bella Coola 24
Beothuk 193
Biloxi 167
Blackfoot
  Blackfoot proper 129
  Blood 130
  Piegan 131
Blood (see Blackfoot)
Boothia Eskimo (see Eskimo 1h)
Bungi (see Ojibwa)
Caddo 156
Cahuilla 84
Cakchikel 330
Caribou-Eaters 11
Carrier 16
Carrizo 162
Catawba 176
Cayuga (see Iroquois 194)
Cayuse 115
Chehalis 38
Chemehuevi 108
Cherokee 177
Cheyenne
  Northern 135
  Southern 136
Chickahominy Powhatan
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Chickasaw 174
Chilkotin 18
Chinook 40
Chipewyan 12
Chiricahua (see Apache 95)
Chitimacha 164
Choctaw 173
Chumash 74
Coast Miwok 68
Cochimi 301
Cocopa 80
Coeur d'Alene 122
Comanche 155
Comox 28
Coos 45
Cora 310
Costanoan 69
Cowichan 31
Cowlitz 39
Cree
  Eastern 215a
  Plains 215c
  Swampy 215b
  Western 215d
Creek
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Crow 134
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  Labrador-Ungava 1e
  Mackenzie 1j
  Melville Peninsula 1g
  Point Barrow 1k
  St. Lawrence Island 1n
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  Victoria Land 1i
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  Mohawk 194e
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  Onondaga 194c
  Seneca 194a
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Kalispel 121
Kansa 153
Karankawa 161
Karok 56
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Kiche 329
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Kutenai 127
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Labrador-Ungava Eskimo (see Eskimo 1e)
Lake Superior Ojibwa (see Ojibwa)
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   c Smith Sound
   d Baffin Land
   e Labrador-Ungava
   f Southampton Id.
   g Melville Peninsula
   h Boothia
   i Victoria Land
   j Mackenzie
   k Point Barrow
   l West Alaska
   m Siberia
   n St. Lawrence Id.
   o Kuskokwim
   p Kenai Peninsula
2. Aleut
3. Ahtena
4. Khotana
5. Loucheux
6. Nahane
7. Hare
8. Strong-Bow
9. Dog-Rib
10. Yellow-Knives
11. Caribou-Eaters
12. Chipewyan
13. Slavey
14. Sekanai
15. Beaver
16. Carrier
17. Babine
18. Chilkotin
19. Tahltan
20. Tlingit
21. Haida
22. Tsimshian
23. Bella Bella
24. Bella Coola
25. Heiltsuk
26. Kwakiutl
27. Nutka
28. Comox
29. Songish
30. Squamish
31. Cowichan
32. Puyallup
33. Nisqualli
34. Twana-Skokomish
35. Makah
36. Quileute
37. Quinaielt
38. Chehalis
39. Cowlitz
40. Chinook
41. Molala
42. Kalapuya
43. Tillamook
44. Alsea
45. Coos
46. Tututni
47. Umpqua
48. Takelma
49. Klamath
50. Modoc
51. Tolowa
52. Hupa
53. Wailaki
54. Wiyot
55. Yurok
56. Karok
57. Shasta
58. Achomawi
59. Atsugewi
60. Yana
61. Yuki
62. Pomo
63. Wappo
64. Wintun
65. Patwin
66. Maidu
67. Miwok
68. Coast Miwok
69. Costanoan
70. Northern Yokuts
71. Southern Yokuts
72. Washo
73. Salinan
74. Chumash
75. Western Mono
76. Eastern Mono
77. Tübatulabal
78. Kawaiisu
79. Kitanemuk
80. Serrano
81. Gabrieliño
82. Juaneño
83. Luiseño
84. Cahuilla
85. Dieguéño
86. Cocopa
87. Yuma
88. Mohave
89. Walapai
90. Havasupai
91. Yavapai
92. Maricopa
93. Pima
94. Papago
95. Chiricahua Apache
96. San Carlos Apache
97. White Mountain Apache
98. Mescalero Apache
99. Jicarilla Apache
100. Navaho
101. Hopi Pueblos
102. Zuñi Pueblo
103. Keresan Pueblos
104. Tanoan Pueblos
105. Ute
106. Gosiute
107. Southern Paiute
108. Chemehuevi
109. Northern Paiute
110. Bannock
111. Western Shoshoni
112. Wasco
113. Wishram
114. Umatilla
115. Cayuse
116. Klikitat
117. Yakima
118. Nez Percé
119. Flathead
120. Spokan
121. Kalispel
122. Coeur d'Alene
123. Okanagan
124. Lillooet
125. Thompson
126. Shushwap
127. Kutenai
128. Sarsi
129. Blackfoot (proper)
130. Blood Blackfoot
131. Piegan Blackfoot
132. Gros Ventre
133. Assiniboine
134. Crow
135. Northern Cheyenne
136. Southern Cheyenne
137. Hidatsa
138. Mandan
139. Arikara
140. Teton Dakota
141. Yankton Dakota
142. Santee Dakota
143. Wind River Shoshoni
144. Arapaho
145. Pawnee
146. Ponka
147. Omaha
148. Iowa
149. Oto
150. Missouri
151. Quapaw
152. Osage
153. Kansa
154. Kiowa
155. Comanche
156. Caddo
156a. Wichita
157. Kichai
158. Waco
159. Tawakoni
160. Tonkawa
161. Karankawa
162. Carrizo
163. Atakapa
164. Chitimacha
165. Natchez
166. Tunica
167. Biloxi
168. Timukua
169. Seminole
170. Alibamu
171. Lower Creek
172. Upper Creek
173. Choctaw
174. Chickasaw
175. Yuchi
176. Catawba
177. Cherokee
178. Tuscarora
179. Tutelo
180. Chickahominy Powhatan
181. Pamunkey Powhatan
182. Potomac Powhatan
183. Nanticoke
184. Delaware
185. Mahican
186. Narraganset-Pequot
187. Massachusetts
188. Abnaki
189. Penobscot
190. Passamaquoddy
191. Malecite
192. Micmac
193. Beothuk
194. *a* Seneca Iroquois
   b Cayuga Iroquois
   c Onondaga Iroquois
   d Oneida Iroquois
   e Mohawk Iroquois
195. Huron
196. Wyandot
197. Neutrals
198. Erie
199. Susquehanna
200. Shawnee
201. Miami
202. Kickapoo
203. Illinois
204. Peoria
205. Prairie Potawatomi
206. Forest Potawatomi
207. Sauk and Fox
208. Winnebago
209. Menomini
210. *a* Plains Ojibwa
   b Bungi Ojibwa
   c Lake Superior Ojibwa
   d Saulteaux Ojibwa
   e Abittibi Ojibwa
   f Nipissing Ojibwa
   g Missisauga Ojibwa
211 Ottawa
212. Algonkin
213. Montagnais
214. Naskapi
215. *a* Eastern Cree
   b Swampy Cree
   c Plains Cree
   d Western Cree
301. Cochimi
302. Waicuri
303. Seri
304. Opata
305. Pima Bajo
306. Yaqui
307. Tarahumare
308. Lipan
309. Tepehuane
310. Cora
311. Huichol
312. Tepecano
313. Huastec
314. *a* Otomi
   b Pame
   c Mazahua
   d Pirinda
315. Tarasca
316. Aztec
317. Totonac
318. Mixtec
319. Mazatec
320. Zapotec
321. Mixe
322. Zoque
323. Huave
324. Maya
325. Tzotzil
326. Tzental
327. Mam
328. Ixil
329. Kiche
330. Cakchikel
331. Kekchi
332. Pokonchi
333. Lenca
334. Ulva
335. Mosquito
336. Talamanca
337. Cuna
338. Arawak

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of an Indian; second, the nomadic habits of the Indian hamper an accurate count; and third, the large number of Indian children born without medical service leads to erroneous vital statistics. The census of 1940 showed an Indian population of 333,969 with representation in every state. (See Table 2.)

Available information seems to indicate that the Indian population is increasing. John Collier,[12] Commissioner of Indian affairs, in an interview with a group of graduate students from the Race Relations Department of Yale University in 1936 stated, "The fastest growing population in the United States is the Indian population. In 1935 the excess of births over deaths amounted to 9.2 per thousand. ... Should the identical rate be maintained for a hundred years, we would have a century from now nearly as many Indians as were alive at the time of Columbus." It seems clear that the Indians will constitute an increasing group in our population; the problem of developing proper policies with respect to them will be increasingly important.

Treatment by Invaders. The European invader upon his arrival in America found certain facts about the Indian in direct antithesis to each other. There was evidence that the red race had been self-sustaining for an indefinite length of time, yet it remained poverty stricken. Long years of freedom had made the Indian strong in conviction concerning his superstitious beliefs and customs based on contacts with nature, but he had made no effort to analyze them. He was eloquent in speech, but never developed a satisfactory system for recording his thoughts. Unconcerned

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12 "The Commissioner Discusses Race Growth," The Indian Leader, April 3, 1936, p. 1.

TABLE 2

INDIAN POPULATION BY STATE 1930,* 1940#

State	Total Indians 1940	1930	State	Total Indians 1940	1930
Oklahoma	63,125	92,725	Texas	1,103	1,001
Arizona	55,076	43,726	Massachusetts	769	874
New Mexico	34,510	28,941	Iowa	733	660
South Dakota	23,347	21,833	Florida	690	587
North Carolina	22,546	16,579	Illinois	624	469
California	18,675	19,212	Alabama	464	465
Montana	16,841	14,798	Pennsylvania	441	523
Minnesota	12,528	11,077	Ohio	338	435
Wisconsin	12,265	11,548	Missouri	330	578
Washington	11,394	11,253	Arkansas	278	408
North Dakota	10,114	8,387	Indiana	223	285
New York	8,651	6,973	New Jersey	211	213
Michigan	6,282	7,080	Connecticut	201	162
Nevada	4,747	4,871	Virginia	198	779
Oregon	4,594	4,776	Rhode Island	196	318
Utah	3,611	2,869	Dist. of Col.	190	40
Idaho	3,537	3,638	Tennessee	114	161
Nebraska	3,401	3,256	Georgia	106	43
Wyoming	2,349	1,845	Maryland	44	50
Mississippi	2,134	1,458	New Hampshire	50	64
Louisiana	1,801	1,536	Kentucky	44	22
Colorado	1,360	1,395	West Virginia	25	18
Maine	1,251	1,012	Vermont	16	36
South Carolina	1,234	959	Delaware	14	5
Kansas	1,165	2,454			
			TOTAL	332,397	333,969

*Data from U. S. Bureau of Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States; 1940, Population, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 52.

#Data from U. S. Bureau of Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States, p. 84.

and ignorant of the outside world, he was easy prey for greedy explorers.

It is common knowledge that the invaders of Indian domains had one of two purposes in view; either a mercenary one of securing land or riches or an ecclesiastical one of bringing him a new way of life. The Indian, a conservative by nature, was loath to give up his possessions or to trade a religion that met his needs for an unknown form of worship. From the arrival of the first trader and missionary down to the present, slight effort has been made to understand the red man. Measured by the white man's standards, it seemed insignificant that the Indian was a contented individual, that he had developed a system of tribal government, that he had a high code of ethics and a satisfying religion. The course of "civilizing" a conquered race has been much the same down through the ages. It must wear the clothes, speak the language, accept the religion, and adopt the standards of conduct of the conqueror. The story has been the same in America, Hawaii, China, and darkest Africa. Such methods of approach have never succeeded, for a progressive civilization must be built on what the people already have.

Contact with the white man soon caused the Indian to be suspicious, for he believed all his adversities to be the result of unfair treatment. He had been friendly and trusting in the beginning but advantage had soon been taken of him. The European invaders, regardless of nationality, had looked upon him as legitimate prey. Only on rare occasions was he treated as an equal or considered as having any rights. Now, after several centuries of contact with the white man's way of life, the Indian still continues in the same way of thinking. Life has taught him to be fearful of change, and living only for today seems to be a much sounder

theory to him than planning for an unknown tomorrow. For this, and other reasons, his progress has been slow and complicated by many problems.

Racial Problems

Physical. Paramount among the problems of the American Indian in contact with white men, is his inability to combat the inroads of disease. While there are indications that Indian population might have been on the decline at the time of the arrival of Columbus, war, famine, and pestilence since that time have taken more than their share in a toll of destruction. The white man may have brought civilization to the Indian but he also brought some of the evils of civilization in the form of diseases hitherto unknown, to which the Indian had not developed adequate resistance, and which, therefore, attacked him with disastrous results.

Literature and history has misled people into overestimating the physical stamina and prowess of the Indians. Had the explorers landed on the west coast of America instead of the east, the annals might have told a different story. Studies[13] show that the Indians with highest stage of development with few exceptions were located along the Atlantic coast and east of the Ohio river. Those living under most squalid conditions were to be found in the mountain and plateau states of the west. Between the two geographical extremes were scattered several hundred tribes differing in their manner of living and culture.

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13 Report of Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed (see op. cit.), "Historic Review of Indians in the U.S.," pp. 49-57; Alpheus Hyatt Verril, Our Indians, pp. ix-xv.

The Indians are no different from any other race in the correlation between standard of living and physical status. As long as the Indian continued to live close to nature, and under conditions with which he was familiar, his standard of living was determined by the bounties of nature. However, as soon as the invader forced him to live in a different environment, he could not quickly adjust himself and suffered as the result. Poor living conditions among the Indian population as a whole have been the chief contributing factor to rapid spread of disease. The Indians diet has changed to one consisting largely of meat, some of which is unfit for human consumption, and starches in the form of potatoes and poorly baked or fried bread. A very limited supply of berries and wild fruit is available in season. Those three staples in our everyday diet, milk, eggs, and green vegetables, have been notably missing from the Indian's diet until the last decade, when attention has been focused on their production and use. Housing and sanitary conditions are as bad or worse than diet. Due to impoverished conditions large groups of people live in close proximity or in the same dwelling, with a resultant lowering of health standards. Even with free medical attention available, infant mortality is extremely high, and such diseases as tuberculosis, pneumonia, trachoma, and skin ailments cause suffering and death to countless victims.

Economic. The economic problem of the Indian, as has been implied previously, was basically caused by the encroachment of white settlers. According to Indian codes, all lands were tribal lands, and a member of the tribe had no individual right other than to the land which he occupied. When he left his plot of land it automatically returned to the jurisdiction

of the tribe. The English, French, and Spanish, whether they purchased the land or claimed it by right of seizure, failed to concede that Indian tribes had vested rights in their land. As more and more land was acquired, the power of the aggressor became so strong that he could force segregation of the natives in the most undesirable territory or compel them to seek new homes beyond the advancing frontier. If the Indian contested the power of his adversary by going to war he was defeated by superior weapons and techniques of fighting. If he resorted to legal action the courts decided against him. This is well illustrated by the case of the Cherokee Nation v. Georgia in which Chief Justice Marshall delivered the following opinion:

> They (the Cherokee Nation) and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the soverignity and dominion of the U.S., that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connection with them, would be considered by all as an act of hostility.[14]

To the Indian, his case seemed hopeless, for he continually felt the power of both state and national government. Treaties were made with him but never kept, and title to his land was always in question because of Congressional bickering. He possessed tribal rights in name only and thus became more of a ward than a citizen. Such treatment for several generations, coupled with his lack of interest and inability to adjust to the aggressor's industrialized system, rapidly reduced the Indian to

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[14] From the report of T. J. Morgan in the Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1891, p. 11.

a state of poverty and what looked like eventual extinction. It was not until the early thirties of the present century that new policies of Indian administration, based on the Indian's culture and potentialities, were put into effect. Since that time the Indian has advanced steadily.

Social. The social position of the Indian has reflected the influence of his years of contact with civilization but he has been able to retain much of the dignity of his native culture. A discussion of his social problems involves two different approaches: first, the relations among members of the racial group; and second, relations to the dominating group. The problem of the Indian will not be solved until proper adjustments are made in both sets of relations.

The tribe was the group with which the Indian was most vitally concerned. It is one of the best examples known of a true socialistic form of living. Tribes usually differed in language, physical characteristics, and cultural background, but resembled each other in mode of life. Whether they lived in permanent farming villages or moved from place to place as tribes of the Great Plains, they were a closely knit, self-governing group. They elected their leaders, and in such elections women had votes long before their European sisters had such a privilege.

Second in importance to the tribal group was the home. In it the man owned the horses, the crops, and whatever he secured; the woman owned the home, the children, and the chattels. Children were raised in accordance with tribal customs and were treated very much as adults. Punishment of children was practically unheard of, yet they were a well disciplined group until they learned deception from the whites.

Control still centers in the tribe, and if a member drifts away for the purpose of education or more remunerative work and adopts the white man's way of life he becomes an outcast in the eyes of the tribe. If he chooses to remain in the tribe he faces the same poverty as most of its members. A survey[15] on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1938 showed the average annual income in 1937 to have been $286. Sources of income may be classified as earned and unearned. Earned incomes are derived from the fruits of the Indian's own labor, while unearned incomes arise from sale or lease of land, payments received from tribal funds, or through rations furnished by the government. The latter type has had a tendency to cause not only shiftlessness but poverty, for it is rarely of sufficient amount to insure a normal standard of living.

The many evils of the Indian's economic system are being remedied through education and legislation; the Indian himself, however, will determine the final success or failure of his race in achieving full status as an American citizen. The time is approaching when he can no longer blame the white man for all his ills. Improved mutual understanding and the breaking down of race prejudice should do much to hasten the amalgamation of the best qualities to be found in both Indian and white culture.

Political. The last of the problems of the Indian to be considered is the political. Little concern other than an attitude of intolerance was shown toward the Indian from the discovery of America to the beginning of the 19th century. By that time his resistance had caused enough trouble that Congress deemed it wise to make certain appropriations for

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[15]"The Pine Ridge Vocational Survey," Indian Education, (Nov. 1, 1939).

negotiating treaties and promoting his general welfare. As appropriations increased he rapidly became a matter of political concern, for with money goes power.

A change of political administration has generally meant changes in policy of Indian administration, in most cases detrimental to his interests. At least eight separate and distinct policies were in force in the hundred-year period following the organization of the government in 1789. From 1832 to 1945 there have been thirty-four Commissioners of Indian Affairs. (See Table 3.) Under these conditions the inauguration of any well-defined and long-term policy for the advancement of the Indian has not been possible. One school of thought has maintained that adjustment will take place only when the Indian is forced from his land and quickly absorbed by urban society. The other school has advocated that the arts, crafts, and best tribal culture be used as a foundation in training the Indian for self-supporting citizenship. The present trend seems to be in the latter direction.

Contribution of the Indian

In tracing the rise of a new civilization there is a tendency on the part of the dominant race to overestimate its part in the process. As stated previously, the absence of a well-developed system of writing among the Indians made it easy for the modern historian to overlook the contribution of the subjugated race.

It is doubtful if either Virginia or Plymouth Colony could have survived its first winter in the new land if it had not been for the

TABLE 3

COMMISSIONERS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

	Name	State	Date Appointed
1.	Herring, Elbert	New York	July 10, 1832
2.	Harris, Carey A.	Tennessee	July 4, 1836
3.	Crawford, T. Hartley	Pennsylvania	Oct. 22, 1838
4.	Medill, William	Ohio	Oct. 28, 1845
5.	Brown, Orlando	Kentucky	May 31, 1849
6.	Lea, Luke	Mississippi	July 1, 1850
7.	Manypenny, George W.	Ohio	March 24, 1853
8.	Denver, James W.	California	April 17, 1857
9.	Mix, Charles E.	Dist. of Col.	June 14, 1858
10.	Denver, James W.	California	Nov. 8, 1858
11.	Greenwood, Albert B.	Arkansas	May 4, 1859
12.	Dole, William P.	Illinois	March 13, 1861
13.	Cooley, Dennis N.	Iowa	July 10, 1865
14.	Bogy, Lewis V.	Missouri	Nov. 1, 1866
15.	Taylor, Nathaniel G.	Tennessee	March 29, 1867
16.	Parker, Ely S.	Dist. of Col.	April 21, 1869
17.	Walker, Francis A.	Massachusetts	Nov. 21, 1871
18.	Smith, Edward P.	New York	March 20, 1873
19.	Smith, John Q.	Ohio	Dec. 11, 1875
20.	Hayt, Ezra A.	New York	Sept. 27, 1877
21.	Trowbridge, Roland E.	Michigan	March 15, 1880
22.	Price, Hiram	Iowa	March 4, 1881
23.	Atkins, John D. C.	Tennessee	March 21, 1885
24.	Oberly, John H.	Illinois	Oct. 10, 1888
25.	Morgan, Thomas J.	Rhode Island	June 10, 1889
26.	Browning, Donald M.	Illinois	April 17, 1893
27.	Jones, William A.	Wisconsin	May 3, 1897
28.	Leupp, Francis E.	Dist. of Col.	Dec. 7, 1904
29.	Valentine, Robert G.	Massachusetts	June 16, 1909
30.	Sells, Cato	Texas	June 2, 1913
31.	Burke, Charles H.	South Dakota	April 1, 1921
32.	Rhoads, Charles J.	Pennsylvania	July 1, 1929
33.	Collier, John	California	April 21, 1933
34.	Brophy, William A.	New Mexico	March 16, 1945

Indian. He had not yet learned to distrust his white neighbors so he shared his food and possessions with them. He also taught the newcomer how to grow such crops as corn, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, and peanuts, and also taught them the use of tobacco. In the forests he showed the settler where he could find berries, choke cherries, wild plums, grapes, crab-apples and also the wild turkey, deer, bear, and otter. Until greed made the invader turn against his friends, both food and material for clothing could be found in abundance. Perhaps Seton[16] in few words summarized the contribution of the Indian correctly when he said, "The Indian teachings in the fields of art, handicraft, woodcraft, agriculture, social life, health and joy need no argument beyond presentation."

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16 Ernest Thompson Seton, The Gospel of the Red Man, p. 1.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN EDUCATION BEFORE 1849

The administration of Indian affairs, and the resultant attitudes on education, can logically be divided into three periods: the colonization, the Indian under the War Department, and the Indian under civil control. Due to their close relationship, the first two topics will be discussed in this chapter; the other, owing to its importance, will be discussed separately.

The Colonization Period

Missionary Activities. The period from the discovery of America to about 1650 shows little recognition of the Indian except for purposes of exploitation. In some instances the Spanish conquest left behind it a trail of death, disease and destruction. In others its members did notable work in the missionary field. The French explorers were more considerate in their treatment of the Indian than the Spanish. However, during the period 1534 to 1680, when Cartier, Marquette, and LaSalle were exploring the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, and the territory was being contested by the English, they also used the Indian to promote their own interests. The English colonists, likewise, were too busy establishing themselves in a new country to be interested in any organized effort to help the Indian. It is difficult to understand such an attitude, inasmuch as the colonies, in most cases, had been founded by people who desired freedom to work, think, and worship as they pleased.

Attempts at Formal Education. Harvard College, founded in 1636, was the first institution to accept any responsibility for Indian education. According to its charter of 1650, one of the objects of the College was the education of both "the English and Indian youth of the country in knowledge and godliness."[1] The second building on its campus, erected in 1653, was called "Indian College" and was large enough to care for twenty scholars. It was actually never needed, for only a few Indians ever attended. There is a record, however, of one Indian graduate, Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, in the year 1665. The principal use of the building was to house the college printing press which had previously been in the president's house. John Eliot's translation of the Bible into Indian languages (1661-1663), along with his primer, catechisms, grammars, tracts, etc., is believed to have been printed on this press.[2]

According to Steiner,[3] Connecticut was not far behind Massachusetts in providing a limited education for a few Indians. As early as 1648 there was an Indian school at Farmington. Moor's Indian Charity School, the best known in Connecticut, was started in 1754 by Rev. Eleazar Wheelock at Lebanon and named for Joshua Moor who had given a house and two acres of ground for the school. This school had originated as the result of Wheelock's success in teaching for a period of three years a young Mohegan Indian by the name of Samson Occum who had then become a

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1 George Gary Bush, History of Higher Education in Massachusetts, p. 37.

2 Encyclopedia Brittanica, 14th Edition, Vol. 11, p. 230.

3 Bernard C. Steiner, The History of Education in Connecticut, p. 32-34.

successful preacher among his own people. This is perhaps the first case where the ability of an Indian missionary was recognized as being more successful with his own race than the white man.

Wheelock's school enrolled two Delaware Indians at its opening, but in eight years it had increased to twenty Mohegans, Mohawks and Delawares. Four girls had been received and taught sewing and housewifery. Support was largely from charity, but the legislatures of both Massachusetts and Connecticut made occasional appropriations of small amounts to aid the work. Insufficient funds for the school resulted in a trip abroad by Mr. Occum and a Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker. The arrival of this, the first, Indian preacher in Great Britain, created sufficient interest to raise nearly £10,000 in England and Scotland in less than two years. Two of the contributors were the king, who gave £200 and Lord Dartmouth, who gave fifty guineas.

A few years later Dr. Wheelock, in order to increase the school's usefulness, followed the Indian westward and moved the school to Hanover, New Hampshire, where it later developed into Dartmouth College. "The laudable design of spreading christian knowledge among the savages of the American Wilderness" was given as one of the reasons for granting the Charter of Dartmouth College in 1769.[4]

Early Legislation. Records of the Continental Congress in 1775 show repeated references to the Indian problem. An entry dated Wednesday, July 12, 1775, reads:

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[4] Frank W. Blackmar, The History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education, p. 116-117.

> As the Indians depend on the colonists for arms, ammunition, clothing, which are become necessary for their subsistence, that Commissioners be appointed by this congress to superintend Indian affairs in behalf of these colonies. That there be three Departments of Indians, the Northern, the Middle and the Southern.
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> * * *
>
> That five Commissioners be appointed for the Southern Department. That for each of the other two Departments there be appointed three Commissioners. (One Commissioner was added later to the Northern Department.) That the Commissioners have power to treat with the Indians on behalf of the United Colonies in order to preserve peace and friendship with the said Indians, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotions.
>
> * * *
>
> That there is a seminary for the instruction of Indian youth, which has been established under the care of Doctor Wheelock, on the Connecticut River and as there are 9 or 10 Indian youths at that school chiefly from the tribes of Quebeck; and as for want of a proper fund there is a danger that these youths will be sent back to their friends, which will probably excite jealousy and distrust, and be attended with bad consequences, that the Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the Northern Department be authorized to receive out of the Continental Treasury a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars to be applied by them for the support of said Indian youth.[5]

The action of the Continental Congress would indicate that it was not as much concerned with promoting education at Dr. Wheelock's Seminary as keeping a small group of Indians from returning to British control in Quebec.

Increased effort to buy Indian good will is evidenced by another entry dated Saturday, Jan. 27, 1779:

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5 Peter Force, American Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. II, Column 1,879, Business of Continental Congress.

> Resolved, that in order to preserve the friendship and confidence of the Indians, and to prevent their suffering for want of necessaries of life, a suitable assortment of Indian Goods, to the amount of £40,000 sterling, be imported on Account and risk of the United Colonies.[6]

A report of the Committee on Indian Affairs, as recorded in the Business of the Continental Congress for Feb. 5, 1776, introduces education as a last hope for preserving friendship:

> Resolved, That a friendly commerce between the people of the United Colonies and the Indians, and the propogation of the Gospel, and cultivation of the civil arts among the latter, may produce many and inestimable advantages to both; and that the Commissioners of Indian Affairs be desired to consider of proper places, in their respective Departments, for the residence of Ministers and Schoolmasters, and report the same to Congress.[7]

The Indian was not overlooked in the Articles of Confederation, for Article 9, Section 4, states: "The United States in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power...regulating the trade and managing all affairs of Indians not members of any states...

The Indian Under the War Department

Provisions of the Constitution. The writers of the Constitution were either unaware of the rising Indian problem, or were too engrossed in other matters to give it much consideration. The Preamble, which is so widely quoted, must have failed to consider the Indian when the phrase

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[6] Ibid., Vol. IV, Column 1,656.

[7] Ibid., Column 1,662.

"establish justice" was written into it. Only one clause, known as the commerce clause, mentions the Indians: "The Congress shall have power ....to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and with the Indian tribes..." Trade, had been the original activity that had brought the white man and the Indian together, and, by the time of the drafting of the Constitution, it had caused many difficulties. From the first treaty, with the Delawares, down to the present day, the government has continued to control all trade with the Indians. Even with this control, graft and corruption have from time to time caused the Indian to be seriously retarded in his development.

The Indian was placed under control of the War Department at the time of its creation in 1789. Among the duties of the Secretary of War were those "relative to Indian affairs."[8]

In less than two weeks after the Department of War was established Congress appropriated $20,000 for "negotiating and treating with the Indian tribes;"[9] which was the beginning of many such appropriations. An appropriation of $39,424.71 on Dec. 23, 1791, "for defraying all expenses incident to the Indian department authorized by law...,"[10] was the first appropriation on record for administration of the Indian affairs.

Except for trading purposes, only minor attention was given to the Indian as an individual until after 1800. However, a letter from Henry Knox to General Rufus Putnam, dated 22d May, 1792, does indicate slight

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8 1 Stat L, 49, 50 (1789)

9 1 Stat L, 54 (1789)

10 1 Stat L, 226,228 (1791)

interest:

> That the United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indian tribes the blessings of civilization, as the only means of perpetuating them on earth. That we are willing to be at the expense of teaching them to read and write, to plow, to sow, in order to raise their own bread and meat, with certainty, as the white people do.[11]

Had this policy been put into practice at once, instead of waiting for over a hundred years, the economic condition of the Indian would have been much different today.

Article 3 of a treaty with the Oneida, Tuscora, and Stockbridge Indians, made on Dec. 2, 1794, provided for another type of education than Knox's. Under its provisions,

> The United States will provide, during three years after the mills (grist and saw) shall be completed, for the expense of employing one or two suitable persons to manage the mills, to keep them in repair, to instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and sawyer, and to provide teams and utensils for carrying on the work of the mills.[12]

The Treaty Period (1778-1849). The treaty period, starting on Sept. 17, 1778,[13] with a treaty with the Delawares, and continuing until March 3, 1871,[14] is sometimes referred to as "the century of dishonor."[15] During this period, some 450 treaties were entered into between the

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[11] American State Papers, Class II, Vol. IV, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, #29, p. 235.

[12] Ibid., #58, p. 546.

[13] 7 Stat L, 13, 14 (1778).

[14] 16 Stat L, 544, 566 (1871).

[15] Holland Thompson and Arthur Mee, The Book of Knowledge, Vol. XIX, p. 7235-7244.

United States Government and the Indians. In general, these treaties are considered to be as legal as if they were made with foreign nations. Failure of either party to live up to the conditions of a treaty, as well as changing demands of society, have forced many treaties to be superseded by later acts of Congress. However, the provisions of many treaties are still being adhered to and federal courts have upheld their legality.

Many of the treaties made with the Indians had stipulations providing for school revenues. An excellent example of such a treaty was one made with the Wyandots, Ottawas, Senecas, Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, and Chippewas in 1817; it had the following provisions:

> Three sections, to contain six hundred and forty acres each, are to be reserved out of the tract of twelve miles square, to be granted to the Wyandots. One of said sections is to be appropriated to the use of a missionary, one for the support of schools, ...[16]

Inauguration of an Educational Policy (1819). Indirect help continued to be given toward promotion of education until March 3, 1819, when Congress approved the first act for a specific annual appropriation for Indian education. The act reads in part:

> That for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in every case where he shall judge improvement in the habits and conditions of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode

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16 American State Papers, Class II, Vol. VI, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, #149, also 7 Stat L, 160 (1817).

> of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for regulation of their conduct, in discharge of their duties.
>
> ...That the annual sum of ten thousand dollars be, and the same is appropriated, for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act; and an account of the expenditures of the money, and proceedings in execution of the foregoing provisions, shall be laid annually before Congress.[17]

The money appropriated was to be apportioned to missionary organizations for the purpose described. Appropriations continued to be apportioned among missionaries until 1873, and some funds were made available until 1897, when support was withdrawn from sectarian schools.[18] Legislation was again enacted in 1917 forbidding appropriations from the United States Treasury to be used for sectarian schools.[19]

If it had not been for the support of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and a few other staunch supporters, the act of 1819 would have been repealed, small as the appropriation had been. A report of Mr. McLean, of Ohio, a member of the Committee of Indian Affairs, before a turbulent session of Congress, showed that twenty-one schools, with 800 pupils, had been put into operation by 1824. Within another two-year period the schools had increased to forty and enrolled 1,194 pupils.[20]

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17 3 Stat L, 516 (1819).

18 30 Stat L, 62 (1897).

19 39 Stat L, 969, 988 (1917).

20 American State Papers, Class II, Vol. VI, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, #203, p. 157.

Calhoun in a communication to the House of Representatives on Jan. 17, 1820 called attention to the progress of certain tribes when he stated:

> While many of the Indian tribes have acquired only the vices with which savage people usually become tainted, by their intercourse with those who are civilized, others appear to be making gradual advances in industry and civilization....The Cherokees[21] exhibit a more favorable appearance than any other tribe of Indians. There are already established two flourishing schools among them: one at Brainard, under the superintendence of the American Board of Foreign Missions, at which there are at present 100 youth of both sexes. The Institution is on the Lancasterian plan, and is in a very flourishing condition. Besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, the boys are taught agriculture and the ordinary mechanic arts; and the girls, sewing, knitting and weaving.[22]

To the Cherokees also goes the distinction of having created a usable alphabet in 1823. Sequoyah (English name George Guess), born about 1773, who had not attended school or learned to use the English language, either oral or written, worked for a period of ten years in its creation. The alphabet consisted of eighty-six characters. So successful was its use that the Cherokee nation appropriated money for the purchase of a printing press in Boston for the printing of a newspaper. The first issue, called the "Cherokee Phoenix," was published in Dec. 1828,[23] and consisted of four pages, half in English and half with Sequoyah's characters. The name was changed to "Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate" and later to the "Cherokee Advocate." The State Guard of Georgia

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21 The Cherokees were one of the so-called Five Civilized tribes, viz., Cherokee; Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole.

22 American State Paper, Class II, Vol. VI, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, #162, p. 200.

23 S. W. Ross, "The First Indian Newspaper," The Indian Leader, (Dec. 3, 1937), p. 1.

seized the newspaper office in 1835 and forbade the publication of the newspaper because the Cherokee nation refused to give their consent to leave Georgia. The paper was later revived and printed off and on until 1906.

Creation of a Dep't. of Indian Affairs (1834). The history of the Indian during this period was affected by several changes in the administration of his affairs. Failure of the "Factor System" of trade with the Indians, which had been established in 1806,[24] and provided for the appointment of a Superintendent of Indian Trade, led to its discontinuance in 1822.[25] However, on March 11, 1824, Secretary of War Calhoun created the "Bureau of Indian Affairs" and appointed Thomas L. McKenney, former superintendent of Indian trade, as its head. His principal duties seem to have been the administration of the "civilization fund" that had been appropriated in 1819. The Bureau of Indian Affairs apparently failed to function properly, for Congress, by an act of July 9, 1932, authorized the President, with consent of the Senate, to appoint a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose duties were "...the direction and management of Indian affairs and of all matters arising out of Indian relations....[26] Two years later, June 30, 1834, an act "to provide for the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs"[27] was passed; this is now known as the "Office of Indian Affairs."

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[24] 2 Stat L, 402 (1806).

[25] 3 Stat L, 679 (1822).

[26] 4 Stat L, 564 (1832).

[27] 4 Stat L, 735 (1834).

Migration of the Indian Westward. The solution of the Indian problem by driving the red man westward, gained support soon after the opening of the 19th century. Jefferson favored the idea and as a result Congress passed an Act on March 26, 1804,[28] authorizing the President to contact Indian tribes relative to exchanging their land east of the Mississippi for land in the new Louisiana Purchase, but such an exchange met with disfavor by the Indians. The Five Civilized Tribes were among the first to be contacted, but they refused to move until pressure forced them into the Indian Territory. The Seminoles were an exception, as they fought bitterly for eight years. The war with them came to an end in 1842 without victory for either side. This war is the only one in the history of the United States that never was officially ended. By 1840 most of the Indians northwest of the Ohio had migrated westward by choice, or by reason of the Act for removal, passed in 1830.[29]

The lengths to which Congress would go to get rid of the Indian can be illustrated by a typical act that was passed May 20, 1826, entitled "An Act to aid certain Indians of the Creek Nation in their removal," which reads: "Be it enacted that the United States will give to each warrior of the Creek Indians who shall, at any time within two years, remove to the west of the Mississippi...one rifle gun and ammunition, a butcher knife, one blanket, one brass kettle, and one beaver trap; and shall further aid them..."[30]

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28 2 Stat L, 289 (1804).

29 4 Stat L, 411 (1830).

30 4 Stat L, 187 (1826).

To an America with "growing pains" the treaty seemed the quickest and easiest method of maintaining friendly relations with the Indian, for war had proven exceedingly costly and had failed to gain desired results. The Indian's scant knowledge of values made him an easy victim to private or official negotiations which promised him gifts and security. In rare cases only were stipulations in the treaties of such nature as to contribute materially to the permanent improvement of the Indian tribes or race.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN EDUCATION UNDER CIVIL CONTROL (1849-1946)

The Act of March 3, 1849,[1] which established "...a new executive department of the government of the United States to be called the Department of the Interior; the head of which department shall be called the Secretary of the Interior," terminated Indian administration under the War Department. Section 5 of the act provided: "That the Secretary of the Interior shall exercise the supervisory and appellate powers now exercised by the War Department, in relation to all acts of the Commissioner of Indian affiars...."

Continuation of the Treaty Period (1849-1871)

Effects of Change of Administrations. The transfer of the Indian Department from the War Department to the Department of the Interior was marked by no significant changes. Treaties continued to be made, revised, and broken, and no legislation of consequence was enacted for almost twenty years. The general trend of both treaties and legislation was toward removal and grouping of the Indian in the most undesirable locations, and seizure of his valuable holdings.

The discovery of gold in California, and the ensuing migration westward of large numbers of whites, made some kind of negotiations necessary

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[1] 9 Stat L, 395 (1849).

with the Indians of that region. An appropriation of $25,000 was hastily made by Congress, and commissioners were sent to bargain with the California Indians. Treaties were made with at least eighteen tribes, under which they were to give up their tribal lands and be placed on small reservations at suitable places. The Indians at the same time were to be placed under state law. Basking in the glory of prosperity, California legislators protested to Washington against the Indians being allotted reservations within their borders. The protest was taken under consideration by the President and the Secretary of the Interior and, after several months, the treaties came before the Senate for ratification, and were defeated. In the meantime the Indians had moved from their land in good faith and started for the proposed reservations. The Federal Government, with its usual indifferent attitude, failed to take any remedial action. It was not until 1920 that a few very small reservations were established in California.

The transfer of the Indian Department from the War Department had provoked much criticism, and as a result no settled policy of Indian administration was established for many years thereafter. For a time it looked as if the transfer would be temporary in nature. The unsettled conditions arising from the movement of the Indian west of the Mississippi, his exploitation at that time, and the Civil War, all contributed to making the problem of Indian administration very difficult. Every commissioner had his own ideas as to the solution of the Indian problem. Some of the policies advocated were: complete elimination of individual independence by treating the Indian as a ward; segregation of the Indian in permanent settlements and using military force to keep him in and

others out; abandonment of negotiation with the Indian by treaty; and giving him full rights and citizenship. The Indian peace Commission[2] in 1868 went so far as to recommend that Indian affairs be committed to an independent bureau or transferred back to the War Department.

Progress in Indian education, prior to 1870, had been slow because of disinterest. A study by Schmeckbier[3] shows thirty-seven schools, eighty-five teachers, and 1283 pupils, in 1842. Total expenditures by all agencies for Indian education amounted to $2,150,000 for the ten-year period 1845-1855. Of this amount the Government had contributed about $102,000; of the remainder approximately $824,000 had come from Indian tribal funds, $400,000 from Indian contributions, and $830,000 from private benevolence.[4] It was not until 1870, when the sum of $100,000[5] was appropriated for educational purposes by the government, that any scheme of extensive education for the Indian could be planned.

Grant's "Peace Policy." Grant, a champion of the Indian but a blunt statesman, became President in 1869, and started an immediate renovation of the Indian Department. To combat the inefficiency and corruption, he recommended the appointment of not more than ten men to serve on a Board of Indian Commissioners, without pay, and to work with the Secretary of the Interior in the disbursement of funds and supplies to the Indians.

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2 By Act of July 20, 1867 (15 Stat L 17), the Commission was authorized to make a study of the cause and cure of Indian wars.

3 Lawrence F. Schmeckbier, Service Monograph of the United States Government #48, p. 40.

4 Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law, p. 240.

5 Act of July 15, 1870, (16 Stat L 335,359).

His recommendations became the basis of what is known as the "Peace Policy" when it was enacted into legislation April 10, 1869. An appropriation of $2,000,000 was provided "to maintain peace...and to promote civilization among said Indians, bring them where practicable upon reservations, relieve their necessities, and encourage their efforts at self-support."[6] This act was followed by another on March 3, 1871, terminating treaty-making with Indian tribes and forbidding any type of contract to be made with the Indian not approved by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.[7] For administration of the Indian under the "Peace Policy," reservations were turned over to religious organizations, who also made nominations for Indian agents and superintendents. This system functioned for about ten years, when administrative positions again became political appointments.

The Reservation Period (1871-1887)

Prior to 1871 relations with Indian tribes had been regulated largely by treaties; as early as 1786, however, there was mention of their segregation on reservations. The early development of the reservation policy was discussed in a previous chapter.[8] It started under Jefferson in 1804 and reached a climax under the Removal Act of 1830. From that time until 1871, the reservation policy may be assumed to have been in effect to a

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6 16 Stat L 40 (1869).

7 16 Stat L 544, 570 (1871).

8 Supra, Chap. III, p. 22.

limited extent by mutual agreement in treaties with certain tribes. The end of the Treaty Period in 1871 resulted in the reservation becoming the chief administrative unit.

A reservation has been defined by MacLeod as, "Any area of land which with its inhabitants is set apart from the encircling dominant community, with definite territorial boundaries within which there exist special laws and customs for the inhabitants."[9] To compensate for his removal to such a place, the Indian was issued rations and given other forms of aid, such as implements, tools, and cattle. This tended to pauperize him by leaving no incentive for self-support. During the Reservation Period several attempts, however, were made to improve the Indian's condition by education. An appropriation of $20,000 was made by Congress in 1876 for the support of "industrial schools and other educational purposes of Indian tribes."[10] A forward step was also taken by Commissioner Hayt in 1877, when he recommended the establishment of a compulsory common-school system, including industrial schools. Two years later Captain (later General) R. H. Pratt opened the Carlisle Indian School, the first non-reservation Indian School, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Thus the Government slowly began to meet its obligation to the Indian.

The Allotment Period (1887-1934)

The allotment period, which flourished for nearly fifty years, represents another of the policies to which the Indian was subjected in

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[9] W. C. MacLeod, "Native Policies, North America," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, p. 262.

[10] 19 Stat L 197 (1876).

the stormy history of his relations with the government. Following upon the heels of the period in which the Indian had been forced to move to reservations, it was a most radical reversal of policy. It was not an innovation, as so popularly supposed, for allotments of land to tribes and individuals had continued to be made throughout the Treaty Period. Up to the time of the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887,[11] 7,463 allotments totalling 584,423 acres had been made by the Government.[12]

The Dawes Act, however, represented a new attitude toward the Indian, for until that time he had been dealt with collectively rather than individually. Originally, the former system might have worked successfully, but after a hundred years of maltreatment and attendant changes in economic status, the Indian had become an individual problem. The act provided:

1. ...A grant of 160 acres to each family head, of 80 acres to each single person over 18 years of age and to each orphan under 18, and of 40 acres to each other person under 18; (the Five Civilized Tribes and certain others were excepted.)

2. A patent in fee simple to be issued to every allottee but to be held in trust by the government for 25 years, during which time the land could not be alienated or encumbered;

3. A period of 4 years to be allowed the Indians in which they could make their selections after allotment should be applied to any tribe; failure of the Indians to do so should result in selection for them at the order of the Secretary of the Interior;

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11 24 Stat L 388 (1887).

12 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1916, p. 93, 94.

4. Citizenship to be conferred upon the allottees and upon any other Indians who had abandoned their tribes and adopted "the habits of civilized life"...[13]

The general assumption of those who promoted the Act was that it would immediately make the Indian self-supporting. The very necessary element of educating him for citizenship and self-support had been overlooked.

The motives of those responsible for the Act are not to be questioned, but it is clear that they were seriously in error as to the benefits that were to be derived from it. The land holdings of the Indian tribes in 1887 amounted to approximately 138,000,000 acres for a population of roughly 250,000, or a little more than 500 acres of land to each Indian. By 1934 the Indian population had increased to about 350,000 and their land had shrunk to 48,000,000 acres, or 130 acres to each person.[14] The rapid loss of land had resulted from the amount alloted to each Indian as compared to his original possession, from partition and subsequent resale of inherited land, and government sale of so-called "surplus" land left after allotments had been made to members of a tribe. Of the land remaining in the possession of the Indians, almost half was desert or semi-desert. Lack of ability to use their land efficiently and disinterest resulting from the privilege of leasing their land to white settlers,[15] rapidly reduced the Indians to a state of poverty. It is paradoxical that Government appropriations for the Indian Department continued to climb

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[13]Felix S. Cohen, op. cit., p. 207, 208.

[14]From a report by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, before Congress in 1934.

[15]By later amendments to the Allotment Act Indians were permitted to lease their land and to sell land inherited, although proceeds were put on deposit and could be spent only on Government order.

during the allotment period, under a policy that was supposed to make the Indian economically independent.

Following the enactment of the Dawes Allotment Act, legislation in behalf of the Indian hit another slump. Some forward steps, however, were taken in the field of education. Commissioner Morgan, who took office on July 1, 1889, and was one of the few commissioners to take his job seriously, made the following recommendations with respect to education:

> The paramount duty of the hour is to prepare the rising generation of Indians for the new order of things thus forced upon them. A comprehensive system of education modeled after the American public-school system, but adapted to the special exigencies of the Indian youth, embracing all persons of school age, compulsory in its demands and uniformly administered, should be developed as rapidly as possible.[16]

His recommendations must have carried weight, because the Indian Appropriation Act of March 3, 1891, carried the following clause with respect to compulsory education: "And the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby authorized and directed to make and enforce by proper means such rules and regulations as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit."[17] A similar act in 1893[18] carried a provision authorizing the withholding of rations to heads of families whose children between the ages of eight and twenty-one who had not been in school the previous year. The ages named are of interest. According to "Rules for the Indian School Service," issued in 1900,

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[16] T. J. Morgan, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, p. 3-4.

[17] 26 Stat L, 989 (1891).

[18] 27 Stat L, 612 (1893).

school ages are specified as five to eighteen. However, children of four, or over eighteen, could be admitted to an Indian school with consent of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. These acts were unpopular but continued in force despite Indian protest. When citizenship was granted the Indians, the states, with consent of the Secretary of the Interior, shared in the enforcement of education.

The legal status of the Indian with respect to citizenship has been most puzzling. The rights of birth in their case were superseded by a "wardship" imposed by the dominant race on the assumption that the Indian was incompetent. The last Indian did not become a citizen until the Citizenship Act of 1924. It provided, "...That all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States: Provided, That the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property."[19] This Act was the most important since the passage of the Allotment Act of 1887, which, among its other provisions, bestowed citizenship on the Indian at the time he secured his allotment. The Burke Act of 1906, an amendment to the Allotment Act, had delayed citizenship by its provision that the Indian could not become a citizen until after his patent in fee simple had been issued, a period of twenty-five or more years after receiving his allotment.

The Act of 1924 gave citizenship to about 125,000 Indians. Prior to that time some 215,000 Indians had become citizens by one of four methods:

1. Provisions of treaties
2. Special statues[20]
3. General statues[21]
4. General statues for special classes[22]

It is to be noted that in all the provisions for Indian citizenship the Indian did not lose his right to tribal or other property, and that the Government's responsibility to him remained the same.

The granting of citizenship to the Indian once again made the Government conscious of a new obligation to him. To determine the social and economic condition of the Indian, Hon. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, in 1926 requested the Institute of Government Research to make a study of the problem. The survey, conducted under the direction of Lewis Meriam and a staff of nine assistants, was probably the most complete and unbiased study that has ever been made of Indian administration. The recommendations of this study had a pronounced influence on legislation that has since been enacted.

Reorganization Period (1934-1946)

The Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act of 1934[23] is considered

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[20]The Act of May 2, 1890 (26 Stat L 81, 99-100) granted citizenship to the Five Civilized Tribes upon application to the U. S. Court.

[21]The Allotment Act of 1887 as amended.

[22]The Act of Aug. 9, 1888 (25 Stat L 392) granted citizenship to Indian women marrying citizens and the Act of Nov. 6, 1919 (41 Stat L 350) gave citizenship to World War I veterans.

[23]48 Stat L, 984 (1934).

one of the most significant pieces of Indian legislation. On April 28, 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in urging the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act, which, with its recent extension to Oklahoma and Alaska, stands today as the most important segment of our Indian law, declared:

> The Wheeler-Howard bill embodies the basic and broad principles of administration for a new standard of dealing between the Federal Government and its Indian wards.
>
> We can and should, without further delay, extend to the Indian the fundamental rights of political liberty and local self-government and the opportunities of education and economic assistance that they require in order to attain a wholesome American life. This is but the obligation of honor of a powerful nation toward a people living among us and dependent upon our protection.
>
> Certainly the continuance of autocratic rule, by a Federal department, over the lives of more than 200,000 citizens of this nation is incompatible with American ideals of liberty. It is also destructive of the character and self-respect of a great race. The continued application of the allotment laws, under which Indian wards have lost more than two-thirds of their reservation lands, while the costs of Federal administration of these lands have steadily mounted, must be terminated.
>
> Indians throughout the country have been stirred to a new hope. They say they stand at the end of the old trail. Certainly, the figures of impoverishment and disease point to their impending extinction as a race unless basic changes in their condition of life are effected.
>
> I do not think such changes can be devised and carried out without the active cooperation of the Indians themselves. The Wheeler-Howard bill offers the basis for such cooperation. It allows the Indian people to take an active and responsible part in the solution of their problems.[24]

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24 From Foreword by Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, to Handbook of Federal Indian Law, p. v.

John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in expressing his opinion of the same Act stated:

> The Wheeler-Howard Act, the most important piece of Indian legislation since the eighties, not only ends the long, painful, futile effort to speed up the normal rate of Indian assimilation by individualizing tribal land and other capital assets, but it also endeavors to provide the means, statutory and financial, to repair as far as possible, the incalculable damage done by the allotment policy and its corollaries.[25]

The Indian Reorganization Act was "An Act to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule /tribal/ to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes."[26] Some of the specific provisions of the Act are worthy of mention:

> Section 1 discontinues the allotment of land to an individual Indian.
>
> Section 3 authorizes the return of surplus land to the tribes.
>
> Section 5 authorizes an appropriation of $2,000,000 annually to purchase land for the Indians.
>
> Section 10 authorizes an appropriation of a $10,000,000 revolving loan fund for the purpose of promoting economic development of tribes and members.
>
> Section 11 authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed $250,000 annually for loans to Indians for the purpose of enabling them to attend vocational or trade schools.
>
> Section 19 provides: "The term 'Indian' as used in this Act shall include all persons of Indian descent who are members of any recognized Indian tribe now under Federal

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[25] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1934, p. 79.

[26] 48 Stat L 984.

> jurisdiction, and all persons who are descendents of such members who were, on June 1, 1934, residing within the present boundaries of any Indian reservation, and shall further include persons of one-half or more Indian blood... The term 'tribe'...shall be construed to refer to any Indian tribe, organized band, pueblo, of the Indians residing on one reservation."[27]

The provisions of this Act were optional. Tribes were permitted by a majority vote to decide whether or not they desired to share in the benefits of the Act. Tribeal councils could be chartered by petition of one-third of the Indians. It was estimated in 1942 that 74 per cent of the Indians were living and functioning under the Act.[28]

The progress of the Indian will be both advanced and retarded by World War II; he will feel with greater repercussions from it than the white man. The depression years preceeding the War had driven the Indian back to the reservation for a living, for in most cases he had been the first to lose his job. The outbreak of the War made it possible for him to return to industry, in addition to entering the armed forces. It is estimated that 24,521 Indians, exclusive of officers, had entered the service by the spring of 1945, and that 40,000 Indians had taken war jobs away from their reservation homes.[29] Their records in both places are comparable to those of their white colleagues.

Increased earnings during the war era will have caused many Indians to acquire a much higher standard of living than that to which they had

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27 Ibid.

28 Oliver LaFarge, The Changing Indian, Introduction by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p. 3-10.

29 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1945, p. 250, 251.

been accustomed. The end of the war has closed some war industries, others are in the process of conversion, and troops have largely been demobilized. Whether the Indian will be able to adjust to a world where social and race prejudice still exist, is a matter of question. A new and much greater responsibility will be thrown upon those dealing with Indian administration, as well as many allied agencies for education and employment. Willard W. Beatty, Director of Indian Education, has outlined the goal of postwar Indian education as follows:

> Every educational field agent, every area superintendent of education, every school principal, or superintendent should leave no stone unturned to persuade these young people that their economic future is dependent upon their obtaining an adequate education. Every faculty should determine that when these young people are enrolled, the program offered them is adequate to their maturity, interests and skills, and suitable to the postwar world.[30]

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30 Willard W. Beatty, "From War to Peace," Indian Education, (Sept. 15, 1945), p. 3.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN EDUCATION

In view of the brief period of time that he has had to assimilate the culture of his white conquerors, the American Indian has made phenomenal progress. Many private and governmental agencies have contributed to make this unprecedented advancement possible. The motives, faith and work of the missionaries, past and present, deserve high praise. Credit also is due the government teacher and doctor, as well as other workers, who have sacrificed many comforts and opportunities of advancement to pioneer in the field of Indian education. Their work has been difficult and ofttimes unrecognized; too many times they have been subjected to humiliation and defeat by political forces over which they had no control. Now, due to a change of perspective concerning the Indian question, effort is being made to remedy some of the past evils of Indian administration.

Organization and Theories

Results of Centralization of Power. Education has long been recognized as a pertinent factor in the advancement of the Indian, but not until comparatively recent times has there been any stability in its pattern. Some changes would normally have occured as objectives of the general system of American education changed to keep pace with the needs of the times. However, the lack of a sound policy of Indian administration for so many years has left its impact on the Indian's thought and has impeded his development.

The location, and highly centralized nature of the Office of Indian Affairs, has been a handicap to efficient administration. The migration of the Indian westward, and lack of modern travel and communication facilities, made it increasingly difficult to carry on negotiations with him during the critical period of his history. The operation of so huge a machine as the government is slow at the best, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs is no exception.

Organization of the Office of Indian Affairs. Since its formation in 1832, the Office of Indian Affairs has undergone many changes in organization. Supervision is vested in a Commissioner, appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. (See Figure II.) The Assistant Commissioner is appointed in the same manner. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs originally received $3000 a year and performed all the duties himself. By 1940 the salary had increased to $9000 and the Washington staff numbered 388. Total personnel in the entire Service at the same time was 9,178.[1] These employees, with a few exceptions, are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior from eligibility rosters of the Civil Service.

The Director of Education serves as technical adviser to the Commissioner with respect to educational policies to be established for government Indian schools in continental United States and Alaska. He also directs the administrative activities in connection with the Indians attending public schools. For the dissemination of information on current problems and practices, he acts as editor of the bi-monthly publication "Indian Education."

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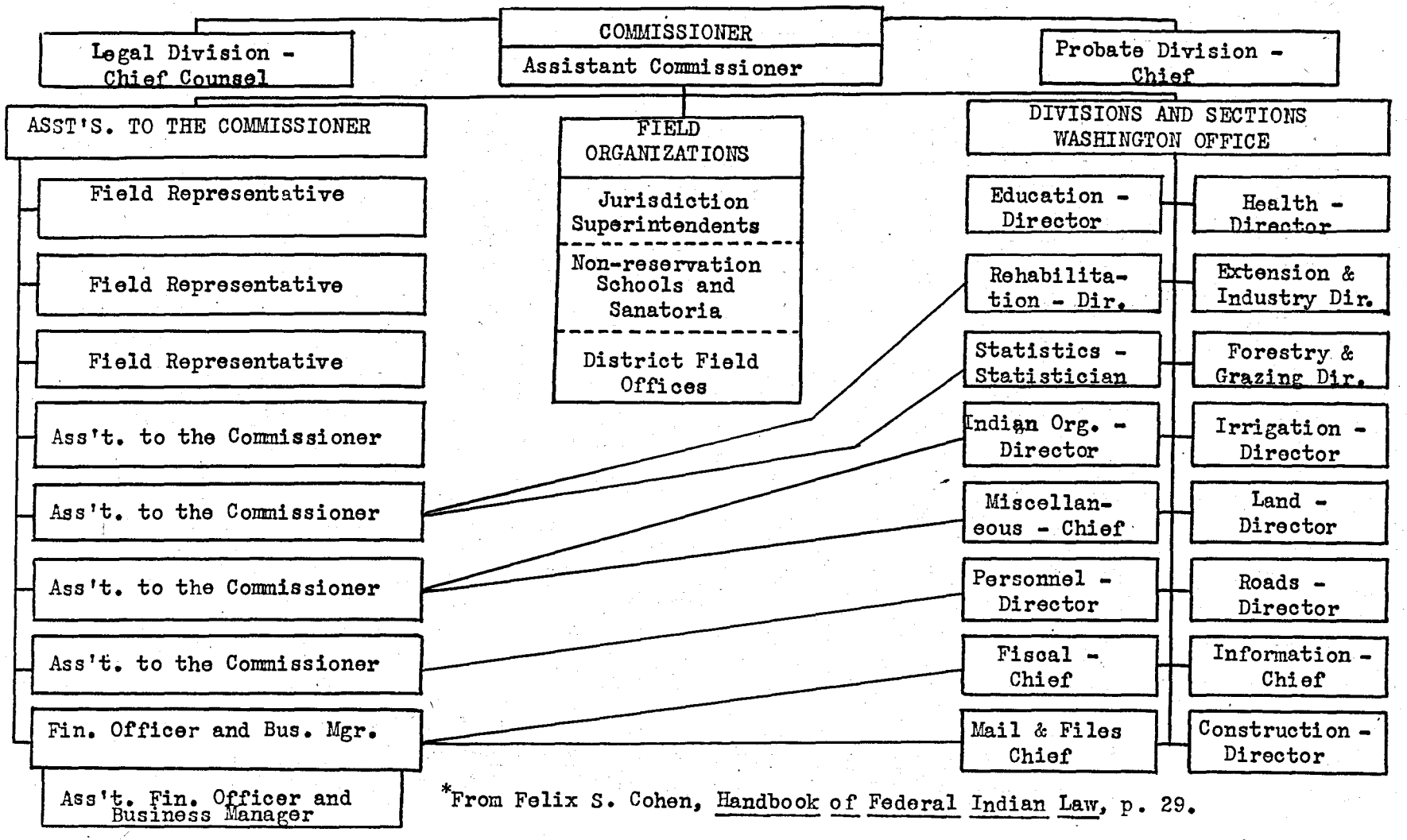
[1] Felix S. Cohen, op. cit., p. 31.

FIGURE II

ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS*



*From Felix S. Cohen, Handbook of Federal Indian Law, p. 29.

Indirect assistance to education is rendered by other representatives and divisions of the Indian Bureau. One of the three field representatives co-ordinates educational work with other related activities and arranges conferences to assist in the solution of problems that arise. The fourth Assistant to the Commissioner, together with the Director of the Personnel Division, assists in establishing policies for efficient operation of personnel.

Decentralization has been accomplished to some extent by the movement of part of the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to Chicago and by delegation of more authority to the educational districts. At the present time there are eleven of these districts in the Indian area, each under the direction of a superintendent of Indian education. The de-centralized organization also includes a corps of special subject supervisors who spend much of their time in the field.

The jurisdiction superintendent of the agency or reservation is the local responsible officer for Indian administration in the field. Cohen reports sixty-four superintendents and twenty-five other heads of units, which include six sanatoria, ten schools, and nine district offices.[2] Figure III shows an organization chart of a typical Indian reservation, of which the Educational Division is an important part. This Division includes the supervisory staff, teachers, and other school employees of all boarding and day schools. They are responsible to the superintendent, and he in turn directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Divergence of Theories. The theories of Indian education that have been advanced since the government assumed responsibility for the Indian's

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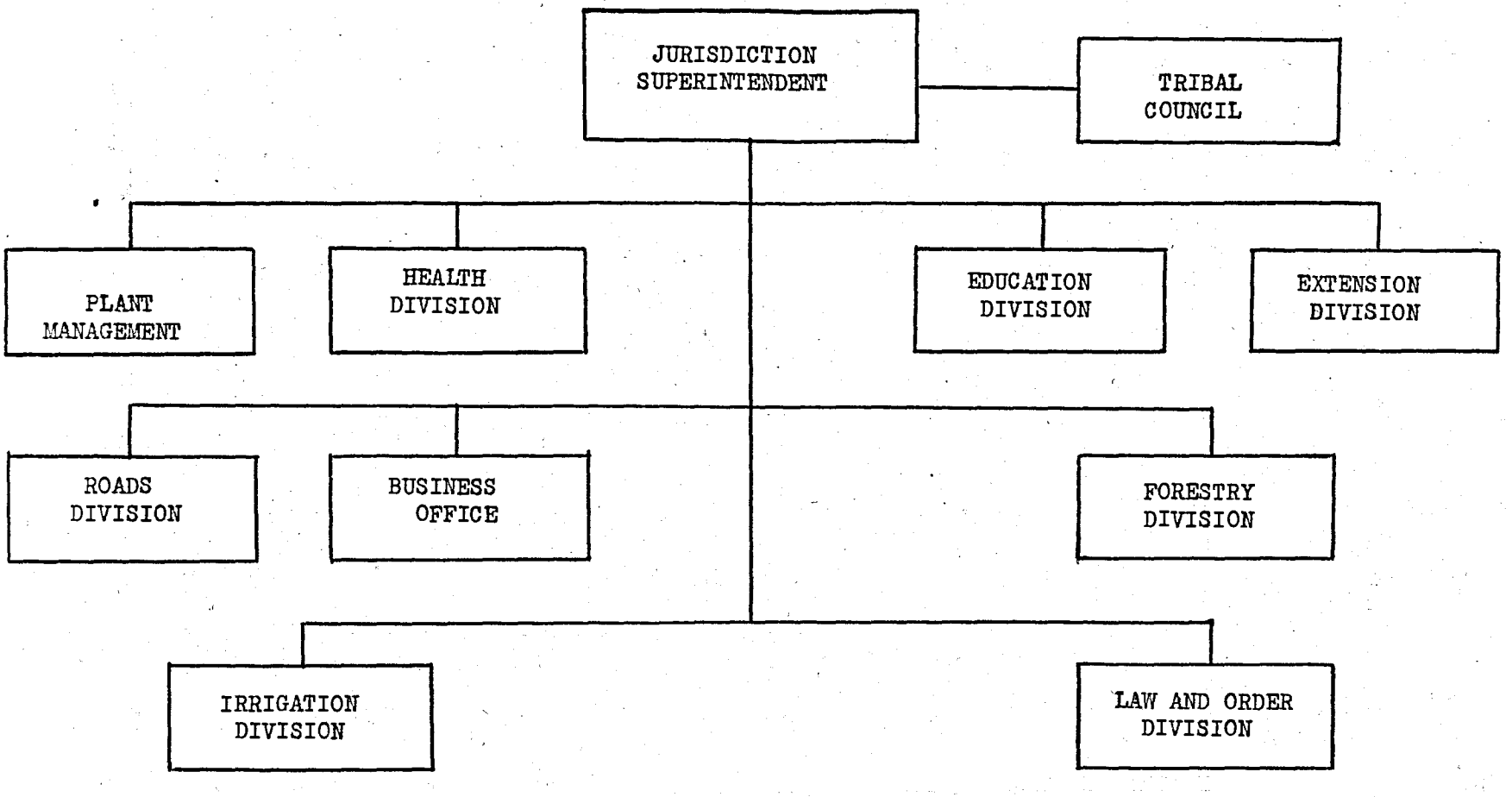
[2]Ibid., p. 30.

FIGURE III

ORGANIZATION CHART OF A TYPICAL INDIAN RESERVATION*



*Adapted from Organization Chart by Lloyd E. Blauch, Education Service for Indians, p. 29.

welfare have followed no definite trend. Leaders seem to have concurred in the opinion that one aim of training should be effective American citizenship; beyond that point they reached no mutual agreement, nor has there been agreement as to method or agency of administration. In the beginning the Indians were looked upon as a minority racial group to be tolerated until such time as they became extinct. Appropriations for their advancement were mere pittances until about 1870, and even then the government shirked its responsibility by turning the money over to missionaries. Under this system the moral welfare of the Indian became the chief concern of his educators.

With the Reservation Period came the boarding school theory of Indian education. Lack of advancement was thought to be the result of adult influence on their children. If the child were taken from his home, civilization and culture would be more easily acquired from the whites. The chief problem created by this type of education was not the lack of soundness of the training but the difficulties encountered by the Indian youth when he returned to his home. Adult education had not yet been recognized as advisable or possible.

The hope of advancement for the Indian was conceived to lie in the adoption of white customs and occupations. This theory is reflected in both the aims and content of a course of study for Indian schools prepared in 1901, which states:

> The aim of the course is to give the Indian child a knowledge of the English language, and to equip him with the ability to become self-supporting as speedily as possible...
>
> Hoping that better morals, a more patriotic and christian citizenship, and ability for self-support will result from

what this course of study may inspire...[3]

The course covered the following subjects:

Agriculture
Arithmetic
Baking
Basketry
Blacksmithing
Carpentry
Cooking
Dairying
Engineering
Gardening
Geography
Harness Making
History
Housekeeping
Laundrying
Music
Nature Study
Painting
Physiology
Printing
Reading, Language and sub-primary work
Sewing
Shoemaking
Spelling
Tailoring
Upholstering
Writing[4]

The course of study of 1901 was the beginning of a long period of uniform training in the government Indian schools. It was replaced in 1915 by a new, but similar, course of study, which in turn was revised in 1921. To enforce uniformity a book of Rules for the Indian Service had been published in 1900, and another in 1913. Among the regulations was one forbidding the use by government employees of any other than the English language. This rule continued in effect until 1929. A change toward a new theory of education is to be noted in the 1913 rules, which read in part: "Every Indian school in an Indian community is to be a center of positive encouragement in industrial development and physical and moral well-being."[5]

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3 Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the U. S., p. 56.

4 Ibid., passim.

5 Rules for the Indian School Service, 1913, p. 3.

Present Trends. The shift of interest to the community day school from the boarding school was a slow process until 1928. The publication of the Meriam Report[6] at that time was to revolutionize the thought concerning the Indian question. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act returned to the Indian many of the rights he had lost, as well as protected his future. The present trend in educational policies was expressed in the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior in 1935:

> Therefore it should be the aim of Indian education, at least for the next generation, to deliver Indian adolescents fully and practically prepared to make the most of their available resources, adolescents in whom the tie that binds them to their homeland has been strengthened rather than broken, Indian youths with wide horizons, bilingual, literate, yet proud of their racial heritage, to become completely self-supporting, even though going without some of the mechanical accessories of the present day.[7]

Agencies

Formal Agencies. The contribution of the mission school to the religious and educational advancement of the Indian probably exceeds that of the Government. Missionaries were working among the Indians some 300 years before the government had made any visible attempt to provide educational support for its wards. Three Franciscan friars, who later paid with their lives, Fathers Juan de la Cruz, Louis des Calona and Juan de Padilla, members of Coronado's expedition in 1540, are recognized

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6 Lewis Meriam, et al, op. cit.

7 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1935, p.129.

as the first missionaries of any importance to the American Indian.[8] Another missionary, Father Francisco Pareja of the Florida mission, wrote a Timucuan grammar about 1565; it was the first book to be printed in an Indian language. Christian missions were established among the Pueblo Indians in 1598 by the Franciscan fathers and have continued in some form almost continually until the present time. The most outstanding accomplishment of the Franciscans was the establishment, starting about 1769, of twenty-one missions in California from San Diego to San Francisco. Educational work was included in their activities.

By the opening of the 17th century the French Jesuits and the English Puritans had become as important as the Spanish Franciscans in extent of their missionary activities. The first Protestant mission and school was opened by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., on the Island of Martha's Vineyard, off the Massachusetts coast, in 1643. Three years later John Eliot began his missionary work at South Nantick, Massachusetts, where the first church for Indians only was built in 1680. By the middle of the 19th century, fifteen or more denominations were supporting missionaries among the Indian tribes. Such names as Whitman, Riggs, Williamson, and Spaulding are outstanding in connection with such activities.

Fourteen denominations were operating 923 churches, missions or chapels in 1922, with a total membership of 88,287 and a cost of $666,079, exclusive of operational costs of Catholic missions and schools. (See Table 4.) Mission schools numbered 143, and enrolled 7,262 pupils.

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8 Christian Missions Among the American Indians, Board of Indian Commissioner's Bulletin #280, p. 1-2.

TABLE 4

INDIAN MISSIONS IN 1922**

Denomination	Churches Missions Chapels	Member-ship	Annual Approp.*	Mission Schools	Enroll-ment
Catholic	485	61,456	$?	75	5,000
Baptist (Northern)	32	2,810	48,856	3	320
Congregational	17	1,178	38,021	2	225
Friends	8	107	6,250	1	56
Lutheran	8	473	?	6	360
Methodist Episcopal (N)	43	1,986	65,017	2	75
Methodist Episcopal (S)	78	2,388	50,000	1	50
Presbyterian U. S. A.	125	6,594	209,532	7	401
Presbyterian U. S.	20	636	5,009	2	137
Protestant Episcopal	93	9,526	112,695	7	270
Reformed in America	7	883	57,526	2	122
Christian Reformed	5	193	65,433	2	136
Reformed in U. S.	2	57	7,740	2	90
Independent	?	?	?	1	20
Total	923	88,287	$666,079	143	7,262

**Gustavus E. Lindquist, The Red Man in the U. S., p. 428-430.
*From figures furnished to the Home Mission Council, 1922.
?Figure incomplete or lacking.

Thompson and Mee reported 410 Protestant and 240 Catholic missionaries engaged in work among the Indians in 1923.[9] Recent statistics are not available, but since the enrollment of Indian pupils and Indian population has remained fairly constant since that time, it may be assumed that missionary work has not changed greatly in extent or denominational participation.

The Government has encouraged mission schools by contributing to their support either directly or indirectly. Of a total appropriation for Indian education of $1,364,568 in 1890, $562,640 was distributed to mission and private schools. (See Table 5.) Federal funds were apportioned to missionaries until 1897. Since that time the Government has entered into contracts with certain denominations for support of mission Indian schools. These contracts in 1939 amounted to nearly $200,000 and covered such items as food, clothing, and transportation.

The enrollment in mission and private schools has shown a steady increase since 1900, except for a minor drop in 1940. (See Table 6.) According to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1900, enrollment of Indian children in mission and private schools was 1,275, or about 4½ per cent of the total enrollment of Indian pupils in all types of schools. Between 1900 and 1910 the enrollment increased 300 per cent in comparison to an overall increase of 50 per cent. A high point of 7,245 was reached in 1945, or approximately 10 per cent of all the Indians attending school.

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9 Holland Thompson and Arthur Mee, op. cit., p. 7244.

TABLE 5

FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR MISSION AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Denomination	Appropriation		
	1890*	1900**	1939#
Roman Catholic	356,957	57,642	151,625
Presbyterian	47,650		7,350
Congregational	28,459		
Episcopal	28,476		15,750
Friends	23,383		
Mennonite	4,375		
Unitarian	5,400		
Lutheran, Wittenberg, Wis.	7,500		
Methodist	9,940		
Miss Howard	600		
Lincoln Institution	33,400	33,400	
Hampton Institution	20,040	20,040	
John Roberts		2,160	
Other			22,500
Total	562,640	113,242	197,225

*From Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890.
**From Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900.
#Lloyd E. Blauch, Educational Service for Indians, p. 66.

TABLE 6

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF INDIAN PUPILS FOR FISCAL YEARS 1880-1945

Type of School	Enrollment							
	1880*	1890**	1900**	1910**	1920**	1930**	1940#	1945#
Government	4,651	11,187	22,124	26,780	25,396	24,397	31,677	29,002
Training and Boarding		7,236						
Industrial Boarding		988						
Non-reservation Boarding			7,430	8,863	10,198	9,621	7,701	6,611
Reservation and Tribal Board.			9,604	10,765	9,433	10,571	7,048	6,746
Day (Community)		2,963	5,090	7,152	5,765	4,205	16,928	15,645
Mission and Private			1,275	4,954	5,378	7,456	6,943	7,464
Boarding (Contract and Non-contract)			1,062	4,738	4,705	7,147	4,256	3,847
Day			213	216	673	309	2,687	3,617
Contract		5,190	2,806					
Boarding		4,186	2,776					
Day		1,004	30					
Public (Contract and Non-contract)			246	2,833	30,858	34,775	35,507	31,927
Five Civilized Tribes	6,098			5,953				
Other				85	159	1,592	786	640
Total	10,749	16,377	26,451	40,595	61,791	68,220	74,913	69,033

*Report of average daily attendance from Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
**Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs
#Information furnished by Office of Indian Affairs.

Prior to 1930 the reservation and non-reservation boarding school was the popular means of Indian education. These schools were perhaps a logical solution of the Indian problem before the day of modern transportation and good roads, when the Indians were scattered over extensive, inaccessible areas. Today the boarding school is used almost exclusively for secondary and vocational education. A few of the schools still offer elementary subjects, but only where a suitable day or public school is not available to the child in his home community.

The first reservation boarding school was established in 1860 on the Yakima Reservation in Washington. The first non-reservation boarding school was opened by Capt. (later General) R. H. Pratt on an abandoned army post at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Nov. 1, 1879.[10] It was the largest, and perhaps the best known, due to the publicity received by some of its graduates. It was looked upon as an experiment, and for many years received little aid from the Government. To enable the school to keep open, many of Pratt's friends contributed to its support, and later, missionary societies gave much assistance. The school continued in operation until 1918. Among its innovations was the "outing system," under which Indians were placed in English-speaking homes, where they received a small amount of pay for farm work, or rendering assistance to the trade in which the adult of the home happened to be engaged. In this manner it was thought that the Indian would acquire a more fluent use of English and more quickly become familiar with white ways of living.

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10 Lawrence F. Schmeckbier, op. cit., p. 198.

By 1880 boarding schools had increased to 60. (See Table 7.) In the period 1880 to 1890, eighty new boarding schools were opened, while day schools were reduced by three. From 1890 to 1930 there was no noticeable increase in the number of boarding schools. The recognition of the day school as a valuable means of education caused the boarding schools to be cut from 130 in 1930 to forty-nine in 1940, with only one having been opened since that time.

The enrollment in federal boarding schools doubled between 1890 and 1900, as all enrollment was stimulated by the enactment of more rigid attendance laws. (See Table 6.) For the next thirty years there was only a slight increase in enrollment. A peak of 20,192 was reached in 1930, which constituted about 29 per cent of the total Indian school enrollment. Although total enrollment increased 10 per cent between 1930 and 1940, enrollment in the boarding schools declined 21 per cent, largely as the result of increased facilities of the day schools. The war resulted in a slight decline in all enrollment. The Indian's increased interest in education may result in future stabilization of attendance in the boarding school, which now has justified its existence through the secondary and vocational nature of its curriculum.

The federal boarding school has undergone many changes since its origin. Early criticism concerning health conditions, low standards of teaching, and maladjustment of the returned student, was no doubt justified, but the evils complained of have now been remedied to a great extent. The school plants compare favorably with those of a modern high school or a small college. The curriculum is flexible to meet the needs of the locality and the group. Enrollment is about equally divided

TABLE 7

FEDERAL INDIAN SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS, 1880-1945

Year	Type of School		Number Teachers
	Boarding	Day	
1880*	60	109	338
1890*	140	106	1,815
1900*	153	154	2,175
1910*	158	227	2,526
1920*	143	204	2,443
1930**	130	164	1,579
1940#	49	222	1,214##
1945#	50	215	###

*Data from Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

**Data from Statistical Summary of Education, 1931-32, p. 8.

#Information furnished by Office of Indian Affairs.

##School term 1941-42.

###No figures available.

between the reservation and non-reservation schools; the latter, however, have achieved more prominence. The largest schools of this type are Sherman Institute, Riverside California; Chilocco Agricultural School, Oklahoma; Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas; and others at Albuquerque, New Mexico; Stewart, Nevada; Chemawa, Oregon; Phoenix, Arizona; and Flandreau, South Dakota. (See Table 8.) Great emphasis is being placed on training in agriculture at most of these schools. They also offer training in the trades and industries of the local areas, home economics,

TABLE 8

NON-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1890, 1923, 1940

Location and Name of School	Date of Opening	Enrollment 1890*	1923**	1940#
Carlisle, Pa.	Nov. 1, 1879	1,080		
Chemawa, Oregon	Feb. 25, 1880	453	650	450
Chilocco, Okla.	Jan. 15, 1884	397	550	650
Genoa, Nebr.	Feb. 20, 1884	408	400	
Albuquerque, New Mexico	August, 1884	328	474	600
Lawrence, Kan. (Haskell)	Sept. 1, 1884	700	800	625
Grand Junction, Col.	1886	183		
Santa Fe, New Mexico	October, 1890	380	400	400
Fort Mohave, Ariz.	October, 1890	165	200	
Stewart, Nev. (Carson)	December, 1890	170	375	525
Pierre, S. Dak.	February, 1891	158	250	300
Phoenix, Arizona	September, 1891	686	700	450
Fort Lewis, Col.	March, 1892	412		
Fort Shaw, Mont.	Dec. 27, 1892	294		
Perris, Cal.	Jan. 9, 1893	205		
Flandreau, S. Dak.	Mar. 7, 1893	279	360	450
Pipestone, Minn.	Feb., 1893	118	212	300
Mount Pleasant, Mich.	Jan. 3, 1893	230	350	
Tomah, Wis.	Jan. 19, 1893	189	275	
Wittenberg, Wis.	Aug. 24, 1895	109		
Greenville, Cal.	Sept. 25, 1895	83	90	
Morris, Minn.	Apr. 3, 1897	156		
Chamberlain, S. Dak.	March, 1898	104		
Fort Bidewell, Cal.	Apr. 4, 1898	58		
Rapid City, S. Dak.	Sept. 1, 1898	85	300	
Fort Totten, N. Dak.			323	
Bismark, N. Dak.			80	
Wahpeton, N. Dak.			200	300
Riverside, Cal. (Sherman Institute)			800	650
Ardmore, Okla. (CarterSeminary)				165
Sapulpa, Okla. (Euchee)			125	140
Eufaula, Okla.			112	140
Hartshorne, Okla. (Jones Academy)			100	175
Millerton, Okla. (Wheelock Academy)			100	130
Tahlequah, Okla. (Sequoyah Orphan's Training)				350

*Data from Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, p. 116.

**Gustavus E. Lindquist, The Red Man in the U. S., p. 421.

#Lloyd E. Blauch, Educational Service for Indians, p. 63, (estimated enrollment for 1940).

and the commercial subjects. To make the Indian eventually self-supporting, whether he chooses to remain at home or moves to industrial areas, seems to be the most important objective of the training now offered in the boarding schools.

The community day school is now recognized as the leading federal agency of Indian education, except for certain types of specialized training. Its origin is not definitely known, but it is likely that the missionary-teachers first used it as a means of instruction. With the change from government subsidized Indian mission schools to federal schools in the 70's, day schools were continued but became the object of much controversy.

Official government reports give an interesting picture of the day-school movement. A report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for 1871 states: "The day schools are a total or comparative failure in nearly every instance known to members of the board."[11] The Secretary of the Interior in 1880 also expressed deep concern over the failure of the day schools:

> ...Day schools upon the Indian reservations have, in many respects proved an insufficient agency for the education of the Indian youth. The simple reason is that they do not withdraw the pupils from the influence of their home surroundings in such a manner as to facilitate a change in their habits of daily life.[12]

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[11] Third Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, p. 11.

[12] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1880, p. 7.

A speech by Superintendent C. L. Davis, in 1896, indicates that some sincere employees had commenced to see the possibilities of the day school:

> The Indian day school, assisted by an efficient field matron, is the most effective means of preparing the race for citizenship, because it is nearest the home; it is like their future school; it influences the family and the whole people; it keeps the children in touch with the affairs of their own community; it makes adequate return for the expenditure; it also prepares material for higher institutions.[13]

The same sentiment was expressed in 1905: "In view of the important work of the day schools in familiarizing the Indian child with school routine, giving him a working knowledge of English, and even preliminary knowledge in agriculture and the other industries, it is believed that their number should be increased."[14] In spite of the recommendations of the educational leaders in the Indian service, the importance of the day school was not generally accepted until after the Meriam Survey, 1926-1928.

The federal Indian day school, giving instruction from grades 1-6, and in some cases 1-9, resembles the rural public school. However, it is more vocational in nature and plays a more important part in community life. The school is usually under the jurisdiction of a teacher and housekeeper, a man and his wife if possible, and may have other teachers as the needs demand. In addition to formal instruction, the school activities include home economics work in the preparation of the noon lunch, sewing, the care and operation of the school farm of up to 100 acres, and also the health and welfare of the adult Indians of the

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[13] W. N. Hailmann, Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, p. 114.

[14] Estelle Reel, Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, p. 19.

community. School shops and other facilities are constantly available for community use.

Government disregard of its responsibility for Indian education, prior to the enactment of the compulsory attendance law of 1891,[15] is reflected in the attendance of day schools as well as other types of schools. In 1890 only 2,963 Indian children, or about 18 per cent of the total school enrollment, were enrolled in federal day schools. (See Table 6.) This percentage remained the same until 1920, at which time the day-school enrollment had fallen to only 9 per cent of the total school enrollment. During the following decade the enrollment fell to a low of 4,205 or about 6 per cent of the total school enrollment. Between 1930 and 1940, following publication of the Meriam Report and subsequent legislation, day-school attendance increased almost 300 per cent. There were 109 day schools reported in 1880 and by 1910 they had increased to 227. (See Table 7.) The decline in day-school enrollment caused sixty-three of these to be closed by 1930. Since that time the trend is again upward, with 215 being reported for 1945, seventeen of these temporarily closed by lack of personnel.

There were no complete high-school courses offered in the federal Indian schools until 1921, although in some instances the curriculum extended through the 10th grade. Since that time there has been considerable growth in this field of education. There is now in process of development on the larger reservations, what is known as the Reservation Vocational High School. It may be of either the day or boarding type, or

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15 26 Stat L, 989 (1891).

a combination of both, depending upon the size of the area to be serviced and the transportation facilities. The objectives and work-experience curriculum of each school are determined by local needs.

Two outstanding examples of the new school are the Oglala Community High School on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, and the Wingate Vocational High School at Wingate, New Mexico. The cultural background of the Sioux in one case and the Navajo in the other, are even more different than their geographical locations. The Oglala project involves all the activities related to the care of a large herd of beef cattle. Students alternate on the range in three-week periods, where the work is correlated with formal school work. They also make a practical study of other agricultural endeavors, such as horticulture, poultry, and goat raising. Encouragement is given to art and craft work. The Wingate School is making a soil conservation study on its eighteen thousand-acre school farm, with an application of the results to the farms from which the children come. The ancient and honorable crafts of rug weaving and metal working are being revived and developed from native resources in an effort to improve the economic conditions of the Navajos. Modifications of this type of training are being conducted in other high schools.

The part that the public school was to play in Indian education was predicted as early as 1900 when Commissioner Jones, in his annual report, said:

> Believing that the true purpose of the government in its dealings with the Indians is to develop them into self-supporting, self-reliant, intelligent and patriotic citizens, and believing that the public schools are the most effective means of Americanizing our foreign population, I am desirous

of bringing the Indian school system into relation with those of the public school.[16]

The public-school movement in Indian education had begun in 1890, when Commissioner Morgan contacted several of the states relative to enrolling Indians in the public schools. It was not until 1891, however, that seven children were enrolled. By 1900 the enrollment of Indian children in public schools had increased to 246. (See Table 6.) During the next ten years the enrollment increased to 2,833, and by 1920 had reached 30,858, or about 50 per cent of the total enrollment of Indians in all types of schools. Only a slight increase was registered in the public-school attendance of Indians between 1920 and 1940. Annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs list the school enrollment of the Five Civilized Tribes at 6,098 in 1880 and 5,955 in 1910, Inasmuch as these tribes have maintained their own public school system for the past 150 years, it can be assumed that their enrollment is included in the public school enrollment for the period 1920-1945. The drop in public-school attendance between 1940 and 1945 was caused by war conditions resulting in the entry of Indian youth into the armed forces and war industries.

Increased enrollment of Indian children in the public schools would indicate that the public school was the answer to the Indian problem. In many instances, however, it has not proven advantageous to either the Indian or the State. Sparsely settled white communities near reservations have been unable to support high standards of education for their own

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16 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900, p. xiv.

children, and assuming responsibility for Indian pupils would only increase their burden. Likewise, the programs of these schools are ill-suited to the needs of the Indian child and carry no provision for adult education. Some progress is being made toward adapting the public school to the requirements of Indian communities, and the time may come when the State will be obligated to care for Indian education as it does for the education of other racial groups.

As has been stated, the chief handicap to the education of Indian children in the public school has been the lack of funds. With few exceptions, the main source of revenue for State support of public schools is derived from tax on property. Much of the Indian land is non-taxable, hence, if an adequate program is to be provided, the State or Federal Government would be obligated to supply the principal part of the funds from other sources. The Johnson-O'Malley Act, approved April 16, 1934, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior

> ...To enter into a contract or contracts with any state or Territory, or political subdivision thereof or with any state university, college or school, or with any appropriate state or private corporation, agency or institution, for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare, including relief of distress, of Indians in such state or Territory, through the agencies of the State or Territory or of the corporations and organizations heretofore named, and to expend under such contract or contracts, moneys appropriated for the education...of Indians in such State or Territory.[17]

Although the tuition of the child of one-fourth or more Indian blood will be paid by the Government, if his parents have no taxable land,

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17 48 Stat L, 596 (1934).

several deterring factors exist in the law. The money available is directly dependent upon congressional appropriations, which may be delayed in a maze of red tape. At the present time three states and 616 local school districts are under contract for education of Indian children.[18] Contracts have been on the basis of actual per capita cost of the educational program currently in effect. Costs thus vary in accordance with the type of program indorsed by the state or available in a given school district. Equalization of educational opportunity, and provision of a program that will meet the Indians' need, will not be available until appropriations are materially increased.

No college or university for the exclusive use of the Indian has ever been established. The federal government has held to the belief that existing institutions were adequate for the purpose. Proportionally, very few Indians continue their education beyond the secondary level. For those who need help, there are four classes of aid available: education loans, tuition payments, scholarships, and provision of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 as amended (the G. I. Bill of Rights). The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was the first act to give extensive aid for education.[19] Under its provisions $50,000 annually was made available for a revolving loan fund to Indians for vocational, trade, high-school or higher education. The experience and training gained by the Indians who served in the armed forces will no doubt serve

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18 The Encyclopedia Americana, 1945, Vol. 15, p. 64.

19 48 Stat L, 984 (1934).

as an incentive for many of them to continue their education under the G. I. Bill. To facilitate college entrance for the Indian, the Government should take steps to provide instruction at the secondary level which will meet college requirements, as well as the requirements of accrediting agencies. Federally supported Indian schools of the junior-college level at centralized points would offer encouragement to the Indian youth and help bridge the gap between secondary and higher education.

A number of factors are making higher education of more importance to the Indian than previously. The return of self-government to the tribes will create a need for leaders who understand the problems that will arise in Indian administration. The technical and highly industrialized age to which the Indian will have to adjust, necessitates a broader knowledge than ever before. The policy of the Government to place Indians in responsible positions within the Indian Service, as rapidly as they are qualified, offers a goal toward which the young Indian should direct his efforts. Never has he had a better change to improve himself personally or to be of more assistance to his people.

Indirect Agencies. In the promotion of health education the Medical Division of the Indian Service has contributed much to the advancement of the race. The problems that have been faced in this work can be better understood by an examination of the Indian's cultural background in relation to existing health problems. For centuries the Indian has looked upon disease as being the result of evil spirits, or violation of some of the taboos of the race. The only cure with which he was familiar, before the arrival of the white man, was the services of the priest or medicine

man. In the spring he used the sweat bath, and occasionally he concocted remedies from herbs and bark, but the germ theory of disease was, and still is, almost foreign to him. The Indian's reluctance to accept modern theories of medicine and sanitation is typical of that to be found among any uniformed group, regardless of race. He believes only what he sees, what he has experienced, or what his friends have experienced. His response to faith and proper psychological approach is just the same as the white man's. The white doctor is no better than the medicine man unless he produces better results.

There has been improvement in the general health of the Indian race, but much still remains to be done. There is evidence to show that aboriginal tribes were stronger physically than the present tribes. Changes in diet, conditions of living, and contact with the white man, have greatly reduced the Indian's resistance to disease. Poverty and ignorance nearly always result in lowered standards of health. Legislation has been enacted to improve the economic condition of the Indian, and schools have done a commendable job, but as yet the health practices of the home are far from satisfactory. A continuous program of adult health education will be necessary to secure desired results.

The obstacles to better medical service for the Indian have been disinterest of members of the medical profession, lack of funds, and lack of qualified personnel. The first appropriation for medical service to the Indian was in 1832, for providing vaccination for smallpox.[20] A limited amount of medical attention was provided by army physicians to those

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[20] 4 Stat L, 514 (1832).

Indians located near army posts. All in all the government showed little medical concern for the Indians prior to 1900, at which time there were approximately 100 medical personnel working among them, including physicians, nurses, hospital employees, and field matrons. A division of medicine had been established in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1873 but it was abolished four years later and not revived until 1909. The same year an appropriation of $12,000 was made by Congress for the investigation, treatment, and prevention of trachoma among the Indians.[21] In 1910, $40,000 was appropriated, "To enable the President to relieve distress among the Indians and to provide for their care and for the treatment of tuberculosis, trachoma, smallpox and other contagious and infectious diseases, including the purchase of vaccine and expense of vaccination."[22] Since that time appropriations have consistently increased until they totaled more than five million dollars in 1940. Medical service to the Indians was seriously limited after the outbreak of World War II. The Government in 1945 was operating seventy-seven hospitals and sanitoria with a bed capacity of 4,064, in addition to medical service financed in state, county, and private hospitals.[23]

Tuberculosis, trachoma, and venereal disease still exact a heavy toll from the Indian population, even with physical examination of school pupils, improved medical facilities, and health education. Infant mortality is also exceedingly high, with 24 per cent of all Indian deaths

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21 Stat L, 642 (1909).

22 36 Stat L, 271 (1910).

23 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1945, p. 247.

occuring before the age of one year as compared to 8 per cent for the United States as a whole.[24] The fatalistic attitude of the Indian has made it difficult to obtain accurate statistics on tuberculosis until it has reached an advanced stage. It is estimated, however, that the tuberculosis rate among Indians is ten times higher than it is among whites.[25] A check of 40,000 Indians in 1912 showed 23 per cent suffering from trachoma although it has now been cut to 5 per cent.[26] The recent experiments of Dr. Fred Lobe, of the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota, with the use of sulpha drugs in the treatment of trachoma is a major contribution to medical science. Venereal disease continues to be a difficult problem to combat among the Indians as it is among the whites. Other contributing factors to the poor health condition of the Indians have been mentioned, but in many instances the problem is one of ignorance. It can be remedied only by the sincere interest and co-operation of the medical service, teaching staffs, and all others in charge of any phase of Indian administration.

As a means of improving the economic status of the Indian, assistance has been given to him by the various Extension activities of the Government. The theory of subsidization that was followed for so many years has at last given way to one in which the Indian is being encouraged to make the best use of his resources and his own initiative. Due

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24 J. G. Townsend, "Indian Health, Past, Present and Future," In: Oliver LaFarge, op. cit., p. 33.

25 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1930, p. 92.

26 "Trachoma Can Be Cured," Indian Education, (Oct. 1, 1944).

to the location of the reservations, it has been estimated that only about one-eighth of the Indians could support themselves by farming; the pathway to independence for the others lies in stock raising.[27]

The Director of the Division of Extension and Industry, of the Office of Indian Affairs, heads the organization for the administration of this phase of service. He is assisted in the field by a corps of agriculture extension agents, home extension agents, farm agents, farmers, stockmen, dairymen, farm aides, and home aides. Owing to lack of personnel, not all reservations and agencies are reached by the extension workers. Since they constitute one of the most valuable means of adult education, it is hoped that more people can be trained for this type of work.

The demands on the extension worker vary in accordance with the needs of the various communities. He may be called upon to assist in the organization of functional farm groups of Indians, to assist in setting up irrigation units, or to suggest and demonstrate the best methods of farming and livestock raising; he may also assist in the improvement of marketing methods. The home extension agent works with groups of Indian women, where possible, in the best methods of food preparation and preservation, improvement of home sanitation, infant care, and the care and making of clothing. Both boarding and day schools co-operate in the promotion of extension activities and, in the absence of extension agents, do much of the same type of work among the Indians.

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27 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1945, p. 239.

The promotion of 4-H Clubs among Indian youth have met with success. Enrollment in these clubs has increased from 3,871 in 1932 to 12,916 in 1944.[28] Their chief value lies in the development of native leadership, which is highly desired if the Indian is to assume his proper place in American society.

Another recent attempt to assist the Indian in becoming self-supporting is the encouragement given to the development of his arts and crafts. Although the Indian failed to develop written speech without the aid of the white man, his history was beautifully recorded in his handiwork long before the arrival of his conquerors. Originating purely from necessity, his products display outstanding ability with respect to both their aesthetic and utilitarian value. They include basketry, bead work, carving, furniture making, porcupine quill work, pottery work, shell work, metal work (especially silver), spinning and weaving. The Indian's meager knowledge of marketing and finance, and his impoverished condition, caused him to lose his initiative and ability. Through school and adult programs of education an effort is being made to revive and develop the Indian's arts and crafts from native resources.

The Government became interested in the problem in 1935 and appointed "The Indian Arts and Crafts Board," composed of five commissioners who serve without pay and whose duties are:

> ...To promote the economic welfare of the tribes and the Indian wards of the Government through the development of Indians arts and crafts and the expansion of the market for the products of Indian art and craftsmanship. In the exe-

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28 Ibid., p. 241.

> cution of this function the board shall have the following powers: (a) To undertake market research to determine the best opportunity for the sale of various products; (b) to engage in technical research and give technical advice and assistance; (c) to engage in experimentation directly or through selected agencies; (d) to correlate and encourage the activities of the various government and private agencies in the field; (e) to offer assistance in the management of operating groups for the furtherance of specific projects; (f) to make recommendations to appropriate agencies for loans in the furtherance of the production and sale of Indian products; (g) to create government trademarks of genuineness and quality for Indian products and the products of particular tribes or groups; to establish standards and regulations for the use of such trademarks; to license corporations, associations, or individuals to use them; and to charge a fee for their use; to register them in the United States Patent Office without charge;...(i) as a Government agency to negotiate and execute in its own name contracts with operating groups to supply management, personnel, and supervision at cost, and to negotiate and execute in its own name such other contracts and to carry on such other business as may be necessary for the accomplishment of the Board....[29]

The work of the Arts and Crafts Board has been highly successful. Through the sponsoring of exhibits and publications it has attempted to increase public interest in genuine Indian products. Surveys have been conducted to determine production costs and improved methods of production, with a view toward establishment of additional production centers. The roadside market, limited in interest and returns, is being replaced where possible by larger city markets with greater possibilities. The future will likely see more improvements in production and marketing of Indian products.

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[29] 49 Stat L, 891, 892 (1935).

The Civilian Conservation Corps, created in April 1933, was expanded on June 19, 1934, to include an Indian Division.[30] No group of people ever needed the benefits of this type more than did the Indian. The lands of some of the reservations, varying in size from a few acres to millions of acres, some of the worst land in the United States, were to be materially benefited by the CCC program. The social and economic standards were, likewise, to be improved.

The current and future value of the various projects is beyond estimation, and equally important, but far less publicized, was the human element of conservation. The development of good work habits, improved mental and physical well-being, and economic security, were far-reaching in their effects. The CCC educational program included both on- and off-the-job training; instruction in formal subjects; first-aid and sanitation; cooking and baking; care and maintenance of hand tools and equipment; and such other courses as were requested under the optional program offered. Both the public and federal Indian schools could profit by the methods, experience, and results of the CCC program.

Supervisory and Teaching Staffs

Number and Division. The history of federal schools in the Indian Service has been one of repeated change. The pioneer and missionary spirit that attracted teachers to the Service usually failed to last any great length of time. As in the public schools, the women have outnumbered

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30 48 Stat L, 1021, 1056 (1934).

the men in the teaching positions on reservations. The greatest increase in teachers was between 1880 and 1890, when the boarding school movement was at its height. (See Table 7.) During that period the number of teachers increased from 338 to 1,815. There were gradual increases in staffs until 1910, when a record number of 2,526 was reached. Between 1920 and 1930 there was a sharp decline in the number of teachers in Indian schools. The Office of Indian Affairs reports 360 men and 854 women employed for the school year 1941-42. There is indication that the trend in the future will be toward fewer teachers, with increased teacher-pupil load, as the result of consolidation and general improvement of school facilities.

Selection. Very little attention was paid to the qualifications of teaching personnel in the Indian Service prior to 1900. Of the 2,175 school employees listed at that time, 1,080 were white and 695 were Indian. Annual salaries ranged from $100 to $2,000.[31] This may give some clue to the lack of training. In 1891, the Secretary of the Interior, by direction of the President, classified Indian Service employees under the Civil Service Act; the changes did not become effective, however, until March 1, 1892.[32] Since that time teachers in the Indian Service have been selected from rosters established by the Civil Service Commission. These rosters are made up from non-assembled competitive examinations.

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31 17th Report of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, 1901, p. 534.

32 Ibid., p. 534.

Training and Background. The Indian Service has been unattractive to well qualified teachers because of low salaries, the unfavorable conditions under which they are forced to work and live, and the great responsibility placed upon them. Meriam's Study in 1928 disclosed that the uniform salary of $1,200 for the elementary teacher was very low in comparison to a median of $2,000 in fifty-nine cities studied by the NEA in 1926. Principals and high-school teachers in Indian schools were receiving $1,560 at that time as compared to a median of $3,000 in the fifty-nine cities.[33] Annual entrance salaries for the elementary level are now $1,620, for the high-school teacher $1,800, and for administrative positions $2,000 to $4,600.[34] New teachers are required to have four years of college work. Contrary to the practice in many federal positions there is no maximum limit in hours of employment for the teacher in the Indian Service. Even leaves of absence are subject to the discretion of the jurisdiction superintendent. All of these conditions tend to lower the morale of present employees and discourage the entrance of new ones.

The Civil Service has given additional security to the teacher but at the same time has created certain weaknesses. There is a tendency on the part of individuals to discontinue professional advancement, once permanence of position is assured. Thus the new teacher, who enters the service on a temporary basis, with higher qualifications, ofttimes draws the same or less salary than the permanent employee with less training.

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33 Lewis Meriam, et al, op. cit., p. 360.

34 Encyclopedia Americana, 1945, op. cit.

The new teacher may be supervised by a person with less training, and the jurisdiction superintendent, whose decision on all problems is final, may even be more undertrained. Dissatisfaction by either of the parties concerned usually results in a transfer, which only complicates the problem.

The success of the educational program of the Indian Service has been seriously impeded by this frequent "turnover" of teachers and other employees. Meriam visited an eight-room school in 1927 where there had been twenty-six teachers in the preceeding seven months, ten different teachers in one room, and only two of the rooms with the same teacher that had started the term.[35] There have been instances of teachers not even unpacking when they discovered the conditions under which they would have to work. While drastic changes have occured in many of the schools since the Meriam study, there are other schools where conditions remain much the same.

A completely remodeled and continuous in-service training program, and a revised employee rating system, would do much toward correcting existing deficiencies. This training would be required periodically of all employees regardless of position, and would work from the top down, rather than being given for subordinate employees. Supervising personnel would be required to demonstrate their ability in personnel administration to retain their positions, or take the necessary steps to improve their knowledge and skill. New teachers would be correctly advised of the problems and conditions of the Indian Service before final

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35 Lewis Meriam, et al, op. cit., p. 360-361.

selection was made, and would be sufficiently oriented before assignment to duty. The practice of granting "Educational Leave"[36] entirely for the convenience of the Service and at the option of the local superintendent is highly undesirable. Existing regulations of the Indian Service relative to such leave would be revised to give the employee consideration and choice in his training, and amended to make such leave cumulative . Until such time as the teacher in the Indian Service is given professional recognition, instead of being subjected to innumerable unfair restrictions, low standards can be expected to obtain.

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36 U. S. Department of the Interior, Manual for the Indian School Service, 1941, p. 86-87.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

More than four centuries have elapsed since the Indian's first contact with his conquerors. Since that time his struggles, even for life itself, have been bitter and, in most cases, have resulted in dire consequences. Mutual lack of understanding between the Indian and the white man has been the chief barrier to the advancement of the one, and resulted in a costly series of experiments in administration to the other. Slowly an improved attitude is developing, and with patient and intelligent future management, a serious racial problem may be solved.

Summary

The Indian's Heritage. While the mystery in which their historical background is shrouded leaves much for conjecture, it is now generally conceded by ethnologists that the Indians possessed a variety of cultures in many stages of development at the time of the discovery of America. These cultures were greatly influenced by the geographical areas in which the tribes lived. In some instances there may have been common characteristics to the Indian cultures, but at the same time wide variation existed in languages, customs, and beliefs. The failure of the white man to give consideration to this difference in cultural background has made the administration of the Indian more difficult than it otherwise would have been.

The Indian seems to have been living a very normal life previous to the arrival of the white man. His problems were largely the result of biological needs. He lived close to nature because nature provided his food, his clothing, his shelter, as well as furnishing him with a basis for his religion. Then, as now, there were many things in nature that could not be explained and to these the Indian attached spiritual significance. While these beliefs did not coincide with those of the white man, they met a need which is a desirable characteristic of any religion.

Racial problems, previously unknown, became very apparent after the influx of the first settlers. Environmental changes and introduction of new diseases were tragic in their effects on the Indian. Unscrupulous and avaricious traders also threatened disaster to the economic system of the natives, who up until this time had found bartering a satisfactory method of trade. The disputes resulting from unfair business practices often led to more serious problems. Even if the Indian tried to adopt white standards, he was not accepted as an equal, and at the same time became an outcast from his people. The organization of tribes to resist encroachment on land or privileges, resulted in their methodical destruction. Thus the Indian was faced with complete extinction or acceding to the demands of his conquerors. As Shapiro states, "There is more than paradox in the fact that the American Indian has become an alien in the country once his by possession. And more than irony in the fact that he is looked upon as a racial problem where his ancestors reigned supreme."[1]

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[1] H. L. Shapiro, "The Mixed Blood Indian," In: Oliver LaFarge, op. cit., p. 19.

Results of Military and Civil Control. The Indian has been subjected to three policies by the government: (1) the policy of subjugation, (2) the policy of isolation, (3) the policy of amalgamation by education. Prior to 1871, when the reservation achieved importance as an administrative unit, the Indian had been controlled either by force of arms, or appeasement by treaties. Either method was expensive, as it has been estimated that it cost the government almost a million dollars for each Indian killed, and payments are still being made under the provisions of many treaties. Failure to gain desired results by either of the methods cited, resulted in the isolation of Indian groups on reservations, where it was thought that they could be more easily controlled. Lack of trained personnel and political corruption further retarded the progress of the Indian, already hampered by the unproductive locations of the reservations. In the last decade there has been an attempt to hasten amalgamation of the Indian with the white population by education, and by improvement of his economic status through a revival of his arts and crafts and assistance in the development of his resources. It is highly desirable that the latter policy should not be injuriously affected by future changes of political administration.

The transfer of Indian administration from the War Department to the Department of the Interior in 1849 caused little or no changes in policy for many years. Grant was one of the first to realize the seriousness of the Indian problem, but his "Peace Policy" of 1869 failed to have lasting benefits. The Allotment Act of 1887, that was to be the immediate salvation of the Indian, swept away nearly two-thirds of his resources in less than fifty years. The Meriam Survey of 1926-1928 was the first, and

perhaps the most important, organized effort to analyze conditions among the Indians. Its recommendations resulted in drastic changes in Indian administration and exerted strong influence on later legislation, particularly the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This Act has probably contributed more to Indian advancement than all previous legislation.

Educational Progress. Contrary to prevailing opinion, the Indian has proven amenable to sincere religious and educational influences. From 1540 until about 1900, the missionary, with government sanction, played an important part in educating the Indian. Concurrently with the reservation policy was the development of the boarding school theory of education. This proved a failure except for certain types of specialized education. Starting in 1901, the public school has increased in importance as an agency of Indian education, until it now provides instruction for more pupils than government schools. The community day school, the hope of the Indian people, was forced to struggle for an existence until as late as 1930. Since that time the progress of the Indian has been rapid.

The government's interest, or lack of interest, in Indian education is reflected in its appropriations for that purpose. Starting with an annual appropriation of $10,000 in 1919, appropriations had increased to only $100,000 in 1870. The rest of the money necessary for conducting a program of education was supplied by the Indian himself or by religious denominations. In 1880, $249,299 was expended by the government for operation of schools for Indians. (See Table 9.) Since that time

TABLE 9

INDIAN POPULATION, SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR EDUCATION, 1880-1945

Year	Population[1]	School Enrollment[2]	Appropriation
1880	322,534	10,749	$ 249,299[3]
1890	248,253	16,377	1,364,568[3]
1900	270,544	26,451	2,936,080[3]
1910	304,950	40,595	3,757,909[3]
1920	336,337	61,791	4,922,325[3]
1930	332,397	68,220	9,173,500[4]
1940	333,969	74,913	10,476,000[5]
1945	400,000*	69,033	9,793,870[6]

*Estimate of the Secretary of the Interior (includes Alaska).

[1]See Table 1, p. 8.

[2]See Table 6, p. 61.

[3]Data from Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

[4]Annual Report of the Department of the Interior.

[5]From Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1941, p. 186.

[6]Information furnished by Office of Indian Affairs.

appropriations have continued to increase until they totalled $9,793,870 in 1945. This figure is about 50 per cent higher per Indian pupil than the average per pupil cost for the United States as a whole. However, the government in many instances furnishes food, clothing and housing for the Indian children while they are attending school. The present trend is

toward increased interest on the part of, and enrollment of, Indians in all types of schools.

Personnel Factors. The lack of competent personnel in the administration of his affairs retarded the Indian's progress to a marked degree. Originally the army was charged with maintaining order and conducting what little business was necessary with the Indian. After the establishment of reservations, jurisdiction superintendents were often selected from lists of retired army officers. When large quantities of supplies began to be furnished the Indian, appointments flourished and changed under the "spoils system." The classification of Indian Service employees under the Civil Service Act in 1891 resulted in improvement of personnel, but in many cases assured permanence to persons with low qualifications. This condition continues to exist, and coupled with low salaries, great responsibility, and unfavorable working conditions, offers little incentive to present employees and discourages the entrance of new employees into the Indian Service.

Conclusions

The Factor of Individual Differences. Meriam's statement in 1928 that, "The first and foremost need in Indian education is a change in point of view,"[2] continues to be an appropriate principle which many of those in the Indian Service could follow. The theory that conformity, and uniformity of curriculum, will bring the desired results, has proved

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[2] Lewis Meriam, et al, op. cit., p. 32.

fallacious. The diversified culture patterns of Indian tribes necessitate a program of training that will give consideration to individual differences of tribes, and of individual members within tribes. Such a program would of necessity be determined by the ability, resources, interests, and vocational and social needs of the race, in proper perspective to the American way of life.

Indian Culture Versus White Culture. An unbiased study of the Indian will show that his culture has developed in the same way as any other culture, the combined result of centuries of traditions, customs, beliefs, and controls. Although they do not conform to those of his white conquerors, they merit respect and consideration. The merging of Indian and white cultures, if successful, will be the result of gradual change based on mutual understanding.

One of the chief barriers to a more rapid change in the educational thought of the Indian has been language difficulties. From the beginning of government interest in education until 1929, the use of other than English was forbidden to employees of the Indian Service. Textbooks and methods in federal Indian schools were patterned after those of the American public school and proved unfamiliar and uninteresting to the Indian child. It has been estimated that even today not more than half of the Indian children enrolled in federal schools use English as a native language, only about 30 per cent are bilingual and no English is spoken in at least 15 per cent of the homes.[3] Recent experiments with books written in native tongue, and use of local source material, have

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[3] Willard Beatty, Indian Education (March 1-15, 1946).

proven very successful. Such a program should be expanded in all Indian schools, particularly at the lower elementary level.

Preparation for Effective Citizenship. Although the Indians by heritage are pure Americans, the government has continued to treat them as wards or aliens. Many Indians still have never fulfilled the requirements set up in the Citizenship Act of 1924. History indicates that much difference of opinion has existed with respect to the prerequisites of citizenship for the Indian. For many years citizenship was bestowed upon the Indian who gave up his rights or resources as the result of force or provisions of skillfully worded treaties. Later his children were sent to boarding schools remote from their homes, where they were trained for citizenship by required courses which discredited their native culture and trained them in trades that were to prove useless later. The Allotment Act of 1887 gave back to the Indian 160 acres of his own land, ofttimes worthless, on which he was to become a substantial self-supporting citizen, without training or assistance. Finally, by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, an attempt was made to rectify previous errors, protect the Indian's resources, and offer him concrete assistance in regaining his position in society. Assisting him also is the community day school, remodeled to offer vocational training common to respective areas. To assure the Indian that his political and economic interests will be properly administered, local self-government is encouraged in the form of tribal councils, whose charters are approved by the government. The response of the Indian under this new policy has been inspiring.

Importance of Adult Education. Trends in Indian education have been swayed by prevailing theories of administration. As in the traditional public school, education of Indian youth has often been looked upon as an end in itself. Failure of a given type or agency of education to have lasting results has often been wrongfully blamed on the Indian, without a check to determine reasons for ineffectiveness. Education has been further retarded by the prejudices and conservative attitude of the adult Indians, particularly the women, who seem to revert to type much quicker than the men. In many instances well-trained youth, upon return to their people, have been unable to combat adult tribal pressure against adoption of improved standards of living. An intensified program of adult education toward home improvement, and the development of additional opportunities for both parents and children, would be of inestimable value.

The Development of a Self-supporting Race. One of the main objectives of Indian education is the development of a self-supporting race. Time has demonstrated the failure of the "wardship" system of subsidization. It has led to loss of initiative and eventual pauperism, with all the attending evils of poverty. Emphasis thus must be placed on a type of training that will assist the Indian in the development of his own resources, improve his manner of living, and simplify his adjustment to the demands of society. Vocational training assumes a more important role at the upper elementary and secondary level than in the typical American public school. Above all, it must be well-adapted to the area that it is to serve. The community day school has proven the most effective and simplest method of providing suitable educational opportunities for the Indian because of the similiarity in needs of the small group

it serves. The problem becomes increasingly difficult in large reservation or non-reservation schools, representing a diversity of cultures and tribes. However, these schools may be well suited to many forms of specialized education. If Indian education, as other education, is conceded to be preparation for life, it will be based on the common needs in proper relationship to the needs of the dominant group of which the Indian is a part.

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