The American Indian;
A Study in Race Education

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN: A STUDY IN RACE EDUCATION

BY

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

WILLIAM ADELBERT COOK

ENTITLED THE AMERICAN INDIAN: A STUDY IN RACE EDUCATION

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

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In Charge of Major Work
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

Committee on Final Examination
The attention of the writer was first directed to the subject in hand by the necessity under which he happened to fall of looking up the present industrial movement in education in so far as it had permeated our national task of instructing the Indian. A number of interesting educational questions of theory and practice at once suggested themselves as the possible outgrowth of our experience in dealing with this dependent people. Interest was aroused to examine further the general and particular problems in this case because of the relation we sustain to two other national wards, the negro and the Filipino, who present a political enigma in some respects analogous to, and in other quite distinct from that of the Indian.

An attempt will be made to enter upon this subject without any preconceived notions of the outcome. It is the intention to avoid the frequent, and, until recent years, almost universal habit of "geometrical" investigation, whereby an author states his theorem openly, or at least has it definitely in mind from the very beginning, and then proceeds to prove it. The writer does not yet know what it will be possible to educe from this investigation, or whether anything can be educed. The endeavor will be to reconcile conflicting statements when possible; to give to each authority due, but not unbounded credence; and to draw conclusions only upon sufficient evidence. No field stands more in need of real research work than that of education.

There exists an enormous amount of source material having to do with the education of the Indian. Within the writer's knowledge, no attempt has been made properly to organize it, a fact which
INTRODUCTION.

Before entering upon the subject proper of this study it may be advisable to set clearly before ourselves some facts with reference to which there might be misunderstanding. The hypocrisy of race pride has led at different times to rather disastrous results in the dealing of one race with another. The first essential to this investigation is a freedom from any mistaken notion of race superiority. Not only is such an attitude demanded by the true spirit of research, but the direct and affirmative proposition of race equality is to a great extent forced upon us by recent anthropological and psychological demonstrations. The results of several physical and mental tests on fairly numerous samplings of different races, have indicated a number of popular misconceptions. Differences in the acuity of the senses are on the whole slight between the Indians and the Caucasians, while simple mental processes show no great variation. It will be worth while, therefore, to remember constantly that so far as the constituent racial or innate characteristics are concerned we are working on material to which the law of educability in general will apply much as it does to our own race.

To be sure, that there are physical and mental differences of a somewhat pronounced type between the races, no one will deny; but there is strong ground for belief that these distinctions, to the extent that they concern the educator, fall within the bounds of acquired rather than inherited characters. The tendency often noted in educated Indians to revert to savagery upon return to their people is not so strong a proof of the "call of the wild", or race instinct, as it is of the tendency of any intelligent individual to adjust him—

1. Thorndike, Educational Psychology, pp. 55-60.
self to his environment; more especially is this true when we recall the frequent instances (in which our country's history abounds) of whites as well as half-breeds, who being reared or even long detained among the Indians, have become as barbarous in manner of life as the most benighted of their captors.

Having set forth the reason for such a statement of the subject as implies the capacity of the Indian for improvement, we may define race education as the phrase is here employed. By it is meant the act of one race in preparing another race for better living; race education is considered as an exogenous rather than an endogenous growth.

Naturally in all ages wherever there has been contact between states and peoples, they have learned from one another. Each has borrowed from the other more or less consciously, not always distinguishing successfully between what it ought and what it ought not to copy. But the spectacle of one people consciously and more or less altruistically schooling another is a strictly modern phenomenon. If the spread of Roman civilization to her colonies be excepted, certainly there has been no attempt at race education until the century past. But now as the ends of the earth are drawing together, and as the ideal of the brotherhood of man and of "manifest destiny" are taking firm root in national consciousness, all the leading nations of this wonderful colonial age are trying in an apparently honest manner for both selfish and unselfish reasons to educate their colonies. While the United States is trying to bring the red men and her embryonic citizens of the Orient to the point where they may become an organic part of the state politically and economically, Great Britain is seeking to do the same for an enormous empire in the East; and France, Germany, and Holland have similar, though smaller, spec-
pecific problems on hand and in process of solution; hence the augmented urgency of the study of problems in race education, which has become a new branch of statecraft, as it were.
CHAPTER I.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIAN EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

Although it would be impossible to give a particular description of the Indian mode of educating that would apply to any large number of tribes, an examination of different ones discloses a remarkable similarity in general motives and methods. Among most of them we discover a striking resemblance to the Spartan ideals of physical and moral training. 1

The end of physical discipline was pursued from the very beginning. As soon as Indian children could walk they were permitted to roam about wherever they pleased regardless of the weather. 2 While this caused an exceedingly high death rate, it produced strong muscles and hardy constitutions among those who survived. Some tribes subjected both male and female children to such treatment as would inure them to the greatest hardships. 3 They were compelled to bathe daily in cold water and to fast for a length of time proportional to their age. When eight years old they would abstain from food for half a day; when twelve or sixteen all day. 4 At the age of eighteen the male was ready to enter upon manhood. He was taken into the forest at a distance from home, where he was left to fast for from five to eight days without anything to eat or drink. Immersion in cold water and some other ceremonies followed. He was then a

1. For the purpose of comparison throughout the chapter see Davidson, Aristotle and the Ancient Educational Ideals, pp. 41-51.
2. Haines, American Indian, p. 246.
3. Fort Wayne Manuscript, p. 87.
4. A curious accompaniment of fasting in many parts of the Ohio Valley was the custom of blacking the face. "The face of the male is blacked all over; that of the female on the cheeks only." Ibid.
full-fledged man.

Heroism among the California Indians was instilled by the infliction of much unnecessary pain. "They were forbidden to approach the fire to warm themselves, or to eat certain seeds and berries, which were considered luxuries." Before the youth might become a warrior, he had to submit to a scourging with stinging nettles, after which he was placed in the nest of some virulent ants, which rendered his suffering intense. Similar practices obtained among the Creeks.

In this connection it is worth noting that corporal punishment by a parent is scarcely recorded among the American aborigines. Beating occurs only in those rare cases where a parent has become so exasperated that he would attack anyone under like circumstances. The end of obedience is achieved rather by the inspiration of superstitious or religious dread through bogey tales. In the case of fasting above referred to, it was believed that if anyone should eat or drink while his face was blacked for fasting, the Great Spirit would mete out to him summary punishment.

Considering the value of the ideals that may come from fairy tales and stories in general, the Indian has an advantage that some of the white children might almost envy.

2. Flynn, American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 132.
4. Spencer, Education of the Pueblo Child, p. 91. A very practical method among the Zuni was the sacrifice of the worst child in the village at a dance held once in thirty years.
5. Chamberlain, Child and Childhood, p. 204. Chamberlain gives numerous passages regarding typical Indian customs, covering many points discussed in this chapter. See in his index under the subject, Indian, and also under the names of various tribes.
are professional story tellers who have devoted years of their life to mastering the details of tribal folk-lore and acquiring skill in presenting these myths. These gifted individuals are held in high esteem and heard with avidity. Their tales are of various sorts and play upon the different sides of the child's moral and esthetic nature.

Nearly all writers on Indian life emphasize their love of games of chance. Again and again we read that the Indian is a "born gambler". The games of chance were not the only diversions in which they took part. The prowess of the football teams of the larger Indian schools and the swiftness of foot so common to their young men, are well known. Athletic sports for the youth were strongly encouraged by many tribes. 1 Among the events were footracing, hurling the javelin, archery, and a game of ball something like American hockey.

As soon as the boys were old enough, they were given a bow and arrow and sent forth to hunt. Experience was their great teacher, but sometimes an older person accompanied the youth into the forest, and showed him how to contrive snares for beasts and imitate their cries. 2 Since a boy's standing with his fellows depended almost entirely upon his success as a hunter and trapper, he regarded all advice most carefully.

Industrial training aside from the life of the hunter seems to have received scarcely any definite attention in many parts of the country. The Pueblos present about the only exception to this rule. If their young had not been taught the arts of life, it is difficult to see how the tribe could have maintained its rela-

2. Thatcher, Indian Traits, I, 139.
tively high position on the scale of native civilization. The Pueblo method has largely been one of imitation under restraint. The early games of the children, though practically spontaneous, are to an extent directed by the parents. These games are representative of the serious occupations of the fathers and mothers, and possess great educational value. The usual pursuits, such as agriculture, hunting, pottery, implement-making, weaving, and building, are imitated. The parents cooperate by supplying a bow and arrow, a battle axe, a plat of ground, or whatever is needed. At an early age the Pueblo child begins to assist in the simple tasks of which he is capable. At five or six years the little girl helps in caring for the younger children, brings wood and water, and aids in the preparation of clay for pottery and of the materials for basket weaving.

Pueblo boys and girls are apprenticed to near relatives of the same sex, and begin to master the model piece of work placed before them. Gifted artisans communicate the secrets of their craft to their children. Improvements are not expected, and changes are not desired. While this practice has the merit of conserving the knowledge and art of the past in its highest forms, it has proved an infrangible bar to progress. At the same time it must be admitted that our own art, literature, general industrial activity, and social usages are not nearly so free as we at first might think from the same drift toward slavishness to models.

The moral instruction of Indian children has ever been a matter of concern from early years. Obedience to one's parents,

1. Spencer, Education of the Pueblo Child, pp. 76-79.
2. Cf. modern theories of play,- Spencer, Groos, Hall.
3. Heckewelder, Manners and Customs of Indian Nations, pp. 113-116.
respect for age, and modesty in the presence of his elders were the qualities which the average Indian, according to all authorities, would seek to install into his child. The most common method of ethical and spiritual training was to relate the heroic deeds of the child's forefathers and fellow countrymen. While the ends attained were usually worthy of Caucasian emulation, it is asserted that some of the Indian nations have rather encouraged obstinacy and a quarrelsome disposition in their boys on the ground that such is promotive of courage.

Religious training must have consisted largely in the observation of religious rites, until sufficient familiarity with them was gained to enable one to participate intelligently. But the Pueblos developed almost a system in this regard. Strict adherence to and exact reproduction of the ancient forms is demanded in their religious education, which is involved mainly in extended ceremonies attendant upon initiation into a certain secret society. This custom finds among other tribes a prototype in the ordeals incident to becoming a full-fledged man. Every word of song or prayer, every movement of the dance, must be an exact reproduction. A large amount of memorizing consequently is demanded of the novice.

It appears from this brief discussion of Indian educational ideals that purely educational institutions practically did not exist with them. All educational effort, though generally conscious, was incidental to the tribal customs of domestic life and industry, war and hunting, and religious observances. However, in Central A-

2. Flynn, American Indian as a Product of Environment, p. 143.
merica and Mexico particularly a system of education is found rather highly organized both as to instruction and specially adapted institutions.

There is gain to be derived both for the Indian and for us in a study of his indigenous culture; for if there is nothing valuable in the Indian system, or rather theory, of child training, it is the first that has been discovered destitute of any saving element. The burden of proof rests upon us the moment we assume that we have been constituted to educate the Indian out of his native ideas and into our own. Careful analysis reveals much in the native educational aims and methods which should not be taken from the Indian, but rather enlarged upon and assimilated to our own doctrine. Beyond his rebellion against restraint and his disrespect for manual labor there is little to criticise. The love of outdoor life, the development of a strong physique, the close communion with nature, respect for age, reverence for parents, and the exalted patriotism of the American Indian are sound fundamental principles, upon which as common ground we must meet the Indian for the highest good of both races.

Some practical considerations affecting our educational plans for the Indians grow out of their native ideals, and so constitute a justification for the present chapter:

(1) Their strong athletic interest must be maintained. The sudden transition of the Indian from outdoor to indoor life in the schools, the increasing prevalence of consumption among his race, and the several notable cases of the dwindling and disappearance of uncivilized races in contact with civilized ones in different parts

1. For a full account of the system of Aztecs and Mayas, see Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, II, passages suggested by index under subject, Education.
of the world, all present a very pertinent problem of race preservation vs. race extinction.

(2) In the closeness of his life to nature the Indian has cultivated highly his powers of observation. Hence the true Indian has not desired that our training of his children shall be solely institutional and humanizing, he expects of his child something beside booklearning; he expects a knowledge of things. This has enlarged the need for concrete methods, favored nature study, and stimulated the pursuit of the manual branches.

(3) The comparative absence of demoralizing practices in their religious rites and a fairly high moral standard for everyday life free our problem from some of the complications characteristic of the British East Indian situation. But the existence of a certain amount of race pride is almost universal. The Indian has rightly believed that certain things in his civilization are worth saving. This raises the issue of the vernacular in the schools, Christian teaching, native industries, etc.

It is therefore obvious that the general aspect of the Indian question is primarily conditioned on various sides by the educational theories, practices, and racial traits herein alluded to.

CHAPTER II.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

A cursory reading of American history leaves the impression that the relations of the Indians with the colonists were principally belligerent, and occasionally commercial. The amount of legislation which was judged necessary and is found upon examination to have been enacted, is truly surprising in volume. Much of it is so indefinite and so purely advisory in tone that one is perhaps warranted in saying that the Indians were an omnipresent subject upon which the legislators were in the habit of spending their leisure hours or exuberance of energy. In this respect there was nevertheless great disparity between colonies.

At the start, however, it should be stated that legislation on the question of Indian civilization and education formed a very small proportion in most colonies of the total bulk just referred to. It likewise varied greatly in amount from colony to colony. Some never mentioned the matter so far as can be learned from a search of their records. A curious relation is ascertained between school legislation for whites and for Indians. As a rule those colonies with inferior educational facilities for their own people were little interested in the welfare of the savages; so in following out our own topic we perceive mirrored in Indian education the general educational policy and ideals of the early European settlers. The determination of one race to force precisely its own education, by its own methods, upon another race, is a suggestive episode in race education.

The educational activity of the period of exploration, or approximately the sixteenth century, was due entirely to Catholic
missionaries. The only quarter which they succeeded in touching within our present borders was Florida. In 1567 Father Roger tried to introduce industrial pursuits among the Indians of this region; "lands were chosen; agricultural implements procured; twenty commodious houses raised". But when the time came to be baptized all the natives refused the ordinance, and in 1570 Father Roger returned to Havana with some Indian boys to be placed in school. The attitude of the Pope is seen in a letter from Pius V to Viceroy Melendez at just this time, reminding him of the purpose that the Indians, "still infidels may...be brought to a knowledge of the truth".  

Thus briefly and ineffectively ended the history of Spanish undertakings to instruct the savages. Subsequently missions of some importance were started in the far Southwest, but enveloping barbarism hundreds of miles in thickness engulfed and destroyed their influence. One may safely assume that during the sixteenth century the Indians made no real progress toward civilization. Their contact with the white race appears to have been attended by wars, slavery, and other evils. A few were taught letters, but it is doubtful if any large number were Christianized. Half the Catholic missionaries in the field lost their lives.  

The Southern Colonies.

Chronologically Virginia is the first English speaking settlement to be considered. That the promotion of the prosperity of the benighted aborigines was clearly in mind to the founders of this colony is indisputable. Thrice in six years it is set forth in

1. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 20.
3. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 22.
plain language. The original charter granted by King James I, and dated 1606, in Section III commends the desire of the grantees to bring "[the] Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the True Knowledge and Worship of God", and expresses hope that the recipients of his favor "may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to Human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government".¹ The second charter, granted in 1609, declares in Section XXIX that "the principal Effect, which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and the Christian Religion".² In the opening paragraph of the third charter, issued in 1612, James states again his earnest wish "for the propagation of christian religion and reclaiming of people barbarous to civility and humanity."³

The earliest record of any measures to give practical effect to these commendable declarations of purpose is chronicled several years later, and then was not accomplished by legislation, but came through philanthropic sources. To be sure, at the first Assembly, held in 1619, it was enacted that "the most towardly [Indian] boys in wit and graces of nature [are] to be brought up in the first elements of literature, so as to be fitted for the college intended for them, that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion".⁴ But this, like the provisions of the charters already quoted, was vague in itself, and provided no means or machinery for the

1. Macdonald, Select Charters, etc., p. 2.
2. Ibid, p. 16.
4. Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, I, 246.
execution of the design. It merely gave expression to plans then under way.

In 1616 Sir Thomas Dale returning from Virginia took with him about ten Indians old and young, to be educated in the English schools. One was Pocahontas, whose intelligence and dignity did much to create a lofty opinion of the native Americans. In the course of a few months at least three of this small party had succumbed to some form of disease. The wide notice which these few people attracted may well have been one cause for the contribution which King James ordered taken in England in 1617 in the interest of a projected university to be situated at Henrico near Richmond.

But nothing was done by those on the scene of action until Sir Edwin Sandys assumed a prominent position in the affairs of the Company. Under his patronage a board of eminent men was formed in England, including the Earl of Southampton, to establish a "college". Over two thousand pounds had now been donated in England, but the trustees must have felt that amount too small to enable them to do what they desired, for ten thousand acres were selected and means adopted to secure settlers from the mother country to develop the estate and thus create a regular income.

One thousand acres of this tract were specifically set aside for the Indian school. An unknown person gave 550 pounds for this particular purpose, and Nicholas Farrar bequeathed three hundred. The former intended that the young Indians be taken at seven

1. Brown, First Republic in America, see in index under subject, Indians, education of.
years or even younger, and trained until the age of twelve in "the reading and understanding of the principles of Christianity", with a subsequent training in trades till twenty-one, the idea being to merge them in the general body politic. The difficulty of securing proper materials and skillful artisans in a new country greatly impeded progress.

The news of a successful school in the East Indies for the uncivilized races there, was a great encouragement to the leaders, and the contributions of some members of the East India Company gave the name East India to the proposed school, which it was finally decided to locate at Charles City. The previous unknown donor enlarged his present to a thousand pounds under conditions easy to meet. But the massacre of 1622 cut short the life of the whole matter, and no one in Virginia cared to talk Indian education for over half a century. This concluded the best organized, best financed, and farthest sighted venture in our field during the entire colonial period. While absolutely nothing was accomplished, the Charles City school never opening, plans were pushed far enough to reveal some of the obstacles to be met. It was found that the Indians themselves were not favorably disposed and that none of the different settlements cared to become the site of the school. Mutual race suspicion, if not antagonism, came unmistakably to the surface.

Through the beneficence of some persons a few Indians were sent to England to school in the following years, but little concern was manifested until the death in 1691 of Robert Boyle, a noted philanthropist. His administrators according to the terms of his will were empowered to dispose of his property in such charitable

1. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 34.
2. Ibid, pp. 34-35.
caused as they deemed proper. Knowing that the charter on the College of William and Mary, granted in 1693, had stated one of the objects of that institution to be the propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians, they decided to apply a large portion to the college for the establishment of scholarships offering full support for Indian children in school until "they should be thought ready to receive orders and be thought sufficient to be sent abroad to preach and convert the Indians." A chair was endowed to teach Indian boys reading, writing, and vulgar arithmetic, as well as the catechism and the principles of the Christian religion. But the suspicion of the Indians made it impossible to secure students.

Early in the eighteenth century Governor Spottswood placed the children of the Saponi in a college founded at Williamsburg for that purpose, and sent a schoolmaster among them.1 This teacher was paid out of Governor Spottswood's own pocket and appears to have been a capable man; for we soon read that of his seventy pupils "a great part can already say the Lord's prayer and the creed". Yet at the close of five years the school was discontinued on account of the transfer of the teacher to the Indian department endowed by Robert Boyle at William and Mary.2 Although without substantial backing or equal breadth of aim, this school differed from the Henrico fiasco in being an exclusive attempt at Indian education, and not an outgrowth of a white school.

The attendance of the natives at William and Mary over the period up to the Revolution was very small, only fourteen being mentioned in the college catalog,3 which however is not complete.

1. Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East, p. 44.
2. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 76.
3. Ibid, p. 77.
Probably the greatest number ever in attendance at one time was not more than eight or ten. The entire experiment proved quite unsatisfactory, as may be seen from the following quotation. It is taken from a work published in 1724 by Hugh Jones, a former professor of mathematics at the College.¹

The young Indians procured from the tributary or foreign nations with much difficulty, were formerly boarded and lodged in town, where abundance of them used to die, either through sickness, change of provision and way of life, or, as some will have it, often for want of proper necessaries and due care taken with them. Those of them that have escaped well, and have been taught to read and write, have, for the most part, returned to their home. Some with and some without baptism, where they follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites. A few of them lived as servants with the English, or loitered and idled away their time in laziness and mischief. But it is a pity more care is not taken of them after they are dismissed from school. They have admirable capacities when their humors and tempers are perfectly understood.

The second sentence from the end indicates a grasp of the situation which we have been slow to attain.

So much for the Virginia experiment in grafting a college education upon a savage. True, it was not a college education as we now understand the phrase, but the significant fact is that it was just what the higher class of whites wanted for their children. No thought of a differentiation on the basis of race needs and conditions seems to have dawned upon the people interested in education.

In the other southern colonies education of any kind was inconspicuous at the most. There may have been unorganized effort by private individuals or religious societies, but all traces of such effort have vanished. In the Carolinas nothing can be gleaned; but in Georgia Tomo-chi-chi, chief of the Lower Creeks, and his retinue, made a visit to England under the instigation and direction of Governor Oglethorpe in 1734.² This was instrumental in reviving

¹ Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 77.
² Jones, History of Georgia, I, 174.
somewhat the former interest of the English people in Indian missions, a subject hereafter to be treated in connection with the northern colonies. A certain Bishop Wilson immediately set about the preparation of a manual to supplement on the religious side Oglethorpe's endeavor "to civilize them first and make them capable of instruction in the ways of religion and civil government."\(^1\) Nothing came of it, nor did the writer succeed in getting any information about the "earnest endeavors" of the founder of Georgia. About this time the Moravians established a school for Creek children near Savannah, but war between the Spanish and the English involved the sect in trouble and compelled it to leave the colony on account of its scruple against bearing arms.\(^2\)

The indications in Maryland were at the outset much the same as in Virginia. The fundamental charter given Lord Baltimore credits the grantee with "being animated with a laudable and pious Zeal for extending the Christian Religion" and refers to America as being "partly occupied by Savages having no Knowledge of the Divine Being".\(^3\) The frequent religious disorders and changes of administration evidently kept Calvert and his successors from carrying out their ambition, for during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we read of no schools being founded for the benefit of the natives. Some isolated Catholic missions were but slightly educative, all being conducted in the native languages, according to church historian of the period.

New England.

In New England conditions are quite different. Not only does personal beneficence contribute something fairly lasting, but the state in its official capacity takes repeated action, and in one case votes appropriations. Charles I again emulated his father's example. The charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony put a clause found in the charter of the Plymouth Colony more strongly, when it recited that the conversion of the natives to the knowledge and obedience of God was "the principall ende of this plantation". Governor Cradock's first letter of instructions, written the preceding month and addressed presumably to John Endicott, reminds the latter of this same "principall ende" and suggests that some of the Indian children be secured "to train up to reading and consequently to religion whilst they are young".

As in Virginia the start was late. The colonists found it advisable to admonish themselves again and again of their good intentions. The preamble to the articles of confederation between the New England colonies in 1643 contains a probable missionary implication in these words: "Whereas we all came into these parts of America, with one and the same end and ayme, namely, to advance the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ". In both 1644 and 1645 the General Court of Massachusetts reiterated its earnestness in the civilizazation and conversion of the natives. And again on November 4, 1648 the same body expressed itself in this manner: "Considering that one end in planting these plantations was to propagatc the true religion unto the Indians and that divers of them have become subject

1. Macdonald, Select Charters, pp. 25, 42.
2. Records of Massachusetts, I, 384.
3. Macdonald, Select Charters, p. 94.
to the English and have engaged themselves to be willing and ready to understand the law of God, it is therefore ordered and decreed that the necessary and wholesome laws which may be made to reduce them to civility of life shall be once in the year made known to them by such fit persons as the court shall nominate. The act incorporating Harvard College in 1650 cited the purpose of the institution as "the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness." These numerous references are given to show how near the question of the discussion was to the hearts of the Puritans all the time. Then a people is thoroughly imbued with a certain idea and remains so for a generation, it is not unreasonable to be on the watch for some rather definite and telling work. In this regard Massachusetts was not a disappointment. The call of the hour found its answer in the person of John Eliot with whom it was a maxim that the arts of civilized life must be taught hand in hand with religion to secure results. This broadminded man was a minister by calling and educated at Cambridge, England. Upon engaging in pastoral work at Roxbury, Massachusetts, his attention and compassion were soon directed toward the Indians who roamed amidst the settlements. Here he found his life-work.

In the fall of 1646 Eliot began preaching to the neighborhod.

1. Records of Massachusetts, II, 178.
2. Ibid, III, 195.
3. An erroneous statement is made by some writers to the effect that Eliot was educated at Harvard. This is possibly due to the ambiguity of any statement that a person has been educated at "Cambridge.
4. For a somewhat full discussion of Eliot's activities and other useful information relative to Massachusetts Indians, see Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st series, I, 141-225.
ing natives and continued it practically until his death. His familiar appellation, "Apostle to the Indians", has emphasized his earnest preaching and translation of the Bible into the tongue of the Massachusetts Indians, and involved an underestimate or oversight of his services to education. The really great educative feature of his work was his organization of his converts, called "Praying Indians", into civil communities where they might be free from deteriorating association with their heathen fellows, and where their proximity to one another and accessibility to missionaries would allow the founding of fixed institutions, political, religious, and educational, tending to the uplift of the people.

On October 30, 1651 a committee was appointed by the General Court with power to act upon Eliot's request for two thousand acres for his Natick plantation. One judges that their action was speedy and favorable, for the same year the historic town of Natick was laid out by Christian Indians. They did practically all the work themselves. A well ordered town grew up with its center about the building which served both as a church and a school. In the schools and in the homes industries were taught. The girls learned to spin, weave, and keep their houses clean. The boys became carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths. Basket-weaving and the making of shingles and clapboards were carried on. Private property in the form of domesticated animals increased rapidly. John Eliot was building on a solid rock.

In the fall of 1652 the General Court was so pleased with the outlook that a law was passed permitting the incorporation of

1. Records of Massachusetts, IV, 75.
2. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, pp. 50-51.
Indian towns the same as English towns; and four days later Natick was incorporated. For many years its people enjoyed self-government, yet the gradual encroachment of whites in the next century tended more and more to the absorption and removal of the Indians, until at the second centennial of the town's foundation only one lineal descendant of the founders was present and all pure Indian blood had disappeared.

The laying out of new towns proceeded without delay, and in 1674 there were eight such settlements as Natick with a population of nearly five hundred. It appears from the story of a trip of inspection that in each town of "Praying Indians" there was a schoolmaster, almost always of the same race as his pupils. Sometimes the teachers bore good biblical names, for instance Solomon, Job, or Samuel. One Samuel, says, Gookin, was probably a "college" Indian, for he read and wrote both English and Indian with correctness and ease. This is another piece of evidence confirmatory of the fact that the ordinary Indian schools did not pretend to impart a knowledge of English. It is not likely that the practical monopoly of teaching situations by Indians represents the studied intention of Eliot, Gookin, or other leaders; on the contrary the poverty and barbarity of the Indian missionary's life and the task of learning the Indian tongue are assigned as the reasons for brilliant young English men avoiding the calling.

1. Records of Massachusetts, III, 231.
2. Ibid, 294.
3. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 47.
5. Ibid, 183ff.
There would be grave error in supposing that Eliot received a united support from the earlier settlers; the reverse is nearer the truth. Some philanthropists were found among the colonists, and once in a kindly mood the General Court gave Eliot ten pounds for his zeal in teaching the Indians the "knowledge of God". But the larger part of financial support was derived from another source. Through the zeal of Governor Winthrop in the execution of their repeated declarations of purpose to do well by the savages, interest in England was finally raised to the point where Parliament on July 19, 1649 passed an ordinance which led to the incorporation of the famous Society for Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England.

A general collection was authorized to be taken everywhere in England and Wales, and the Commissioners of the New England Confederation, or such persons as they should name, were appointed treasurers and disbursing agents of the donations made for "preaching and propagating the Gospel amongst the natives, and the maintenance of schools of learning for the education of the children of the natives." An active correspondence sprang up between the Commissioners in the New World and the officers of the Corporation in the Old. The amount of remittances in money and commodities of all kinds went on constantly and grew rapidly in volume. After ten years of

1. Records of Massachusetts, II, 189.

2. Palfrey, History of New England, II, 198. Another organization called the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts incorporated in 1701 had essentially the same aims (see Clews, Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments). Carelessness of writers in abbreviating the full names leads to some confusion at a later period. For our purposes a distinction not worth while anyhow.

operation the Society had an endowment great enough to yield an income of six or seven hundred pounds annually.\(^1\) Expenditures for 1656, 1658, and 1659 were 1722, 520, and 594 pounds respectively.\(^2\)

The funds appear for some years to have found their outlay principally in the field which Eliot and Mayhew had opened.\(^3\) Seven Indian interpreters and schoolmasters were on the payroll of the Society; others were given annuities for "teaching the Indians and instructing them on the Lord's day", for "labors among the Indians", etc. Two of the workers were Eliot's son and a Pierson of Branford, Connecticut, evidently the same individual who had been given stipends of twelve or fifteen pounds several years previously to help him in his preparation for the Indian work.\(^4\) Since the average salary of those thus engaged was ten pounds, as against twenty each for nine Indian students fully supported at Roxbury and Cambridge, it is fair to conclude that teachers of the natives had to do something besides teaching for a livelihood.

Unfortunately some criticism which Eliot passed upon the management of the Society's affairs brought about a great decrease in the private offerings.\(^5\) After the loss of its charter under the stress of the Puritan Revolution the Society was reorganized in 1662.

2. James, English Institutions and the American Indian, John Hopkins University Studies, XII, 514.
3. Palfrey, History of New England, II, 333, note. Mayhew had begun to preach several years before on Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and on the mainland close by. In 1652 he had thirty children in school at Martha's Vineyard (Palfrey, History of New England, II, 339). The field was small, and no peculiar features meriting separate treatment were evolved.
5. Ibid, 334.
with Robert Boyle as the new President, an office which he held till his death in 1691. The work continued along the same lines.

Schools were erected in suitable places and the children were supplied with "Catechisms, Primers, Psalters, Books of Devotion in the Indian Language, and with Pens, Ink, Paper, and sometimes with Cloaths". Many eminent persons in England and New England were identified with the movement. After the outbreak of the Revolution its life in the United States ceased, but it is still operating in several parts of Canada as the New England Company.

About 1660 the Society for Propagating the Gospel built at Cambridge a brick house large enough to accommodate twenty Indians. It was a strong building of brick, costing three or four hundred pounds and was called the Indian College. Here the choicest of the Indian youth were trained up in English, Latin, and Greek till ready to enter Harvard. Whether their preparatory work was in this building or in the adjacent public schools is a point of dispute. At one time there were at this place nine young Indians, one of whom was in the college and "ready to commence bachelor of art". The accompanying statement that these were all supported entirely at the state's expense is erroneous, for their needs were wholly met out of the treasury of the aforesaid Society.

According to Gookin the boys who received these advantages became teachers or entered upon other useful callings. But the ill health of those who attended was an almost insurmountable barrier.

1. Connecticut Historical Collections, IV, 57.
4. See again Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st series, I, 173.
Several died after some years in school during which time they had become quite proficient. The usual cause was "a hectick fever, insuing in a consumption", which baffled medical skill. Many correctly laid the blame to the great change in diet, lodging, and apparel, while some good souls were sadly troubled to find the true significance, not knowing whether to believe that this ill fortune was due to divine opposition to the use of Indian preachers or whether it was a stratagem of Satan to impede the spread of Christianity.

Thus, while there was a measure of success in training Indian teachers and artisans, there was a sad failure in the attempt at a higher education. Only one Indian graduated at Harvard in colonial days, though several entered. Speaking of one of the latter who was dismissed for some offense and then reinstated, President Leverett writes: "He was an acute grammarian, an extraordinary Latin poet, and a good Greek one". Another young fellow, called James, proved very helpful in printing Eliot's Bible. But these were individual instances.

To sum up Eliot's results, his conception of the meaning of education was broader than that of most of his contemporaries. The most vulnerable point in his scheme was the strict adherence to the vernacular of his pupils. As has been said, the schools he started rarely got over into the English. No better proof is needed than Eliot's translations, which in addition to the Bible included catechisms, a grammar and a primer, psalms, and standard religious books like Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted". The Indians learned in considerable numbers to read their own language, and so

1. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 55.
2. Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st series, I, 185.
3. Ibid, 172.
were able to read the Scriptures to each other. One excuse for confining instruction to the vernacular was religious: it was necessary in order to get the quickest possible start lest some of the heathen should die in their unsaved state and lose eternal salvation. Present educators would have been willing to lose the few (if loss there must be) that a proper foundation might be laid. Again, it may be said in Eliot's behalf that he could not infer from the conditions of his time that the Indian tongue would become a dead language; the European sphere was a very narrow and fragile strip along the coast of a wonderful domain. Few, if any, foresaw the course of development. The lack of complaints by Indians against their children learning in English can be accounted for on the ground that no instruction in English was offered. Altogether, Eliot took the course which any Christian man, not a prophet, would have taken under the same circumstances. Daniel Gookin, superintendent of the Massachusetts Indians from 1656 to 1686, was the only one who seemed able to see the future. He strongly recommended reading and writing in English to open up to uncultured minds the knowledge and intelligence embodied in the great mass of our literature.

The results achieved by Eliot were not nearly so permanent as they deserved to be. The "Praying Indians" suffered severely in King Philip's War because they were objects of mistrust to both parishes; many removed westward into New York. Rev. Hawley of Boston followed them and tried to carry forward the work of the "Apostle", but with no success. He complains of the universal drunkenness, untruthful-

1. Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st series, I, 228.

2. Ibid, 220-221. Out of 497 people in eight communities of "Praying Indians" in 1674, 142 could read in Indian, 72 could write, but only nine could read in English (Ibid, 197-198). At Plymouth the results were not materially different (Ibid, 200).
ness, and general immorality of his "members". Indian education in Massachusetts now suffered a pronounced decline.

Passing now to Connecticut, the code of 1650 decreed that one of the church elders twice a year should go among the Indians "to make known to them the counsels of the Lord". Four years later a plan was laid for the schooling of one John Mynor at Hartford at colonial expense that he might become an assistant to the elders in their Indian work. The only school mentioned before 1700 is one kept by Rev. James Fitch, a missionary to the Mohegans. With the decadence of educational effort in Massachusetts, the Society for Propagating the Gospel now began to direct attention to Connecticut, where conditions were much more favorable than before on account of the cessation of Indian wars. In 1706 and again in 1717 it urged the taking of steps for the conversion of the Indians.

The beginning of an educational policy ought to be reckoned from the law of 1727. It required all masters and mistresses of Indian children, of whom quite a number had been bound out by their parents as apprentices to whites, to teach them to read English and also to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith. Failure to conform to the provisions of this law entailed a fine of not over forty shillings to be turned into the treasury of the local school of the guilty party. This piece of legislation takes rank as the first compulsory law in the history of Indian education.

3. Ibid, 265.
4. Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st series, I, 200.
a live subject still. It also marks a departure from the theory of Eliot as regarded the vernacular.

Four years prior to the passage of this law the Assembly had encouraged one Mason to set up a school among the Mohegans, and "acquaint them with the Christian religion", but no public funds were voted until 1726. Two commissioners were then appointed by the Assembly to construct for this school a house twenty-two by sixteen feet at colonial expense. Elsewhere the cost is given as sixty pounds, a generous sum considering that it was the first public appropriation in the New World for Indian education.

The precedent thus created was not long to stand alone. The Society for Propagating the Gospel had paid Mason a stipend his first year, but in 1728 fifteen pounds were appropriated by the Assembly for Mr. Mason, a grant which was repeated the next year. This especial recognition was fully deserved according to a letter written by Rev. Fliphalet Adams to the Governor. It states that Mason had in his school, near the present site of New London, thirty boys and girls, several of whom read and spelled very well. Of course all the texts were religious. At the same time Rev. Benjamin Lord also wrote the Governor praising the proficiency of the children after only eighteen months of school in memorizing and in "English tone and pronunciation". This was a part of Mason's campaign

2. Ibid, VII, 75.
3. Connecticut Historical Collections, IV, 389.
4. Ibid, IV, 82.
for a state appropriation. It is unnecessary to follow minutely the subsequent history of this school. Doubtless it ran for a long time for many times funds were voted it for different purposes.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel had meanwhile promised through a friend that any instruction given Indians at Farmington, southwest of Hartford, should be remunerated at the rate paid for white children in the local school of that town, and about 1737 a school started here with pupils from other towns coming in. At this point the Assembly takes another step in providing food for the children attending the Farmington school. Grants for this purpose became regular, almost annual.

Passing over the establishment of another school, similar to Mason's and located at Middletown down the river from Hartford, we come to another interesting case in history. In 1741 on a showing of his indigence Atchetoset managed to have twenty pounds granted for his own and his children's schooling. This was the first self-supporting scholarship maintained out of the public treasury.

Another notable case established no new precedent, but it did mark the strength of public interest in Indian education. In 1750 and 1751 two hundred fifty and then five hundred pounds were given to teach some of the Six Nations living near Stockbridge to read and "receive the gospel". These appropriations were probably more than the total of all previous ones for similar purposes.

Massachusetts in the interim became somewhat aroused and

1. Connecticut Historical Collections, IV, 283.
5. Ibid, X, 72, 66.
began to follow in the footsteps of her sister colony. In 1727 the General Court confirmed the title to some lands at Hassarico on condition that within three years a meeting house and school for children of both races should be built in the settlement and maintained without cost to the Indians. In 1736 a combination church and school was constructed for the Moheakenunk Indians at Stockbridge out of the colonial purse, and two years afterwards one hundred pounds were given to the same school. But at this point public responsibility felt itself vindicated, and development along the Connecticut line ceased.

It can be truly said that Connecticut was the only colony to make Indian schools a public enterprise in the financial sense. Schools of the English language were moderately available to all Indians of Connecticut. Although it would not be fair to say there was a system of schools, there was systematic support given the schools for several years before the Revolution.

The remaining facts of importance in our survey of New England center about three nuclei: the school at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to which allusion has been made; Moor's Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut; and Dartmouth College. The first of these once had an enrollment of fifty-five students, representing several different tribes. Heavy benefactions came in for the sustenance of both boys and girls. A considerable community of progressive Indians gathered about the school to avail themselves of its advantages. Land, firewood, and labor were given by the Indians to help the school. They built comfortable houses, furnished them with the

2. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, pp. 90, 91.
3. Ibid, 90-94, gives a full account and the only one the writer could find of the Stockbridge school.
conveniences of the day, attended church regularly, the girls learned to sew and read their bibles; the palmy days of Natick were once more realized. By the aid of such organizations as the Society for Propagating the Gospel a boarding school was finally completed, but the death of the moving spirit, Rev. John Sergeant, the peculation of the school's funds, and the intervention of the French and Indian War, ended its period of usefulness and promise. Besides his project of an industrial boarding-school the fertile brain of Rev. Sergeant conceived our modern idea of the "outing system". In its first stages the latter did not work well. The Indian girls became lonesome and dissatisfied, and ran away. On a second trial they did much better. Details of the management of the outing program are lacking.

Doctor Eleazar Wheelock, founder of Moor's Indian Charity School, graduated at Yale in 1777 and soon became interested in Indian work. In 1741 an Indian, Sampson Occom, who afterwards became a preacher of note, solicited instruction of Wheelock, and so was received into the family of the latter and given three years in school. Doctor Wheelock came to the conclusion that Indians were the proper agents for the conversion of Indians, and to carry out his theory he secured two Delaware youths. To these were added others, and a charter was sought for the school but without success. Of many generous patrons Joshua Moor was the most liberal, and from him the school took its name. The gift of this man consisted of a small house and two acres of land. In this undertaking the Scotch Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge took a prominent

2. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, pp. 94-97.
part.

The enrollment at Wheelock's school finally reached twenty-five, and came to require a large sum each year on account of operation on the boarding plan. Massachusetts gave seventy-two pounds in 1761 and New Hampshire turned over fifty the next year.¹ For some unknown reason Connecticut never gave any appropriation; its only answer to Wheelock's calls being orders that contributions be taken in the colony.² After 1766 the Connecticut Assembly became as parsimonious as its neighbors, only two grants being recorded down to the Revolution.³

About 1762 Wheelock wrote a letter which tells us something of the operation of his school.⁴ Four of his pupils then were girls, who were placed in the good families of the neighborhood to learn the arts of housewifery. They were in school only one day per week to master writing, reading, etc. It was intended that they should accompany the boys who returned to their people as teachers and missionaries, and be a very practical supplement to their brothers' efforts. The lads sometimes were prepared for the trades by being apprenticed as soon as they had acquired a fair knowledge of reading and writing.

While the School at Lebanon was in the height of its prosperity, Wheelock was for some reason not exactly satisfied. Possibly he felt that he was reaching too few. His correspondence shows that in 1762 he was contemplating a school on the Susquehanna Purchase,

¹ Clews, Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments, p. 170.
² Connecticut Colonial Records, XII, 151, 490.
³ Ibid, XIII, 189; XIV, 246.
⁴ Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 96.
but Sir William Johnson dissuaded him. In 1766 he again wrote to Johnson discussing the question of a site for a school among the New York Indians, though it is possible that these negotiations were for the building up of merely branch schools. In October, 1763 his plan to found a college was communicated to the Mohawks with the suggestion that they furnish a site. At last Dartmouth College was incorporated in 1769 with Wheelock as President. The charter laid a broad foundation by prohibiting any abridgment of the religious liberty of the student body and providing the most ample curriculum ever yet offered to the Indian. It called for "reading, writing, and all parts of learning", and did not omit to include "all liberal arts and sciences". All races were to be received with equal privileges. The Indians who came, however, were being schooled very largely it appears to enter the service of the church. The general environment of the school, the boarding plan, the mixture of whites and Indians, were extremely valuable to the latter.

Taking the record of their graduates as a criterion, Moor's Indian Charity School and Dartmouth College were blessed with a large measure of success. Numerous schoolmasters, preachers, artisans, and interpreters were trained for service. The artisans, however, did not come from Dartmouth, but from Lebanon. Though the training of these pupils was carried on in English, they probably did their work among their own people in the Indian language. Two schools could hardly be expected to work wonders among whole tribes.

lying at a distance, but the quality of the workers they prepared was usually good, though not what Wheelock expected. Sampson Occum went to England to raise money for his alma mater, and succeeded in gathering, for that day, the enormous sum of eleven or twelve thousand pounds. 1 Joseph Brant, the great Mohawk chief, attended Moor's and later on Dartmouth. His services in the elevation of his people and his high intelligence are attested by his biographers. 2

In one respect Wheelock failed. He had begun with the thought of using native teachers. His reasons were the prejudice against English teachers resulting from the close bargains driven by traders, the lower expense of native teachers, their better insight into Indian character and customs, and the absence of the difficulty experienced by white teachers in learning the Indian language. 3 But his reason for opening Dartmouth to both races was the failure of this proposal. 4 A number of his pupils fell into intemperance and licentious habits after leaving school and he was reluctantly forced to the decision that English youths must be fitted "to take the lead entirely, and conduct the whole affair of Christianizing and civilizing the savages without any dependence upon their sons as leaders, in this matter, or any further than they are employed under the immediate inspection and direction of Englishmen". This is only a trifle too conservative to reflect the present state of opinion based upon experience with native teachers.

Roger Williams tried to preach to the Narragansetts, but their opposition made it necessary to desist. 5 Over a century later

1. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 97.
2. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant, passim.
3. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 95.
they became quite willing to be taught, and one letter is extant showing that a school was opened. The most reasonable explanation is that some of the Societies furnished the money.

The approach of the Revolution and the attendant detract-
ion from interest in affairs educational proved a great blow to In-
dian education. Dartmouth had difficulty in tiding over the period. The arraying of most Indians on the side of the British not only tended to destroy the results of all work up to that time, but it further indicated that the efforts of a few consecrated persons with and without money, and spasmodic assistance from legislatures had failed to touch the Indians as a people to the extent of overcoming the prejudices which unfair treatment had created.

The Middle Colonies.

A comparison with New England does not redound to the cred-
it of the Middle Colonies. In fact this section might with propriety be omitted but that the writer desired this monograph to be a full exposition of the subject chosen. The principal object of the settlers relative to the Indians in New York was trade; there seemed to be no inclination for anything else. Just at the close of the seventeenth century Governor Bellamont made the rather ridiculous proposal to the Five Nations that they send their children to the city of New York to school at the King's expense. There is no evidence that any advantage was taken of the offer. In 1704 the colony appointed a public catechist for all children. That ended the at-

2. Ibid, p. 383.
tention of the colony to this matter.

Queen Anne was appealed to with better effect. 1 She sent the Mohawks a missionary at royal expense. The Decalogue, Catechism, Lord's Prayer, and most of the Book of Common Prayer were translated into their language, but the inability or neglect of the missionary to learn their language rendered the movement altogether unsuccessful. Later on Queen Anne inspired a school near Albany. 2 For six years a school continued here, enrolling as many as twenty, but it had a precarious existence throughout due to the prejudice of the Indians against the English language and their opposition to the corporal punishment of their children. The Society for Propagating the Gospel, which was backing the undertaking, sought to remove the first objection by instructing in the vernacular; while on the second score "soft" pedagogy was combined with free food and rewards.

The other schools kept among the Five Nations, (or Six Nations), were all incidental to missions. The Moravian missionary, Henry Rauch, established himself at Shekomeko, Dutchess County, with the Mohegan Indians, but a statutory requirement in 1744 closed the Moravian church and school and compelled Rauch to leave the colony. Pennsylvania was the only refuge for these people.

We shall omit mention of letters in the correspondence of the time proving that there were schools, or rather that there were now and then a school. Nothing more than the existence of such institutions can be proved. 4 Sir William Johnson, for several years governor of the Indians of New York assumed an attitude of interest and helpfulness toward all enterprises aiming at Indian betterment.

2. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 86.
At the same time he was not a visionary and discouraged any imprac-
ticable schemes.  

As noted, Wheelock looked often toward New York as a pos-
sible field of operations, and sent thither many of his pupils, but of the latter none did such notable work as Samuel Kirkland. After completing his course in Moor's School he attended Princeton, devoting much time to Indian languages. His first mission was to the Senecas, but he soon transferred his operations to the Oneidas where he succeeded well. In all his efforts to civilize these people he was greatly indebted to Mrs. Kirkland, whose influence penetrated deep into the home life of the savages. The saw-mill, flour mill, blacksmith shop, and agricultural implement store were features of the community life in this very practical plan. A high school was opened and primary schools were developed, teaching reading and writing in both English and Oneida, and elementary arithmetic. Out of this high school Hamilton College grew.

Kirkland deserves to rank with Eliot and Wheelock as an Indian educator, and the effects of his labors were more lasting. The descendants of his pupils now residing near Green Bay, Wisconsin are a monument to the zeal and energy of this devoted couple. Shortly before the Revolution Rev. Charles Inglis estimated the net result in New York in the following language: "Several of them have learned trades; all have fixed habitations; they have also cattle of various kinds, many of the conveniences of polished life; are pro-

3. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 89.
fessors of Christianity, and as regular and virtuous in their conduct as the generality of white people." Many of these conditions may have been general among the Mohawks before they ever saw a missionary. It is really inconceivable how a tribe covering so much territory could be so advanced by one man and his wife.

The first interdenominational friction in Indian education occurred in New York a few years prior to the Revolution. Sir Peter Warren died in 1760 leaving seven hundred fifty pounds for the education of the Six Nations, which amount Wheelock accused a Boston society of attempting to divert from its purpose. Others working with the Mohawks also feared that the Bostonians were about to carry out a sectarian design of some sort. The formation of a society for propagating Christian knowledge among the Indians under authority of the legislature of Massachusetts in 1762, might be claimed as corroborative evidence. The Privy Council disallowed the act of incorporation, cutting short the possibility of unpleasant complications.

In Pennsylvania the State did nothing, although the charter given Penn contained the usual platitude concerning the reduction of "the savage Natives by gentle and just Manners to the love of civil Society and the Christian Religion." This was not the fault of the Indians, for the chief Teedysuscung appeared before the Governor and council in 1758 and asked for not less than two ministers.

1. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 87.
4. Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, IV, 520.
ters besides teachers for his people, and four years afterward he repeated his request, reminding the governor of a promise made to that effect "at Faston." Considerable search failed to turn up any such promise, yet it may have been informally made.

Under the leadership of David Zeisberger the Moravians invaded Pennsylvania shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century. In his opinion the church and the school were necessarily complements. The story of the vicissitudes of his Indian followers is a most touching one. The wars and dissensions of others drove them from place to place until they were eventually killed off or scattered. The experience of these Moravian Indians illustrates the effect of the reservation system as usually worked out. The means of culture and education depend to a marked extent upon a fixed habitation, yet the roving habits of the Indian today are scarcely more traceable to his original nature than to the many intermittent removals which his masters have compelled him to make. Under the circumstances the Indian has been educated in vagabondage.

The most we can say for Pennsylvania is that a sprinkling of Indian boys was found in 1763 in the "Academy and Charitable School of Pennsylvania", the germ of the University of Pennsylvania. Humanitarian instincts would be supposed to predominate in the colony in view of its antecedents, but Indian education was doubtless not regarded as such by these people, but rather placed in the category with public education in general. Upon this point then it is

2. Ibid, IX, 8.
illuminating to notice that there were few schools of any kind in Pennsylvania before the Revolution, and for those that did operate the state assumed no responsibility.

When Queen Christina granted a charter for New Sweden she expressed the same interest in the amelioration of Indian life as the English monarchs had in numerous instances.\(^1\) In 1750 a New York paper advertised that all persons indebted to the estate of Ebenezer Hayward, "Indian School-Master at Bethel in New-Jersey" should settle their accounts at once.\(^2\) This is all the evidence that there was ever an Indian school in the colony of New Jersey.

Delaware is nowhere mentioned.

In summarizing we may say that the story of Indian education in the colonial period is fragmentary in many colonies. The scattered notices which it has been possible to collect show in general the maximum of good intention with a minimum of achievement. The record is one of wasted opportunities and dissipated results. The constant recurrence of unfriendly relations between whites and savages in many colonies, the cupidity of traders, the drunkenness of the Indians, and the unfortunate practice in certain southern colonies of classing them with mulattos,\(^3\) all conspired to hinder progress. In New England some valuable lessons were learned, and the generally higher salaries for Indian teachers in the eighteenth century indicate a growing disposition to put Indian teaching upon an equal footing with other callings.


CHAPTER III.

The Period of Neglect.

The United States has a system of Indian schools. No one person is responsible for all of it or even for any large part of it. It was not made, it grew; and like any growing thing it has developed deformities, unused organs, and constitutional weaknesses which have made progress a slow matter and called for a liberal use of the pruning knife. Reformers have found the Indian Office a good subject for practice, and it is not for any one to say dogmatically that the work of reformation has been completed. Further study may lead to a deliberate judgment on that point. Before proceeding it will be well to sketch briefly the administration of Indian affairs down to 1870, at which time a pronounced change takes place in the development of Indian education; and so with good historical precedent we may make a period. We shall thus have a frame into which the facts of our subject may be fitted.

The experience of previous wars especially had taught the colonists that the Indians were a force to be reckoned with, and it was but natural that the new Continental Congress should early pay some heed to Indian relations. As early as July 12, 1775 a committee reported a bill which became law.1 According to its terms Indian affairs were placed in charge of a commission of three departments, northern, southern, and middle. The commissioners of each department were invested with power to treat with tribes under their jurisdiction, appoint agents to watch the Indians, and in general strive to secure and preserve the friendship of the different nations as "of the utmost moment to these colonies". Over $22,000 was

placed in their hands to defray the expense of treaties and presents. Among the prominent gentlemen chosen for this task were Franklin, Henry, and James Wilson.\(^1\) On April 29 of the next year a standing committee on Indian affairs was established in the Congress.\(^2\)

Under the Articles of Confederation by Article IX the United States was charged with the management of the Indians, and an ordinance was passed for the regulation of their affairs.\(^3\) It divided the field into two districts separated by the Ohio River and each under a superintendent. These superintendents were subject to the direction of the Secretary of War.

When the new War Department was created in 1789, Indian affairs were placed within its jurisdiction.\(^4\) The need of agents was felt, so the President was given discretionary power in the appointment of persons to reside among friendly tribes and promote their welfare by the different means at command.\(^5\) Later on the choice of agents and superintendents for this field work was participated in by the Senate under the familiar constitutional provision, and bonds were fixed.\(^6\) The superintendency, which is a group of agencies, disappears gradually from the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs between 1870 and 1880, leaving the agents directly responsible to the head. Agents and agencies were graded in rank, and salaries fixed accordingly.\(^7\) The direct supervision of Indian matters, including schools, was doubtless for several years in the

3. Ibid, 126-129.
4. United States Statutes at Large, I, 49-50.
5. Ibid, 371.
hands of the Superintendent of Indian Trade, for correspondence concerning these came to the Secretary of War from persons holding that title.¹

The growth in the business of the Indian Office demanded more organization, and about the time Black Hawk's War broke out, the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was established,² and the work was advanced to the dignity of a Department.³ A like increase in the volume of business for the Land Office to transact and the relation of this Office to the Indian Office fully justified the amalgamation of the two with other connected interests in a Department of the Interior in 1849.⁴ This transformed Indian affairs from a military to a civil control, an arrangement which has continued to the present except for a brief period from March, 1869, to July, 1870, when army officers filled the agencies.⁵

The first effort of the government of the United Colonies to give to Indians the benefits of education was contained in the measure of July 12, 1775 organizing the Indian Commission. It turned over $500 for the support of Indian boys at Dartmouth College lest their return to their people for lack of funds should excite local jealousy and discord.⁶ Later in the same year the Mohegans in a conference at Albany with the northern commissioners asked that teachers be given them, a request which the commissioners promised to lay before Congress;⁷ and when in December the Delaware chief,

1. American State Papers, V and VI, passim.
2. United States Statutes at Large, IV, 564.
3. Ibid, 775.
5. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 108.
White Eyes, was brought into Congress, the President of that body promised the Indian that his desire for a schoolmaster should be satisfied.¹

In the following year - February 5, 1776 - the committee on Indian affairs asked that body to request the commissioners of Indian affairs to "consider of proper places in their respective departments for the residence of ministers and schoolmasters, and report the same to Congress".² The committee stated that it was prompted to this suggestion by the inestimable advantages which the "propagation of the Gospel and the cultivation of the civil arts" might produce to both the colonies and the Indians. No record is found to show that the commissioners ever made any report to Congress in this connection. The alarming incidents of the Revolution following soon after absorbed all interest and withdrew the attention of the colonial statesmen from efforts to Christianize or civilize their red neighbors.

Except for action by Congress toward the close of the Revolution directing the payment of 1777 pounds of the currency of New Jersey for the maintenance of three Delaware boys at Princeton College,³ there was a lull until the government under the Constitution started out to define its relation to the different tribes. At a conference in February, 1791 Cornplanter and other Seneca chiefs assured President Washington that they would be glad to send their boys to him, but the President replied that it was preferable for one or two sober men to be sent among them to show them how to till the soil and also that a schoolmaster assigned them. The President

2. Ibid, IV, col. 1262.
said that he would look out a proper person.¹ But in May Secretary Knox instructed Colonel Pickering to tell the chiefs of the Six Nations that the President would be happy to receive their sons and teach them reading, writing, and the arts of husbandry.² One can make little out of this palpable contradiction except that the government was trying to please the Indians whatever that might lead to. When General Putnam was despatched to make a treaty with the hostile Indians near Lake Erie in 1792, he was told to convey the willingness of the United States to impart to them the knowledge not only how to read and write, but also how to plow and sow.³ In all his speeches, however, he forgot to mention the subject.

The making of such propositions to the Indians soon led to the incorporation of definite promises in treaties. In 1794 an agreement with the friendly Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians bound the United States to employ one or two persons to manage and keep in repair certain mills to be built for these tribes and "to instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and sawyer".⁴ Again in a treaty with the Kaskaskias in 1803 the government promised to give one hundred dollars annually for seven years toward the support of a Roman Catholic priest who was to teach as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature.⁵ No trace of the keeping of these promises is forthcoming.

The War of 1812 disrupted peaceful relations at many points, and it took the religious revival that followed to bring Indian education once again into the foreground. In the early part of 1818 the House committee on Indian affairs reported that in its

1. American State Papers, V, 144.
2. Ibid, 166.
4. Ibid, 546.
5. Ibid, 687.
judgment schools and trading posts should be established along the frontier. 1 Nothing was done at that session, but on March 3, 1819 an act was approved which continued in force till 1873. 2 It placed at the disposal of the President ten thousand dollars annually, and authorized him to use the same for the opening of schools with the consent of the natives and the employment of capable teachers "to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation and...in reading, writing, and arithmetic".

The policy of President Monroe was most dilatory. It was six months before he found time to issue a circular inviting any associations or individuals already engaged in educating the Indians and desiring the cooperation of the government to report to the Secretary of War. 3 It was proposed to use the money in erecting the necessary buildings and meeting current expenses. The President considered it indispensable that the instruction of the boys should extend to a knowledge of some of the common mechanic arts as well as to agriculture, and that the girls have spinning, weaving, and sewing in addition to the "three R's". But nearly a year after the act had been passed John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, being called upon by the House to ascertain what progress had been made, reported that no part of the appropriation had yet been applied.

A series of treaties coming about this time unquestionably had much to do with determining the direction in which the "Civilization Fund of 1819" should be expended. 4 The day before the appropriation was made the Cherokees ceded to the United States a tract on the Mississippi twelve miles square with a proviso that sales

1. American State Papers, VI, 151.
2. U. S. Statutes at Large, III, 516-517; XVII, 461.
from the same should become a school fund. In October, 1820, it was agreed that out of a certain tract ceded by the Choctaws the proceeds from the sales of fifty-four sections should be turned into a school fund, three-fourths of it to be used on the east side, and the remainder on the west side of the Mississippi. It appeared that discontent had arisen in the tribe because for sixteen years past some of their chiefs had used six thousand dollars yearly out of their annuity to keep up schools. The third treaty was with the Seminoles who in exchange for certain concessions were to receive a thousand dollars for schools each year of the next twenty. Similar agreements were not made with the Chickasaws and Creeks, possibly for the reason that they were not favorably disposed; for it is related that when the subject of training their young men was broached in a talk with the Creeks in 1797, the idea was received with great disfavor. The chiefs represented that they had had serious trouble with some of their educated young men.¹ This stands out as a unique case in a half century.

At last the President gave an accounting.² He showed that for schools from February 20, 1820 to December 24, 1821 over sixteen thousand dollars had been spent out of the twenty thousand which were appropriated for the two years. The remainder had gone for other civilizing purposes. The items showed expenditures for buildings and tuition mainly among the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Tuscaroras, Senecas, Oneidas, and Osages. This practically localized the work in two centers, the Southwest and New York State. The single allowance for support was to the school at Cornwall, Connecticut. All others must have been run on the day school

¹ American State Papers, V, 602.
² Ibid, VI, 271-279 reviews the whole situation.
plan. Only schools in the Indian country were subsidized, and none were recognized which did not embrace instruction in agriculture and the ordinary mechanic arts for the boys and common domestic industry for the girls. The Lancastrian plan was widely used, and everything was taught in English. The close attention given to agriculture in most of these schools is extremely significant when compared with the advanced stage of agriculture now existent among the descendants of these people in Oklahoma and New York.

Nevertheless an attempt was made in 1824 to undo the gain so far made. A resolution was introduced in the House toward the repeal of the act of 1819. The Annals of Congress do not furnish any abstract of the debate if there was any, leaving us in the dark as to the arguments of the sponsors of the resolution. From another source information comes that a memorial of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions directed to Congress at this time was met with the assertion that the civilization of the Indians was impracticable, and that if carried out it would ruin the fur trade. The committee to which the resolution was referred found twenty-one schools with over eight hundred scholars, all but three of which had been opened since the passage of the mooted law. Large investments had been made by religious societies in expectation of a continuation of aid. The entire report was very optimistic, and the law was not repealed.

The impression must not be gained that the government was supporting schools in which various denominations were gathering converts into their fold; it was only encouraging in a meager way the tremendous sacrifices which Christian people were making for a

backward race. In 1824 Indian education cost nearly two hundred thousand dollars. Less than seven per cent came as a gift from the government through the "Civilization Fund", less than five per cent was derived from Indian annuities and the provisions of treaties; missionary and philanthropic zeal was carrying the load. For 1825 the proportions were only slightly changed. Had the government tried to act independently of the church, with its small allowance it could have touched so few places in the field that charges of partiality as between tribes could have been easily sustained. As it was, hundreds of children were being turned away for lack of accommodations, numerous applications for assistance had to be disregarded, yet the cry of the Indian Office for more money went unheeded. More money was being taken from the national Treasury to give presents to the Indians than to educate them.

The neglect of educational matters from this time up to 1870 makes the field a very uninviting one. Congressmen debated and resolved with reference to annuities, trade, removals, the correction of lawlessness, the land claims of white settlers, and the salaries of agents, but education was not worth their while; still no congress was found so penurious as to repeal the law of 1819. We shall remark briefly with regard to a few of the more salient facts and developments, and then pass to more important matters.

Statistics are scarce enough to preclude any chance of a study of the period. Some years they are missing, and at other times so imperfect as to be worth but little. In Table I is presented the enrollment and number of schools on the basis of data found in Miss Alice C. Fletcher's Indian Education and Civilization.

1. American State Papers, VI, 669-672.
It should not be taken too seriously, although establishing beyond any reasonable doubt a growth up to 1850. Certain pronounced changes are explicable on no basis but insufficient, or rather incomplete, returns. The effect of the Civil War is clearly traceable. It must be borne in mind that the enrollment is no criterion of a trustworthy nature. Very irregular attendance would reduce the average number present to a much lower figure, perhaps to not over sixty per cent of the enrollment. Such an opinion is based upon the assumption that nearly all the schools were day schools. There may have been several boarding schools, but the scarcity of money, the fact that all schools were in the Indian country, and the expressions often found in the reports of the Commissioner as to the superiority of the day school, warrant a judgment that a large majority of the pupils went back and forth daily between home and school.

Table I.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of schools</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
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<td>38</td>
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<td>1847</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>103</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>1849-60</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>1861</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,835</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>1840</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>280</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>235</td>
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<td>2,132</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>345</td>
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<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2,644</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>10,501</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2,508</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>11,328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 197.
So far as can be learned the percent of the cost of schools borne by private parties and religious societies decreased. The increase in expenditures was more than met by the greater amounts taken from the annuities and treaty funds and applied to education.\(^1\) The government as an individual had nothing to show for what it spent so far as property is concerned. It had no schools of its own, although it helped build many for others. One advantage of this was the removal of Indian teachers at least from the force of corruption in appointments. The spoils system did harm enough through the agent. Discussion in Congress went to show that Indian agents were supposed to make a fortune in a few years, if skillful in handling their posts. The simplest means was to pad the census returns from one's agency, and then embezzle the annuities, rations, etc. which were designed for the surplus of fictitious names.

During these years the government did not always keep its promises. The report of the Indian Commissioner for 1855 among others lays some emphasis on this point. The attitude of Congress is shown by such expressions as "the so-called treaty obligations" in the titles to revenue bills. The manner in which treaties were made also was objectionable. A few of the principal men might go to Washington and there be entertained and gratified until willing to agree to anything. Such a course is on a par with that of the gambler who makes his victim drunk before he fleeces him. All in all there was constant friction in some quarter over Indian affairs, the Indian always seeing the worst side of the government, because the grasping squatter or trader and the dishonest or incapable agent were to him the incarnation of the government. In some

\(^{1}\) Senate Documents, 1855-6, I, 561.
years the ten thousand grant was not half used. 1 This together
with the carelessly handled statistics is a commentary on the gen-
eral neglect and disorder.

The character of the instruction offered in the schools

can be discussed but briefly. The principle which President Monroe
laid down at the outset had a beneficial effect. Most of the schools
did not rely solely on classroom work, but sought to teach the chil-
dren habits of industry. Training in trades was not highly special-
ized or efficient on the whole, but it was a move in the right di-
rection. From reports of different years we learn of a number of
boys and girls who made themselves proficient in clerical work in
the Indian Department, served as interpreters, became teachers, mas-
tered trades, and now and then entered the professions. 2 But the
soil itself presented the readiest means of industrial training.
Most of the pupils did outdoor work with the result of learning
something worth while and safeguarding health at the same time. No
reports of sickness attract one's eye as one passes over this era of
the practically undisputed sway of the day school.

The Friends were the veritable Jesuits of this period.
Careful computation shows them much in the lead of other denomina-
tions past 1870, 3 and this in the face of not a single dollar of
public money to aid them until after 1835. 4 Their work is so truly
representative of the best done that it is described in some detail.

In 1795 the Religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jersey,

1. North American Review, 90, 73.
2. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p. 166.
3. See statistics of schools given in Reports of Commissioner of
   Indian Affairs, 1871-74 inclusive.
Delaware, and adjacent states at its yearly meeting devised a plan for improving the condition of the Six Nations by instructing them in "literature, agriculture, and some of the mechanic arts." President Washington approved and encouraged the design. Land was purchased near two of the reservations; dwellings, barns, schoolhouses, saw and grist mills, and work shops were built. Friends were hired to live on the farms and instruct the Indians in agriculture, milling, blacksmithing, and other branches of labor as well as in "school learning", and to advise them in their local difficulties. Three hundred acres was their base of operations and to some extent of supplies. A very favorable impression was made upon the Indians and a swift change of state followed. The men learned how to farm, the women how to care for their houses, and the children how to read and write. The results of over forty years of labor are summed up in these words by a Friend:

"The domestic affairs of the natives now present a great contrast to their once forlorn and comfortless situation. Many of them are living on well-inclosed farms, stocked with horses, cattle, and hogs, from which they derive their support; and have erected and occupy substantial houses, respectably furnished and kept in decent order. Their propensity to wander and love of the hunt have given place to affection for their homes.

In 1831 the project of a boarding school was tried, additions being made to the quarters from time to time. After a fire in 1886 a fine building costing thirteen thousand dollars was put up. This remarkable school is still going on. For two score of pupils the parents furnish only the clothes, the Friends give the products of

1. Tracts of Meetings for Sufferings, no. 3, p. 16-17.
3. Tracts of Meetings for Sufferings, no. 3, p. 16-17.
4. Rept. N. Y. Special Committee of 1888, p. 61."
the farm and fifteen hundred dollars yearly. Their pedagogy has been criticised as a little "soft", but results speak for themselves. All pupils do industrial work. The Indian language is not allowed.

In 1804 three Quakers were sent out by the Society of Friends in Maryland to assist the Indians in learning the better way. They made their way into the Ohio country, taking with them tools and agricultural implements, and taught these Indians likewise how to use the soil for the improvement of their condition.¹

Penetrating farther west, a settlement for general helpfulness less elaborate than that in New York was planted among the Shawnees in 1837.² The natives evinced great interest in the prospect of a school and instruction in the ways of labor. A young man was engaged to teach at $24 per month with the stipulation that if school lasted till spring his salary should be only twenty dollars. Two years after there were thirteen Shawnees attending this school, ranging in age from eight to fourteen years.³ They were advancing especially fast in writing, but also spelled and read in the Testament. In two years more the school had thirty-six. According to the sex of the pupil, the course gave agriculture and housework. Religious instruction was continuous for all. The superintendent thought that with an enlargement of the plant the attendance could be brought to a hundred. The school was now under the Maryland Meeting of Friends, and was one of the very first west of the Mississippi.⁴ The Ohio Meeting had another school also west of the

1. Haines, American Indian, p. 608.
2. Tracts of Meetings for Sufferings, no. 3, p. 21.
3. Ibid, no. 7, p. 4.
4. Ibid, no. 8, p. 3.
river. It was being conducted along similar lines and meeting with success.\(^1\)

Another bright and interesting spot in the western wilderness was the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky.\(^2\) Its zenith was reached about 1835. In those days it was enrolling over one hundred fifty pupils from several different tribes, and so in one sense was not a Choctaw academy at all. In 1834 the Chickasaws were about to send fifteen of their young people, the chiefs having requested that some of their education money be so expended. This was a half-way "safe and sane" attempt to give a higher training, but instruction in some of the trades was combined with the academic course. Inspectors found the buildings convenient and economical and many scholars nearly ready to teach, rendering more easy the execution of recent legislation that native teachers be used wherever possible.

The Friends never let drop a discouraging word in all their meetings and publications. Their boundless faith in humanity was admirable, but as the settlements spread rapidly westward in the two decades after the building of railways began, a great untouched country with populous and very warlike tribes presented itself. After forty years of work there seemed to be more waiting to be done than there was in the beginning. One pessimist writes:\(^3\)

The wild tribes that have been left to their own resources are probably better clothed and fed, and altogether more creditable members of society than those who having by treaty stipulations been drawn under the direct influence of the government, have received enough aid to make them dependent, relax their vigor, and hasten their decay. All the efforts of the government and of private philanthropy have thus far availed but little toward civilizing

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1. Tracts of Meetings for Sufferings, no. 3, p. 4.
2. Ibid, no. 3, p. 24; Senate Documents, 2nd sess., 23rd cong., p. 256.
the Indians.
The writer of this passage had his face toward the distant West and Northwest, and had failed to focus his vision on the Five Civilized Tribes and the New York Indians.

Just at the close of this era of laissez faire policy there is an incident destined to be of far greater importance than some who were responsible for it might have dreamed. A legal weapon was placed in the hands of the government which might have been made a powerful lever in moving things educationally. In 1857 a clause was inserted in a treaty with the Pawnees, and continued a somewhat regular feature of subsequent treaties for ten years. By that time it had become incorporated in agreements with the Arapahos, Cheyennes, Crows, Comanches, Kiowas, Navajos, Pawnees, Shoshones, and Sioux. Its usual form was something like this:

In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty the necessity of education is admitted; they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years to attend school, and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education. The provisions of this article shall continue for not less than twenty years.

To sum up the chapter, the "manual labor" schools were the best adjustment yet made to Indian educational needs. English was taught instead of the vernacular in most places, though some of the denominational teachers were beginning to lapse into the Indian tongue. The last fact is made the more certain, not by anything we can find before 1870, but by the cry after that date for a return to English teaching. Against these two advances and the compulsory clauses of the treaties must be placed the lack of any competent su-

1. See synopsis of treaties in Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization.
pervision, utter absence of a system, rather too much devotion to purely missionary ideals, insufficient accommodations for all except the nearest tribes, the dominance of the day school, and the periodic removals.
CHAPTER IV.
THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN SCHOOLS.
Several factors contributed to a sort of renaissance in Indian education during the decade 1870-80, following twenty-five years of absorption in the slavery issue, civil war, and reconstruction. Several serious Indian outbreaks accompanied by much massacring of whites called the attention of the government very forcibly to the Indian situation. To this must be added the effect of the treaties referred to near the close of the preceding chapter, and last, though probably not by any means the least, the personal attitude of President Grant. Some congressional agitation seconded by a memorial from the Seven Yearly Meetings of Friends, met a responsive chord in Grant's inaugural address to the effect that he would "favor any course which tends to their [the Indians'] civilization, Christianization and ultimate citizenship."¹ The President appointed Red Jacket, a stable and intelligent chieftain, and eighteen members of the Society of Friends to visit the various tribes on a diplomatic and educational mission.

On July 15, 1870 Congress made an appropriation of $100,000 for educational purposes among Indians not otherwise provided for,² since many tribes were without any educational provisions in existing treaties, funded investments of bonds or other securities held by the government, or accumulations of money in the federal treasury resulting from the sale of tribal lands. The expenditure of this sum was obviously a difficult task, inasmuch as

¹ Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 40, 810.
² U. S. Statutes at Large, 16, 359.
many of the tribes were wild and without any fixed habitation where schools could be permanently established; others were opposed to schools; and still others manifested no desire to have them. The root of the trouble, according to the reports of teachers and agents was sometimes to be found in the waning of the novelty which school life at first held; the movements of the parents to other localities for work, for pasturage of their flocks, or for no reason at all; again the local feuds between families caused children to be detained from school to avoid unpleasant association with their hereditary enemies.\(^1\) With a number of the more settled tribes living down near the Mississippi and Missouri, closer to civilization and in a territory fertile enough to yield sufficient crops, the conditions were much more favorable. Schools were in demand and were much better organized than among the nomadic tribes farther west. In 1872 the unexpended balance of $35,500 out of the appropriation of 1870 was given to the Secretary of the Interior to be applied in his discretion to any tribe, otherwise provided for or not, and with the further privilege of using it for civilizing purposes other than education.\(^2\)

In 1876 $20,000 was voted for industrial schools and other educational purposes for the Indian tribes.\(^2\) This marks an epoch of great importance because it is the precedent for annual and rapidly increasing expenditures for general school purposes. As already experienced, it was found difficult to use the money just as voted, and in 1879 the management exceeded by $50,000 its congressional allowance. The phraseology as to industrial schools, stand-

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2. Ibid, 1885, p. 90.
ing also in the Act of 1870, remained unchanged for several years. The bill of 1882 was especially important, not only in the much greater sum of money given, but because it made the first allowance to Hampton and Forest Grove and directed the Secretary of the Interior to take certain steps which led to the setting up of the Chilocco and Genoa schools.

From the latter date it is scarcely necessary to follow the expenditures for Indian education year by year. Table II presents the story of progress along this line. Whereas immense districts comprising many large tribes were in 1870 without a single school, there was now a gradual extension of educational privileges from the standpoint either of number of schools, enrollment, or distribution of educational facilities. Table III shows some facts in this connection.

Table II. 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Federal Appropriation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>$2,243,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>2,060,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>1896</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>2,517,265</td>
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<td>1881</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>2,631,771</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>135,000</td>
<td>1899</td>
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<td>675,200</td>
<td>1901</td>
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<td>992,800</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>3,244,250</td>
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<td>1903</td>
<td>3,531,250</td>
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<td>1904</td>
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<td>1905</td>
<td>3,880,740</td>
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<td>1889</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>3,777,100</td>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>1,364,568</td>
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<td>1,842,770</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>4,105,715</td>
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<td>1909</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,315,612</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3,757,909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vicissitudes in financial support, the misapplication of funds, and the political spleen entering into the making of appropriations, are worthy of illustration. In 1892 a threatened attack on Indian education would have resulted in a large decrease in appropriations, had not stout resistance been offered by the friends of the Indian. A tract was prepared by the Indian Rights Associa-

1. Data for all but the last two columns are taken from Rept. Commr. of Ind. Aff., 1909, p. 87. The figures of the last two columns are taken from the Commissioner's reports for the various years. In an attempt to verify them the reader will find many contradictions.
tion entitled, "A Crisis in the Cause of Indian Education", submitting evidence of successful results from many schools. It showed that education really did possess value for the red man; that though large sums of money had been expended, provision had not been made for more than two-thirds of the children to be placed in school; that waste was due rather to conditions which enlarge educational work alone could rectify; that the principal cause of failure was the practice of regarding the school as a piece of political patronage. After a struggle adequate appropriations were secured and a determined effort to change the head of one school was thwarted.

Another spasm of retrenchment struck Congress in 1894, appropriations were cut far below the needs of existing work and no

1. 10th Rept. Indian Rights Association, pp. 8-10. This organization is a non-partisan, non-sectarian body established in 1882 in the interests of the American Indian. Its ranks have numbered many of the most notable philanthropists of the country. The only salaried man has commonly been the secretary upon whom a great deal of work has fallen. The Association seeks to arouse public sentiment in behalf of justice for the Indian through the dissemination of reliable information. It throws light upon the subject by frequent journeys to reservations, etc. A representative is maintained at Washington to watch legislation. This post was once held by ex-Indian Commissioner Leupp. Numerous meetings are held in different parts of the country, annual reports and thousand of copies of pamphlets are published, and the columns of the press are extensively used. One of the particular planks in its platform is "education by which the Indian shall be prepared as fully as possible for the new physical and moral conditions into which he now must enter". Its criticism, though often almost fierce, is honest always, and must carry weight.

2. The Carlisle school is the one referred to. The place filled by Capt. Pratt in the development of Indian education will be discussed later. Somehow he was always under the scrutiny of some of the "all-seeing" eyes of Congress. No reason can be inferred except that his congressional critics had friends whom they would have preferred to see in Pratt's position. As far back as 1886 Pratt was receiving a salary of $1,000 as against $1,500 and $2,000 for all other superintendents of industrial training schools, while his school had a larger attendance than any two of the others. Three employees of his own school received that year $1,200. (See Rept. Commr. Ind. Affairs, 1886, p. cviii).
allowance was made for added facilities. In the original bill the office of superintendent was abolished, but through the efforts of the supporters of the Indian interests it was restored in the Senate. A smaller number of inspectors, special agents, and supervisors of schools was proposed together with a general reduction in the salaries of agents and other employees. Salaries heretofore paid the heads of important agencies ranged from $2,000 to $2,500. As finally passed, the maximum for agents was $1,800. The chairman of the House Committee wanted to cut off the $5,000 usually given for traveling expenses of the Board of Indian Commissioners, but he advocated $20,000 for a board of six to travel and report from time to time. Protests caused the old arrangement to be retained with $4,000 for expenses.

Without any consultation with the Indian Commissioner as to what reduction could be made from his (the Commissioner's) minimum estimates with least harm, the aforesaid chairman reduced the estimates by $320,000, and almost all of that came out of the educational appropriation. Not only were positions abolished as stated above, but salaries in other positions were decreased. The amount granted for transportation was cut down one-half so that pupils could not be taken to Eastern schools except Carlisle, for which special provision was made, while the salary of its superintendent was cut off entirely. This bill was fortunately stripped of some of its most serious faults in the House and enlarged to some extent

1. 12th Rept. Indian Rights Association, pp. 10-12.
2. The board of Indian Commissioners had been authorized by the act of April 10, 1869 to consist of not over ten persons. Its duties were advisory and supervisory. Up to 1880 its expenses had averaged about $12,000 per annum, but from that date there was a rapid decline. (See Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization, p.118,122)
in the Senate. Aside from the petty economies so exasperating to those affected by them and yet so insignificant as adding to the Treasury balance, the bill enacted as law, details of administration which should have been left to the discretion of administrative officials.

The lack of organization and system and the flagrant misuse of funds are shown by the application of the Civilization Fund realized from the sale of lands bought of the Osage tribes in 1867. The purchase price was $300,000, which was placed in the federal treasury and credited to the sellers. It bore 5% interest payable to the Osages in money or articles as the Secretary of the Interior directed. Then in pursuance of the provisions of the treaty the government surveyed and sold the land, first reimbursing itself for the cost of the same, and then using the surplus amounting to over three-fourths of a million in ostensible attempts to educate and civilize different tribes. Much over one-half was expended for other than school purposes. In one month $2697 was spent for tobacco, doubtless on account of its wellknown civilizing and cultural effects, while $5,000 went to another purpose which we may not name. The Fund had practically disappeared in 1882.

Time after time in his annual reports we find the Indian Commissioner calling attention to governmental recreation with reference to treaty obligations. This continual nagging was possibly very influential as affecting the increase of appropriations. It is entirely safe to assume that the Commissioner did not usually paint the picture in colors one whit too dark, for his own tenure was dependent on the goodwill of the administration. In 1882 he showed

1. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1885, p. lxxix.
that where the treaty specified a certain annual sum for education, the promise had been kept, but where the support was pledged without specifying the annual expenditure, the promise had been only partially kept. A table was given showing the amount required to fulfill treaty obligations and the amount given to certain tribes with whom agreements had been made in 1868. Performance was to promise in the ratio of one to ten.¹ In 1886 the apology was made that in many cases "the Indians themselves have not complied with the necessary conditions of the law...In some instances appropriations have not been made under the provisions of the treaties for more than ten years."² If we look at the plain language of the treaties, this excuse appears a miserably poor one. If these provisions had been strictly to our own advantage, it is to be fancied that we would have compelled the Indians to "comply with the necessary conditions".

By this time, however, the twenty year limit fixed to the article in question was expiring in one treaty after another, so this particular issue became dead. The matter of school capacity and its relation to school population continued to be rather pressing for some time, but the fact that Indian population has remained almost, though hardly, stationary has set a definite problem for the Indian office, and not a constantly receding goal such as many of the rapidly growing cities of the country have vainly pursued. Gradual progress has brought us to the point where the ratio of the capacity of Indian schools to Indian population is nearly as small as the ratio of the same factors in a city like Chicago.

¹ Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1882, p. xli-xlii.
² Ibid, 1886, p. lxi.
The machinery for the control of Indian schools will now be examined. Such oversight long resided in a general way in the Indian Office with the records of attendance handled in the Medical and Education Division established in 1873. Four years later this division was discontinued and the school records were transferred to the Civilization Division. In 1884 a reorganization wrought out among others a new Education and Civilization Division, an arrangement lasting till Sept. 1, 1885, when the Education Division was set off by itself and the Indian School Superintendent placed in charge of it.¹ This shifting and uncertainty is probably the cause for Commissioner Morgan and others starting no further back than 1882 in giving statistics. Previous to that time and often later most ridiculous errors abound, proving conclusively both carelessness of clerical assistance and incompetent proof reading, if one may even imagine that proofs ever were read. Each year changes were made in the form of the statistics precluding any statistical inquiry or comparison extending over a number of years.² The clearness and reliability of the data furnished by the Bureau of Education is in pleasing contrast and aptly illustrates the distinction between an office primarily political and one run on business principles.

The office of Indian School Superintendent was created by Congress in 1882, but for two years the title was simply that of Inspector.³ Unfortunately the law failed to express many of the

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2. For example, the following contradictory official reports are made for the average attendance of Indian schools in 1882:

Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1882, p. 326 ---- 5,569
Ibid, ----------------------------- p. xxxiii -- 5,126
Ibid, ----------------------------- 1890, p. xvi ---- 4,066

3. U. S. Statutes at Large, XXII, 70.
functions of the position, but left them to be implied from the title of the official. The law directed him to inspect all Indian schools, to report a plan for carrying into effect treaty stipulations for the education of Indians together with "careful estimates of the cost", and also to propose "a plan and estimates for educating all Indian youth for whom no such provision now exists". The salary was fixed at $3,000 with $1,500 more for traveling expenses. The latter was not a princely amount on which to visit a system whose parts were scattered over the whole country.

The law of 1888 enlarged the functions of the superintendent by giving him power to "employ and discharge superintendents, teachers, and any other persons connected with schools wholly supported by the Government", and to make rules and regulations for the conduct of such schools. ¹ This law would have been fairly complete but for the reservation of the handling of funds to the direction of the Commissioner, thus dividing the two functions which are closely related to one another in any competent scheme of administration. The disposition of some authorities to minimize the importance of this legislation is due to the important qualification of the aforementioned powers by the insertion of the phrase, "with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior". ¹

When Superintendent Hailmann came into office in 1894, he found himself therefore under the existing law merely an advisory agent, but upon application to the Secretary of the Interior his duties were by that official defined as follows:

It shall be the duty of the Superintendent of Indian Schools to administer the educational work of the Indian schools; to organize the government schools for Indian youth; to examine, select and assign to duty superintendents, teachers, matrons, and other employees in the school service with the exception of clerks and assistant clerks; to prepare courses of study; and circulars of instruction con-

¹ U. S. Statutes at Large, XXV, 233.
cerning the educational management of the schools and methods of work; to examine and select text-books and other school appliances; to devise a system of reports from agents, superintendents, teachers, and matrons concerning the conduct and progress of their schools; to visit and inspect in person or through the supervisors of Indian schools or other accredited agents, all schools in which Indians are taught in whole or in part from appropriations from the United States Treasury, and to report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs concerning their condition, defects and requirements and to perform such other duties as may be imposed upon him.

While this became Section 4 of the Rules for the Indian Service, it was never enacted into statute, and proved shortlived as a working arrangement. This rule represents the superintendency at the pinnacle of its power. Had it continued in force to the present, there is good reason to believe that some of the problems of Indian education would have reached a much speedier solution. As it turned out, the rules published in 1898, and without change (so far as the Superintendent is concerned) in 1904, and still in force, reduce the Superintendent to an essentially subordinate position, and place the responsibility upon the Commissioner, an official already overloaded. The advent of civil service cannot justly be held fully responsible for the decline in the Superintendent's authority. Section 5 of the last edition of Rules for the Indian School Service reads thus:

It shall be the duty of the superintendent of Indian schools, under the direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to assist in the administration of the educational work of Indian schools; to organize government schools for Indian youth; to prepare courses of study and circulars of instruction concerning the educational management of the schools and methods of instruction; to examine and recommend text-books and other school appliances; to visit and inspect Indian schools, and from time to time report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs concerning their condition, defects, and requirements; and to perform such other duties as he may direct.

Comment is uncalled for. This represents very nearly the extreme of decentralization in a position where there is increasing agreement.

as to the necessity of a strong centralized executive control.

The superintendency of Indian schools has in general fallen into good hands, much better hands than other portions of the service, as we shall see. The first incumbent, J. M. Haworth, proved a competent and efficient officer, and held his post until taken by death in 1885. Able successors were Daniel Dorchester, who strove with Commissioner Morgan to bring about system in Indian education, Dr. W. N. Hailmann, and Estelle Reel, the present incumbent. The last four persons mentioned may be regarded as responsible for the development of the present system of Indian schools. The position of Commissioner has been unfortunate in the numerous changes and the inferiority of the incumbents, although the names of Oberly, Morgan, and Leupp will be excepted from any serious criticism and really deserve much credit. The superintendency has not always been free from politics, however, any more than prominent positions in our public schools have been. The superseding of Hailmann is a case in point. Political enemies attacked him, when the national election had foreshadowed a change of administration, on the ground of an irreligious administration of his office; and although many divines joined the presidents of half a dozen of the foremost universities of the country in a petition to President McKinley for Hailmann's retention, and although Archbishop Ireland recommended him highly as being fair between denominations, he was removed. This is only one phase of the whole matter of civil service now to be taken up.

The contest over the merit system in Indian affairs was as prolonged and bitter as it was vital to progress. Chronologically

1. Answers to Charges Made against Wm. N. Hailmann, Supt. of Indian Schools, Submitting Quotations from his Writings, etc. Indian Rights Association, June 1, 1898.
it paralleled the discussion of the same problem as affecting governmental matters at large, something so often true in this discussion that it is hardly possible to halt each time to indicate the fact. In 1885 the appointment of all school employees was by the Commissioner upon the recommendation of the different agents. This virtually amounted to giving each agent power to name his force. A recent rule had checked slightly the procession of competent people personae non gratae to the agent, passing out of office and the counter procession of friends not necessarily competent coming into office. It was made necessary to give reasons in case of removal and to state the qualifications of nominees to succeed. This was not at all sufficient and should have been changed to compel all eligibles to file in advance with the Indian Bureau proof of their qualifications.

The uncertainties of official life affected everyone from the Commissioner himself down to the lowliest employee at the most remote agency. It would be difficult to say which was the more deleterious in its influence, the frequency of changes or the incapacity of the appointees. About 1887 the Indian Rights Association through its traveling representatives began to uncover the prevalent abuses. Particular cases of dismissal were ferreted out with the disclosure oftentimes that the reasons for the discharge were anything but what they should have been, while in other schools where conditions almost defied description, no changes were made. A number of


2. "Within the last six years there have been four different Commissioners of Indian Affairs, each one having his own policy and his own convictions of the best methods of administering those affairs...I knew one administration that in four years changed the policy of the Indian Bureau three times."- Senator Dawes before the Lake Mohonk Conference, Oct. 9, 1890.
excerpts from the Report of the Association for 1887 are given to illustrate the personal methods employed. They make fine reading when sandwiched in with some of the adulatory comment so plentiful in official papers of that period.

One boarding school in Indian Territory had had five superintendents in one year. Prof. Gordon, superintendent of this school is wholly unfit for his position. He sent the children home during the winter with the measles broken out on them and many of them died. Of the Ponca school the superintendent is not fitted for his position; neither is his wife qualified to teach. The Arapahoe school was under the care of the third superintendent appointed to it during the year. There had been four different industrial teachers during the year, four matrons, four assistant matrons, four seamstresses. Miss Lamond, the only teacher in the school who knew how to teach, had been twice teacher and once matron during the year. The dormitories stank so that the visitor was forced to hold his nose while passing through them, and excepting the room occupied by the school under Miss Lamond and the kitchen and dining room, everything seemed about as bad as could well be. The Wichita school was under its second superintendent for the year, J. W. Haddon. The first one, Gen. C. W. Phifer, proved to be too outrageously profane and drunken even for an Indian school and was dismissed after getting into the calaboose. Mr. Haddon was putting a good deal of conscientious care and labor into his duties, and the work of this school was on the whole very satisfactory. The Mennonite mission school at Darlington was doing excellent work. After complimenting highly the school at Otoe, the Association representative cites some figures on tenure which Indian officials never took the trouble to publish. The changes in the school service during the past year, as also in the preceding one, are frequent and apparently without an improvement in its quality. In seventy reservation boarding schools there have been 102 superintendents and in the 560 positions in these schools there have been 1182 incumbents.

The Lake Mohonk Conference, which had been holding annual meetings for the discussion of the best methods of treating the Indian problem, almost from its foundation was strongly committed to civil service, and adopted resolutions repeatedly to that effect. The bearing of the character of the agent and other employees, aside from those primarily connected with the school, upon the school attendance and educational attitude of the reservation was made very plain, as was also the relation between the official atmosphere of

1. 5th Rept. Indian Rights Association, passim.
the reservation and the success or failure of returned students.

Commissioner Oberly, before his removal in June, 1889, planned a division of the country into sixty districts for convenience in examining applicants for service. He contemplated the extension of the merit system to the whole Indian school service.¹

His successor, Gen. T. J. Morgan, at once began to investigate drunkards. A most energetic critic admitted that the Commissioner was attempting to carry out the principles of merit as far as in his power.¹ His ability in this direction, however, was very limited, but help was at hand. On April 13, 1891, an historic date in school affairs, President Harrison by executive order extended the civil service rule to include superintendents and assistant superintendents of schools, teachers, and matrons in the Indian service.³ This rule, which went into effect Oct. 1 following, may be regarded as the outcome of a promise made by the President at a meeting of the Indian Commissioners early in the year.⁴

Disturbances in the service continued to arise nevertheless, chiefly in those positions not affected by the new rule, such as inspectors, special agents and their clerks, clerks in bonded schools, farmers, assistant farmers, industrial teachers, disciplinarians, assistant matrons, seamstresses, cooks, etc. How important it was that the first two classes mentioned should be free from partisanship is clear when it is recalled that the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs must rely upon the

¹ 6th Rept. Indian Rights Association, p. 34.
³ 8th Rept. U. S. Civil Service Commission, p. 2.
⁴ Proc. 9th Annual Meeting of Lake Mohonk Conference, p. 10.
reports furnished by these persons. Cases are on record where ins-
spectors have been sent over some of the territory immediately after a predecessor has presented a report "whitewashing" the whole force. They in turn have been followed by others until three or four such reports have been made through the collusion of the local agency of-
ficials and the inspectors, before a single government officer could be found honest enough to relate the truth and expose bureaucratic rottenness.

The only strenuous assault which has been made upon civil service was years ago, and there is no likelihood of a recurrence. The occasion referred to takes us back to 1893, when the new Com-
missioner Browning in his first annual report recommended that the bonded superintendents of schools be placed again in the unclassified (not under merit) service.¹ He suggested that the presence of a name on the eligible list did not offer any guarantee whatever of business ability or practical experience, and by the requirement of a pedagogical examination men of superior talent were barred from the service. His assertion was untrue, for portions of the blanks filled by eligibles covered both business ability and practical ex-
perience.² Further, the Commissioner had a list of three to choose from in making an appointment; and if he should desire, and the Civil Service Commissioner were willing, they might give him three more to choose from. If the choice should be bad, removal could be made in six months. In preferring the "grab-bag" method to the one just outlined, the Commissioner had possibly not read the history of Indian education with much comprehension.

¹ Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1893, p. 20.
² 11th Rept. Indian Rights Association, p. 15-17.
President Cleveland during his second administration extended the civil service over assistant teachers and did himself further credit by an order of May 6, 1896, which put all the Indian service under the merit system, except laborers, agents, and inspectors. Step by step the advances were made until by 1896 "All appointments, transfers, removals, and promotions in the Indian school service are made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the appointments [except in the case of Indians] being made from the certification of eligibles furnished by the Civil Service Commission. In case of the appointment of a bonded superintendent of a school the selection is subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior." The exception of Indians as outlined in Sections 111 and 112 of the Rules was another case of mistaken charity. It should be classed with other official acts, such as the system of issuing rations indiscriminately, a practice philanthropic in its intention but demoralizing in tendency and calculated to undo much of the educational results toward which the government schools were aiming. The favoring of the Indian in competition for school positions was wrong in principle because it assumed his inferiority as a class, which was a degrading presumption, or his superiority as a class, which is un-American. This error has been corrected in a measure by the last edition of the Rules, which places the Indian on an equality with the whites except in the case of minor positions.

In general civil service in the Indian schools has worked well. Naturally it has had its critics, among them Capt. R. H. Pratt, long associated with the Carlisle School. There is, of course,


the objection always urged as to the futility of a written examination to test the actual fitness of a teacher. There has been no objection raised on the score of "snap" examinations which could be passed by any one, and consequently by the favorites whom those higher up desired to appoint. In 1897 Hailmann furnished statistics comparing the changes for the first four years of civil service with those for the last four under an almost exclusively spoils system. Not only had tenure become more secure, but the operation of the new rules had demonstrated the unfitness of a large percentage who had previously been able to secure places.¹

There is still another party to be included in the educational machine of each reserve, viz., the agent. The rules of the service for over two decades back constituted him a distinctly, though not at all exclusively, educational officer. He is charged with the enforcement of the rules and regulations for schools, the keeping of pupils in school, the transfer of pupils to nonreservation schools, the making of contracts for and the issuing of supplies for the schools in his jurisdiction, the inspection of all such schools, and a biennial report as to the efficiency of all employees on the reservation. Friction between the agent and the superintendent of the school, especially after civil service had rescued the latter class from the grasp of the spoilsman, and the frequent and unnecessary changes in the office of agent, directed the attention of the friends of the Indian after civil service had been extended over most of the strictly school positions.

With President Cleveland's first administration only two agents out of sixty were not superseded, and those who followed Mr.

Cleveland did not permit him to outdo them.\(^1\) The discussion waxed warm. Various proposals were made for betterment. Some thought the whole matter could best be taken out of politics by placing army officers again in charge.\(^2\) Others were positive that the salaries were not sufficient to induce men of the proper moral stamp and business ability to leave their homes and regular vocations. Many were for civil service but apprehended the practical difficulty of framing a set of questions which would insure the possession of the requisite business intelligence by those who might pass. The best thought in the matter seemed to be the application of the spirit of civil service to the post of agent, a suggestion intangible enough for an ordinary politician to avoid.

Help came in an entirely different way. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was authorized in cases where the Secretary of the Interior should approve, to devolve the duties of an agency upon the superintendent of the school, if in his judgment the superintendent were capable.\(^3\) The regulations governing such an officer have been the same as those governing an agent. The term bonded superintendent has been used to refer to these joint superintendents and agents. This law was one of the wisest ever passed by Congress in relation to any phase of the Indian problem. It placed a prominent position under civil service, where subsequent years proved it could be satisfactorily dealt with, it introduced unity, harmony, and added efficiency into the business of the service, and abolished a sinecure.

The number of agents had varied from fifty-seven to sev-

2. This method had been tried exclusively for about a year in Grant's first administration.
enty-seven since the Civil War, there being fifty-eight in 1894, the year of the above legislation. The incumbent of the commissionership was not evidently a very ardent advocate of the new law, for he found it impossible to reduce the number of agencies in a marked degree. His successors, Commissioners Jones and Leupp, were in full sympathy with the reform, and in less than half a decade diminished the agents over fifty per cent. For some time there have been only about twenty of these officers left, the halt being explained by the fact that a gradual change must take place at the few remaining points before one person will be able to assume the responsibility of both positions. Even though the Commissioner and Superintendent may continue to be subject to politics, those who are interested in education ought now to be fairly well contented with the Indian school system from this particular point of view. The terms of the commissioners are averaging almost four years, and the present Superintendent has been continuously in office for twelve years.

Another side of the school question has had its political phase. Log-rolling and political expediency have dictated the choice of too many school sites for both reservation and nonreservation schools. Individuals who knew how managed to sell the most undesirable tracts for school sites. Sometimes the situation was without drainage; slops, garbage, and refuse from the school hospital had to be placed in barrels and hauled away at intervals. Thus the reputation of the school for healthfulness was injured. Poor lighting and defective ventilation were common complaints; the agent and the building contractor had had an "understanding". Again the initiated often succeeded in selling the government a tract of sandy land, ab-

1. The status of the district inspector or supervisor with respect to political influence is not known.
olutely infertile, where the Indians might study agriculture. The nonreservation schools at Flandreau, South Dakota and Pipestone, Minnesota were founded the same year at a distance of only fifteen miles from each other. While this fact is not objectionable in itself, since both schools have always been well patronized, there was some waste in the duplication of two managements at so close range. The more important corollary is that the location of schools was rather a matter of favor to certain districts at the hands of their representatives than of fundamental fitness of the favored community for the object in view.

Other matters related to school administration, such as the nonreservation idea and sectarian influence, will be treated separately. The trend of this chapter points out definitely the need and the difficulty of an absolute separation of any system of schools from political influence, at least until political standards shall have undergone a complete metamorphosis. Competent administration demands harmony and unity, which means centralization in the executive department. Local influence in the choosing of teachers, sites, etc. should have a check in some essential way through a central county or state authority in the case of general education, not proceeding necessarily to the New York extreme of bureaucracy.
CHAPTER V.

RELIGIOUS FORCES IN INDIAN EDUCATION.

The system of giving governmental aid to schools carried on among the Indians by private parties goes back almost to the beginning of Indian education. Isolated cases of public contributions in the colonial period have been faithfully chronicled, and the trend of governmental activity up to 1870 pointed out. A circular issued by the War Department September 3, 1819, contained an invitation to parties interested in Indian education to seek the cooperation of the government in erecting necessary buildings and meeting current expenses.¹ The Quakers collected a large amount of testimony between 1830 and 1840 tending to show that pagan Indians were opposed to education in almost every case and that the hope of enlightenment lay in a method summarized thus by some of the Indians:—"Give us missionaries to tell us about the words of the Great Spirit; give us schools, that our children may be taught to read the Bible; give us oxen to work with, and men to show us how to work our farms."² In the years that followed, although there may have been exceptions, the government did not pretend to operate schools of its own. The church was the usual medium.

The custom of making written contracts with the churches began not far from 1870.³ These were drawn up between the Department of the Interior and the authorities of the school, commonly for a year at a time. Such agreements were not, however, regarded as necessary when formal appropriations were made by Congress for

1. American State Papers, VI, 201.
any institution. The missionary zeal of numerous denominations was deemed worthy of all encouragement, and a rapid expansion of sectarian interests ensued. For the year preceding July 15, 1870 the agents and superintendents of Indian affairs in Kansas and Nebraska were appointed upon the recommendation of the Friends; and when on the above date a provision became law necessitating the removal of the army officers from the service, President Grant decided to apportion all the agencies and superintendencies among different religious denominations, or missionary societies representing them, and then to appoint on their nomination.\(^1\) Thus temporarily the church was given a greater measure of control than ever before.

The division resultant from the President's scheme recognized thirteen different organizations, the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians being the most favored and ranking in the order named; the Episcopalians were next and the Roman Catholics fifth. The right of presentment for an agency was not supposed in any way to prejudice the rights of other sects in missionary or educational work in the territory included in said agency. The reason assigned by the Executive for this action was the friction which had arisen between agents and religious workers in the same jurisdiction on account of antagonistic beliefs and frequent changes of agents. A certain religious society, encouraged by an agent, would enter upon certain plans, and then be forced to relinquish them at considerable loss because of the selection of a new agent of narrow sectarian views. It was shrewdly suspected that the President also desired to take Indian affairs out of politics if possible.

The energy of the beneficiaries was highly commendable,

1. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1872, pp. 72-74. The "superintendencies" were groups of agencies, not heads of schools.
and not until after 1880 is it likely that the government put so much money into the work as the religious organizations. In the early years the Friends maintained the primacy of their former position. All the denominations except the Roman Catholics enrolled more boys than girls, and both Catholics and Friends had more female than male teachers. Considering the number of pupils per teacher, there was little to choose between the government schools and the church schools. The Catholics were best off in this respect, probably on account of the greater cheapness of female than male teachers. The general plan of church control is praised in at least two reports of the Commissioner, and very little criticism can be found on any hand. So quietly that it is not mentioned in the reports, the political regime was restored about 1878 or 1880, the very secrecy of those engineering the deal being a guarantee of their sinister purpose. The sequel of this reversion has been discussed at sufficient length in Chapter IV.

By 1883 the Friends had fallen far behind, the Presbyterians now instructing more pupils than any other denomination. Both Presbyterians and Catholics were investing much more money than the Friends. And side by side with these had now grown up a large number of government schools greatly exceeding in enrollment those of all the churches. Both grew rapidly up to 1890, by which date a separation of church and state in this connection began to be discussed. It was already the settled policy of the Indian Bureau to manage through its own appointees all schools maintained in buildings built with government money, and two commissioners had

1. Repts. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1873 and 1876. The generalizations of this paragraph are the result of the examination of masses of disorganized statistics in the official reports. Citations would be wearisome.
2. Ibid, 1883, pp. 240-245.
declared it advisable for the schools to be entirely divorced from sectarian influence or control. The attitude of Commissioner Morgan on this point is alleged to have aroused the opposition which nearly prevented his own and Dorchester's appointment. That there was a lack of hearty accord between denominations is evident, for example, in the denial of Commissioner Oberly "of the charge that in making school contracts the Indian Bureau has discriminated in favor of the Catholics."²

The Lake Mohonk Conference in 1890 devoted an entire session to the relation of the church and state in Indian education. ³ Tremendously increased grants to sectarian schools, particularly to Roman Catholic institutions, had provoked much unfavorable comment by the press. A division of opinion appeared. While some missionaries, as a matter of principle, were already refusing government money, others produced statistics to prove that a sudden withdrawal of government patronage from sectarian education would leave thousands without any accommodations. Some of the latter, while approving the separation of church and state as a general principle, did not consider the time ripe for a change of policy until civil service should have regenerated the government schools. The existing condition created great waste through the duplication of school plants by the government and different denominations at certain points.

3. This organization has had a most interesting history. Since the fall of 1885 it has been held at Minnewasha, Ulster County, New York, to enjoy an annual discussion of the Indian problem. Of recent years sessions have been given to the study of race problems in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines. The host, Mr. Albert M. Smiley, entertains all comers at his home for the entire three-day meeting. His interest was first aroused during a term of service on the Board of Indian Commissioners about 1880. The annual roster at Lake Mohonk
One objection urged against the Catholic schools was that their teachers sometimes could not speak English; again, it was said that these schools refused to follow the general regulations adopted for all government and contract schools. Other charges were possibly without good foundation. From the standpoint of civic training, for instance, it was argued that allegiance to the Vatican was being instilled before patriotism. The contemporary strength of the A. P. A. movement must be borne in mind to give a proper perspective to these statements.

The conclusion reached seemed to be that proper religious training could be afforded the Indian for some time only by continuing church schools. A white child could receive proper instruction in this direction in his home in the majority of cases, but to entrust such responsibility to the Indian home would be an unwarranted risk. Lack of capacity and inefficiency of government schools was also an important factor.

But the repugnance to the American of the idea of extending aid to religious bodies in the propagation of their faith and the dangers and entanglements growing out of such a policy were evident, and in practice were proving serious. Many of the churches themselves appreciated the weakness of the system, and, with a single conspicuous exception, declared against the policy or even resolved to accept no more public money. Cardinal Gibbons was quoted as having expressed the hope that he might "never live to see the day when the church would either invoke or receive governmental aid," contains the names of many of the foremost educators and Indian workers of the country, and the bringing together of such a body must ever give a prominent place to Mr. Smiley in the story of the Indian's progress.
but his response, when he was written to, showed that he did not consider the words quoted above applicable to appropriations for Indian schools.\textsuperscript{1} The Lake Mohonk Conference resolved and the Indian Rights Association centered its forces on this point.

Preliminary notice of acquiescence on this point came when Congress inserted in the Indian Appropriation Bill of August 15, 1894 an instruction to the Secretary of the Interior to investigate the propriety of discontinuing contract schools.\textsuperscript{2} Thus a year's notice was politely served upon the churches to make their arrangements for self-support. In the next appropriation act (1895) the Secretary of the Interior was forbidden to make contracts with any new schools and allowed to do so with the existing beneficiaries only to a total of eighty per cent of the amount so granted in the previous year.\textsuperscript{3} This left it in the hands of the administrative officers to decide where the reduction should be made. No horizontal scaling of contracts was resorted to, but the saving was made by purchasing some denominational schools, by reducing the higher per capita rates previously paid, and by eliminating contracts at places where the government could fill the demand. The slight falling off in the payments made to Catholic schools as compared with other denominations need not be charged to favoritism, since it was the settled policy of other churches not to receive such aid. This year, 1896, marks the wiping from the list of every sectarian missionary board outside the Roman Catholic church. Some private parties who may have had denominational views continued to enjoy contracts, as well as Hampton and Lincoln Institutes, which though private are

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Indian Rights Association, \textit{11th Rept.}, p. 21; \textit{12th Rept.}, pp.8-9.
\item \textsuperscript{2} \textit{Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs}, 1894, p. 18.
\item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid}, 1895, p. 10.
\end{itemize}
strictly nonsectarian.

By statutory direction contracts for 1897 were to be not over fifty per cent of the total for 1895. ¹ It is amusing to read the Commissioner's (Browning's) explanation of effecting this reduction. In the first place, he says that he reduced the per capita rate to $108 per annum, an obvious contradiction of his table on the same and the following pages. Next, he does not reduce the number of pupils "at the very few contract schools which are non-Catholic", but a table on the second page following shows that this very thing was done, that whereas some Protestant schools had contracts for 1896, not one had a contract for 1897. This is unimportant in itself, but it is extremely suggestive as showing the lack of sincerity of the Commissioner and also how delicate a subject this whole matter had become.

There followed successive annual reductions to forty, thirty and fifteen per cent of the contract money of 1895.² It was the general understanding that the relation of the government and sectarian schools was to cease with the fiscal year 1900. The Commissioner's reports for 1897-1900 inclusive state that money paid on contracts with St. Louis' and St. John's boarding schools on the Osage reservation in Oklahoma is not considered as in any way affected by the recent legislation, since it is paid out of trust funds of the tribe, at the instance of the tribe.³

That there was candor on the part of the administration in

2. Ibid, 1897, p. 13; 1898, p. 15; 1899, p. 16.
3. Ibid, 1905, p. 35. The reader will understand that money accrues to the benefit of Indian education in three important ways, (1) by public appropriation, (2) as interest on funds held in trust for the tribe by the United States, and (3) as money paid to the tribe in pursuance of treaty stipulations.
carrying out the law as to letter and intent is seen in the issuance of an order by the Commissioner in August, 1901, that supplies of no kind be issued to children at mission boarding schools for the reason that such children are technically off the reservation and hence not legally entitled to anything, and that supplies issued in such a case would be an appropriation for sectarian schools.¹ This order coming without notice seriously crippled the Episcopal and Catholic schools in the Dakotas. Moreover, the legal phase of the Commissioner's opinion hardly stands fire because the rations are for the support of the child, and not for the support of the school. Children in a mission school could hardly be considered off the reservation, since at all times these mission schools were open to the inspection of government officials. Mission schools were evidently not considered off the reservation in 1887 when a regulation was passed by the Indian Office forbidding any language except English to be taught in any of the schools. The order affecting rations was bad general policy because it placed a premium on running at large if there was not sufficient capacity in the government school, and it amounted to an order forcing pupils out of sectarian into government schools if the latter were large enough. Either idea was utterly at variance with both the letter and the spirit of all legislation in existence.

Bishop Hare of the Episcopal Church appealed the ruling finally to Attorney-General Knox, who upheld the Indian Department. This concluded the incident. Hare was compelled to close two of his schools and, he alleged, to sell them at a sacrifice.²


². Hearing of Subcommittee of Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Feb. 3, 1905.
The whole controversy was soon reopened in what appears to
have been a rather aggravated form. 1 Early in 1904 petitions were
received from several tribes asking that the tribal income from cer-
tain treaty and trust funds be devoted to the maintenance of estab-
lished schools within their reservation limits. The requests were
for Catholic schools with one exception, the Zoar Boarding School,
a Lutheran institution among the Menominees of Wisconsin. The peti-
tions in most of the cases were signed by a very few members of the
tribe comparatively, crosses instead of signatures occurred in abund-
ance, leaving a serious question as to whether the signers were in-
telligent enough to understand what they were doing, even though the
circulators of the petitions may have tried to explain their content,
a fact for which no one can vouch. As a consequence contracts were
made to the amount of $102,780 for the fiscal year 1905, the Luther-
ans getting $4,320, the Roman Catholics the remainder.

Great dissatisfaction was expressed from several quarters
when this became known. Large numbers of Protestants in the tribes
affected petitioned against this diversion of tribal funds. It be-
came evident that the usual legal precautions, such as the holding
of a properly announced tribal assembly, had in no case been ob-
served. Many church and missionary organizations entered protests.
Bishop Hare was especially indignant at what he considered a breach
of promise or trust by the officials who had so recently rendered
him a decision. The press of the country passed some rather caustic
comments. 2 The whole transaction was thoroughly aired in a hearing
of the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, held
1. Hearing of Subcommittee of Senate Committee on Indian Affairs,
Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1905, seq.
2. Outlook, 79: 221, 263.
in January and February, 1905. On February 3, 1905 President Roosevelt, after consultation with the Attorney-General, directed the Secretary of the Interior to continue making contracts out of tribal funds. Later in the year (December, 1905) the President concluded that the use of treaty funds for such purpose was doubtful, although on the score of trust funds he had no misgivings. Accordingly he directed that after the close of the current year no such use of treaty funds should be made until Congress authorized or the courts determined.

The President in both communications specified above asked that care be taken in all cases "to see that any petition by the Indians is genuine, and that the money appropriated for any given school represents only the pro rata proportion to which the Indians making the petition were entitled". Failure to be so guided in the contracts for the preceding year seems really to be the moral quicksand, if there be any, of the whole procedure. As a matter of statesmanship the practice transferred the religious lobby from Washington to the reservations and spread religious intolerance among the Indians.

Meanwhile the subject had been opened again for congressional deliberation. The proposition was made in the House to compel the consent in writing of Indians entitled to trust funds or interest on the same, before such money could be expended for contract schools. This was defeated on a point of order. The only subsequent addition to the statutes on this phase of the Indian question was incorporated in the appropriation act for 1906. It treated the issue of rations to children enrolled in sectarian schools exactly as if such children were with their parents. In the issue to the family the a-
mount going to the child at school is subtracted. This legislation was as wise as the ruling of several years previous, relative to rations, had been pernicious.

The opposition to the restriction of sectarian privilege sought to have a $200,000 sectarian appropriation made for the two years ensuing. Naturally this would go only to the one or two churches which were willing to take it. In the interim Senator A. J. Bard of California was approached by one F. L. Scharf of Washington, who represented himself to be a Roman Catholic. Mr. Scharf furnished the Senator with a list of twenty close congressional districts together with the Catholic vote of those districts, and suggested that the granting of the $200,000 would insure those districts to go in the Republican column at the next election. Cardinal Gibbons denied the connection of Mr. Scharf with the Catholic Church in any official capacity, but the report of the "Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for 1903-4" has the following paragraph at its close:

The Bureau is indebted to Prof. E. L. Scharf of Washington, D. C. for very valuable services which he rendered the cause of the Catholic Indian Schools.

Mr. Scharf was engaged in the same class of work the following winter also, but there was no appropriation.

Commissioner Leupp was doing his best in the meantime to do as the President desired. He took from the total fund available for a tribe, the cost of supporting the government schools, and divided the remainder by the population of the tribe. This gave the share normally due each person. This pro rata amount was multiplied by the number of petitioners for a sectarian school, to ascertain the amount which could be so applied. If the request of the school for a contract exceeded this amount, the number of pupils contracted
for was reduced; if not, the contract was made and the remainder due the petitioners was divided equally among them. This was Americanism as defined in every state of the Union: every one shall contribute to the support of the public school according to his ability, though, if he choose, he may send his children elsewhere. Mr. Leupp found it necessary in many cases to use his first alternative, viz., reduce the number of pupils asked for by the contract seekers. One point at fault in the plan must be noted here. In cases where the number of children which the petitioners wished to school was greater than the number which could be contracted for, certain of the petitioners would be paying their shares to the sectarian school for the benefit of their neighbors' children, but would be excluded themselves. This would not be so very bad since the money would be expended at any rate in the cause which they wished to see advanced.

President Roosevelt for an unknown reason asked Mr. Leupp to change this method. First, let the total due the tribe be prorated. Then, find as before the total due petitioners for a sectarian school, and make the desired contract if possible, dividing the remainder among the petitioners. If this be impossible, make such contract as the total would permit by reducing the number of pupils. This left the government schools to be supported entirely by non-petitioners. This was a serious mistake, for if the Indians were to be consulted at all as free agents, they should have been held strictly to our recognized standards of universal taxation for public schools. Moreover, recurring to the objection to Mr. Leupp's plan, if certain petitioners could not be accommodated by the contract school, they must either let their children run at large or send them to the government school at the expense of their non-petitioning neighbors. The President's suggestion was an extremely poor one
but, so far as is known, it is still the rule.

A case was then brought by the Indian Rights Association in the name of Reuben Quickbear and other Rosebud Sioux to secure a decision in respect to the legal phase of the controversy. An injunction was obtained from Justice Gould of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, restraining Commissioner Leupp and his successors from applying any of the Sioux treaty funds to sectarian contracts. In due season the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia ruled that treaty and trust funds were not affected by the action of Congress. An appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States resulted in the affirmation of the decree of the lower court. This concludes the story of the legal side.

In Table IV some statistics are given bringing the matter

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<th>YEAR</th>
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<th>Text</th>
<th>Inst.</th>
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1. Data up to and including 1900 are taken from Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1900, p. 25; for subsequent years from the same source for the year preceding that for a given figure. All Protestant denominations ceased to receive aid after the period 1894-1896.
up to date. It is singularly unfortunate that the status quo has not been materially altered for five years past. The ultimate settlement, however, can not be far off. The probable solution, because it is the easiest, is the breakup of tribal funds into individual moneys and the payment of this money directly to the individual. This is in line with the general policy of introducing the Indians everywhere gradually to the responsibilities and status of citizenship. The government is now amply able to care for all children with present equipment or equipment which the large annual appropriations will provide.

The foregoing account has not been thus detailed for the purpose of arousing sectarian feeling against any denomination. The per capita rates in contracts past and present are such as to leave a considerable burden on the contracting school. $108 to $125 per annum is not a lavish sum with which to feed, clothe, shelter, and care for a child, to say nothing of providing tuition. The Catholic Church has deserved more than other denominations if its own investment in the work is competent evidence. The Catholic Church is today caring for nearly three times as many Indian children in strictly mission schools as all other denominations together.

The real purpose of this detailed discussion is to show the futility of any union of church and state in the United States. Germany has hitched the two institutions together and driven them with a degree of success. The history of Indian education shows that sort of thing to be wholly impracticable in this country. Such a policy, even in Germany, or wherever tried, means that one sect while tolerant of the others retains a paramount influence. This the American people will not brook until their traditions and ideals
undergo a radical change. No plan can be devised which will attach religion as such to the schools and still satisfy a majority. This conclusion has had and will have its bearing upon our attempts at race education in the Philippines and elsewhere. The trouble became chronic in connection with the Indian because of the trend of historical development. Vested interests, religious or financial, never yield without a struggle. Our statesmen will be wise enough to prevent a repetition of history.
CHAPTER VI.

THE RESERVATION SCHOOLS AND THE GENERAL PROBLEM.

The greater part of the Indian children secure their education near home. This has always been true and will become more true with the passage of years. On the reservations are found two kinds of institutions, representing steps in the educational ladder and also opposing theories in education.

Looked at from the standpoint of a system, the day schools constitute the foundation and should provide the fundamentals. Above this come the reservation boarding schools, taking the pupils who have finished possibly four grades of work. The boarding feature is a necessity because the constituent territory is larger. The nonreservation schools carry the scheme one step further, offering (1) academic training of secondary grade as a preparation for the study of a profession or for entering the work of teaching, and (2) vocational training of a higher and more specialized type than the other schools. The results of experiments in negro education have restrained even the enthusiasts from commending much secondary schooling for a race no further advanced than the Indian.

This theory has been followed in vague outline, as the disproportionate number of students at the top and the middle of the ladder testifies. Absolutely unlettered children found their way into boarding schools without hindrance, and for a while into nonreservation schools. The theory of the system has been restored with reference to the last class of schools, but it is not operative as between the two kinds of schools on the reservation. Table III shows the trend of development very plainly. From 1877 to 1887 the number of boarding schools increased with great rapidity while the day
schools decreased. The latter almost disappeared temporarily under the stress of competition with the nonreservation schools, which were just starting. From this time the boarding school grew less rapidly than the day school in number, but more rapidly in students, who were being gathered into larger and larger groups. The greater part of the gain in numbers was reaped by the nonreservation institutions. The last three or four years show a prodigious increase in day schools, while the number and enrollment of boarding schools of both sorts is declining. In general, the idea of the educational ladder seems to be coming nearer realization.

Laying aside now the question of a system, the reservation schools may be regarded from the standpoint of opposing methods. For the general end in view each kind of school has had its advocates. The boarding vs. the day school is in some respects only the nonreservation controversy\(^1\) carried a step further. The contest between the two types of schools is on closer analysis an issue principally between the welfare of the pupil and that of the parent. The day school is a leaven in the community, disarming native prejudice and opposition to education, and awakening a desire for the more thorough teaching of the boarding school. It is only through the day school that a constant upward pull can be exercised on the home. The teacher who is devoted to his work can find his way into the life of the older Indians, he can become a true "settlement" worker. The school premises and their care, the school garden, and the little school farm are where they can be seen almost daily. The natural aversion to part with one's children for a long period is another advantage of the local school.

Against this is to be weighed a variety of considerations.

1. See Chapter VII for full discussion on this point.
In many places children fresh from the wigwam each day are neither properly cleansed nor properly clad for attendance upon school. Their personal habits are modified with difficulty; they eat and sleep irregularly. Immoral and vicious adult influences have access to them a large part of the time; the native tongue and ideals have too great opportunity to crowd out the results of schooling; the advantages of consolidation as affecting equipment, curriculum and teaching efficiency are lost. The roving disposition of parents can take children long distances from school for weeks at a time. From each of these standpoints the advantage of the boarding school is clear. Though the lines of the reservations are being drawn closer and closer, the attitude of the parents is still a very weighty element. In conjunction with sparseness of population, it controls the vital requisite of regularity of attendance, which is the crux of the question. Commissioner Leupp, who strongly championed the day schools, should have cited the statistics on this point. Table V has been derived for this purpose by using the figures for average attendance as given in Table III together with the returns for enrollment found in the various reports of the Commissioner. It is

Table V.

Ratio of Average Attendance to Enrollment.

impossible to go back further than 1887 on account of an absence of data on enrollment. There has obviously been a splendid improvement at the day schools, and boarding schools too have shown a marked change in this respect. The recent drop for the day schools is attributable probably to the opening of many new day schools in communities where the people are not so strong in their support. The pertinent point is this: the difference between perfect attendance and actual average attendance is (in per cent) less than one-half as much for boarding schools as for day schools. This is a pretty heavy sacrifice to make for the sake of a school in each community. In the judgment of the writer the opening of day schools should proceed slowly, with special care in the selection of the locality to be so treated. The dangers of overhaste are greater than those of ultraconservatism.

Suitable application of compulsory attendance will bear strongly upon this difficulty. Such action was not counseled for a time, because the capacity of all schools was taxed, but that is so far from the truth now that there is plenty of room for duress. The cost of mission schools has sometimes been made high because they had to subsidize attendance. Certain discretionary power has been assumed to be vested in the agent or superintendent in this matter, and they have tried different expedients to secure their results. One of the principal duties of the agent has for a long time been the filling of the school. As early as 1883 the withholding of rations or annuities was resorted to.¹ This must have been really effective when nearly all Indians received one or both of these bounties. An understanding with boarding schools that they must produce their own subsistence as far as their facilities would permit,

¹. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1884, p. xxiii.
brought about considerable activity. On different reservations the local officials resorted to cruelty and other illegal duress to bring the children into school. While one may not necessarily conclude that their conduct was selfish, it is proper to remember that enlarged attendance secured increased allowance for salaries.

General legislation was first enacted in 1891, directing the Commissioner 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". Acting thereunder, Commissioner Morgan drew up a set of rules compelling children from five to eighteen to attend if they passed a favorable medical examination. If the local school were full, transfer was admissible. The Indian police were used to bring in truants. The weakness of this law was the daily arrest necessitated unless delinquents were imprisoned in boarding schools. A demand therefore arose for a law that would affect all Indians whether they were the recipients of rations or not, a law that would strike all cases in a decisive way.

Congress has never complied with this request. The framing of a satisfactory uniform statute for all tribes would be difficult, but on the other hand there is always a prejudice among Americans against special legislation. Fines would be impossible, because many Indians possess no property. Imprisonment with free food and lodging would be as gratifying to others as it is to some white malefactors. The way out seems to be through the enactment of state laws to apply to all persons within their borders. The constitutionality of such legislation seems open to serious question, unless

2. Ibid, 1891, p. 158.
Congress should waive its prerogative at this point. While it has never formally taken such action, no test case has been made in the three states that have passed compulsory laws.\(^1\) Their example will doubtless be generally followed by the states which have Indians within their limits. In this two desirable gains appear: (1) elasticity of regulation, (2) one more step in the reduction of the Indian to the control of the states.

The systematizing of the three classes of Indian schools was advanced a long distance by Commissioner Morgan. Before his time methods and machinery were abundant and incoherent. Many schools did excellent work, but each was a law to itself. There was no uniformity of methods or curriculum; there were no standards or external forces tending to draw the school to a higher level. Reports read well, but Superintendent Dorchester concluded that they were poor evidence.\(^2\) The limit without organization had been reached. Morgan set about remedying this state of affairs. He conceived that each sort of school had a definite part to play in the process of education, and to insure the performance of the appropriate function all along the line he promulgated in 1890 the first code of regulations and the first course of study for Indian schools.

The first of these laid down explicitly the duties of every officer and employee connected with the service. The force had become a small army, numbering something over 1,800 persons. Conflicts of authority must have been exceedingly numerous, but there was no set manner of adjusting them. Authority was now more centralized and responsibility was fixed. Former gaps between the work of 1. Idaho was the first (1901). Wisconsin and Oregon acted in 1905. Idaho enjoins attendance for the full term and fixes the age limits at five and eighteen.

2. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1890, pp. 272-274.
employees, resulting in neglect of important functions, were closed. General rules were included to elucidate the status of the pupil, his privileges, duties, and treatment. Again in 1898 and 1904 revised codes were issued containing some changes which are irrelevant to the purpose of this thesis. Subsequent circulars have been issued further developing the administrative machinery, until the organization of the system from district supervision down to the minutiae of fire drills and compulsory vaccination will compare favorably with any piece of educational machinery of as wide geographical distribution.

The course of study prepared by Commissioner Morgan must be examined more closely. It divided the curriculum into a primary and an advanced portion of four years each, as a working basis especially for reservation boarding schools, but day schools were asked to follow it as far as practicable. On the academic side it was equivalent to about six grades of the ordinary public school, since it was directed that half time should be given to industrial training. The purpose was to fit the pupils to enter life's competition on equal terms with their white neighbors or to take the advanced industrial course at a nonreservation school. The branches outlined over the entire primary course were (1) the English language, (2) reading and writing, (3) number, (4) general exercises (music, calisthenics, etc.). Geography, orthography, form and color, and drawing began with the second year. The principal distinction between this course and that of a public school lay in the large amount of time given to the language. This occupied most of the time for the first year. Simple talks on morals and manners began in the second year, and to them was added hygiene in the fourth. The last four years "Observation lessons" (nature study for the most part) are
a much more important feature than in public schools. The study of books was minimized, the study of things magnified. The motor element was made very prominent. Everything was placed strictly on the basis of apperception.

Four years afterwards Superintendent Hailmann took up the task of revising the course. 1 He did not issue the revision as a completed whole, but prepared syllabi of the different subjects one at a time. There was an attempt this time to differentiate more clearly between the province of the day and the reservation boarding school, but diffidence was expressed as to success because of the insufficiency of day schools to care for all beginners. This course took up the matter of industrial training, something which the preceding outline had presupposed but had not expanded. Correlation was aimed at, full correlation between the academic and industrial studies. Dr. Hailmann also revised the list of text-books. Many of the books that were highly satisfactory in public schools were highly unsatisfactory in Indian schools. Material that appeals to the child brought up in the midst of civilization does not necessarily attract or stimulate the mind of a child brought up in an entirely different environment. Books were chosen whose selections for reading dealt more with the observation and love of nature. It can be readily seen that portions of the usual text in history, for instance, are not fitted for the Indian schools.

The next revision was undertaken by Superintendent Estelle Reel. 2 It was placed before the service in 1901 after the author had enjoyed three years of field experience, and embodied the ideas of many persons in the service. This was the most elaborate of all, covering in detail thirty-one subjects, the greater number of which

1. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1894, p. 349.
were vocational. The plan was somewhat changed to shorten the course to six or seven years. Most of the industrial subjects did not begin till the third year or later, but agriculture, gardening, and sewing extended from the very beginning.

The most recent step in the evolution of the course has been its coordination with the courses of the including states. This does not mean any great dissimilarity in different parts of the country because the resemblance between state courses is strong. The gain comes in the ease with which the Indian children may transfer to white schools, the sympathy and cooperation made possible between the public and the Indian school teachers, the valuable suggestions found in the state courses, and their adaptation to the local situation. It is not, however, contemplated that the state courses shall be slavishly adhered to, or that the industrial side shall lose its emphasis. The best texts in each state are eligible for use in the Indian schools.

In his Manual for Indian Schools published last year present Commissioner Valentine, under the heading of Methods, says:

Educative processes with Indian children are the same as with white children. Pedagogical principles are just as applicable in Indian schools as in non-Indian schools, and those Indian schools are best which approach most closely in academic work to the best state schools, in methods....

This view as to method seems to be the generally accepted one. A number of letters from Indian school superintendents assure one that the courses of study in the including states are being taught and the same methods being used as in the public schools. To this, of course, the exception mentioned above is to be noted, viz., the greater amount of industrial work and the closer correlation between it and the academic. The most evident distinction between Indian

1 Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1909, p. 25.
and white children is the greater timidity of the former, a temperamental rather than a psychological difference, and hence calls for an exercise of tact rather than any permanent modification of method. Its effect is naturally most marked at the very first and arises mainly with reference to the use of a strange tongue. The difficulty is met by the most successful teachers through a more extensive use of object teaching in the early part of the course, similar to the procedure in public schools in teaching English to foreigners. Familiar objects are placed before the pupil and constant drill given in associating them with their names, spoken and written. Older pupils after some instruction have been found very capable in giving extra drill to the beginners. In the presence of an older pupil much of the characteristic shyness passes off.

Indians have found their way into the school service in numbers of several hundred, but have served mostly in the less responsible capacities, as clerks, teachers, industrial teachers, matrons and laundresses. No Indian has served as superintendent or district supervisor, but at some time natives have been found in nearly every other position. There is no direct means of judging their comparative efficiency in such a way as to learn something of the propriety of employing native teachers as a general policy. Such a policy has been regarded with suspicion, one would judge, from the fact that it has not been resorted to in any school of consequence. The general opinion is that the native teacher is all right in his place, but that his place is not at the top. This is very likely a proper estimate, for scarcely any Indians have had a training broad enough to fit them for a responsible superintendency. The few who have had such a training have gone to work in the best state schools. The church gives an indirect perspective upon this
question through the practice of licensing native preachers. Many of these have made good records, so why should not native teachers have an equal influence in the creation of ideals and, in general, in the finer, though less tangible, part of the teacher's work? If the native teacher is qualified he should doubtless have the preference, especially in primary and day-school work, but not by way of excuse from examination or other inequality in requirement. Definite and convincing investigation of this problem could easily be undertaken by the Indian School Superintendent.

Closely associated with the matter of native teachers is the question of the vernacular. The special linguistic difficulty of the beginners has led to a recommendation that the native teacher be employed if possible in a certain grade of work. This of course is based on the assumption that the present plan of tabooing the vernacular is to continue. If such an assumption is justified, the present course will be adhered to, and rightly. Up to thirty years ago the Indian tongues were very generally taught in the schools because of the dominance of church influence. The object was first of all the Christianization of the people, and the shortest cut was felt to be the imparting of the art of reading the Scriptures in the native tongue. Under conditions existing at that time this was often true, and may have been the best policy even from a political standpoint prior to the Civil War; but the rapid westward expansion since then some time ago demonstrated that the white man's civilization must cover the entire country. No one for years has dreamed of an Indian empire politically, racially, or institutionally distinct from the United States, yet within her borders. Hence, there can no longer be any doubt of the ultimate fate of the Indian tongues, no

1. See ante, p. 78.
matter how great the attraction of their language to the philologist. The Indian himself sees the inevitable and does not shudder. All the younger generation welcome the approaching consummation.

In 1830 and again in 1834 steps were taken by the Indian Office to abolish the Indian language in government schools or in schools subsidized by the government; two years later the principle was carried to the logical extreme, and all schools, under any auspices, were forbidden to teach any Indian dialect whatever. This aroused a storm of protest as intolerable interference with church schools, but the administration remained firm. The encouragement of a hundred different tongues among a quarter million people destined to speedy assimilation in everything except blood, would have been educational insanity.

The moral and religious training has offered no more serious obstacle to education than the abolition of the vernacular. It has, however, been as baffling a proposition in itself as it is in the public school. There are the requirements of good moral character in applicants for positions as teachers, the talks on morals and manners, occasional services conducted by clergymen at the school for the benefit of their own communicants or for the benefit of all, and some religious services by the employees of the school,—the methods in vogue in public schools,—all are resorted to. Besides these, the pupil is encouraged to attend religious service while at the boarding school, and in case he is not affiliated with any church he is urged to select one. Proselyting is severely condemned. The results attained through these methods are commensurate with reasonable expectations. Sex immorality is the only sort com-

1. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1887, pp. xx-xxv.
2. Circular No. 87, (Indian Office), December 20, 1902.
plained of in the reports and it appears only very rarely. The trouble has been more with employees than with the children. Of course, if the employees themselves are unscrupulous, conditions might become very bad in some places without publicity.

Modern conditions continue to heap upon the school new functions. An apt illustration is the courses in school sanitation which most normal schools are giving in response to the call of the public. The teaching of physiology and hygiene with scientific temperance instruction is not enough, society demands of the school an expert knowledge of the principles of public and private health and a satisfactory application of these principles in the school. If there is a difference between the requirement in the public and the Indian schools, it is rather higher in the latter, because the outlook is more serious. Early estimates of the Indian population doubtless were excessive, and when fairly accurate reports began to come in, it was thought by many that the Indians were dying out. In spite of the fact that more recent enumerations point quite conclusively to the opposite of extinction, it is indubitable that certain diseases peculiar to our civilization have made serious inroads upon them. Still, statistics tend to show that tuberculosis is probably not much more prevalent among Indians than whites and that many other diseases are less so.

The important fact is that tuberculosis nevertheless is of increasing prevalence among them, and unless its ravages are checked the influence for civilization will suffer correspondingly. About 1895 several Mescalero Apaches at Fort Lewis boarding school in Colorado succumbed to consumption, and plans were at once formulated for sending them elsewhere to avoid parental prejudice. ¹ The pagan

¹ 13th Rept. Indian Rights Association, p. 52. See also Bulletins No. 34 and 42 of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.
element, still numerous in many tribes, is especially prone to regard a child who dies at school as a victim of the "white man's way".

Several reasons may be assigned for the growing morbidity of the Indian. The transition from outdoor to indoor life has been too sudden for adjustment to keep pace. In cold weather the nearer air-tight his apartments, the nearer perfect they appear to the Indian's mind. The whole family is likely to pass the winter in one small room with no windows and one close fitting door. Some of the domesticated animals may share this space with them. Equally criminal crowding has occurred in dormitories of schools. For sleeping the Indian may lie down with his head wrapped in a blanket put on over all the clothes worn during the day. Such is the curse of misapplied civilization. The Indian follows his impulses readily. On a warm day in early spring he is apt to remove all extra clothing and lie down upon a wet bank to sun himself. The habit of expectoration, objectionable anywhere, and particularly dangerous indoors, tends to survive among those who are living in houses either at home or away at school. The partial immunity of the white race to smallpox, measles, and some other diseases is in striking contrast to their deadly effect on the Indians. The poor quality of food, its improper preparation, and the lack of a sufficient quantity increase the susceptibility to infection. Or if food is plentiful, enough is eaten at one meal to last a day. The former habit of painting the body was another predisposing influence to disease.

The remedy is not far to seek. From the time of their entrance into school Indian children must be taught to fear sputum. Cuspidors partially filled with antiseptic fluid should be found in all boarding schools. The need of ventilation and fresh-air exercise must be instilled; cleanliness must be enforced; the indiscrimi-
inate transfer of drinking cups and mouthpieces of musical instruments must be prohibited by the school authorities. Children must learn to eat, drink, and sleep correctly, to wear clothes and adapt them to seasonal changes. Dormitories must be constructed with an eye to health instead of to economy or the contractor's pocket-book. They must not be overcrowded. The children should be weighed frequently, a continuous loss of weight being an early indication of pulmonary trouble. It is a fatal mistake to send a sick child home to spread disease and then die. He should be separated from the others without being allowed to appreciate the gravity of his condition, and given the best care possible.

The schools have accepted the challenge to their right to exist. They have set out to prove that there is no necessary connection between education and extinction for the Indian. The suggestions made above are generally followed.\(^1\) Class-room teachers in all classes of schools are instructed to point out each day the importance of observing the laws of hygiene and sanitation, and to give frequent talks on personal cleanliness, ventilation, preparation of food, etc. Explanation is given once a week in English and, with the aid of the older pupils, in Indian on the contraction, symptoms, and spread of tuberculosis. Large cards hung in the schoolroom and rules printed in English and the native languages on the covers of textbooks constantly impress the subject. Physicians and nurses talk to boys and girls separately regarding the care of the body, a sort of segregation that would be an advantage in the public schools. At all institutes for Indian workers many addresses are given on tuberculosis and general hygiene.

\(^1\) Follow "Health" and "Hygiene" in index to recent reports of the Commissioner.
The situation is being met fairly well. Reports of school physicians are very encouraging. Some special adaptations that have significance in the general educational problem are the outdoor school and athletics. Commissioner Leupp started in portions of the Southwest where the climate was favorable a sort of outdoor school. 1

The walls of the day school building were solid not higher than the chair rail. Above that there was only a wire screen fastened to the studs. The outdoor life is supplemented at all schools by the industrial work, which takes everyone into the open air. Athletics are everywhere looked upon with favor by the authorities, and pupils take a great deal of interest. 2

The teams show readiness in learning the American games and win a large proportion of the contests. Noonday luncheon at many day schools is proving a success. Parental indigence makes a simple repast add to the interest of the school work at the same time that it serves as a model of more varied diet and better methods of preparation.

The professional training of teachers augurs well for the progress of the Indian schools. Meetings and discussions of educators did not occur until after the establishment of the office of Superintendent, a very significant fact for the importance of supervision. The interest in professional advancement has grown from year to


2. Besides making school life more attractive and possessing those other obvious and oft-repeated advantages, which apply with equal force in our own schools, athletics have been found to serve a manifestly academic purpose in some schools in the teaching of English. When a student body speaks several different native tongues, any collective or team sport compels them to learn more quickly and practice more constantly the only common medium of communication, which is the Anglo-Saxon. The superintendent of the government boarding school at Santa Fe found this very helpful at a time when he was enrolling Navajos, Utes, Apaches, Pimas, Papagos, and Pueblos. Notes of a Summer Tour among the Indians of the Southwest, published by the Indian Rights Association, 1897, p. 17.
year. All classes of Indian school employees attend. For about a decade there has been a section in the meetings of the National Educational Association to consider this phase of education. This has invited to the solution the best educational minds of the country and is raising the professional status of the work. The isolation of the past does not affect the worker now. Every year he comes more and more into contact with his coworkers and gets the larger view, while he finds also the intensely practical at every turn both through the papers and addresses and through the displays of pupils' work.

To extend the present discussion would be to no purpose, because the other topics which might be taken up would not present anything new as applied to race education or assist in bringing us nearer to the solution of public school questions. The aim has been to point out the significant facts with regard to the Indian schools rather than to describe every detail. Intentional omission has been made of the scheme of vocational training for Indians because its scope calls for a separate chapter.
CHAPTER VII.

THE NONRESERVATION PLAN AND ITS DISTINCTIVE FEATURES.

The nonreservation idea in Indian education is an exceedingly old one if we think of it in the narrowest sense. All through the colonial period from the early days of Harvard and William and Mary, Indians in limited numbers were taken from their tribes, upon their own consent, and placed beside the Caucasian. The purpose was to give a higher education. But in its modern phase the nonreservation Indian school does not remind us of Harvard or William and Mary in any way. The nonreservation idea in recent years alludes to the effort to train on a large scale young Indians who have had but the most elementary preparation, in schools well removed from reservation influences and presumably located in centers of advanced civilization. For some time these institutions were reported as "training schools" to distinguish them from other boarding schools, but that designation is no longer used.

For this great movement stretching over the past three decades Lieutenant R. H. Pratt was the guiding spirit. About 1875 serious troubles arose in the Southwest among the Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Arapahoes. Over three score of the most desperate and incorrigible were taken to Florida, and placed under charge of Lieut. Pratt at Fort Augustine. The widespread doctrine of lack of confidence in the efficacy of Indian education at that time did not number the Lieutenant among its adherents; and so he at once began to experiment. Upon securing permission to instruct his charges in "letters, industry and conduct," Pratt commenced to employ them for

1. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1878, p. xliii. The title of Lieut. Pratt will not be varied for the reason that the exact time of his promotions is unknown.
guard duty and other garrison labor. Their intelligence and adaptability to different sorts of work led to an enlargement in the scope of their activity. Odd jobs opened up in the immediate locality, and a market was soon established for the services and the articles made by the Indians. For one thing, thousands of sea shells were polished by the Indians, and these found a ready sale. Their commandant and guardian advised them in the use of their savings and gradually developed among them the notion of property.¹

At the termination of their three years of confinement, the adults went back to their homes, but twenty-two of the younger ones decided to stay in the East and secure a fuller knowledge of civilized ways and manners. Philanthropists furnished the funds to place all but four or five of this number in Hampton Institute, the others being cared for in New York State. It is about those who were maintained at Hampton that interest centers. They were of sufficient number to inspire hope or strengthen despair as to the future of the Indian in general. It is interesting to reflect upon the vital relation which the success or failure these few striplings bore to the future welfare of thousands of their brothers. If they had been fully conscious of the bearing of their showing upon the policy to be followed toward their fellows, they could hardly have done better.

The placing of these boys at Hampton was done with a double purpose in mind. First, there was the theory of Lieutenant Pratt to the effect that the Indian should be taken to civilization, and not civilization to the Indian. Pratt was certain that the reservation school could not meet the situation. Even in the reserva-

tion boarding school the atmosphere was frontier rather than civilized, and the work must be correspondingly slow and labored. As Dr. Carlos Montezuma expressed it several years later, "Five or ten government employees at an agency or on a reservation can never elevate its thousands of Indians. On the contrary teachers sent to elevate Indians, in a few years become Indians in habit and thought."

Second, there was appreciation of the fact that the children of a backward race demand a special adaptation of treatment which would be more likely to come through such an institution as Hampton than through other Eastern schools.

Success was assured from the start with matters under the direction of General Armstrong, the celebrated founder of Hampton. Within a few months - in September, 1878 - Pratt was detailed by the Secretary of the Interior to make a tour of the Dakota agencies, picking up both boys and girls for Hampton. He brought back fifty (some say forty-nine), one-fifth of whom were girls. The proportion of the female sex was not large enough to suit General Armstrong, who was a great advocate of coeducation.

On September 6, 1879 Lieut. Pratt was transferred from the War Department to the service of the Interior in order that he might more fully work out his plans. The old army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania were placed at his disposal, and he set out to fill them. From northwest and southwest, from a number of different

1. Rept. Commr. of Education, 1896-97, p. 1520. Dr. Mortezuma is a full-blood Apache, who graduated from the University of Illinois in 1884 and is now a successful practicing physician in Chicago.
tribes he gathered nearly 150 Indians for his first year's work. Able assistance was rendered by eleven of the young ex-convicts who had been under training at Hampton. This marks the foundation of the first nonreservation school exclusively for Indians.

The next event of importance in the development of this plan was the opening of the school at Forest Grove, Oregon, scarcely six months after the beginning of instruction at Carlisle. For the first eighteen months of its operation its pupils ranged from eight to twenty-five years. This proves the necessity the nonreservation school was at this time under of giving the most elementary work, because of the lack of advancement in reservation schools up to this time. The Forest Grove school occupied a somewhat different position from Hampton in that it was located in a community near enough to the reservation to feel a strong race bias. The expressed hope of white neighbors that the buildings would burn down before scholars could be gathered to fill them was never realized and not long entertained. In fact, Lieutenant Wilkinson had his school before he had any fit buildings, but with a few of his boys he finished a structure 32 by 60 feet and two and a half stories high. Many other permanent improvements were made by the same means and the loyalty of the surrounding population was shortly gained.

One advantage of the nonreservation school over the reservation school is well illustrated at this point. At Forest Grove the first rule after cleanliness and obedience was "No Indian talk". Children from the same tribe were divided up among those of other tribes to stop all effective communication except by English. At Hampton a similar result was gained by making Indians and negroes

2. Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1881, pp. 198-200.
roommates, a practice which contributed not only to the use of English but also to the proper treatment of beds, use of hair brushes, etc. The point just made with reference to the superiority of nonreservation schools is valid only until a knowledge of English has become so general as to result in its practically superseding the Indian languages. That such a time is at hand is evident from the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as far back as 1902. In that year approximately 17% of the Indians exclusive of the Five Tribes were able to read and 23% were able to use English enough for ordinary purposes. While statistical data are not at hand, tremendous changes have taken place since that time, sufficient to invalidate the argument for nonreservation schools from the fact of their additional facilities for teaching English.

No other schools of nonreservation class were started until 1884, when four in different sections of the country began operations within a few months. They were the ones at Chilocco, Indian Territory, a mile south of the Kansas line, the Genoa (Nebraska) and Albuquerque (New Mexico) schools, and Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas. From that time as shown in Table III, the number of nonreservation schools increased with rapidity until about ten years ago and the enrollment climbed rapidly until about five years ago. It now appears plain that both the number and enrollment of this class of schools have passed the maximum.

The serious evils which have arisen at different times in connection with the recruiting methods of the nonreservation

schools were not a necessary evil, but rather the product of insufficient regulation. The Indian School Superintendent in his report for 1835 described and condemned the system.¹ Representatives of the different institutions engaged in strong competition for scholars and hence gathered some very poor material from the standpoint of health, maturity, previous preparation, and general worthiness. Pupils home from one school on a vacation under promise to pay their own transportation and be back in the fall, were easily lured to other schools under the attraction of a change and the chance to have the government pay their transportation. Runaways and incorrigibles from one school easily got into another. A blacklist was recommended for the first and a reform school for the second. The former did come into existence later on, but the reform school did not.²

Conditions did not improve materially in this respect. Jealousy developed between the local and nonreservation officials. The agency authorities wanted to hold the older and more capable students to render service at the local school and increase the prestige of the local institution; on the other hand, the capacity of the nonreservation schools had been increased without stint or reason. The federal appropriations to each school were based upon a per capita rate, and accordingly each superintendent despatched his faculty to the reservations on a recruiting expedition each summer. Every available child was gathered, because he meant an allowance of $167. At one time in the summer of 1905 there were fifteen "collectors" on a single reservation begging for children.³ Commissioner Leupp

¹ Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1885, p. cxxiii.
finally put an end to this disorder. He placed the responsibility for transferring pupils to nonreservation schools upon the agent or bonded superintendent, and the initiative in the hands of the parent. This saved thousands of dollars annually to the training schools and did away with the habit of coaxing a ten-dollar boy into a thousand-dollar education. Further, by giving free rein to the parental instinct which loves to have the children at or near home, it unquestionably decreased the nonreservation attendance.

The reduction in number of schools is doubtless to be accomplished by turning each of the various plants over to the states in which it is located. Under an act of Congress approved March 7, 1909, four of these schools were offered to the including states, two to Colorado, one to Minnesota, and one to South Dakota. Although there was hesitation on the part of Colorado and although South Dakota refused the Chamberlain school, there can be no question as to the practicability of the proposal. It will be stipulated that Indians shall always be admitted without tuition and on terms of equality with white people.

The change now taking place was first suggested by Commissioner Leupp when he asserted in his report for 1907 that "For the continuance of our 25 nonreservation schools there is no longer any excuse.... The same money, spent for the same number of years on expanding and strengthening the Indians' home schools, would have accomplished a hundredfold more good, unaccompanied by any of the harmful effects upon the character of the race." The Commissioner

3. Ibid, 1907, p. 24. The preceding and following pages assume to present a rather full discussion of this topic.
proceeds to argue very strongly against the nonreservation school, but it is plain that several of his points apply rather against the boarding school as usually conducted on the reservation or off than against the nonreservation school only. The health argument obviously applies with equal force to both kinds of boarding schools, since a nonreservation boarding school with an average attendance of 300 is not necessarily any more unhealthy than one on a reservation averaging 100 pupils. The argument that gratuitous tuition, food, clothing, and shelter make of the school an educational almshouse and of the Indian a pauper, is of equal force with reference to all boarding schools. Again, the claim that the conveniences of life at the boarding school do not represent what the Indian must face is true of all boarding schools in large measure.

Solid argument begins when it is said that the nonreservation school takes the pupil to a condition differing so radically from that of the reservation that he is educated away from his future environment instead of for it or toward it. The consequence in earlier years was frequent and absolute reversion to the former type of life. The whole history of race education has emphasized this danger. Darwin's story of the Fuegians may be considered almost an epic of race education.¹

As soon as the gravity of this danger was appreciated the

¹ Journal of Researches, p. 260-61. There is an argument on the other side of this idea of education from environment, which tends to show that lack of care in selecting material is the source of much trouble. We hardly apply the same argument in case of the Asiatics or other less advanced people who come to our country for a higher education. So long as the Mikado or the Emperor of China select their best blood and brain of mature years to come to American schools, no one becomes alarmed, except, of course, those who dread the passing of the queue, etc. Are there not elements of similarity in the nonreservation plan?
reservation schools began to send their pupils back to the reservations for summers during their course that some measure of sympathy might be maintained between the boy or girl and the home. Prior to 1895 there came into existence an Industrial League of which Dr. Lyman A. Abbott was president. The object of this organization was to help returned students. Other measures were the formation by returned students of permanent Improvement Associations, etc., in their home localities. These activities kept their public spirit strong, and also threw them in contact with one another, each man acting as a prop to the other. Another very practical program was that followed at Hampton where at an early date the custom was initiated of receiving young couples. The comparative stability of an educated young man or young woman when living with a person of similar education and civilized tastes and when living as the only civilized member of a savage family, was apprehended. The theory underlying the experiment was the importance of Indian home life in determining the life of the reservation and in conserving the education given to the girls. After the first year the young families were transferred from the general dormitories to adjoining cottages and given a chance to make them as attractive and happy homes as possible. The need of five years instead of three away from home was voiced by the nonreservation people, thus making possible an increase of education and returning the pupil at a later age when he presumably would possess more stability. Some of the returned students were only fourteen years old, and others were taken from home as young as six.

The result of these numerous expedients has fairly met the problem of reversion. Many studies have been made by both friends and enemies of the nonreservation school to determine whether its graduates were standing the test. Practically every school has kept track of its old students through agents and local superintendents and the general conclusion is that harsh criticism is largely without foundation. Of 120 returned students on the Sioux reservation in 1890, 93 were visited in their homes and only one was found who had returned to the blanket. Why imitation of the Caucasian habits of dress has so generally been regarded as a merit, is a question that no one has seen fit to answer. Certain characteristics of Indian dress are both more comfortable and more hygienic than our own. Dress is not a safe criterion. A couple who had been at Carlisle sometimes wore Indian dress, but had a home costing $1100, in which were found books, papers, and many other comforts and conveniences of life.

Hampton has studied the matter with some care in reference to her own students. Data furnished by agents in 1898 on returned pupils, only a small percentage of whom graduated, showed 3% excellent, 73% good or medium and 24% worthless. Here the number of graduates is important. None of our own institutions of secondary or collegiate grade would be willing to stake their reputation on the record of students who had attended but never completed a course. Consequently, if the figures for Hampton are not altogether reassuring, the small percentage of graduates is entitled to some weight.

2. 8th Annual Rept. Ind. Rights Assoc., p. 43.
3. 16th Annual Rept. Ind. Rights Assoc., p. 18.
in forming a judgment.

Haskell investigated the records of 400 of her graduates with the result that 90% were found to be doing well. Two hundred and fifty former students attended a recent reunion at Lawrence, certainly a striking illustration of gratitude for the benefits conferred by one's alma mater, all the more striking because of their wide separation after graduation. This is a showing that some of our own larger institutions cannot duplicate at the annual commencement season.

Carlisle too has undertaken a detailed study of the question. In its Annual Report for 1910 are some remarkable statistics concerning the present occupation of over 500 living graduates. Careful records are being gathered of more than 4,000 students who stayed at Carlisle long enough to complete only partial terms. At last reports the necessary data had been gathered to cover 2,189 cases, and of these "approximately 94% are successfully earning their living, and evidence by the uprightness of their lives that even the short term spent at this school has been a vital influence for good."  

The evidence of a college spirit in the institution is growing here as well as at Haskell. A well-defined Carlisle constituency is coming into existence on most of the reservations. About five hundred of her students, according to the Annual Report, now at Carlisle are there through the influence of some ex-student numbered among their relatives. Though in a few years it should cease to be a government school, if continued along similar lines, it might easily live as a private institution.

2. Ibid, p. 4.
When it is also remembered that these studies deal with grammar school pupils, not high school or college students, critics must agree that the nonreservation schools have done a wide and thorough work. Before they can be censured very strongly for shortcomings, a study of the effects of reservation schooling must be made but no material on this point has ever been collected. Only then can any well defined conclusion be drawn as to the merits of the two plans.

With the cessation of the collection of unhealthy pupils the old health argument has passed out of the controversy between the reservation and nonreservation plans. The health of Indian students no less than that of white ones, is probably better guarded today than ever before. The charge of education away from the environment has been met by a splendid adjustment of methods, which has been briefly alluded to; the countercharge against the reservation school as the home of "Indianism" has largely lost force with elevation of those frontier communities through education and through the breakup of the reservations themselves by allotment. Still there remain two sides to the question.

The kernel of the matter lies in our ideal for the individual Indian. Do we expect him to leave the reservation or stay among his people, on the reservation, or, if allotment becomes universal, where the reservation once was? If it is thought proper for an Indian to leave his people and mingle with the world, the assertion that the nonreservation school educates him away from his people is not germane; and in case we adopt this point of view we are giving to the Indian only the same as we believe is due our own children. On the other hand, if our ideal for the Indian is a return to his own people to assist in raising the general level of intelligence
and civilization among his fellows, our course will be different; and from this standpoint we are asking nothing unreasonable of the bright Indian in return for the free gift of the federal government.

Under the supposition that most Indian boys and girls should and will desire to return to their people and live among them the distinctive advantages of the nonreservation school have almost disappeared. One fact in its favor is the wider contact it gives with the world through the trip to the school itself, if no more. That there is a broadening of great value in this has been fully realized by the best men in the field, and advantage has been taken of such occasions as the Columbian and Louisiana Purchase expositions to show the world to the boys and girls, and the boys and girls to the world. Again, the outing plan, hereafter to be discussed, and cooperative industrial education are an easier proposition in the nonreservation school, because the race prejudice, still strong in the vicinity of some reservations, does not have to be overcome.

1. The Carlisle school has perhaps led in this respect as in so many others, although many schools have followed its example under the encouragement of the Indian Bureau in providing a United States Indian Building at several expositions. Carlisle pupils and Carlisle work have been on exhibition at every important exposition in the country since the school started, but the most spectacular occasion was that of the visit to Chicago in October, 1893. The trip was made by special train without a cent of expense to the government. Over three hundred boys, including the band, made the trip at their own expense. Four days were spent at the Fair, significant ones in the lives of the young Indians, yet significant in a far broader sense to the hundreds of thousands of people who saw them during their stay in the city and had opportunity to compare the Carlisle group with the Wild West group. No untoward incident marred the whole affair. In his report to the Indian Commissioner for that year Lieutenant Pratt presents a striking array of excerpts from current issues of the newspapers, commenting upon the appearance of the delegation in the parade of October 20. It marched immediately in the rear of the dignitaries of the day. The company was led by the band and was divided into ten platoons, each bearing utensils representing the different branches taught at the school. The military bearing and precision of all the movements of the company won the plaudits of all spectators, as the boys passed by clad in the dark blue uniforms turned out in their own shop. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1893, pp. 452-454.
The reservation school, however, has very plain considerations in its favor. It exercises a leavening influence on the life of the entire community by its closer contact with local interests of all kinds. It is a moulder of sentiment and public opinion, an educator of its entire constituency in the light of the broad modern conception of a school. It is able, moreover, to adjust itself to the life needs of the people more closely than the nonreservation school ever can. The school officials and students are in touch with the local labor market, they know what the demand is for artisans of all classes and can adjust themselves accordingly. This too can be done at much less expense, says Commissioner Leupp, than in the distant schools. 1 His statement has been the popular conception for a long time, but the astonishing thing is that the figures in his own reports do not substantiate his statement. For 1908 the cost per pupil in reservation boarding schools was approximately $163, in nonreservation schools, $170; and for 1909 the corresponding figures were $176 and $174 respectively. 2

For some time still special schools must be maintained for Indians alone near the centers of Indian population. These may be termed reservation schools, even though the reservation shall have come to an end. The nonreservation schools should doubtless decrease in attendance and number and finally pass out of existence as far as being Indian schools is concerned. The dominance of the idea of equality of opportunity in our educational theory will demand that we make no attempt to compel the Indian to stay with his own people. He is to be a citizen, and no citizen shall be subject to pressure in respect to the choice of an occupation and the place to

1. Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1907, p. 27.
exercise it. For a limited number of those who show exceptional promise and who ask the privilege, the government will be justified in providing a training beyond the reservation school, either through the nonreservation Indian school, or more likely through a nonreservation school where both races are received.

It now becomes necessary to examine a distinctive feature of the nonreservation schools, viz., the outing system. While it has been said that this plan is not a part of the nonreservation scheme, since it means the sending out of the pupils away from school to get what they cannot get in the school, it still is true that the system originated among nonreservation schools and has been practiced almost exclusively by them. There is much significance in the truth that the widest currency of the outing system has been in connection with the only really Eastern Indian school. If the nonreservation school had done nothing more than to contribute this one idea to Indian education, its existence would have been justified.

First trial of the outing system was made at Hampton at the close of the first year the Florida prisoners spent there.\(^1\) The locality chosen was Berkshire County, Massachusetts, where the entire seventeen were placed as farm helpers for the summer, with the assistance of Deacon Hyde of Lee, Massachusetts. This method was taken up by Carlisle immediately after its establishment by Lieutenant Pratt, who was the originator of the outing idea as well as of the nonreservation plan. His first attempt, however, was not encouraging. Twenty-four boys and girls, all of whom had been Fast probably only a year found places for the summer vacation in the country about Carlisle; but although care was exercised in the choice of families, lack of familiarity with the English language and insuf-

sufficient training in habits of industry, combined with suspicion on
the part of the students or the people to whom they were sent, pro-
duced many failures.¹ About half of the Indians were brought or
sent back to school.

But the doggedness and persistence so characteristic of
the founder of Carlisle kept him at his proposition with increased
determination. The second summer over a hundred students were out, many of them around Philadelphia and in general enough farther away from school to render return not an easy matter. Most of these pupils now possessed two years of pretty careful training, which fact surely did much to account for the great success of this season. In his annual report Lieutenant Pratt included several extracts from the heads of families in which the boys and girls had stayed. The general tone was in the highest degree encouraging, and it was arranged that six girls and twenty-three boys remain with their friends during the winter of 1881-82, doing work in the house and about the farm, while attending the local school.²

The third summer Lieutenant Pratt sent out only eighty-nine for the reason that the trip home during vacation of so many of the larger boys and girls made it impossible to spare as many as were applied for. This time the patrons were required to defray traveling expenses and pay some wages. The latter varied from $1 to $15 per month, but six of the boys made $1.50 per day in the harvest fields. At the end of the vacation a questionnaire was mailed to the patrons asking opinions relative to the aptitude, habits of industry, kinds of work performed, and general conduct. The answers were more or less favorable for nearly every one, and forty-eight

were given homes for the winter. Some of the Sioux were so pleased with their surroundings that they refused to return to their western homes for the next summer vacation. 1

From year to year the system underwent development with respect both to the number of students out and the number staying out all winter. The highwater mark in each case was about nine hundred and four hundred respectively. 2 Recently the number has diminished somewhat, a fact which is not strange in view of the immense amount of work carried on at the school itself. 3 The excess of requests for students over the number available is referred to several times in the official reports and is quite significant. Scarcely anyone identified with public school work is so sanguine as to the results he is securing as to contend for a moment that white pupils of similar age 4 and training could go among strangers to render service and show a smaller percentage of failures than the Indian boys and girls from Carlisle. A sample year is here chosen: for 1891, 413 boys and 249 girls were out with 3 1/3% of failures. 5

The earnings of the Carlisle pupils through this channel have reached a large figure. For several years they have averaged over $20,000 per annum and in some cases have gone above $30,000. 6 From two-thirds to three-fourths appears to be earned by the boys, who, as a rule, receive, of course, higher wages and go out in great

3. See Annual Reports on the value of the labor performed in the different departments and on the farm.
er numbers. This money belongs to the pupils who have earned it, but is not theirs to waste. Specific arrangements have varied at different times, but the general policy has been to put upon the children the responsibility of buying their own clothes and other necessary articles, and paying their traveling expenses while on the outing trip.¹ The remainder, amounting to about one-half the total wage, is deposited by the superintendent of the school as savings to grow until the pupil graduates. This reserve, however, is sometimes drawn upon in emergencies which appeal to the discretion of the superintendent.

Passing now to a more detailed examination of the machinery of outing, one finds a fully and minutely developed organization as the product of years of accumulated experience.² The list of applicants for Indian boys and girls is carefully winnowed. Their references are investigated and their homes visited before they are approved. Then they are allowed to select a pupil from among those who have signified their wish to be placed out. When the parties have thus been brought together, the usual formal written contract is presented for signature by both sides to the agreement. This document binds the boy or girl to obedience to his employer and also to the rules of the school while he shall be absent from it, it obligates to attendance upon church and Sunday school while in his new home, which is not to be left without permission, it interdicts specific evil habits, such as gambling and the use of liquor and tobacco. The patron, on the other hand, agrees to look after the comfort and welfare of his employee and keep him regularly in school whenever.

¹"Information concerning the United States Indian Industrial School at Carlisle, Penna.", p. 71.

²On the details of the system, see Outlook 64: 222-224; 75: 167-73. See also the annual reports of the Superintendent of Carlisle to the Commr. of Indian Affairs.
Monthly reports are made by the patron to the superintendent, covering all pertinent points relating to his charge. Twice a year a special agent of the school visits an outing pupil to learn at first hand what progress the boys and girls are making and to discover any failures by either party to live up to the terms of the contract. All cases of trouble are carefully looked into by the agent and a happy settlement made of many cases of misunderstanding and distrust, which if left to themselves would gradually and inevitably have thrown employer and employee further and further apart. An important point to be kept in mind is that cases of incompatibility, of which a number are bound to occur where so many people are involved, must not be construed as failures, since the fault does not necessarily lie on the younger shoulders alone.

The services which outing pupils are called upon to render vary widely in character. The younger children naturally find their duties more in the doing of odd chores, which commonly in themselves call for little of either intelligence or skill, but which soon serve to familiarize both boys and girls with the various appurtenances of the good home. They learn things, their purposes, their use. The older children according to sex take the place of mature white help in the care and treatment of stock, the management of all sorts of work, agricultural and in a measure mechanical, the ordering of a house in all lines, and the care of children. The Carlisle commencement takes place about April 1, and thus makes the outing folks available at just the time the farmers want them. Efficiency and experience rather than race fix the wages of the grown Indians, who as hired men or domestic servants are receiving practically the
same as adult whites. The girls especially are filling a pressing need in the current scarcity of maids, so keenly felt in both city and country.

The advantages of the outing plan have probably already commended themselves to the reader. "In this way barriers of ignorance and prejudice are removed, and Indian youth have opportunity of measuring their own capabilities with those of white children."

When the first Indians were brought to Carlisle, their progress was almost blocked at different stages of the journey by curious whites. This disposition the outing system has removed wherever it has gone, and with the injurious self-consciousness on the part of the Indian that he is different from other people. The outing Indians are gladly received in the public schools, and in competition with children of another race have been found to make remarkable progress, so rapid in some instances that they have returned to Carlisle ahead of their old classes. The Indian in the public schools will be discussed more at length in another place.

Again, "the order and system so necessary in an institution retards rather than develops habits of self-reliance and forethought; individuality is lost. They grow into mechanical routine. They do not have to meet the thousand petty emergencies of everyday family life. Placed in families where they have individual responsibility they receive training that no school can give." There is a constant promotion, as the pupil shows his fitness, to new and more complex work and responsibility.

From another side, the outing plan is the most rapid school for teaching the English language, because the boys and girls are thrown entirely with English-speaking people. Not only do they speak English, but the thousand distantly new ideas and practices they.
meet cause them to think in English. The method is precisely that which we rely upon in an academic way to secure a foreign language.

From still another point of view, the only way to know any life, civilized or savage, is to come in contact with it. The whole trend of modern education tends to confirm this. The Herbartian theory of the presentation of the universe, the Rousselain doctrine of a return to nature, the Pestalozzian method of object teaching, the modern development of the laboratory method and the widespread movement for vocational training—all are but different expressions of the same principle: education depends upon contact of subject and object. The outing system is an advanced application of this theory. This training in the habits of civilized life, home-making and home-living, is a tremendous task in the education of any backward race, and the opinion is ventured that the outing system, wisely administered, attacks it more squarely than any other method.

In an indirect way also outing makes itself felt. The letters of the children to their people are an education on a smaller scale to those who are not fortunate enough to be able to get away from the reservation; and their reports of kind treatment have had a tendency to change the whole attitude of those at home toward the government and its policy.

Another phase of outing has recently begun to evolve at Carlisle. For some time numbers of small boys have been out serving as kitchen boys and waiters; but a couple of years ago the names of about one hundred fifty manufacturing concerns were secured as possible places for outing pupils, the idea being that those who intended becoming artisans would not be spending their time most advantageously on the farm, but should rather spend their summers in
shops. Ten boys were placed out in this manner in the summer of 1908 with excellent results. The next summer Carlisle Indians were employed to the number of a hundred in nineteen different classes of work at wages ranging from $5 a month (with board and washing) up to $8 a day. This has been a good move in respect to increased adaptation, and in a short time should furnish valuable data upon the possibilities and limitations of the cooperative scheme in industrial education. The opposition of labor unions, a very uncertain quantity in many places, will act a trifle more strongly than in the application of the cooperative plan to white boys. It may be noted that there is an obvious danger of a loss in the force of the general civilizing home influence when boys are placed out in shops.

The progress of outing in other parts of the country should shed light upon the efficiency of the different schools in executing this plan and possibly lead to some conclusion as to the general efficacy of the method in the solution of the Indian problem. To that end an examination of all school reports for recent years has been made through following up "Outing" in the index of the Commissioner's annual reports.

Outing was introduced at the Forest Grove School at an early date. Indian labor proved so efficient in the harvesting of the farmers' crops that one newspaper raised a warning cry for the protection of white against Indian labor. As time passed on other

3. The writer unfortunately did not have access to the reports of the various agents and superintendents for the past three years. He was compelled to rely on the Commissioner's personal report, some school catalogues and a few replies to a circular letter.
schools in the West took up the plan until by 1907 seven other non-
reservation schools combined had out a few more pupils than Car-
lisle. ¹ The movement appears to be spreading from year to year with
a most encouraging outlook. The almost universal satisfaction and
excess of demand over supply shown that the possibilities are almost
unlimited. The only adverse report comes from Flandreau, South Dako-
ta, where the girls are not placed out because people insist that
they shall be hired help and not members of the family. That prog-
ress along this line has not been more rapid is a reflection on the
progressiveness of some of our Indian educators.

It is their due, however, that certain difficulties be men-
tioned,—difficulties peculiar to the operation of outings in the
West. The nearness of the schools to the reservations makes a re-
turn home the natural thing for the summer, and increases the tem-
peration to run away from school or from the outing home. The rela-
tively greater area of school farms in the West than at Carlisle is
another factor, making it possible to utilize much labor at the
school. Population is much sparser, increasing the expense for
transportation of pupils and for inspection. Distance and lack of
means of communication almost preclude the latter. The boys from
Fort Bidwell, for example, are scattered about over ranches and quite
out of reach of the school authorities. This difficulty has been
partially obviated by sending out the boys in large groups to work
in sugar beet fields and shops.

The chances for labor in California are very great on ac-
¹ These were the schools together with the number of students out:
Carlisle, Pa., 617; Salem, Ore., (formerly Forest Grove), 251; River-
side, Calif., 155; Santa Fe, N. M., 92; Albuquerque, N. M., 61; Phoe-
nix, Ariz., 50; Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kan., 49; and Flandreau
S. D., 8; a total of 1,287. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1907, p.
15. The Forest Grove School was destroyed by fire in 1885, and the
removal took place for the reason that the largest tract of land of-
fered was at Chemawa, near Salem, hence the frequent appellation,
Chemawa School.
count of the multiplicity of productions. At nearly all seasons there are plenty of chances for the boys to work in connection with the fruit industry. The Phoenix School runs a sort of employment agency which is constantly overrun with calls for odd jobs. Precaution is necessary to keep the boys from working to the detriment of their studies. Several of the Fort Mohave girls are situated in the best homes in Los Angeles and a number of the boys are spending their vacations in the Santa Fe shops at Needles. Wages seem to be higher than in the East. Flandreau boys receive from $20 to $40 per month, and Santa Fe boys save an average of $40 to $50 on a two months trip to the Colorado beet fields.

Carlisle methods dominate in general. The pupils seem disposed to save their money, so much so that one superintendent has suggested that savings are less important than well spent earnings. Pupils take pleasure in sending home money to undeserving parents or possibly create a bank account to be carried home and wasted after graduation. The inculcation of the habit of "close" buying merits high esteem. It would be much better for a boy to be turned over to his work when the school is through with him, with a well selected equipment suitable to that work than with $300 in money. If he proposes to be a mechanic, let him gradually accumulate a kit of the necessary tools; if he proposes to become an agriculturist, horticulturist, or stock raiser, his earnings can with proper advice be invested in land, etc., from time to time. This field is altogether a fallow one.

No reservation school, so far as can be learned, has tried outing, probably for the same reasons that western nonreservation schools have tried it but little, and for the additional reason that
their pupils are too young to be placed among strangers. Until they show capacity for this work, they should not be permitted to decrease seriously the enrollment in nonreservation schools. Whether the latter be turned over to the states or not, is immaterial in this connection, if the government still keeps the Indians in them by paying an annual cost of maintenance as to other public schools. Of course no one expects that all Indians shall have an extensive outing experience, or even a temporary one, but that does not mean that the plan should or can be discontinued, any more than a general agreement that not all our people need a college or university training means that colleges and universities should be closed. As confirmatory of this ground, each Indian appropriation act sets aside a certain amount to place Indian pupils "under care and control of such suitable white families as may in all respects be qualified to give such pupils moral, industrial, and educational training". A National Outing Bureau has been suggested as a means of extending the scope of this work. An exchange list of applicants for pupils, between different schools would serve the purpose and bear strongly upon the reservation schools; thus an organization would be avoided which might die of its own weight.

The relation of outing to race education needs no further discussion; it should be patent. But it seems also to have points of contact with our home problem. If educators as a class would face this alternative with its varied possibilities, they would find themselves coming into a new relationship to their constituency. There is much talk of correlation and education for efficiency. Outing in shops on the cooperative basis, or on the farms is possible in every locality, and it is exactly the means to discover the respects in

1 Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1909, p. 117.
which the school work is inefficient and improperly correlated. Farmers, business men, and manufacturers pick up hundreds of boys and girls for the vacation, and often without very wide information as to their capacities. They would welcome the data which school officials could give in that line, but what is more important, the school management could gather a fund of useful knowledge at the end of each vacation as to just what the strong and weak points of the school are. Usually teachers have no more than the most casual knowledge of the manner in which their pupils spend vacation. Many who could have been provided with places remained idle all summer, a circumstance that ought deeply to concern the school; others had a place and failed, but the teacher never finds it out. When the school realizes in full its opportunities for social service, it will spend as active a summer as Carlisle does. It will help to locate its pupils advantageously for the summer, it will follow them up through vacation. Their successes and failures, their own opinions and those of their employers, will be a constant and influential factor in shaping the curriculum and methods of the school.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE INDUSTRIAL ELEMENT IN INDIAN EDUCATION.

How best to discuss this topic is a baffling question. Views on the place of technical or industrial training in the general field of education are in such a state of disagreement and flux that no criteria have been established for measuring results. At one extreme are the exponents of the industrialization of the schools in all grades; at the opposite pole are gathered the host of those who cling tenaciously and precariously to the dogma of formal discipline, a theory that has always dominated so much of our educational thought; occupying a third distinct position are the disciples of William Morris, to whom a technical education is at the same time a liberal one. Many educators do have very definite ideas as to what they are trying to accomplish through manual training or agriculture, for instance; but others are hopelessly involved in the "pedagogical value", "psychological bearing", and "motor training" aspects of the case, outcomes which are quite intangible, even in the minds of educators. A thorough application of the theory of educational values needs to be made experimentally in the line of industrial education.

So great has been the emphasis upon this side in the field of Indian education that a special chapter is here devoted to the subject. The aim is to give a general view of the development of industrial training in Indian schools, together with the ideals of those who have led in the movement, an account of what is being done, how it is being done, and what effects are in evidence. Some suggestion of appropriate lines of development may be made.

The early educational colonies of the Quakers are typical of industrial education for Indians and whites on American soil up
To a few years ago. While in France there had sprung up prior to 1850 technical schools of advanced grade, nothing of that sort was known here until the great impulse to the study of industries went out from Massachusetts after the Civil War. The assumption had been that the pursuit of cultural studies prepared one for efficiency in any line of industry, provided only that the habit of working had been formed. Consequently the so-called Fellenberg or "manual labor" idea had full sway. Starting from the Quaker "colonies", manual labor schools for Indians grew up in a number of places; but although a number of their pupils became proficient artisans, it may be questioned whether the schools were instrumental in bringing this about, except indirectly by giving a taste for civilized life. The manual labor schools were scarcely more than boarding schools where pupils passed spare moments at housework or hoeing in the garden.

As the movement toward special preparation for the various occupations began to spread over the country it quickly made itself felt in the Indian schools. Its opportunity was increased by the contemporary establishment of the nonreservation schools. Hampton, which was already dedicated to the accomplishment of definite industrial ends for the benefit of another race, received Indians that it might give them the same work it was prescribing for the negroes. There is no record of any distinction being drawn in the treatment of the two races. Carlisle, from the beginning, was a technical school in a rather strict sense, being guided according to the founder's conception of the Indian problem. Inasmuch as he was a man who did not change his views either readily or frequently, we may take an utterance some years later as an expression of the Carlisle platform over his whole connection with the institution. He said:

We have an Indian problem because the Indian is ignorant of the
language of the country and industrially untrained to take his place among our other people. The problem will remain as long as the Indians are continued in masses apart from our other people, because by such massing they are held to their industrial inability and their ignorance of our language.

The course at Hampton embraced work on the farm, in the sawmill, in the brickyard, in the shops at the trades, sewing and housekeeping, kitchen and garden work. The trades developed at an early period were wheelwrighting, blacksmithing, engineering, painting, printing, shoe and harness making, carpentry and tinning.

These were accompanied during the first two of the three years course by training in the elementary school arts, and in the last year by more advanced mathematics and some science. There was a fair working out of the doctrines of Spencer and Huxley in the curriculum.

Time was equally divided between the academic and the manual studies. The Indians proved slow but willing, and were greatly stimulated and instructed by their contact with the negroes. While the health of the pupils was benefited, vacation time was not wasted, but regular hours and fixed vocations were in order. For their work the boys were paid wages, out of which they bought their own clothes.

Under encouragement from every side the industrial movement grew apace. The training schools were generally understood to be training schools for the occupations, quite unlike the public schools of that time. People interested in the course of affairs frequently made gifts of practical industrial equipment. The schools themselves in the era of rapid building and opening of new institutions had to rely largely upon themselves. The history of each is full of information as to the part played by the pupils under the

chief carpenter in the construction of the new buildings. At some places the contractors, who had enjoyed so great opportunities for swindling the government through the reservation buildings, had no chance even to bid. All work was done by the school. The necessary supplies of food and clothing for use at the school offered an outlet for an enormous amount of industrial energy, for every dollar saved in this manner was a dollar saved for application along the line of additions and improvements which the school could not make for itself. The government allowed the training schools to supply goods for the general Indian service. Thus under the orders of the Indian Commissioner the Carlisle school used its shops in 1881 to manufacture products of many different kinds, which found their way to forty-two different agencies. Their aggregate value was over $6,000.

Thus natural economic laws rather than educational demands directed the industrial development of this period. A boy was a heavier financial asset to his school if his industry was turned into the field of some craft than if he farmed. The lack of sufficiently large farms to employ all the boys and the undeveloped state of agriculture as a science were other factors tending in the same direction. The Carlisle report for 1886, while admitting that the "farm is a most necessary and useful adjunct", and deploring its distance from the school, makes the following enumeration of the enrollment in the industries for the year:— wagon and blacksmith shop, 18 boys; carpenter shop, 25; tailor shop, 32; shoe shop, 34; tin shop, 16; harness shop, 30; paint shop, 5; brick-yard, 17; bakery, 5; printing office, 11; and on the school farm an "average of nine".  

2. Ibid, 1886, p. 20.
The outing system naturally placed the emphasis on farming, and thus helped to supply the lack of suitable agricultural training at the school. It is apparent from these figures that farming did not receive the merited attention, and the use of the expression, "an average", leads one to suspect that the boys rather took turns at the farm instead of staying with the job as the boy in a particular shop did. Farming was a sort of makeshift, all the schools had some land, and felt that it had to be tilled. But it is unlikely that agriculture was regarded as a calling to be studied in the same way as tailoring or carpentry.

This deplorable tendency is somewhat corrected as time goes on. Carlisle at present reports that with her two convenient farms containing nearly 300 acres it is possible to do very good agricultural work. The Department of Agriculture detailed a special adviser to the school for the year 1909-10. The Department is now on a sound basis and the ground is being worked to its full capacity with certain reservations for grazing purposes. In some of the western schools where land was much more plentiful, agriculture has been more strongly emphasized, but the advancement has been extremely slow. With nearly 9000 acres of choice land the Chilocco school had only twelve boys in agriculture about ten years after its establishment.\(^1\) The unfortunate political management of the school was the great cause of its unprogressive character. Chilocco now ranks as one of the very foremost schools of the country in respect to agriculture, and numerous schools both on and off the reservations are pushing the work. Statistics of subsistence raised by the different schools are instructive in this respect, because they show conclusively that agriculture is coming into its own, even in the day.

\(^1\) 10th Rept. Indian Rights Association, p. 40.
schools, which report all the way from a few dollars or nothing at all up to over $2,000 made in this way. Careful collections of figures from the standpoint of number enrolled in the different industries are also instructive. They show that from 1897 to 1904 the students working on school farms increased from about 1500 to over 4000. These returns are not complete but doubtless represent truly an approximate measure of the growth.

But the most hopeful indication is to be found in the fact that agriculture is now being really studied. Farm and garden work under the direction of the school farmer, who laid out the land for the different crops, told the boys how much seed to sow, where to sow it, how to tend the crop, how to harvest it, etc., all this has changed. To be sure, the boys still do the work, but they are a party to the planning for the season, they understand the reason for each part of the procedure, they measure the results. In short, agriculture is no longer studied as an art, but as a science.

The basic cause of this transformation is a realization of the place which agriculture must fill in the life of the average Indian student when he leaves school. Experience shows that the very large majority go back to the vicinity of their old home. This means that they pass into an economic society where the dominant note must be agriculture. Ninety per cent, according to most authorities, must conquer the soil or return to barbarism. Employment for


2. As late as 1908, however, Supt. Friedman of Carlisle passed a criticism on the nonreservation teaching of agriculture in this respect. He said that the small opportunity for organized classroom and experimental instruction in soil study, rotation of crops, conservation of moisture, etc., made the course a sad disappointment to young men who were looking forward to the working of large tracts of land which they owned in the West. Proc. Lake Mohonk Conference, 26th Annual Meeting, p. 40.
artisans on the frontier is limited at best; and without an efficient system of agriculture it cannot exist at all. Neither can any degree of civilization be attained by the people. Many cases of reversion have surely resulted from the glutting of the frontier market with mechanical tradesmen who could find nothing to do. The agency gave employment to some but could not care for all. As a consequence agriculture in a broad sense is taught, and must continue to be taught, more than anything else, but with it may be given such mechanical instruction in the use of tools as to make of the Indian an independent farmer. The evils of a lack of adaptation of industrial education to the fundamental needs of a people find nowhere a more obvious illustration than in the matter just discussed.

But adaptation of instruction in our Indian schools to the home environment of the pupils may not mean agriculture, or it may mean much more than agriculture. The climate and economic resources of the different reservations are extremely varied. While agriculture properly receives the emphasis in many localities, there are others where the lack of sufficient moisture means that stock raising must become the principal industry. Comparatively few reservation communities possess much mineral wealth. Such territories were carved out by Caucasian cupidity long ago. In other places horticulture and gardening are more important, and field agriculture less so. Thus there is constantly pressing for solution the question of adaptation, just as in the public schools. A school which fits a certain locality today may be called upon to alter radically its course inside of ten years because of the economic transformation of that locality. Adaptation and correlation are watchwords at present in all live Indian schools.
With this discussion of the general trend of industrial education for the Indiens, the methods and content may now be examined somewhat more carefully. The central administration is insisting that "agriculture, stock raising, and kindred pursuits" shall be taught at all schools where practicable.  

To this end school employees connected with this department are directed to take their allotted leaves of absence at times in the school year when they can best be spared, but not in vacation. The work of the farm is to be kept up during the summer months, and necessary details of pupils are to remain at the school to carry through the plans for the season. Wherever gardening is practicable, the boys in the day schools must be taught to raise vegetables. These provisions show the pressure which the central authorities are beginning to exert throughout the system.

Methods in agricultural teaching differ somewhat. The two main types are the extensive and intensive. Carlisle represents the latter to good advantage. From its location in the East it has naturally adopted the close methods of the Eastern farmer, who farms every foot of his land to secure the largest results. Each sort of soil is carefully studied as to its productive powers; intelligent rotation is studied, rotation which contemplates the maintaining of the wealth of the soil rather than the artful filching from it of the last iota of its fertility; commercial fertilizers, their comparative values and uses are carefully examined; special attention is given to methods of cultivation, destruction and annihilation of weeds, drainage and reclamation. This procedure affords a pleasing

contrast to the prodigality of most Western farmers, and ought to give the Carlisle man a very great advantage, when he comes in time to his allotment, over a Chilocco man, for example. The Chilocco school in 1908-9 raised subsistence to the value of $12,766 on 9,000 acres of school land, Haskell with less than a thousand exceeded Chilocco. These two schools are chosen because in about the same section of country, thus eliminating the element of crop failure. The Salem School with a much smaller farm raised nearly as much, while Carlisle with her 300 acres produced $30 per acre. At Fort Totten, North Dakota, each acre yielded about $22.50, and Sherman Institute, Riverside, California, was able to make an average of about $55. These statistics are worthy of careful study, because they illustrate the difference between a system of agriculture which has robbed the American people of a tremendous resource, and another system which is to give us back our fertile soil and insure the support of a vastly increased population; it illustrates the difference between the agriculture of the past and that of the future.¹

The content of the course in agriculture need not be entered into in detail. The subjects covered are very similar to those studied in our best agricultural schools for pupils of similar capacity. Two or three special features may be briefly noted. The number of different crops studied in a great cosmopolitan school like Haskell is necessarily great. Among those taken up at Lawrence are corn, wheat, oats, sorghum, kaffir corn, potatoes, rutabagas,

¹ The data presented in this paragraph are taken from the catalogs of the different schools, their reports and statistics as printed in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and a number of replies to a circular letter sent to Indian schools. Since material drawn from so limited a number of sources can easily be verified by any one interested, references will not be multiplied from this point on. In case other material is drawn upon references to authority will be made as heretofore.
millet, clover, timothy, alfalfa and all the varieties of vegetables usually grown in a temperate climate. Sherman Institute has taken up a line of work which sounds strange in the Mississippi Valley, but which is a live issue in all western schools, viz., the question of irrigation. In this respect schools in the arid regions are at a great advantage. Fort Totten looks like an agricultural college with its experimental farm of forty acres. This tract is divided into small lots for practical scientific experimentation with the grains and vegetables that can be grown in that region. Many schools are managing their gardens in small plots, each under the care of a single pupil, rather than permitting individuals to work at will in all parts of the school garden. Chilocco for years has had a fine orchard and nursery.1

Stock-raising and dairying on a large scale have been introduced into several schools, while nearly all except the day schools maintain a small herd to furnish dairy supplies for the school. The Indians stand very much in need of object teaching with reference to the quality of their live stock. The Indian ponies, for instance, as a rule, are useless for farm purposes or for heavy draught, and, indeed, for almost any purposes except those so dear to the aboriginal heart, saddle and bareback races. The boys now have a chance to become familiar with the better breeds of cattle, horses, hogs, and poultry. Three breeds of cattle may be found in one school, thus giving splendid facilities for the comparison of

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1. The data presented in this paragraph are taken from the catalogs of the different schools, their reports and statistics as printed in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and a number of replies to a circular letter sent to Indian schools. Since material drawn from so limited a number of sources can easily be verified by any one interested, references will not be multiplied from this point on. In case other material is drawn upon references to authority will be made as heretofore.
breeds for the dairy and for the stock market. A knowledge of the rearing of all these kinds of domestic animals is significant not simply from the economic side of producing marketable stuff and lowering the living expenses of the household, but also from the fact of affording a greater variety of foods for the home table. This latter is to be regarded as of distinctly educational value. The question of pure milk and stock disease will soon be an important branch. Carlisle through the construction of a modern and complete dairy barn expects to attack tuberculosis in cattle, a scourge which has been devastating the herd to the extent of $1,200 annually.

Work in the trades has become sufficiently differentiated. It is not uncommon to find fifteen trades taught in a single school, and some exceed twenty. The latter are only the larger nonreservation schools, which have a varied constituency to minister to. Over forty trades or occupations are now found in different sections of the country. To these must be added some well organized commercial departments, Haskell's being preeminent, and a good course in telegraphy at Carlisle. Great care, however, must be taken, as already indicated, to make these occupations practical. An adept shoemaker will starve to death in a community where people wear only moccasins, a first-class carpenter will become a public charge in a locality where the people live in adobe huts or sod houses, unless he can combine other remunerative labor with his trade. The most successful of the returned pupils who have studied trades, are those who carry on some farming, gardening, dairying, or poultry-raising as a "side-line" or contributory occupation.

The efficiency of these lines of work hardly admits of question. School manufactures are good enough not only for school
and agency use, but for the open market as well. Premiums have been won at nearly all the greatest expositions. The printing presses turn out a very high quality of work. The apprentices of several schools put out regular publications, covering the work and news of the school, and dealing with questions of Indian education and civilization. The Weekly Chemawa American, The Indian Leader (Haskell) and The Red Man (Carlisle) are all very attractive. The apprentices at Salem printed the current report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools. Illustrations from different vocations might be multiplied.

The methods by which these results are secured are of interest to all educators. The boys are allowed to choose their own trade, but do not enter upon it at the very beginning of their course. Some of the leading schools seem to be appreciating very fully the benefits of manual training, sloyd, or mechanical drawing, to all whether or not they expect to follow a trade. At Haskell every boy must take some manual training. The younger pupils have a certain amount of "form and number" work with due attention to the artistic. In the manual training classes the general principles of iron-working and wood-working are taken up; the pupil learns the names, use, and care of the common tools, the qualities of the different kinds of wood, etc.; the elements of joining, forging, moulding, all find a place. The habit is formed of making working drawings prior to execution. At all stages there is the conscious effort at correlation of the industrial and academic work so evident in the best schools for the colored race. The industries themselves are taught largely by doing work under trained employees, who from the laundress up are instructors in their respective departments. This does not imply a neglect of classroom work of a technical sort.
Evening lectures for agricultural and industrial students are in vogue. Apprentices in most cases spend a half of each day in the school, the other half in the shop or on the farm. If facilities allow, the forenoon is best spent indoors, but lack of shop room and exclusively industrial teachers necessitate both forenoon and afternoon sessions indoors and out. No other plan of dividing the time has been so satisfactory though alternate days and a division of four and two days per week have both been tried. A conclusion so generally arrived at after nearly thirty years of experiment should interest students of the cooperative plan.

For the girls large provision has not been lacking. The content of the course in domestic science is broad and practical and has been made to include some things which cannot be equally well taught in some of our public school courses in the same subject. In an Indian boarding school it is natural and easy to include, for example, the care of one's room and the making of all her clothes. This would be quite an innovation in a public school. Boarding schools call for actual scrubbing, sweeping, and dishwashing, activities which our own courses in domestic science contemplate but do not teach to any extent, but which are increasingly important for people who as a race have never learned to work and whose homes can never teach them even these commonplace things. The sphere of the Indian girl is conceived to be wider than the four walls of a house; she is taught the care of dairy products, the raising of poultry, and the making of garden. Great care is used to divest the domestic science in the school of features which are superfluous or unrelated to the life that the students are unlikely to lead. Girls learn to sew by hand and darn first, and then to work the sewing machine af-
Stream washers, churns, and irons run by electricity are found in many of the large schools because they are a necessity to the economical working of the school, but the evil results of an exclusive use of these conveniences (which are not available in frontier homes) has been felt and is now in process of correction. Some schools make the girls do their personal washing by hand. An illustration in the Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools for 1909 (opposite p. 30) struck the writer forcibly. The title is Bread-making at a Pine Ridge Day School. It shows two Indian girls in a very plain kitchen, cooking bread, not with a gas or gasoline range, not with a common coal range of modern type, but with what appears to be an old-style wood stove. The best policy is plain. These girls must be educated for the life that they are to lead, any other kind of training is worse than wasted. But they do have a right to come into such knowledge of the comforts of life and labor-saving devices of the housewife as will give them the "upward look". They must return to their reservations able to take up things as they find them but impelled with an aspiration for better things, for upon their ideals depends the uplift of the home life of the distant places.

It has long been well known that certain tribes of Indians have highly developed native industries, industries in which the artistic sense is prominent. The Navahos are expert silversmiths and some of the tribe have been taken to Carlisle to teach their craft. These people have woven blankets of unique design, the Pueblos have shown great capacity in the making of pottery, and the Cheyenne and Sioux in leather work and lace, the Oneidas in bead making. These arts have been sadly neglected in our education of
the Indians thus far, though for several years a few workers have been deeply interested in their restoration. For two or three years the central authorities have encouraged this sort of thing for aesthetic and economic reasons, but the response from the schools is not in evidence. A recent circular letter to Indian schools elicited a number of replies, but not one reported any move to encourage the native arts. To the best of the writer's knowledge Carlisle stands alone in this field, if we except the continuation schools. Carlisle has a department of Native Indian Arts, in charge of two trained Indian artists. Four or five native crafts are already taught and the management is sanguine of results. A practical accomplishment is the preparation of designs and illustrations for the school publications. If the arts and crafts movement has a right to grow among us, it has just as strong justification among the Indians, and holds out greater promise of success because the knowledge of certain arts is much more widely disseminated among Indian tribes than any are among us.

The foregoing discussion should not be construed as meaning that the nonreservation schools have a virtual monopoly on industrial training. The reports of the different schools show that the nonreservation schools are simply leading the way. The reservation boarding schools necessarily do less intensive work, the pupils are younger, the facilities are more limited. Only three or four trades are dealt with, usually carpentry, blacksmithing, shoemaking, harnessmaking, some painting and bricklaying. Farming, stock-raising, dairying, gardening, are practically universal, and in a fashion are found in nearly all day schools. The nonreservation standard is more nearly equaled in the training for girls, who get nearly every-
thing their age will stand. The lack of suitable industrial teachers at the salaries paid in reservation schools is a great handicap just as in our own rural schools, yet we find the following remarkable statement from the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs after his return from an extended tour of the schools last year:

The system of education taught in the Indian schools is at least twenty-five years in advance of the present public school system in industrial training. The boys are taught farming and the related industrial arts; the girls, domestic science.

In a view of industrial education the continuation schools must not be omitted. The idea of helping the older Indians by carrying education to them through special agents is about half as old as the training school movement. This is accomplished by two classes of people: the matrons and the farmers. The field matrons, as they have usually been termed because of their itinerancy, have proved a potent force in the improvement of that basic factor in race betterment, viz., the home life. They have gone among the Indian women and have inspired them to do whatever their hands might find to do. Great proficiency has been acquired in the making of lace, rugs, blankets, and numerous other articles. Emphasis has often been laid upon the particular crafts which in the past have been regarded as native industries. Unusual aptitude, however, has been exhibited for entirely foreign industries, but above all any general statement as to the slothfulness of Indian women has been fully rebutted. The industrious habits of the women have been turned into the vital channel of home-making, neat and intelligent housekeeping; and thus a haven is created where the ideals created by the school life of the younger ones may be sheltered and nurtured.

Among the most notable successes of the 90's was that of

1. The Red Man, October, 1910, p. 82.
Miss Sybil Carter in teaching lace-making to the Minnesota women. The feasibility of such plans so impressed the Lake Mohonk Conference that generous members in 1898 raised $1250 for such work and turned it over to Mr. and Mrs. Walter C. Roe, who founded Mohonk Lodge on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation in Oklahoma. This institution served to employ the spare hours of the Indian women by teaching handiwork and finding a market for its product. From the first the enterprise was financially successful and soon assumed the proportions of a regular business with office, manufacturing, and sales departments. The scope of its influence widened, it became a bracing power in the life of returned students, a hospital, a social center which with the daily coming and going of the women reacted mightily by example on the ideals of the Indian home life.

The following summary of the work of a matron is taken from a recent report:

She visits the Indian women in their homes, giving them counsel and encouragement, showing them how to keep their houses clean and orderly and make them more attractive; how to prepare and serve meals, make butter, care for milk, etc.; how to care for their children and the sick; how to cut, make, and mend garments; how to wash and iron, and do the innumerable other things which present themselves in the life of a housewife. Besides, she is expected to exert her influence to improve their moral welfare and to impress upon the parents the importance of educating their children and training them to lives of industry. The value to the service of conscientious employees of this class is inestimable.

Set off against the field matrons are the farmers or industrial teachers unattached to any school. After the passage of Dawes Act in 1887, a general law to authorize the allotment of land in severalty, it became apparent that land was worthless to the ordinary Indian. Most whites would have been helpless on a quarter-section of arid land good for one crop in five, with a few plows and

horses to help farm the estate. To place the allottees in intelligent relation to their farms these farmers have been sent out with strong financial support to superintend the work of these people. They advise the Indians in the care of their stock, the marketing of their produce, the investment of their profits, and the improvement of their holdings. The continuation school will find a great work to do for the Indian, and should find a large sphere in any project of race education.

Vocational training of two sorts not usually termed industrial has sprung up at the Indian schools. One is a training course for nurses. For this there would scarcely be more excuse than for organizing courses in law, medicine and theology at these schools, were it not for the peculiar conditions of Indian life. In sparsely settled country where physicians cannot readily be called, and where professional white nurses do not go to practice, it is highly important that there should be at hand some one who can temporarily supply the lack of both. The courses in domestic science include care of the sick, but this has been thought insufficient. Hampton was the first to report a training school for nurses but nothing can be learned of its history. More recently Sherman Institute has set off a department under a competent nurse where a prescribed course in nursing is offered of the nature required in a city hospital. The department is said to be very popular, but applications for admission are considered on the basis of character and merit as in our best training schools for nurses. Carlisle has just taken similar action. Her students are in position to enter adjacent city hospitals for large clinical experience. A number of Carlisle graduates have become successful nurses in all parts of the country, and

2. The Red Man, October, 1910, p. 87.
their racial characteristics, deftness, patience, stoicism when necessary, are thought peculiarly to fit them for this work.

The other class of vocational training alluded to is preparation for teaching. This too for reasons of age has been confined almost entirely to pupils of nonreservation schools. As soon as this class of schools was founded it was seen that the supply of native teachers might be prepared here. Very few, however, have realized the possibilities of the work, but have left the preparation of native teachers to denominational schools or the normal schools of the states. Attendance at the best normal schools of the country may be very desirable for prospective Indian workers, but it can never give the same attitude toward the problem as practice teaching in a room of young Indians. It is singularly unfortunate that so many Indian teachers have gone out without normal preparation; it is equally surprising that they have succeeded so well. The only explanation is that most of them came from Carlisle and Hampton, which of all the Indian schools stand alone in offering normal courses, and which therefore are characterized throughout by a professional attitude toward education. The features of their normal instruction do not seem to differ from those at other normal schools, except for the fact already mentioned, that they practice on the real thing. The pupil teachers at Carlisle are selected with care and teach up through the fourth grade. Prospective Indian teachers who go to the state normal schools are likely to be diverted from native to public school work. Positions without number are open to them. No reservation school of as many as two hundred pupils has, in the judgment of the writer, any right to neglect normal training.

1. The Santee Normal Training School on the Santee Agency, Neb., is forty years old. St. Paul's Boarding School on Yankton Reserve in the same state also sent out many teachers. It is much to the credit of the churches that they were pioneers in teacher training.
CHAPTER IX.

THE INDIAN AND THE STATE SCHOOLS.

It will be recalled that in the colonial period the governments of several colonies took an interest in the education and conversion of the surrounding tribes. After the general government was set in operation, the management of all Indian affairs passed out of the hands of the states. So many frontier troubles caused the Indian to grow into a nuisance in the eyes of the western people especially, and they became heartily glad that the Washington government had taken off their hands a task that any single state might well dread. This attitude must be understood because of its influence upon the later movement to return the Indians to the care of the states.

The exceptional case of New York, which has since 1846 been providing for its own Indians in a way to be described hereafter, was possibly the origin of the idea that began to appear in the early 80's. Students of the Indian problem began to see a solution in assimilation. The annual immigration of the country exceeded the total Indian population of the country. Why therefore could not the Indians be assimilated? and if they were to be assimilated, could not the end be hastened by placing upon them the full responsibilities of citizenship and mingling their blood with the white? What arrangement could more strongly promote this outcome than the abolition of the Indian schools by a gradual process, the turning over of the Indian to the laws and the schools of the states in which their reservations happened to lie? And so the Indian Bureau began work upon this proposal.

In 1883 the government gave $75,000 for placing Indians in
schools in the states, as against $17,000 the year before. But because the appropriation measure also provided that the suitable white families, in which Indian children might be placed with the consent of their parents, should consider their labor full recompense for their support and education for their stay of three years, no children could be placed. This would have left the government nothing to pay except transportation. If $50 per year had been allowed there would have been a number of places in all probability, but the blunder was made of supposing that because Carlisle boys and girls could easily find places smaller children could do the same. Certain pupils were allowed out of this appropriation at the rate of $167 per annum, the regular nonreservation rate, if they chose to attend white industrial schools. Few schools cared to receive any on these terms since special teachers were necessary to give the Indians English and other things which the white enrollment already had.

In 1890 a fresh start was made. Letters were addressed to county and state superintendents in the states contiguous to reservations asking their cooperation in bringing about the admission of the Indians to white schools. The replies were of a favorable nature and a number of contracts were made with public schools so near the reservations that they were really day schools for the Indian children. A rate of $10 a quarter was made for each child of average attendance. This was to pay for tuition, books and all supplies. These were very favorable terms, but they did not do what they were designed to do. In Table VI are presented the figures of consequence in this connection. The attendance has been exceedingly poor.

even where the Indians have taken the benefit of the contract. The
earlier reports tell of a decided aversion on the part of both races
to this mingling, but this has largely passed away. The real trou-
ble is rather to be found in the fact that the Indian is in the
school as a public charge. His father is not a contributor to the
tax fund of the district, so the government is paying the bill.
Furthermore, the Indians are uncouth, "queer", dirty, immoral, as
compared with the white pupils. The sly gibes of their companions
gall them. Very few fullbloods have attended these schools. Small
pretexts secure the consent of the parent that the child may stay at
home. The teacher does not exert himself to secure regularity of at-
tendance, the parents are indifferent, and the federal authorities
are at a disadvantage through a lack of supervisory power in such
cases. The parents who are most interested in education and would
insist on the regular attendance of their children have preferred
the government schools on account of their superior industrial train-
ing, or perchance the free board and lodging.

Table VI. 1

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1. Data for Table VI are taken from Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1907, p. 42; 1909, p. 78.
The apparent failure of this scheme is counterbalanced by a growth in another direction. While the government still contracts for the admission of Indian children to public schools in a number of localities at the same rate per capita as is there allowed for nonresident white children, it seems that several hundred children are now attending public schools not under contract.\(^1\) The reservations, which attained their maximum area about 1878, have been diminishing constantly, until they at present include only about one-third of the former maximum. This decrease is by no means accounted for by the allotments made to the Indians. Many tracts have been acquired by white freeholders under the provision of the Dawes law\(^2\) and subsequent legislation. While the plan of Lieut. Pratt to make allotments in the checker-board fashion, so that in time each Indian would have a white neighbor on each side, has not been followed, the races have been settled in a marked way. The whites have found it necessary to open schools for their children, and it is to these that the Indians are going. The government furnishes the buildings; the white settlers, the equipment and teachers.

The reasons for larger and more regular attendance under this plan than under the contract plan previously described have nowhere been discussed, but can perhaps be somewhat inferred. The government now shares in the control of the school, and takes pains to let the Indians understand that the school is as much theirs as any school can be. In the consolidation at Fort Lapwai Indians were appointed to the board and the problem of attendance was solved.\(^3\)

1. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1908, p. 45-46; 1909, pp. 18, 83-84.
These schools are more likely to emphasize industrial training than those in which the government has no voice. They also mean the discontinuance of the exclusively government school for that locality, and so tend to force the Indians into attendance. Many of the Indian patrons are citizens and therefore among the most advanced of their people. This coupled with the improved personal aspect of their children produces a different attitude on the part of the whites.

The success of this measure warrants confidence in its wide extension with the prospect of sole state responsibility being established in a few years. This seems to be the goal toward which all students of the problem are looking. The outing system is doing its share here too by placing in the public schools several hundred children who are not taken into account in making up the official reports. In 1909-10 Carlisle had out 222 in this way. The movement will touch the nonreservation schools most strongly first, but it will move with no great delay on to the reservations and slowly sweep out of existence Indian schools, substituting for them mixed schools. Considerations of method, subject matter, improvement of the Indian home life, all point to this as the logical conclusion. The prerequisites for the consummation of this end are two: (1) a tolerable Indian home influence, (2) equal application of state control to white and Indian residents. This dictum can be better understood and probably better agreed to after a brief examination of laissez faire in different parts of the country.

A recommendation of President Monroe in 1824, prompted by a desire to settle the many serious conflicts of the two races

east of the Mississippi, contemplated the removal of the larger and more threatening tribes across the river. People of the southern states particularly were relieved when a westward migration began with the Creeks about 1825. In the course of the next decade the Cherokees, Creeks, Chotaws, and Chickasaws were definitely established by treaty in a prescribed tract which came to be called Indian Territory. In 1846 the Seminoles followed, completing the list of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes. The land which was given these people was a splendid estate of about forty thousand square miles, and as the later economic development has revealed, included vast resources, both mineral and agricultural. Here perhaps the most promising Indian blood in the entire country was established in full sovereignty. Only slight changes were made in their territory for over half a century. They were virtually undisturbed except for the Civil War, which had a ruinous effect, inasmuch as many chose the losing side. There was therefore offered a chance to observe what Indians left to themselves could evolve in the way of a civilization. The previous advancement of these nations made them a preferred field for missionary endeavor. The churches as usual brought with Christianity a considerable amount of educational zeal and soon had the satisfaction of seeing a commendable desire among the Indians to imitate. The tribal governments became very generous in their support of education, and a national system of schools was evolved by each tribe. This is presented in its most advanced stage by the Cherokee codification of 1881, the details of which are briefly set forth.2

1. Rept. Commr. of Ind. Affairs, 1899, p. 89.
The purpose of the system was declared to be the placing of a liberal education within the reach of all and the dissemination of the knowledge and practical use of English. A national board of education was appointed by the tribal senate on the nomination of the chief. Its three members were by statutory requirement of liberal literary attainments and of moral and temperate habits, holding office for three years and retiring one each year after the manner of the district directors in many states. This board adopted general rules and regulations for the three classes of schools, viz., seminaries, orphan asylum, and primary schools; it controlled the certification of teachers, the adoption of texts, the prescription of a course of study, etc. An interesting and modern provision was the prerogative of discontinuing any primary school with a daily attendance of less than thirteen in winter or fifteen in summer. Each member of the national board was assigned as special supervisor to the schools of one of the three districts into which the nation was divided. Primary schools had to be visited once a term, the others twice.

The national committeeman appointed to each school in his district a board of three citizens holding office during good behavior and without compensation. The function of these had to do mostly with the school plant and local discipline. They evidently did not select the teacher.

Applicants for certificates were examined as to scholarship, moral character and fitness for teaching, but all who completed the full course offered in the schools of the nation were entitled to permanent first grade certificates. Other qualifications being equal, the preference in employment of teachers was supposed to be
given to Cherokee citizens. The salaries ran from $25 per month to $300 per annum.

The course of study was seven years in length, the primary school requiring three years, the seminaries four years. The school year was composed of two terms, each sixteen to twenty weeks in length. The schools were free in a larger sense than any of our own. Tuition, books, clothing, even board and lodging in some cases were free.

This scheme was quite imposing on paper and can without dispute be said to have disseminated fairly a small measure of intelligence, judged by standards in white communities on the frontier in those days. Statistics of a reliable nature are lacking, but the indications are good. Several thousands of children are known to have been in attendance. Some good buildings were erected, the most expensive being the male and female seminaries of the Cherokees. Each cost nearly $100,000.¹ Their furnishing was complete and some good work was done through a liberal course of study. English was taught from a very early date.² The Choctaws annually spent a large sum of money to send some of their children to colleges in the East.³ Their generosity is an earnest of what might have been expected of other tribes had they felt secure in their land and homes.

About 1835 many outsiders proposed a policy of concentration for our Indian population that would place it within the Territory and fix it permanently, but serious opposition arose in the surrounding states of Missouri, Kansas, Texas, and Arkansas, and the

² Tracts of Meetings for Sufferings, No. 3, p. 14.
project was abandoned. But conditions within the Territory itself were rapidly making a prolongation of the status quo intolerable. A considerable number of freedmen had drifted in after the war and were passing an anomalous existence. Against them race prejudice was so strong that they were not allowed the advantages of education though the Cherokees maintained some for the negroes at one time at least. On the other hand the colored people had no authority to organize schools for themselves. The economic development of the people seems to have stopped; all information that is available, scattering and inexact though it is, goes to show that progress had ceased in every line, industry was at a standstill; in some directions there even seems to have set in a retrograde motion. The Five Tribes were in a state of arrested development.

Several reasons may be assigned for this condition. The old political machinery had been outgrown. Their immense reservations were held wholly in common, thus limiting social progress by reason of the elementary conception of private property. Although no whites had any rights in the Territory, the federal government had failed to do its duty in keeping out the intruders, and the Indians seemed unwilling to eject them. Consequently they had slipped across the border in large numbers, until the Eleventh Census gave about 100,000 whites on the Chickasaw and Choctaw reservations alone. Among these were many fugitives from justice in adjacent states. Extradition was impossible since the authority of the United States could not be exercised in the land of the Five Tribes. Their own government, though similar in letter to our own, was very imperfect in its operation. It was virtually a great district without law, a

1. Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1885, p. ix.
practical experiment in anarchy. With intruders outnumbering the legal inhabitants the conditions which led to the Boer War were being duplicated. Even the orderly intruders had no way of organizing to conserve general social or political ends.

In 1897 a Commission was sent to persuade these tribes to yield their legal rights as concerned the community of land and the exclusion of federal authority. After repeated rebuffs the commissioners carried the day. In 1897 the tribes one by one began to come to agreement with the Commission. These agreements had to be ratified by Congress and by tribal elections. To the credit of the Indians affected, it may be said that the United States was not compelled to overstep its legal bounds. The better counsel prevailed among the tribes, and the provisions of the Curtis Act of June 28, 1898, went into operation.\(^1\) Tribal courts came to an end, tribal law lapsed. The laws and courts of the United States became sovereign. All land was to be allotted in severalty under provisions similar to the Dawes Act, and thousands of people from all parts of the United States poured in to claim a patrimony. Further changes need not be enumerated. The tribal governments later ceased and the citizens of an Indian nation were made citizens of the United States.

With reference to the school situation, financial and supervisory responsibility was vested in the Department of the Interior. A superintendent was appointed for the entire Territory with a supervisor for each tribe. The reports of these agents after taking charge disclosed a sad state of decay.\(^2\) The fullbloods had held complete control and were proving apt political pupils of some of their white brethren. Nepotism was firmly rooted. One chairman of

1. Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1897, pp. 75-77.
2. See reports of these agents in Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1893 et seq.
A national school board had found "places" for a sister, two sisters-in-law, an uncle, a niece, and six cousins. The secretary of the same board had driven equally lucrative bargains. Bribery, carelessness, and indifference in the expenditure of school funds were the rule. Chickasaw teachers and pupils used the vernacular to the almost total exclusion of English. The buildings were small frame ones with scarcely any furniture except a few rude benches. The books were antiquated, and even the superintendents of seminaries or academies were incompetent to teach the common branches.

The federal school appointees at once proceeded to open an adequate number of day schools, all of them for whites and Indians mixed or for negroes separately. Boarding schools were continued for the Indians only and paid for out of tribal funds. Some trouble was experienced in the earlier years in securing the attendance of fullbloods. Traces of race feeling could be detected. But this difficulty has now passed away. The advent of statehood naturally introduced a financial problem in that the Indian lands were not yet taxable according to the terms of allotment, but the general government continues to share in the support and management of the mixed schools. So far as a question of race education is concerned, we must soon look elsewhere than to Oklahoma for data. A community of blood as well as of language and institutions is impending and inevitable.

The history of Indian Territory shows what laissez faire means to a backward race in contact and industrial competition with a more advanced one. A directive hand is the only thing that will prohibit institutional inbreeding and probable degeneracy. A lack of a directive hand is the only thing that will prohibit institutional inbreeding and probable degeneracy.\footnote{1. Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1906, pp. 740-755.} A lack of a directive hand is the only thing that will prohibit institutional inbreeding and probable degeneracy.\footnote{2. The observations of Coffin, On the Education of Backward Races (Pedagogical Seminary, 15: 1-62) ought to be read carefully by every student of this problem.}
of law or institutional life is one of the great forces making for the down-pull against race education. With due regard for tact in treating native customs considerately, especially those of a religious nature, no race can hope to lift another effectively and economically by providing schools merely. Social and political order need to be engrafted with all possible despatch that the work of education may take hold.

The case need not be rested, however, on the transformation of the Five Tribes. There is in New York State a very instructive example. The Indian population there represents the remnants of the once powerful Six Nations. These people were dependent upon missionary zeal for their education up to 1946, but at that time the common school fund of the state was opened to them\(^1\) and the state has had practically absolute control ever since. It purchases the school sites, sometimes in the face of strong native opposition, provides and equips the school plant, and furnishes the teachers. The Indians have never, so far as can be learned, done more than to furnish the firewood, and cases are recorded where even this has been left to the teacher to provide out of his own pocket.\(^2\) The federal government has assumed no responsibility, although some administrations have so construed the law as to permit the children to attend Hampton and Carlisle at public expense.

The status of these people at any one time is illustrative of their history; they appear to present another case of arrested development. Their population is something over five thousand and remains practically stationary; the slight increase could be accounted

2. Rept. Special Committee to Investigate the Indian Problem of the State of New York, appointed by the Assembly of 1889, p. 56.
for by the limited amount of foreign blood that has been introduced. The people live in houses mainly, wear civilized dress, and till some land, but very few have taken an allotment in severality. The law of the State of New York does not cover the reservations except in a limited sense. Succession of property, for example, follows the Indian custom.\(^1\) Barbarous observances are still common, for many of the Indians were, until recently at least, pagans. The pagan element has always had the reputation of being the one which most determinedly opposes schools. Moral conditions may be characterized as indescribable. The better class are leaving the reservations in disgust.\(^1\)

The schools\(^2\) have employed from thirty to thirty-five teachers. These, with one or two exceptions, have been day schools with a single teacher. The enrollment has been generally large, comprising most of those of school age; the attendance, on the other hand, has been exceedingly poor. There have possibly been cases of overcrowding, but there have been other cases where a teacher has found not a single pupil present to receive instruction. The schools have been neither well equipped, well supervised, nor well taught. Of this the salaries are ample proof. They ran as low as $5 per week for some time, then rose to $7 and $7.50. The present maximum is $10. The investment of the state in the day schools is less than $4 per capita of population per annum, a sum which is totally inadequate. At intervals the state has been stirred to appoint committees of investigation to find out, if possible, how the situation

1. Rept. Commr. of Indian Affairs, 1904, pp. 702-703.

2. For information on the schools see Rept. of Special Committee to Investigate the Indian Problem of the State of New York, appointed by the Assembly of 1883, passim; Annual Reports, of the Education Department of the State of New York.
could be remedied. These have succeeded in doing nothing much more than to investigate. The subject has become almost distasteful. The agent of the United States has made reports with barely a mention of the existence of schools; the New York school reports have sometimes overlooked the existence of Indians in the state.

Commissioner Draper is of a different turn, however. He frankly admits the truth and tells what he thinks is the matter. The salaries paid are less than elsewhere, while the embarrassments to service are far greater. Suitable boarding places cannot be secured, so that teachers are under the necessity of going long distances daily. If one elects to stay on the reservation in an Indian family or live at the schoolhouse, the social deprivations are severe. The children on account of the sparseness of population must go long distances over almost impassable roads, to spend a short time each day out from under the barbarous, immoral and unsanitary conditions of home. Tardiness is a chronic feature of the school. If parents are not hostile, they are at any rate indifferent and often go visiting to other parts of the reservation, taking the children with them. There is no machinery for the enforcement of the compulsory law passed several years ago.

The only really bright spots on the reservation are the Quaker industrial school and the Thomas boarding school. The latter receives far more money than all the day schools, yet it has only one-sixth as many pupils. It is able to treat vocational subjects as they cannot be treated in common day schools with ordinary teachers. Commissioner Draper is positive that the day schools should be replaced by reservation boarding schools. But in addition to this educational policy there must be a progressive general policy.
Heathenism must be wiped out, the Indians should all be made citizens, their lands allotted, the reservation broken up, state law and executive machinery extended over every foot of the land. Procrastination in this has probably been due in large measure to the claims of the Ogden Land Company, the validity of which are still in question. When this point is cleared up, a constructive general policy may be initiated. The contention of the writer, however, still holds, viz., that conditions of law and social order must be guaranteed the backward race if it is to absorb the good rather than the evil characteristics of the civilization of the dominant race. Neglect can never solve any problem.

Attention is briefly called to a third case. In Tama County near the center of the flourishing state of Iowa, is situated the tiny reservation of the Sacs and Foxes. The tribe is at a standstill numerically, numbering about 350 souls. The three thousand acres of land would leave only a trifle over forty acres to each family of five persons, but this tribe is not under the necessity of cultivating intensively their limited estate. Their annual income from the government is $50 per capita. Part of this goes to the school, but the remainder goes a long way toward subsistence with their low standard of living. They own the land in common and any attempt to cultivate or improve it is frustrated by the meanness and selfishness of others. If one man plants corn, he will waken some morning to find his fence cut down and the neighbors' ponies enjoy.

1. An illustration of the encouragement held out by the state to the Indians is here given. In the 70's provision was made by law for a manual labor school, in the support of which the state and the Tonawanda band were to share. Lands were purchased and a suitable building erected, but though the Indians and the state invested several thousands of dollars, funds were never furnished to hire teachers and set the institution in running order. No one seems to know what was the trouble.

2. See reports of the agent and superintendent of the Iowa Indians, recent reports of Com'r of Ind. Affairs.
ing a feast. Remonstrance brings the reply, "This land belongs to all the Indians". Hogs are stolen by the idle and vicious, of whom there are plenty, and their situation is such that there is slight chance of redress in the federal courts and none whatever in the state courts since the latter have no jurisdiction. Indian dress is common. Morality is at an extremely low ebb. Not over two-thirds of the children from six to seventeen are eligible to attend school because of early marriage, weak eyes, and other defects.

The school (boarding) is filled to its capacity by admitting children of other tribes. Many of the young learn rapidly, but the attitude of the parents and general conditions negate the effects of education, simply because an Indian of any intelligence or ambition will not stay on such a reservation. As far as the reservation population is concerned, it a survival of the most unfit. Unless the perpetual annuities of these people are commuted, lands allotted, order established, and education and morality enforced, the degenerate survivors of a once virile race will soon become extinct.

The lesson for the statesman and educator is the same as in New York and Indian Territory. *Laissez faire* allows the law of the survival of the fittest to rule. So long as a race is really backward, as a race, the choice of the master lies between paternalism and obliteration. In this there is nothing peculiar. No sensible man would lay out his home community on such a basis as has been described, let schools be as plentiful as they might.
CHAPTER X.

THE MEASUREMENT OF RESULTS. CONCLUSION.

Education must be tested by its results. Those results are to be measured as they enter essentially into the life of the people. Various tests or methods of measurement may be applied. No one can be trusted by itself, but inferences may be drawn from the data furnished by several. It is intended to look at the proposition of Indian education from several points of view. The writer is free to state that the outcome seems to him quite as much as could be expected under the circumstances. Before proceeding it is indispensable to sane judgment that some of the special hindrances be pointed out, since they will modify the standards one sets up in judging results. No one expects, for example, the same academic acquisition from a country child of six years schooling as he does from a city child who has been in school for the same period. Several of the reasons are obvious. What then are some of the detracting causes peculiar to Indian education?

Sentimentalists have dwelt long and forcefully upon the seizure of the Indian's lands without his consent. True, this has often occurred against the protest of the possessor, who even appealed to arms to defend his claim. But in many other cases peaceful and regular agreements have been made with the tribes for the evacuation and cession of valuable lands. The prices paid have been far more than the lands were worth to the Indian, though less than they promised to be worth to the whites. The purchase money has commonly been held in trust by the government, and the income doled out to the tribe in annuities. This has satisfied the demands of sentimentality, but it has been the greatest crime committed against
the Indian in history. Annuities took three forms: schools, money payments, rations. The first form has been impossible according to the terms of most treaties, without the consent of the Indians. That this has been so often forthcoming is much to the credit of the latter.

The influence of the annual money payments has been thoroughly demoralizing. A certain day is appointed for the distribution. The Indians leave their regular employment, if they have any, and make a journey of as much as three hundred miles often to receive their share. Cases are on record where regular wages for the period of necessary absence would have more than equaled the personal annuity, but the Indian must have what is coming to him, even if it costs more than its value to collect it. But there are some others besides the Indians in attendance at the center of distribution. Their character does not need description. Common knowledge supplies the details. If the agent is an unprincipled accomplice, these characters operate at the agency. Liquor flows in abundance, and soon most of the Indians are so drunk that their pockets may be rifled. In case an Indian does not drink, or at least does not become intoxicated, the gambler's net catches him. Shrewd traders or venders of questionable or worthless wares stand ready to prey upon their simple minds. In one case a merry-go-round located itself very advantageously and made a clean sweep, financially speaking. If the agent is a man of the right stamp, he may be under the necessity of a pitched battle with a desperate gang. Or if the disreputables choose, they may take up a position just off the edge of the reservation, and there ply a trade which is entirely within the law, but just as ruinous as if it were contrary to all law.
Rations issued instead of money or as charity to tribes who had scarcely any income, have done wonders to pauperize the Indian. Without distinction they were meted out to all, graduates of the schools sharing equally with the others. No educated Indian can be censured for accepting a gratuity, a white man would do the same. Rations are usually issued the same as money, inferior articles of clothing and food that would not stand inspection being palmed off on victims who are blissfully ignorant of the imposition. Anything of value could be as easily gambled away as a five-dollar bill.

The reservation system is another item in the indictment. Some fought for years against the idea of a reservation before they could gain a hearing. The "vested" interests could not endure the thought of the destruction of so many "good jobs". The perpetuation of the reservation acted very strongly in the wrong direction. Wildness, isolation, and savagery were shut in; civilization was shut out. It was as if we were to try assimilating our immigration by localizing them in the slums, prohibiting them from looking out or going out, and preventing any one except a policeman from entering. The conservation of all that is undesirable in the Indian home life has been accomplished by nothing more surely than the reservation system.

Wild West recruiting agents operated for a long time without a straw being placed in their way. Their travels and exhibitions gave them the worst possible attitude toward civilized life and idealized the roving instinct. The multitudes of people who gathered to see them left the impression that the wild life was the superior one after all, else why should people pay their money to see it? Furthermore, the Indians in the Wild West saw not the best,
but the worst of our life. The same morbid interest which makes a
Wild West show a lucrative business restored the native sun dances
and other ceremonies on certain reservations in the name of "ethnol-
ogy. The injurious effects were very serious.

The Dawes Act led to great abuses of several sorts. One
came through the provision allowing the remainder of the reservation
after tribal allotments were completed, to be sold to white settlers.
Scheming land sharks were on the ground to see to it that the In-
dians chose the poorest land on the whole reservation. Timber, sand
dunes, alkaline soil, land subject to flood, was readily taken by
the careless wards for a small bribe. Thus boys found themselves
leaving school to take an allotment that a white man would not have.
Undesirables of various sorts floated out to the reservations to be-
come squaw-men. Widows and unmarried girls over eighteen years of
age were numerous, and any one of them who was lucky enough to se-
cure a desirable allotment had many suitors who were far worse than
so much dead weight.

Another drawback has been the lack of law for the Indian.
Family relations, property rights, and personal security have been
insecure because of the absence of law or the machinery for its en-
forcement. Conditions of legal and social order are in themselves a
great educator, their absence a great demoralizer. Moral degrada-
tion has run rampant.

It is in the face of such odds that we have tried to edu-
cate the Indian. Within the last twenty years efforts have been
made to correct these troubles. Monthly payments to Indians are be-
ing decreased or withheld unless the applicant can establish his mer-

1 Rations are issued to the few and needy. The following table
speaks for itself.

Table VII.\(^1\)
Principal Commodities Issued as Rations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fiscal year</th>
<th>Beef (lb.)</th>
<th>Flour (lb.)</th>
<th>Coffee (lb.)</th>
<th>Sugar (lb.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
<td>317,000</td>
<td>637,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>10,600,000</td>
<td>2,630,000</td>
<td>118,000</td>
<td>193,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>9,400,000</td>
<td>1,990,000</td>
<td>118,000</td>
<td>155,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The work of allotting in severality has been done for many thousands of families and continues steadily. Thus the reservation is ceasing to be. Law and order are on the increase. Whisky sellers are prosecuted in greater numbers, an indication of better law enforcement rather than of more violations. Common morality is contemplated on the frontier as well as elsewhere. Wild West recruiting has been stopped. With progress of this kind it is reasonable to suppose that educational advancement will continue still more rapidly.

Wherein, then, has education modified the Indians? Statistics are taken in different forms from year to year making impossible the extended comparisons we should desire. If we look at religious progress, there is much reason for congratulation. From twenty-five to thirty thousand communicants are found distributed among the different denominations with several hundred more or less attractive church buildings. It is a mistake to think of all religious work among the Indians as missionary in character. They often maintain their own church work and make heavy missionary contributions to the Christianizing of their people. Indian women brought to the Episcopal Convocation of the South Dakota Sioux in 1909 over $5400 to be used wherever needed in the field. Great numbers of the preachers

and religious teachers are natives.

As citizens the Indians show the weaknesses that a lack of intelligence always shows among illiterate immigrants or native whites. They are often "rounded up" in easy fashion by the political shysters of the vicinity, but they are acquiring the rudiments which will make them intelligent members of the democracy in a short time. All available returns give increasing numbers of those able to read and speak English well enough for ordinary purposes. Many Indians are taking an active part in state and national politics. This is best seen in Oklahoma where the native political genius of the Five Tribes is clearly evident.

Barbarous social and religious observances are waning. Civilized manners and habits command some respect nearly everywhere. The number of mixed bloods shows that an already weak race prejudice is passing. Civilized dress and habitations are almost universal among the Five Tribes, many of whom cannot be recognized as Indians by strangers. Probably half of all other Indians are living in houses of some sort and have adopted the essential principles of civilized dress. When we come to speak of general culture and refinement, neatness, conveniences of civilized life, statistics can offer no help. The accounts of visitors to the homes of returned students offer the most satisfactory view. These accounts profusely illustrated are to be found in all publications devoted to Indian interests, and really form the most illuminating picture the writer has been able to find of actual conditions.¹

Economic efficiency is not wanting among the tribes in all parts of the country. As long as the reservations were nearly in-

¹ See Southern Workman, Red Man, publications of the Indian Rights Association, catalogues of nonreservation schools.
tact statistics were collected yearly to show what the Indians were doing. If this line of investigation could have been continued to the present, it would have been worth while to present an extensive tabulation. The production of staple crops, such as corn, wheat, oats, barley, hay, vegetables, flax, increased steadily as long as they could be traced. The same is true of live stock of all kinds. Lumbering, trapping and manual labor at the agencies take the time of many. There is scarcely any sort of labor in demand in all the West that the Indian does not perform satisfactorily. In the beet fields or on the railroads the employers pay him more money than the Mexicans for the same class of service. A hasty look at the alumni records of schools shows numbers successfully engaged in the occupations far away from the reservations, proof that the Indian is as efficient as the white man. The real difficulty has been that the man and the job have not found each other. Most of the Indians went back to the reservation and often could not find work. Indian labor is not mobile, for the native instinct toward home-keeping is strong, whereas the white man goes out into the world to seek his fortune. He goes to the job, quite regardless of where he finds it.

And so an employment agency has been instituted by the Indian Office to fill this gap. Mr. Leupp was responsible for this innovation, which is one of the best features of an able administration. The work is going forward rapidly, because the reports from employers are favorable.

The Indian in the professions is not so numerous. He does best in these among his own people, but there are successful Indian physicians and teachers in the most advanced communities of the coun-

1. See Repts. Com‘r. of Indian Affairs since 1905, in index under "Employment".
try. The Indian has unquestionably proved that he can carry his own weight economically if he is given the preparation that our public school ideals hold our children are entitled to.

By way of summary, several points may be noted, which it is hoped the foregoing presentation has made reasonably clear.

1. Race education demands a modification of current administration rather than a difference of method in actual teaching. The individual, psychologically and physiologically, is so nearly uniform that he responds in much the same way to the same stimuli, regardless of "race, color, or previous condition". But the social position and economic environment of the race may demand a very different method of administration.

2. Race education must begin where indigenous culture has left off. Every indigenous custom, tradition, or ideal of value must be preserved and built upon. The lack of ideals is equally significant. It may call for a special administrative readjustment, it may justify the introduction of a new branch into the course of study.

3. Strong centralization, fixed responsibility, freedom from political pressure, are as much in demand in race education as elsewhere. The struggles of Indian education show this very conclusively. A study of education in Alaska is recommended as a suitable one to bring out the differences arising from a non-political administration.

4. Neither private nor church philanthropy or missionary zeal can do the work for any large body of backward people. Their efforts may indicate appropriate lines of development but they cannot carry the load. Even if they were able to do so, their ideals would in many cases not be those which the state could sanction. They have no inherent rights in the field of education, they are participants
by sufferance, and their methods must always be subject to government supervision and regulation. Church and state cannot mingle to any better purpose in race education in America or its possessions than they can in the public schools of this country. The status of the church should be substantially the same in race education as elsewhere, except for slight premiums which might be placed upon its activity in the early stages because of its weight as a leveler of native prejudice. As soon as the government is able to take charge, all special advantages should be withdrawn from the church schools.

5. The nonreservation school is most valuable in the beginnings of the elevation of a race. Its worth decreases as general progress increases. For a people whose ultimate fate is bound to be assimilation it is only a temporary expedient; for one which is not to be assimilated investigation is necessary to show whether it should be even a temporary feature. Its discontinuance naturally dates from the time its original distinctive advantages can be realized by reservation schools, the principle being education for environment, and not from it.

6. Correlation and vocational education should be more strongly emphasized in schools for backward people than in schools for those whose homes exert a strong vocational influence. This is only an application of the principle urged by our own educators that the function of the school must be extended to cover the gaps left by the other educative factors. An uncivilized people must develop a command over situations, their own situations, not those of another people. It is hard to say where we should be today in the race problem, west or south, without the skill which has been exercised in adapting the industrial work of the schools to the situations of their pupils.

7. The common district school is best as soon as the flood of
barbarism has begun to ebb. Premature establishment of day schools means great loss, because they will be drowned by their adverse surroundings. Civilization must not attempt to spread its blanket over too much ground. It must begin to colonize a backward people as the early settlers begin to colonize a vast domain, in spots. When the district school is able to live, it is by all odds the first choice. It is the greatest civilizing agent that can be set at work, if the conductors be a man and wife, living adjacent to the schoolhouse, maintaining a small garden, keeping a little stock, and setting up the model of a civilized life in each community. When the one race has been brought up to the level of its benefactor, consolidation may begin again if social conditions make it advisable.

8. As the larger masses of the backward race are broken up, the general government may safely entrust the function of education to the local administrative units, provided always that those local units are willing to receive the backward people on equal terms with any others and assume full responsibility. This policy may result in some loss of special adaptation to the needs of the backward, but it should be more than compensated by the increased speed of assimilation. If there is no idea of assimilation on account of race antagonism or numerical bulk, this recommendation does not hold.

9. Native teachers should be utilized to the full without serious loss of efficiency. The vernacular should be discarded as soon as prejudice will allow.

10. Indirect as well as direct factors of education must not be overlooked. Mistaken charity, economic greed, or political rottenness can bear down the best system of public education that can be devised. In other words, the proposition of education must not be construed too narrowly.
11. Race education must lead, not drive. It is therefore bound to be a slow process. The popular tendency is always toward impatience. There seems to be an idea thoroughly rooted that a race can be educated as quickly as an individual. One generation will never educate any race. It may revolutionize the mental content, but it cannot sweep out of existence the national ideals with their tremendous static force.
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