Indian education in America and its effects upon Indian assimilation

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INDIAN EDUCATION IN AMERICA AND ITS EFFECTS
UPON INDIAN ASSIMILATION

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
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DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Indian Problem

No one knows for certain who the Indians are or where they originated. It is generally believed that they are Mongoloids, as far as racial identity is concerned, and that they arrived in the United States by way of the Bering Strait approximately 15,000 or 20,000 years ago. Other than racial description, a biological definition is used to describe an Indian according to the amount of Indian ancestry in the individual. One quarter Indian heritage is cause to regard an individual as an Indian, especially if he regards himself as an Indian, and is known to be one, and lives in the community as an Indian. Regardless of their origin or classification, the Indians have been exploited and grossly neglected by fellow Americans.

Exploitation began soon after the white man arrived and con-


menced to push the "red man" westward while confiscating his happy hunting grounds, for the Indian occupied the continent known today as North America for thousands of years before the white man dis-
covered it. The Indian strongly resisted the aggression of the "pale-
face," but the Indian's advancement in technology was such that he could not compete with the white man's advancement in that area. True, the Indian was inferior to the white man in technology, but some au-
thors agree that he was superior in other aspects,¹ yet conflict in values between the two cultures stimulated exploitation and gave birth to the "Indian Problem." The Indian continues to face segregation and discrimination in this country and poses a great problem to the Ameri-
can society, especially in the area of education.

Education, according to many writers, is the key to the whole Indian problem.² For the most part, education of the American Indian poses a problem for all the citizens of the United States because of the lack of harmony that it makes in the Republic. Unlike the Negro, who has lived close to the American "white" man, the Indian has almost always been isolated. The isolation of the Indians on the reservations is an anachronism in American life. Tourists find it entertaining, but the reservation is a blight upon the American image. Many have

¹Price, op. cit., p. 6.

hoped to remove this blight through education as a means to accul-
turate and assimilate the Indians.

There is a problem whenever there is an attempt to integrate
Indian education into the regular educational system of the United
States as Indian education calls for a breakdown in Indian culture.
Indian tenacity, however, prevents a cultural breakdown and makes it
necessary to find solutions which may bring about some harmony through
education.\footnote{Francis La Flesche, The Middle Five, with a foreword by David
A. Baerries (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), p. vii.}
The objective of the educational process is to rehabili-
tate the Indian, economically and socially, as well as to assimilate
and acculturate him, or rather to offer a means by which the Indian
has a chance to choose.\footnote{Philleo Nash, "Education--The Chance to Choose," Remarks made
by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Fort Lewis College, Durango,
Colorado, June 18, 1965.}

At the onset, the early settlers and colonists felt an impulse
to Christianize the Indian. Inasmuch as many Indians would not genu-
inely accept a new faith, the white man felt that they should be civi-
lized so that they would be easier to live beside. Because civiliza-
zation did not prove very fruitful, eventually assimilation became the
goal of the idealists. Christianization, civilization and assimilation
were all to be secured through education.

The missionaries were utilized to teach the "red man" the
Christian faith. Though the federal government put money into a pro-
gram designed to civilize the Indians, the missionaries continued to carry out their efforts until conflicts arose between the denominations. The federal government then completely took over the civilization program and replaced it with an assimilation program which exists today.

Educational policies have changed through the years from removal to boarding schools, to schools within the Indians' own environment. Indian supervision has been inadequate due to low salaries and entrance standards for the services. In many instances, the funds appropriated for the Indians by the government were pocketed by the agents. Though the pocketing of funds caused some inadequacies, the missionaries felt that the Indian's introduction to whiskey as well as agent fraud destroyed the efforts made in the schools and churches. Yet, others insisted that the inadequacies were not due "so much to the character of the Indian agents as to the inherent weaknesses and inconsistency of the government's system of dealing with the Indians."

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2 Price, op. cit., p. 32.


Though education appears to be the key to unlocking the solution to the Indian problem, the language barrier as well as the cultural disparity has hampered educational endeavors. There has been a misunderstanding on the part of the white man as to what the Indian wants, and a misunderstanding on the part of the Indian as to what the white man expects. Therefore, the educational objectives have not been mutual.\(^1\) The white man has insisted upon acculturation and assimilation and the Indian has opposed these objectives tenaciously and consistently. The Indians want equality while maintaining their own cultural heritage and identity.

Assimilation means integration, and by no means can Indians be fully assimilated without educational integration. This fact was realized as early as 1928 when Lewis Meriam made his survey, and almost four decades have passed without this feat being accomplished in its entirety. This does not mean that there is no assimilation among the Indians, but it does mean that there is not as much assimilation as the Bureau of Indian Affairs had hoped to achieve. Indians, like other Americans, have their individual mental capacities and cultural limitations and it was unrealistic to expect each tribe or each individual to progress at the same rate toward assimilation. Individual achievement among Indians, just as among Negroes and Caucasians, is more outstanding than that for the whole group.

\(^1\)Daniels, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
Both primary and secondary sources have been utilized to illuminate the problem of Indian education with special reference to the policy of the government toward the Indians as reflected in the education of the Indian and its ultimate effect upon Indian assimilation.
CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIAN POLICY

First Contact

The First Americans

Columbus thought he had discovered a new route to India when he accidentally discovered America. Due to this belief, he called the natives he found on the continent, "Indians." In 1493, Columbus brought the first missionaries to North America and introduced them to the Indians. The missionaries hoped to spread Christianity among the natives.

The Indians, contrary to popular belief, accepted the first white visitors to this country with opened arms. They were friendly and eager to assist the newcomers. They gave the colonists food and helped them during emergencies. In addition, they instructed the colonists in their methods of agriculture, hunting, fishing and warfare. Soon, however, the Indian was regarded as an obstacle rather than as a friend.¹ The Indian's stoic disposition was attributed to


stupidity and a low level of mentality. Thus, the newcomers felt that the Indian could be exploited.

Some writers have claimed that the Indians were superior to their conquerors in aesthetic values as well as ethnic and social culture. The Indians were free of such diseases as smallpox, tuberculosis, measles, leprosy, syphilis, scrofula and nervous prostration until the advent of the white man. However, they were inferior in material and destructive power.¹

The Indians lived together as one big family, though it must be admitted that there was hostility between various tribes, as there is among all other so-called homogeneous groups. But as a tribe, they worked together and played together. They owned little personal property, and a man's wealth was determined by how much he gave away rather than by how much he accumulated. They had no use for fences as everyone was free to gather what natural resources were available.² According to these principles, the Indian did not feel that the white man was a threat to him, yet time revealed that he was.

Colonial Indian Policy

Spanish Policy

The Spanish settlers were the earliest to come to America and

¹Price, op. cit.

²Daniels, op. cit., pp. 12-13
they settled in the area known today as New Mexico, and later in Florida and Georgia. Later settlers came from England, France and other European countries and settled in the eastern part of America. The period of settlement marked a time of peaceful relations between the Indians and the settlers. Conflicts over land rights, however, proved to bring about hostility between the two groups, as well as trade and the regulation of it, treaty rights, and Indian Christianization.

During the colonial period, which extends to the Revolutionary War, the Indians were treated in accordance with the local policy which was often inspired by expediency. Often Indians were bought and sold as slaves. Though the Spanish were sometimes ruthless, attempts to protect and promote the welfare of the Indians were made in the missions which they established, as well as in the reservations.

French Policy

The French settlers encountered all the problems known to exist between the colonists and the Indians, in addition to problems with Spain regarding the natural resources which involved Indian rights. The French thereby attempted to work with the Indians in exploiting the natural resources in such a manner as to have it appear that they were not encroaching upon Indian rights. The French also fraternized with

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1 Jernegan, op. cit., p. 33
2 Lindquist, The Red Man in the United States, pp. 30-31
the Indians and intermarried with them. This policy aided the French in their long struggle with England to control the continent, as the Indians fought for the French cause. 

English Policy

The French were primarily interested in the fur trade, but the English wanted land for agricultural purposes. Thereby, they could not use the same policy toward the Indians which the French used as it was not possible for both the Indians and the English to occupy the same land. The English, too, attempted to Christianize the Indians in order to control them. The English did not believe in fraternizing or intermarrying with the Indians as did the French and, because of their "superior" attitudes, the English often angered the Indians and added to the French and Indian alliance.

The English did attempt in some instances to promote the welfare of the Indians and to protect them, but this was not a universal policy. The first colonies to assign lands to the Indians for their protection were Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia. The protected Indians were mostly Christians. In 1656, Massachusetts established the first colony in an effort to set up a Governmental Department for

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1Jernegan, op. cit., p. 34
2Ibid., pp. 34-37.
Indian Affairs. Maryland, Pennsylvania and the Carolinas also set aside land for Indians on the seacoast. In 1775, attempts toward centralizing Indian regulation and settlement were made by the English Crown. Then, in 1776, when America had declared its independence from Great Britain, the new government retained the imperial policy.

The Military and National Policy

Treaty Period

Following the Revolutionary War, the national confederation inherited the colonial policy of dealing with the Indians as independent nations and made treaties with them. This period extended from 1776 to 1870 and is generally regarded as the "century of dishonor." Some 370 ill-contrived treaties were made with the Indians during this period, chiefly to secure Indian lands. In the case of the five "civilized" tribes, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chicasaws, Creeks and Seminoles, it was thought by them that they would be organized into states and granted representation in Congress. Yet the government took the Indian lands and created interest-bearing funds for their future use while giving them tools and supplies and thus denied the independence of the tribes from the beginning. These treaties represented good faith on the part of the Indian but not so for the white man. Too often, the treaties were broken or violated and bloodshed followed. The western Indian wars of the late sixties and seventies

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1Price, op. cit., p. 27.
were a result of the government's treaty policy.¹

The Secretary of War was the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Generally speaking, the Indians were regarded as a military problem. By an Act of Congress in 1832, provisions were made for the appointment of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs under the War Department. Therefore, the treaties with the Indians were made under the supervision of the Army, and the violation of the treaties brought on war between the Indians and the Army.² Bows and arrows were no match for gun powder and the wars seriously weakened the Indian forces. Subsequently, the Indians were confined to the lands which the federal government set aside for them, called reservations.

Indian Removal

The white settlers sought from the very beginning to remove the Indians from their immediate neighborhoods so as to secure their lands and prevent or reduce conflict. The reservation system appears to have started during Jefferson’s administration in order to make less conflict between the Indians and the white people until the former could be "civilized." It has been said that Jefferson used this argument as one of the reasons to justify the Louisiana Purchase.

¹Adams, op. cit.
Therefore, the Act of 1804 which organized the new territory also made provisions to exchange Indian lands east of the Mississippi River for land west of the river. A few tribes were removed as a result of the 1804 Act, but mass removal did not come until the Indian Removal Act of 1840.\(^1\)

President Jackson actually started an earnest program to remove the Indians from the east to lands west of the Mississippi River, which were known as the Louisiana Territory. Jackson used pressure and other tactics to get the Indians to agree to the treaties for their removal. Very little resistance was offered by the Northern tribes except the short Black Hawk War of 1832. The Southern Five Civilized Tribes offered strong resistance and the Seminole Wars of 1835-42 resulted in pressure from the Army to remove them. Though the treaties were signed, the actual removal of the Indians was difficult.\(^2\)

The army had the responsibility of transporting or escorting some 60,000 Indians to their new homes. Many Indians died as a result of being placed on the reservations, but many died due to the ignorance of the agents who were placed in charge of them by the government, as they expected immediate adjustment without adequate preparation.\(^3\)

\(^1\) *Causes of the Mismanagement of Indian Affairs,* "The American Missionary, XXIV, No. 11 (November, 1880), 366; R. S. Cotterill, "Federal Indian Management in the South, 1789-1825," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XX*, No. 3 (December, 1933), 340.


The lands west of the Mississippi River had been designated as "Permanent Indian Country" but the white settlers always wanted land in the end and they passed through Indian country to the west and then began to press backwards until the tribes were hemmed in and confined to reservation islands which were often cramped. The Indians could move no more as there was no place to move. "They could not be pushed farther, since there was nowhere to push them, so they could rest in these enclosures, guaranteed to them for as long as the grass shall grow."¹ By 1867, Indian removal was completed.

Bureau Policy

In 1849, the Interior Department was created and the Office of Indian Affairs was transferred to that department from the War Department and became known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau's purpose was to serve as a go-between and guardian for the Indians, though technically, the Indians were not wards of the government.²

In 1868, the Bureau adopted the formal reservation system, though it was a definite policy as early as 1853.³ The Bureau, of necessity, had been given the responsibility of Indian education in order to assist the Indian in the successful management of his own

¹Oliver La Farge, As Long as the Grass Shall Grow (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1940), p. 2
³La Farge, As Long as the Grass Shall Grow, p. 2.
affairs. Though the Indian's welfare was placed in the hands of the Interior Department, the Army was still utilized to control the Indians.

Modern Indian Policy

Peace Policy

The Modern period began with Grant's administration and his peace policy. In 1871, agreements took the place of treaties, and they were backed up by court action. It was believed during this time that the Indian culture was the root of the problem and the solution thus, was to simply eradicate it.

It was as a component of Grant's peace policy that the "ward" theory came about, and it has been generally accepted ever since. This meant that the Indians were regarded by the government as orphans or minor children and supervision of them flowed from Washington. The "ward" theory also entailed the government's insistence upon its right of eminent domain. As the government insisted upon eminent domain, it curtailed the Indian's freedom to hunt and survive from the fruits of the earth. But the Indians had to have the basic necessities of life in order to survive, and, therefore, the government "agreed" to supply

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3 Adams, op. cit., p. 3.
them with those basic necessities while confining them to restricted areas.

Grant's administration established the Board of Indian Commissioners through which was appointed agents who were nominated by the religious denominations to solve the Indian problem. Contact with the commissioners and other government agencies was the extent of the Indians' contact with the white world at this time. Though this plan was consistent and aroused interest in the Indian problem, it was weak in that it regarded the "... Indian as a subject for missionary work rather than as a ward of the government amenable to the authority of the United States and entitled to just, humane, and enlightened treatment." The Board was eventually abolished in 1933.

Legislative Policy

In 1887, The Dawes Act was passed to increase Indian assimilation by allowing them individual ownership of eighty to one hundred acres of land to support their individual families. The total allotment was one hundred and thirty-seven million acres. The land was held under government control for a period of twenty-five years, then the Indians were permitted to dispose of it at their own discretion after that time. The surplus lands were to be returned to the government.

1La Farge, As Long as the Grass Shall Grow, pp. 4-12.
2Rushmore, op. cit., p. 39.
3Adams, op. cit., p. 48.
for white homesteading. At the end of the twenty-five years, the Indians had lost all but fifty-million of the original one hundred and thirty-seven million acres, as well as the best soils. They were left with the unproductive acres, as many of them had rented the good acres instead of working them themselves.¹

Due to the alarming adverse effects of the Dawes Act of 1887, the Burke Act was passed in 1906 to restrain the Dawes Act, as assimilation was not stimulated by the land allotments. The new act was designed to make it easier for the competent land managers to become citizens and more difficult for the incompetent managers, but it had very little effect upon the Indian problems as little or nothing was done to aid the incompetent managers toward achieving citizenship.²

The Indians were not citizens under the 14th Amendment of 1868 as "tribal Indians were excluded... on the ground that, by being born into a tribe (which was considered a domestic, dependent nation) they were not born in the United States and, therefore, not subject to its jurisdiction (McKay v. Campbell, 1871)."³ By the end of the 19th century, the question of Indian citizenship had become a political issue. In 1924, the Indians were given the right to vote and citizenship by the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act.⁴

²Adams, op. cit., pp. 58-60.
⁴Ibid.
The Indian Citizenship Act was passed to compensate for the Indians' services in World War I. It declared all non-citizen Indians who had been born in the continental United States to be citizens, but roughly about two-thirds of the Indians in the United States were already citizens due to treaties and statutes. However, Arizona and New Mexico, states with the most concern regarding the political affairs of the Indians, still would not permit the Indians to vote because they did not pay taxes. It was in 1947 before this situation was rectified by the Supreme Court.  

Groundwork was laid for a change in 1928 in the policy toward the Indians when Lewis Meriam and his associates published a report called The Problems of Indian Administration. As a result of this report, in 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act. The purpose of this act was to restore tribal government; to regain Indian initiative and responsibility; and to rehabilitate the Indian, economically as well as socially, politically and academically. Current Indian policy also stems from the 1934 Act.

Current Indian Policy

The Truman Administration

During the Truman Administration, "retreat" was the password

2 Daniels, op. cit., p. 47.
3 Graham, et. al., op. cit., p. 100; Walter, Jr., op. cit.; Price, op. cit., p. 45; Adams, op. cit., p. 4.
as far as Indian affairs were concerned. By this time, the government was beginning to react to critics who blamed it for being "over-paternalistic." Steps were taken toward making the Indians self-sufficient, but many Indians were becoming accustomed to the doles from the government and could see no need to be self-sufficient.  

Eisenhower's Administration

When Eisenhower was president, serious efforts were made to urge the individual states to assume the responsibility of its Indian citizens. The movement was geared toward complete separation of the federal government and Indian affairs. It was felt that in as much as the Indians were citizens, the states held the same obligation to the Indians as to other citizens. But this line of reasoning did not coincide with that of the Indians' as citizenship entailed the paying of taxes for which most Indians saw no value in that time or now, nor did the states wish to assume the responsibility.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration

The current trend in Indian policy still flows toward shifting Indian affairs to the states. However, during the Kennedy administration, emphasis was placed upon assisting the Indians in growth on their own land in order that they might terminate the government

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1Daniels, op. cit., p. 3.

2Ibid.
relationship themselves.  

In 1966, an Oneida Indian, Robert L. Bennett, was appointed Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and he has begun to reconstruct the 142-year old policy administering agency, as a component of the Johnson administration. "The people-oriented approach is apparent in the stated policy of Commissioner Bennett. He urges—in fact expects—greater involvement of the Indian tribes in matters that concern them. This new activity will include assistance with legislative proposals to develop the comprehensive program requested by President Johnson."  

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2Ibid., p. 4.
CHAPTER III

A HISTORY OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Early Indian Education

Very Early Indian Education

Anthropologists have recently discovered hieroglyphic records in Mexico and South America which they believe reveal the earliest form of Indian education. The records revealed that an Indian child's education was started in the home. This is also true of the Indians which we know of today.

The boys were taught light bodily work while the girls were taught to use a distaff. At about the age of six or seven, the boys followed their fathers to the market place while the girls learned to spin. At thirteen, the boys gathered wood and caught fish while the girls learned to grind maize, cook and weave. Then at the age of fifteen, the boys were taught either religious or military training.

Purpose of Very Early Education

During the very early period, there were two types of schools;


one for the common people and one for the nobles. The schools were operated by the priests. The aim of the education system was to prepare the children for future usefulness by teaching them religion and good moral behavior. The Commoners were taught to do menial jobs whereas the nobles in addition to this training, learned literature, hymns, writing and reading. The girls were taught domestic arts, and all children remained in school until they married.¹

Early Indian Education

When the white man arrived in the new world, the Indians of North America possessed their own system of "education" which began in the home. The children were trained religiously, vocationally and physically. The Indian child learned about his tribe's heritage from his mother and grandmothers; he observed acts of reverence and was taught early to engage in physical activities. From the age of six or seven, the boys began to learn the role of the male Indian, while the girls learned the female role.²

The Objective of Early Indian Education

The objective of early Indian education was to "transmit the general body of knowledge, skills, beliefs and customs to the boy in such manner as to develop him into a good citizen, good hunter and

¹Radin, op. cit., p. 109; Embree, op. cit., pp. 110-111.
²Barnett, op. cit.
warrior," while the girl learned to be a good mother and wifemate.

This type of education prohibited any radical changes in customs and beliefs inasmuch as it was passed from generation to generation during the formative years of life. Furthermore, there was no need for any drastic change in this way of life, as most tribes incorporated this system of "education."

Missionary Education

Objective of Missionary Education

The Indian system of "education" persisted until Columbus brought the first missionaries to North America on his voyage of 1493. From this point forward, the Indians have been confused, as they were offered the sword and the Bible at the same time. The missionaries felt that the most important thing to do among the Indians was to Christianize them in order to live beside them, but felt the necessity to educate them in order to convert them. Even though the education gained in the missions was only elementary, it was, nonetheless, the first attempt in North America to give the Indian a formal education.

1 Ibid.
3 Cory, op. cit.
According to one author,

The development which provided the Indian with the most effective means for learning the English language was the introduction of mission schools in the nation. Most of the missionaries realized that the most feasible ways of bringing Christianity to the red heathens was to make them literate in English.\(^1\)

**Missionary Endeavors**

The first two hundred years of missionary work were fruitful, as it enabled the French, English and Spanish to get a foothold in the new land. Spain, however, was the first European power to use reservations and missions in America, in the southern United States. They attempted to treat their conquered people with humanity and justice. The Spanish, of all the European powers, were the most sincere in their efforts to Christianize the Indians in 1595. Further, they taught the Indians how to read, write, sing, play musical instruments, and to develop skills in their various crafts and trades. Livestock and new farming methods were also introduced to the Indians by the Spanish. The Spanish program in Florida was a good one and did much to educate the Indians though it came to an abrupt end in 1650 due to a tribal revolt.\(^2\)

By 1745, most of the Christian Indians of Florida had been killed by the Creeks, as well as those of Georgia. The Spanish, however, were successful in their endeavors among the Pueblos of New

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Mexico. Recent historians stated that the reservations and missions meant death to the Indians because what the Spanish did was to start something which the Americans finished.¹

The early settlers tried to teach the Indians the European modes of work and worship. They further hoped to appease the Indians and win allies through their endeavors. England, Spain and France each exploited the Indians and took their lands while befriending them with the teachings of the Bible. This tactic ultimately drove the Indians to the warpath.²

The first efforts at educating the Indians were conducted in the homes of colonists in Virginia.³ "As early as 1619, the Council of Jamestown, Virginia, voted 'to educate Indian children in religion, a civil course of life and some useful trade'."⁴ Some Indian boys were sent abroad to be educated, but this practice did not last long because the Indians, upon return, did not become missionaries. Then there was an unsuccessful attempt to establish an Indian college at Henrico by the Virginia Company and another by the East India Company at Charles City. Both plans were halted by an Indian uprising in 1622.⁵

Attempts to educate the Indians did not stop there for Thomas

¹Price, op. cit., pp. 24-26; Adams, op. cit.
²Adams, op. cit., p. 2.
³Ibid., p. 15.
⁴Cory, op. cit., pp. 67, 125.
⁵Adams, op. cit.
Mayhew, Jr., founded the first school in Massachusetts for Indians in 1651, \(^1\) and later, in 1654, a building at Harvard was established as the "Indian College," \(^2\) John Eliot was instrumental in the Harvard "Indian College" endeavors, working among the Massachusetts Indians and learning their language from an Indian named Job Nesutan. He established a Christian community among the Indians and taught them trades, farming techniques and horticulture. He fostered Indian leadership in the community. In the meantime, Eliot translated the Bible into the Indians' language and published it at the Harvard "Indian College." This Bible was the first book published in an Indian language as well as the first Bible to be printed in the western hemisphere. \(^3\)

There were Indian undergraduates at the Harvard "Indian College," but the records reveal the earnings of a bachelor's degree in 1665 only, of one Indian, whose name was Caleb Cheesbeatsamuck. It is said that he died shortly after receiving his degree. \(^4\)

In 1697, a little Indian school was started at Williamsburg, Virginia, as an annex to the William and Mary College. Later, in 1723, the Brafferton Building was erected, which became known as the Indian College. But by the time of the American Revolution, the Indian College

\(^2\)Ibid.; Adams, op. cit., p. 18.
\(^3\)Lindquist, The Red Man in the United States; Cory, op. cit., p. 125; Adams, op. cit.
had ceased to operate due to a lack of funds.\(^1\)

In 1714, a school was built among the Indian tribes at Christ Anna by a trading company in Virginia, but when the company lost its privileges in 1718, the school was closed by the Virginia House of Burgesses.\(^2\)

In 1754, Joshua Moor donated some land to Eleazor Wheelock, who started a school for Indians in his home, in Lebanon, Connecticut, known as Moor's Charity School. His most outstanding student was a Mohican named Samson Occum. Occum helped Wheelock operate the school for a few years, and when it ran into financial difficulties, he went to England and gained Lord Dartmouth's interest and support for the school in 1765. In 1769, the school was moved to Hanover, New Hampshire, where it was chartered as Dartmouth College for Indians. Occum then helped to establish Hamilton College in New York, in 1793.\(^3\)

Attempts toward educating the Indians in Carolina and Georgia were left in the hands of ministers who did very little toward that project. Some fruitful efforts were made in and near Savannah, Georgia, until 1739, when the projects were halted by a war between England and Spain.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Adams, op. cit., p. 16; Cory, op. cit., p. 67.

\(^2\) Adams, op. cit.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 18; Lindquist, The Red Man in the United States, p. 40; Cory, op. cit.

\(^4\) Adams, op. cit., p. 15.
In 1745, David and John Brainerd established a Settlement at Bethel, New Jersey, to rehabilitate the Delaware Indians. There, they operated a day school for Indian children and an evening school for the adults. In 1747, David Brainerd died, but John carried on the work of the school and began to teach the Indian boys trades and how to farm, and the girls how to spin and knit. This was called a working school. This project lasted until 1753 when the white people began to pressure for removal of the Indians.

Two Indians attended Princeton around 1800. They were Thomas Killbuck and George Brighteyes, descendants of Taimenend. These boys apparently received prior training in one of the mission schools.

Of all the Indian nations to be encountered by the missionaries, perhaps the Cherokee Nation was the one upon which the greatest influence was made. The Cherokee Chiefs wanted good schools for their children and they were eager to adopt the white man’s "talking papers," as they wanted to establish themselves on a comparable level with the white man.

The Cherokees were so concerned about education and acculturation until Sequoya, a Cherokee silversmith, was moved to invent the

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1 Ibid., p. 22.

2 Ibid., p. 18; Lindquist, The Red Man in the United States. According to Lindquist, Tammany Hall was named for the Indian Taimenend.


Cherokee alphabet in 1800. This invention ultimately led to the Cherokee Phoenix, the first newspaper to be printed in an Indian language, by another Cherokee, Elias Boudinot. From these important events, the Cherokees were later able to establish their own school system for their children.

It was due chiefly to the circumstances and events related to Sequoya and Boudinot that the missions were able to survive among the Cherokees. However, the missions encountered much opposition from other tribes on the basis of tradition, as the Indians were strong believers in "educating" their children in the home. Though the Indians looked upon the missions as educational centers, the missionaries thought of them as civilizing centers, such as was felt by the missionaries at the Chickamauga Creek Mission operated by the American Board of Foreign Missions in 1816, and the Sugar Creek Mission operated by the Jesuits in 1840.

While the civilizing process at Sugar Creek was exercises upon children and adults alike, the agencies employed in the process, apart from the direct influences of religion in both cases, were not identical. With the children the schools were the paramount factor; with adults apart from education in industry and practical arts, church service and parish organization were the outstanding influences.

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2 Murray Wax, "American Indian Education as a Cultural Transaction," Teachers College Record, LXIV, No. 8 (May, 1963), 693-694.
3 Barnett, op. cit., p. 103.
5 Ibid.
The Chickamauga Creek Mission was later named Brainerd School.

A Brainerd day passed in the following manner:

It ran from 5:30 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., the evenings being given to fireside discussions of religious doctrine. When the children were not in the classroom the boys were in the fields and wood lots, and the girls in the kitchen or washhouse. That education contained so much manual labor did not at first please some of the parents, one of whom is said to have offered the missionaries the use of a slave to do his child's share of the work. The work program, however, was designed not only for maintenance of the missions but also as an important part of the child's training, indeed, it was sometimes the only part a child had any real use for.¹

The system of teaching employed in the mission school would shock today's progressive teachers and administrators. The so-called "Lancastrian plan" was adopted by the teachers. A bleak fare of the three R's was employed with a tendency to overlook arithmetic. Most of the teachers did not know the Indian language and only a few of the children knew English, yet the lessons were taught in English. Too often, the children memorized poetic passages and had no knowledge of what they were saying when repeating them.² The "Lancastrian plan," together with religious instruction, was common to all the missions schools.³

Due to the influence of the missionaries and their educational endeavors among the Indians, the federal government became interested

¹Starkey, op. cit.
²Cotterhill, The Southern Indians, pp. 228-229; Starkey, op. cit.
in Indian education in the early 1800's.

**Government Intervention in Indian Education**

**Objectives of Government Intervention**

Quite early in the history of America, the federal government observed that education disseminated among the Indians did much to appease them. Though many felt that it was only a palliative, the government decided to aid the missionaries in their cause to civilize the Indians by giving funds to the missions for Indian education.

It can be said that all Indian education up to 1850 was missionary education. The United States Indian Service was developed because of early missionary zeal.\(^1\) It was in 1819 and 1820 when Congress during the administration of President Monroe, first appropriated funds for Indian education. These funds, however, were basically used to subsidize the mission activities. Of course, some of the funds were used to establish new schools as well as to maintain the existing ones. The Act of 1819 was specifically designed to civilize the tribes. Treaties with various tribes also made provisions for sale of lands in order to secure funds for the support of the Indian schools. The Indians were basically to be taught agriculture and domestic arts.\(^2\)

Another reason for government intervention in the establishment

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 92.

of Indian schools was that the Indian agents themselves desired more and better schools. One of these commissioners, Thomas E. McKenney, was reported as having said that building schools for the Indians was "the best means of keeping the peace among the Indians themselves and attaching them to us." Other commissioners were said to have had the same viewpoint on Indian education, but were skeptical about regular academic training. In 1838, Commissioner Crawford said: "To teach a savage man to read, while he continues a savage in all else, is to throw seed on a rock. Manual labor schools are what the Indian condition calls for." Thus, between 1839 and 1845, manual labor schools were introduced in addition to regular academic courses.

Government Aid to Mission Schools

Since the commissioners strongly felt that Indians should be taught manual labor, the government granted the use of the civilization funds to finance such schools. As a result of such use, in 1834, mechanical training became a part of the course of study at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. The first school on record to be established as a manual labor school was at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1839; the next was at Fort Coffee on the Arkansas River for boys and the New Hope Academy for girls, in 1844. The first reservation boarding school, a manual labor school, was established on the Yakima Reservation at

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2Ibid.

3Adams, op. cit., p. 35.
Fort Simcoe, in Washington Territory, in 1860, but it was closed. two years later.

Another instance of government intervention in Indian education was the government's establishment of its own educational program between 1864 and 1870. Moreover, the government withdrew its support from the mission schools in 1897 because of public opinion and rivalry among the various missions. But it was during Grant's "peace policy" administration that the government became positively concerned with Indian education and cooperated with the missionaries to supply school-houses and other facilities for the Indians. The schools were religious in nature and emphasized the English language; otherwise, there was no unity in what was taught. The curriculum was left to the discretion of the missionary teachers.

One of the first schools to be established by the government, and operated by the missionaries was San Xavier near Tucson, in 1864, for the Papagos. In 1869, a school was organized at Fort Defiance for the Navajos. The Gila Pima Reservation schools were established in 1871 and 1873, while in 1872, a school was organized for the Hopis at Keam, to be followed in 1873 by a school at Parker, Arizona, for the Mohaves and Chemehuenis. When these schools were established, atten-

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1Ibid., pp. 36-37.
2Cory, op. cit., p. 72; Price, op. cit., p. 34; Lindquist, The Indian in American Life, p. 94.
4Ibid.
dance was very poor. Many Indians considered school attendance as child training white style. Many parents had to be given gifts or threatened with the withholding of food, clothes or other free items before they would permit their children to attend school. Many of the parents hid their children to prevent school attendance. In many instances, the children were literally kidnapped in order that they might attend school.\(^1\) It is said among the Navajos that the first children to be sent to the government schools were slaves or very sickly children, in order to cut their losses to a minimum should any of them be killed by the white man's magic. Many parents felt that they were doing the government a favor by sending their children to school and felt that they were due compensation if they did.\(^2\)

In 1874, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' Report revealed the following attitude toward Indian schools:

It is of vital importance, if these Indians are to attain any considerable degree of civilization, that ample provisions be made for the education of their children away from the demoralizing influences of their own homes, in which agriculture, mechanics, and various branches of industry should also be taught. The agent should be required to compel the attendance at school, and authority necessary for that purpose should be vested in him.\(^3\)

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\(^2\)Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 211.

This, however, was not a new idea among the Indian agents and commissioners, as the Report of 1872 revealed an identical idea. It was felt that the children had to be separated from their families in order that they might be domesticated and taught to behave in a civilized fashion.

At the same time, little hope was expressed for civilizing the older "wild" Indians. It was felt that the youth could be helped as they expressed interest and showed progress in writing and drawing and seemingly could be taught as readily as white children in all branches of education except arithmetic. The seemingly lack of arithmetic aptitude was perhaps due more to the ineptness of the teacher than to the ability of the children to learn it. Therefore, as earlier mentioned, the subject was overlooked in the teaching process, thereby no background was offered in that area of learning.

The idea of separation for education further gave rise to the off-reservation boarding school for Indians. It was in a Florida camp for Indians, Fort Marion, that Captain Richard Henry Pratt first realized how quickly the Indian could be civilized. With the help of one Miss Mather, Pratt started a school in the prison where English speech was promoted in order to bring about an understanding with the prisoners.

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1Ibid., 1872, pp. 330-331.
2Ibid., 1877, p. 3.
Around 1877, Captain Pratt visited with General Samuel C. Armstrong at Hampton Institute, which had been established for free Negroes, and there they discussed the possibility of Indians attending Hampton or of building an Indian school nearby, as Captain Pratt was not in favor of the Indians and Negroes attending school together if that could be avoided. However, in 1878, between fifteen and nineteen Indian students were enrolled at Hampton Institute. Most of these Indians had been prisoners at Fort Marion, and wanted to continue their training.

In the meantime, Captain Pratt communicated with the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, on the idea of establishing a non-reservation boarding school for the Indians. The army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, were available, and Captain Pratt was permitted to open a school there in 1879. This was the first distinct government Indian school. Since that time, Pratt became known as "the father of the Government Indian School System," and the "Red Man’s Moses." Carlisle utilized missionaries also, but the school’s policy was set down by the government.

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1 Ibid., p. 279.
2 Spicer, op. cit., p. 438; Adams, op. cit., p. 52.
5 "Red Man’s Moses" is a part of the title of a book about Captain Pratt, which was written by E. G. Eastman.
Carlisle Government Indian School: A Model

When Carlisle Institute opened in 1879, with 158 pupils, Captain Pratt had had a difficult time convincing the Indian chiefs and parents to permit their children to be taken miles from home to be educated. Emphasis in the school was placed upon religion and suppression of the Indian vernacularrs. It was believed that if the Indians were isolated from their families and not permitted to speak their vernacularrs, they would soon become English speaking citizens. The prohibition of speaking the vernacularrs in the schools was a hard rule of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

Instruction to Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to the course of education and civilization and will not be permitted in any Indian school over which the government has any control.... This language is good enough for a white man or a black man and ought to be good enough for the red man.

In 1880, when the school celebrated its first year of operation, it was judged critically by the Indian chiefs who had entrusted their boys and girls to the Indian agent. The agent had changed the faiths and names of the children without their parents' consent or advice. The boys were all dressed in military uniforms with guns, and were drilling according to strict military discipline. Spotted Tail was the principal Sioux Chief who said that the head, Captain Pratt, had made a "soldier place" of the Carlisle School.

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1 U.S. Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., p. 52.
2 Spicer, op. cit., p. 439.
3 Hyde, op. cit., pp. 53-55.
Spotted Tail was quite indignant, to the surprise of the white visitors and Captain Pratt, that the sons of chiefs should be turned into common workingmen, farmers, carpenters and bricklayers. He thought all of this wrong. The main purpose for sending the children to Carlisle had been in order that they might learn to read, speak and write English, and other things from books. Because of this difference of ideas regarding the aim of Indian education, Spotted Tail withdrew his children from Carlisle. This was a critical time for the Carlisle School, and much diplomacy was required to keep the School opened afterwards.

In addition to the manual training obtained at the School, the students were placed in the home of a white family for a period of three years to work and learn "civilized" ways. This was called the "outing system." It was later to be used in 1927 in Los Angeles, California, by Francis D. Hall, who was the widow of an Indian superintendent. Many girls found jobs and educational opportunities through her. Some girls were placed with families who typified high American ideals and others were able to select jobs which they were prepared for and preferred to do.  

In spite of the adverse publicity, Carlisle School continued to function until 1918. Other schools of its kind were also established elsewhere for Indians and some continue to function today. In

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1Ibid.
2Lindquist, The Indian in American Life, pp. 97-98; Adams, op. cit.
3Ibid.
1884, nonreservation boarding schools were established at Albuquerque; at Tucson in 1888; at Santa Fe and Fort Mojave in 1890; at Phoenix in 1891 and at Riverside, California, in 1892; as well as at Chilocco in Oklahoma. The still famous Haskell at Lawrence, Kansas, and Pine Ridge School in South Dakota were also established in the same year as the Albuquerque School. From 1872 to 1892, reservation schools were also established on seven reservations. They were as follows: 1872, Fort Defiance, Sacaton, and Colorado River Reservations; 1887, Keams; 1884, Fort Yuma and Mescalero Apaches Reservations; and one at San Carlos in 1887. In addition to these, day schools were built at Fort Apache, Zuni, Loguna, Jemez and Santa Ana Reservations.

Withdrawal of the Government From Missions

The Presbyterians controlled over half of these schools previously mentioned, but church management of schools was becoming unpopular by 1887 and the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to control some of the schools. By 1897, Congress prohibited church control of the schools, forcing many church schools to become independent, such as Bacon and Cook Junior Colleges which had been established in 1879 by the missions for Indian education.

1Spicer, op. cit., p. 438; Lindquist, The Indian in American Life, p. 96; Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton University Press, 1940), p. 277.
3Cory, op. cit., p. 88.
Government Indian Education

Objectives of Government Indian Education

It may well be said that the objective of government Indian education is to accelerate Indian assimilation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has stated that its objective is to help people help themselves, as economic and social opportunity depends on education. Therefore, education is considered the cornerstone of the Bureau. In addition to these objectives, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is responsible "under the law to provide an education for Indian children."

In an effort to meet the educational needs of the Indians, the government established several types of schools; the non-reservation boarding schools, the reservation boarding schools and day schools, as well as the opportunity for public school enrollment, and higher education.

Non-reservation Boarding Schools

Non-reservation boarding schools were quite similar to the better mission schools. They usually incorporated a farm, a dairy and a garden whose operation and maintenance was correlated with the

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course of study. According to one source, the equivalent of a grade school education was obtained in the schools. Most of the children who attended the boarding schools returned to the reservations to live, thus the nonreservation boarding school fell short of its objectives. This resulted in more emphasis being placed upon reservation boarding schools and day schools after 1890.

Reservation Boarding Schools

The reservation boarding schools provided a sixth grade curriculum and the day schools a third grade curriculum. Upon completing the sixth grade in a reservation boarding school, the Indian child was expected to go to a nonreservation school, such as Haskell or Sherman Institute to complete the eighth grade. There was an attempt around 1890 to make attendance compulsory in these schools and attendance rose after 1912 and Indian illiteracy declined. The schools, however, were inadequate by any criterion as they had no broad educational program and the care of the children was grossly inadequate. The living quarters were crowded; the diets were very poor and there were not enough trained personnel. On the whole, Indian morale was undermined, not strengthened, by these endeavors.

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1 Lindquist, The Indian in American Life, p. 96.
2 Spicer, op. cit.
Public School Education for Indians

Due to the grave inadequacies in the Indian schools, the government began to put some emphasis upon public school attendance for Indian children, for this practice as observed of those who had the opportunity to attend one, seemed fruitful. In 1891, the government made its first contract to pay for the tuition of a public school education for Indian children in a district of California. After 1891, public school attendance by Indians increased. In 1929, the federal government undertook the responsibility to contribute to the erection of public schools for Indians on the elementary as well as high school level. This new trend was due to the Citizenship Act of 1924 and the Meriam Report of 1928.

Educational Reorganization

The Meriam Report revealed that Indian children who went to public schools were afforded the best opportunity of all, as the contact with white children enabled both groups to work together later. In order to accomplish this fact, each state had to recognize the Indians as citizens and not merely as "wards" of the government. It was also revealed that it was difficult for Indian students to enter

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2Thompson, op. cit., 48. The Citizenship Act was passed to compensate for the Indians' services in World War I. It declared all non-citizen Indians who had been born in the continental United States to be citizens.
colleges and universities because most of their secondary education was obtained in unaccredited secondary schools. In attempting to meet the recommendations of the Merian Report, the Indian Office reorganized the education division and planned seven major goals to be attained:

1. Elimination of Indian boarding schools as rapidly as adjustments could be made;
2. Transfer of Indian children to public schools when that could be done to their advantage;
3. Negotiation of contracts with individual states to take over Indian education and welfare;
4. Development and extension of the Indian Day School system so that, in conjunction with the public schools, it might replace boarding schools;
5. Erection of modern school plants wherever needed for the new educational program;
6. Provision for the care of underprivileged Indian children in private families;
7. Expansion of the supervisory staff to conduct research in Indian education.

The latest plans also included provisions for experts and specialists such as psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and economists, as well as others in fields of interest to Indian education. The end result of most of these endeavors has stressed a need for textbooks which are adapted to the native vernaculars.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 authorized contracts with several states to provide education for Indian children in established public schools on an integrated basis. The "New Deal"

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1 Meriam, op. cit., pp. 11-13
3 Ibid.
representatives attempted to extend full liberties to the Indians in religious as well as academic matters within the schools. Missionaries were granted a room for religious services in the boarding schools, but only at the request of the pupils. In the day schools, pupils were excused from religious services at the request of their parents. Schools were also established to train Indian women to be nurses. By 1943, a nursery school was established in Klawock, Alaska, which was not a state at that time, to care for the children of women who were employed in the canneries.

In 1945, the Division of Education of the Office of Indian Affairs created five educational districts which were headed by supervisors. Each district contained fields which were under the direction of a superintendent, providing six levels of education for Indians. They were as follows:

1. Federal reimbursement for instruction to Indians in public schools.
2. Community day schools.
4. Reservation boarding schools.
6. Loans and scholarships for higher education.

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1 Price, op. cit., pp. 45, 50.
2 Adams, op. cit., p. 94.
3 Graham, op. cit., pp. 96-97.
With regards to public school education for Indians, the states of California, Oregon, Texas and Michigan took on this responsibility without federal aid.  

### Changing Emphasis on Government Indian Education

#### Federal Shift of Responsibility

In 1953, House Concurrent Resolution 108 was passed which shifted the responsibility for Indian education to the states, which in turn transferred it to the reservation governments. In 1959, the government began to pave highways and construct others in order to give access to high schools in towns close to the reservations which did not have integrated schools. In addition to public schools, federal high schools were established to offer preparatory training for higher education.

Emphasis is no longer placed on vocational training as terminal in Indian schools, and these schools are accredited in the states where they are located. Also, an adult literacy program was begun in 1955 in 140 communities. This program has been expanded to prepare

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1 Thompson, op. cit.; U.S., Secretary of the Interior, Indian Affairs: 1965, p. 5.

2 Daniels, op. cit., p. 45.


4 Thompson, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
adults thirty-five years of age and under for a particular occupation on or off the reservation. Further, there are special programs for over-aged students who lacked the opportunity to secure an education at an earlier age. Nine of these schools enrolled 6,000 students in 1964. Three of these schools are boarding schools in which the non-graded programs were started after World War II. They have a five-year curriculum in which they offer English, arithmetic, social studies and trade instructions.

Day Schools

The day schools are designed to meet the language problem of the children, as well as to permit them to be close to their parents in their formative years. Vocational training is emphasized for the adults who attend classes at night. The day school is also designed to be a community center as well as a school, with summer activity programs. The summer activity programs were started in 1963 and incorporate kindergartens, work programs for teenagers, recreational activities and urban trips for rural children.

Boarding Schools

The reservation boarding schools are in essence vocational schools, emphasizing farming techniques, mechanical subjects and com-

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1 Gifford, op. cit., p. 12.
2 Ibid., p. 10; Thompson, loc. cit.
3 Graham, op. cit., p. 98; Thompson, loc. cit.
mercial and business courses. The non-reservation boarding schools essentially offer vocational training also.¹ The government currently operates a post-high school vocational department at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. It is noted for its print shop which prints special texts for the Indian elementary schools. In 1965, Haskell's high school curriculum was phased out and new shops and laboratories were constructed in order to begin a full-scale post secondary vocational training program.²

Native Talents

In 1962, the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, was opened to foster native talents. Since it opened, the students of this school have gained national recognition for their works in art, drama, ceramics, textiles, dance and literature. They presented their second festival of performing arts in June of 1966 in Washington, D. C. as an example of the work being done there, as well as the objectives of the school which are as follows:

The Institute of American Indian Arts helps to fill the growing reservoir of trained and educated people who can help the Nation understand the significance and contributions of Indian culture. It also intensifies the Indian's awareness of their cultural heritage and its relevance to today's society.³

In 1962-63, there were 4,500 Indians attending colleges and universities on tribal grants and Bureau loans and grants. In 1964,

¹Graham, op. cit.
³Ibid., 1966, pp. 9-10.
this number had risen to 6,000. In 1966, of the total number enrolled in colleges and universities, the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided funds for more than 1,900 students. Of the number enrolled, there were 120 graduates in 1966 from four year colleges and universities.¹

In spite of the many improvements in Indian education, there are still others which are needed in order to get to the crux of the problem, as Indian leadership abilities are not being realized as rapidly as had been hoped.

CHAPTER IV

EFFECTS OF INDIAN EDUCATION UPON ASSIMILATION

The Trend of Indian Assimilation

Effects of Missionary Education

It has been pointed out that the earliest form of Indian education was conducted by the missionaries. The greatest degree of assimilation from these early endeavors appears to have been individual rather than on a group basis. Due to the problem of communication, only those Indians who had some knowledge of the English language profited from the teachings of the missionaries or became assimilated. ¹

Manual labor had better effects upon the Indian children according to one source. When a boy worked in the fields, he was close to nature and could learn readily. Learning to use a shovel meant more than the work with books and pens. The girls were eager to do housework, sew and mend. ² The missions "exerted some influence over even the least responsive children, but for these, none the less, the hours in class were endless and without fruit. They sickened for their forest

¹ Cotterill, The Southern Indians, p. 228.
² Ibid.
³ Starkey, op. cit., p. 41.
freedom." Only a few Indians adopted the white man's culture as a result of these endeavors.

The Effect of Government Education

When the missions failed to accomplish assimilation rapidly enough, the government withdrew its support from the mission schools and invested stock in the non-reservation boarding schools of the kind conceived by General Pratt. The training in the school plus the "outing system" was designed to acculturate and assimilate the Indian students over a period of three years of close contact with the white man, or to motivate his return to the reservation to teach his people. Frustration often resulted from Indian attendance in the non-reservation schools, with the parents as well as the child.

One source of frustration was the changing of the names and faiths of the Indian children which caused some Indian parents to withdraw their children from the schools. A second frustration was that the students often did not receive enough training to become assimilated and too much to be content on the reservation. Some, however, were able to adequately readjust to their former way of life without frustration. In 1883, the following description of the Indians was recorded by The American Missionary:

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1Starkey, op. cit., p. 41.
2Pratt, op. cit., p. 282.
3Gifford, op. cit., p. 11.
Still, to a large extent, they seem fixed in a half-civilized, half pagan state, lacking their earlier manliness, for the want of hardship and discipline in their lives, keeping up their heathen rites and dances, living in poverty, without law, demoralized more or less by annuities and destitute of the conditions that create character and self reliance.  

In spite of the ineffectiveness of the non-reservation boarding school in general, some Carlisle Indians were absorbed in white society, and the federal government established more schools of that nature to foster General Pratt's ideas on Indian education. Assimilation had become the objective of Indian education as well as other Indian policy.

The Dawes Act was passed because education as a means of breaking apart Indian societies did not show returns as readily as had been hoped. As a result of the Dawes Act, some Indian children began to attend public schools around 1891, their tuition being paid by the federal government. It was about 1908 before public school for Indian children was accepted as a positive good. It has been stated by some writers that educational endeavors are "...most satisfactory when Indian students constitute a minority of a total school enrollment and that results are less satisfactory when public schools are located on reservations and the enrollment is entirely Indian."  

As controversy arose over the type of education best suited

1"The Indians," The American Missionary, XXXVII, No. 1 (January, 1883), 19.

2Lindquist, The Indian in American Life, p. 100. The Dawes Act of 1887 provided funds for public school attendance by Indian children as well as land allotments to stimulate assimilation.

3Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 644.
for the Indians to bring about acculturation and assimilation, an
investigation was undertaken in 1928 which laid the groundwork for
the Reorganization Act of 1934. This act was aimed mostly at the
educational policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.\(^1\) This followed
the Citizenship Act of 1924 which made citizens of the Indians as a
reward for service rendered during World War I.\(^2\) The new program in-
tended to make allowances for tribal as well as acculturation differ-
ences between Indian children by establishing flexible curriculums
in the schools, as it was realized that Indian children were not fitted
for life when they completed their education. Flexible curriculums
increased the potentials for Indian assimilation.

Of course, this new tactic carried with it a reversal of Indian
policy as the Indian's own culture was employed to aid assimilation.
The tendency was toward letting the Indian remain an Indian with hopes
that the frustration of becoming assimilated would be eased. There
would be a gradual transition as acculturation took place in the
schools without pressure on native culture. This act also meant that
the separate states were obliged to enroll and support Indian education
in public schools as the non-reservation boarding schools were abolished
except for a few which still operate today. This was further an impli-

\(^1\) Daniels, op. cit., p. 47.
\(^2\) Walter, Jr., op. cit., p. 281.
\(^3\) Meriam, et al., op. cit., p. 13.
cation that each state had to recognize its Indians as citizens. However, the states balked at these recommendations and only a few accepted the responsibility because the Indians were opposed to paying taxes.¹

Emphasis on education was shifted to reservation day schools and boarding schools as preparation for higher education and public school attendance when and where possible. The day schools for the children helped in allowing the Indian child to be close to his family in his formative years. When he completed day school, he was expected to attend a reservation boarding school or a public school and then a federal high school or public school without frustration. This ease of transition was supposed to motivate higher educational aspirations among the Indians, as well as rapid assimilation.

Socialization of the children during the first six years of life before they leave for boarding school, and afterwards during summer vacations, effectively inculcates the traditional beliefs and loyalties which insure adequate motivation for filling requisite societal roles. Young men, despite modern education, still learn to herd sheep, ride horses, drive wagons and plant farms. Young women still learn to herd, to weave, to make mutton stew, "fry bread," "kneel down bread," and to bake in earth ovens huge sunrise cakes for the puberty ceremony. Early socialization is also sufficient to permit young, educated Indians who have failed in making a successful adjustment on the outside to reintegrate with the pastoral life.²

A literacy movement was also instituted for adult Indians in

¹Fey and McNickle, op. cit., p. 118; Thompson, loc. cit., p. 48.

1955 as a part of the community day school program. Since 1963, kindergartens, teenage work programs, recreational activities and urban trips for rural children have been added to give impetus to endeavors directed toward assimilation.  

Current Assimilation

The Trend

Indian progress in assimilation has been slow because there has been no clear plan apparent among the Indians nor to them to impress upon them the urgency of assimilating into American life. 2

"Few would deny that over-paternalism has often impaired the administration of Indian affairs...." 3 There has been abuse of power on one hand and over-anxiety on the other.

It was realized with the younger generation that the graduated boys and girls seldom left the reservations, even though they were trained for outside jobs. A minority of those who returned to the reservations had short term domestic jobs which they found no satisfaction in doing. It was further realized that:

Industrial training and home economics training did not appear to be a factor in promoting assimilation, if that be defined as working and living in white centers of population. In spite of the pressure of school life, and education, the trend for

1 Thompson, loc. cit., p. 50.


Indian school graduates has been to remain members of Indian society and live in Indian communities.¹

Many Indians, however, are well "integrated" into the American community as well as national American life. This is found to be a fact in areas where Indians have attended public and private schools with non-Indians for a long period of time, have voted and held public or engaged in business on an equal basis with their neighbors. Such integration is found in places like New York State, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Minnesota and California.²

Levels of Indian Assimilation

Indian Potential

For a long time it was felt that the Indian was inferior to the white man and did not possess the tools with which to grasp advanced civilization, but John Collier recognized that:

...In ethnic groups of low prestige the apparent inferiority (acquired or innate) may mask an actual superiority. In most Indian groups the academic lag of children is pronounced, but if these children were given non-language tests that have been standardized on whites, they excel, even to a sensational extent. Their elder brothers excel when they are thrown into critical action as they have been in the recent world war.³

¹Oliver La Farge (ed.), The Changing Indian (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), pp. 120, 122.
²Daniels, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
It was also discovered that there is a wide variety of individual differences among Indian children of each community.

Types and Values

It can readily be seen that slow progress has been due more to values rather than to abilities as acquisitiveness, competitiveness and aggression are not normally Indian characteristics. Indians value a man's wealth in terms of what he gives away, not according to how much he acquires.

In regards to values,

...Implicit in most models of American Indian acculturation, there seems to be the assumption that "white" culture is homogeneous, therefore as native peoples alter their premises, attitudes, and behavior, they too become like the homogeneous "whites." ...It is evident that gradients of acculturation are inadequate as conceptual models or as descriptive typologies; but they do serve a purpose in assessing Indian values in terms of acculturation and assimilation. Therefore, educational aspiration is a result of acculturation and internal processes among the Indians.

Indians may be classified or typed as conservative, generalized, rural-white and middle-class, with assimilation occurring in three stages: acculturation, social integration and amalgamation, as shown

---


2Daniels, op. cit., p. 13.


in the illustration which follows:  

Fig. 1.—Assimilation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acculturation</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>ASSIMILATION</th>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>Amalgamation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The older Indians have the concept that the school systems are merely tools by which the white man intends to make their children "white." Therefore, they are antagonistic toward education as a means to destroy their identity. They do not feel that the schools are designed to help them. The white man is still an alien to the Indian, as well as an enemy and intruder, who has only meant trouble


and misery. "'Acting white' is the most stinging epithet in their vocabulary."¹ These conservative Indians react negatively to gestures toward acculturation and assimilation. They have no desire to assimilate as they wish to remain Indians.² One might very well say that the conservative Indians never progressed beyond the phase of partial acculturation. They are the typical stoic-red man and consider themselves different from others. They use the Indian language and follow Indian tradition.³

The acculturated or generalized Indian is inconsistently an Indian and an American.⁴ He is capable of integrating if he so desires. He is often the frustrated Indian who lives in a cultural limbo, whereas the rural-white Indian is quite similar to rural-white people in the South in behavior and physical appearance.⁵ This group falls into the socially integrated category; few progress further. They may be classified as semi-progressive as they want to assimilate but are hampered by their lack of knowledge of American society. What they know has been learned from the teachers, government agents and missionaries, with whom they associate in planning their educational programs.⁶

A few Indians of this group have televisions and radios. They

¹Ibid., p. 695.
²Ibid.,
³Kupferer, op. cit., p. 155.
⁴Ibid.
⁵Ibid.
⁶Wax, Teachers College Record, LXIV, No. 8 (May, 1963), p. 701.
visit nearby towns and cities, but in many instances are viewed by whites with contempt. Therefore, the contact experiences are of no real value in giving them an overall view of the whole society and tends to keep the Indian segregated.

The middle-class Indian group is made up of generalized and rural-white Indians who tend toward amalgamation. Amalgamation is simply interfusion or marriage between Indians and whites. Generally, they are financially well-off and pursue progress and achievement. These Indians have completed the lineal course of assimilation. Included in this group are the thousands of Indians who annually graduate from American colleges, universities and public schools.

Degree of Assimilation

Biologically speaking, many Indians have completely assimilated on an individual basis. Socially, when an Indian assimilates, he is no longer recorded for statistical purposes as an Indian. As a tribal group, the Navajos and Chinook Indians have accomplished more toward assimilation than any others. Individually, there are many outstanding Indians who over the years have come to the attention of the greater American society.

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1 **Tbid.**; Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
3 Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
4 *Adams, op. cit.*, p. 4.
5 *Wax, Teachers College Record*, LXIV, No. 8 (May, 1963), p. 696.
Indians today can be found in all fifty states in the United States as a result of verbal manipulations or education, as force and isolation failed to secure the desired ends. Of course, as has been shown in the foregoing paragraphs, even verbal manipulation has its limitations.

Individual Assimilation

Indian assimilation, like Negro assimilation, has been most recognized on an individual basis. Below, is a list of acculturated and assimilated Indians of distinction. This list is not presented as conclusive, but as a sample of the most widely known assimilated American Indians.*

1. Richard West (Cheyenne) Art Instructor.
2. Dr. Jack Kilpatrick (Cherokee) Composer and Professor of Music at Southern Methodist University.
3. Tully Morrison (Creek) Dairyman.
4. Judge Thomas E. Moore (Creek) City Judge of Okmulgee, Oklahoma.
5. Joseph Brant (Mohawk) Church and School Founder.
6. Reverend Philip Deloria (Dakota) One of the first Protestant ministers.
7. Daniel Takewambpait, First ordained Indian minister.
8. Samson Occom (Mohican) Minister and teacher.
9. Vine V. Deloria (Dakota) Assistant Secretary in the Episcopal Division of Home Missions.
10. Charles Curtis (Kansas) Vice President of the United States from 1929-1933.
11. Jim Thorpe (Sac Fox) Olympic game winner; great athlete.

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13. Charles Albert Bender (Chippewa) Baseball pitcher.
15. William Stogler (Choctaw) Oklahoma Congressman.
17. Romon Roubindeaux (Sioux) Assistant Attorney-General of South Dakota.
18. Peru Farmer (Choctaw) Tribal Relations Officer in the Public Health Division of Indian Health.
19. Dr. Evelyn Yellow-Robe (Sioux) Former teacher at Vassar College.
20. Dr. George J. Fraiser (Dakota) Doctor.
22. Maria Tallchief (Osage) Leading ballerina.
23. Judge Erl Welsh (Chickasaw) Leading member of the bar.
24. Richard West (Cheyenne) Art Instructor at Bacone College.
25. Robert L. Bennett (Oneida) Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Statistical Results of Indian Education

It is very difficult for one to grasp the full meaning of the effects of Indian education upon Indian assimilation without reference to the statistical results of Indian education. As a result of statistical research and tabulation, the following facts are revealed regarding the literacy level, educational attainment, school enrollment and the population of the Indians.

Literacy Level of Indians

In Table 1, there is seen some indication as to the literacy level of the American Indians from 1874 through 1960. In comparison with the American Negro, the Indian follows the Negro slightly in literacy. The table further reveals that both the American Negro and American Indian have a lower literacy level than the white man. This is perhaps due to a shorter period of educational opportunity as well
TABLE 1

INDIAN LITERACY LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Literacy Percent</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>84.0&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>84&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Calculated from The Annual Report of the Commissioner on Indian Affairs, 1874, p. 112; The Meriam Report and Adams, American Indian Education, p. 86.

<sup>b</sup>Approximate figure.

as cultural differences owing to the fact that sociologically speaking, the American white man represents the dominant race.

Level of Educational Attainment

Table 2 shows how the Indian's level of educational attainment compares with the white and Negro groups. As the white group is dominant, there is a negative difference of 1.34 in the attainment of Indians and a negative difference of 1.54 in the attainment of Negroes. Though Negroes have a higher literacy level, the actual number of years in school is less than that of the Indians as the Negroes as a race already assimilated as they have no vestigial tie to any culture except the existing one, as is revealed in the following charts.

Indian School Enrollment

As Indian education is a determining factor in Indian assimilation, statistics concerning the enrollment of Indians in school is vitally important to this treatise. Such statistics are found in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the following pages.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 reflect Indian school enrollment for ages 6 through 18. In Table 3, some idea of the number of children in government schools can be discerned from 1874 through 1966. Table 4 gives a breakdown of Indian enrollment in the various schools for the year 1966, and Table 5 indicates the percentage of Indian enrollment during 1965 and 1966, as well as the total number of children enrolled in school for these two periods.
TABLE 2

LEVEL OF INDIAN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT - 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men Years of School</th>
<th>Women Years of School</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>9.83</td>
<td>9.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10.18</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>9.93</td>
<td>8.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference for Indians and Whites: -1.34
Difference for Negroes and Whites: -1.54
Difference for Indians and Negroes: +.20


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Total Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>10,958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>21,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>69,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>47,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>53,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\( ^{b} \) Calculated from: Lewis Meriam, et al., The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1928); this figure includes public and private school enrollment.

\( ^{c} \) Calculated from: Hildegard Thompson, "The Education of the American Indians," Education Digest, XXIX, No. 4 (May, 1964), 49.

### Table 4

1966 Annual School Census Report of Indian Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Agency</th>
<th>Enumerated</th>
<th>Public School</th>
<th>Federal Schools Total</th>
<th>Mission And Others Enrolled</th>
<th>Not Over 18 Enrolled</th>
<th>Over 18 Enrolled</th>
<th>All Ages Total in School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>152,114</td>
<td>86,827</td>
<td>46,154</td>
<td>8,713</td>
<td>7,757</td>
<td>9,401</td>
<td>151,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>19,112</td>
<td>7,404</td>
<td>7,129</td>
<td>2,568</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>1,198</td>
<td>18,299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albuquerque</td>
<td>9,738</td>
<td>6,667</td>
<td>1,576</td>
<td>1,079</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>10,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anadarko</td>
<td>6,980</td>
<td>6,460</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>7,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billings</td>
<td>11,265</td>
<td>8,813</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>11,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>1,448</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juneau</td>
<td>18,202</td>
<td>9,635</td>
<td>7,272</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>18,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miccosukee</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskogee</td>
<td>22,188</td>
<td>19,941</td>
<td>2,171</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1,071</td>
<td>23,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navajo</td>
<td>46,602</td>
<td>17,453</td>
<td>21,575</td>
<td>1,413</td>
<td>5,247</td>
<td>2,819</td>
<td>43,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>15,363</td>
<td>9,056</td>
<td>4,055</td>
<td>1,773</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>1,084</td>
<td>15,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminole</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
FOR INDIANS, 1965 AND 1966a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Federal</td>
<td>Mission</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>134,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>141,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diff.</td>
<td>+ .1</td>
<td>- .4</td>
<td>+ .3</td>
<td>+ 7,630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Attending College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>18&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>4,300&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>6,000&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<sup>c</sup>Calculated from: Selene Gifford, "Educating the American Indian," School Life, XLVII, No. 4 (November, 1964), 11.
Table 6 shows the total number of Indian students enrolled on and beyond the college level from 1878 through 1964, which is followed by Table 7 which reflects the whole Indian population.

Indian Population

Table 7 shows an enumeration of the Indian population in the United States from 1492 to 1965. The fall and rise in the Indian population can easily be traced in this table. There is a slight correlation between the rise in the Indian population and Indian school enrollment. The rise in Indian enrollment in higher education can, however, be attributed more to opportunity rather than population, and especially to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which granted the Indian equal opportunity and grants for higher education.

On the basis of the preceding tables, approximately one-fifth of the American Indian population is enrolled in school. Most of those enrolled range in age from 6 to 18 years. This means that there are a great number of Indians of college age who are not in school. The 6,000 Indians who are enrolled in colleges and universities represent only one percent of the Indian population. If education is used as a guide to the number of Indians assimilating at this point in history, it may be inferred that from one to five percent of the American Indians are assimilated to some degree.
TABLE 7

INDIAN POPULATION - 1492 TO 1965

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1492</td>
<td>750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>275,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>246,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>237,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>266,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>244,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>332,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>333,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>345,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>523,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>547,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{c}\)Calculated from: "North American Indians," Encyclopedia Britannica, XII, 73.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

From our historical overview of Indian education as reflected through government policy, as a factor in acculturation and assimilation of American Indians, we can readily see that the educative process has been administered in various ways and spoken of in various terms.

Though the first white visitors to the new world found the Indian occupying the continent, they attempted immediately to impose their modes of living and learning upon him, even though he had his own method of learning and living, as reflected in recent anthropological studies.

The missionaries came to America with the explorers from Spain, France and England. Each group attempted to Christianize and civilize the "heathen red man" throughout the colonial period, in accordance with its old world policy. Schools were established by the missionaries to promote their beliefs and objectives. The influence was so great upon the Cherokee nation until it inspired the natives to set up their own school systems after Sequoya "invented" the Cherokee
alphabets. The missions further inspired the federal government to utilize education as a medium to promote the prevailing Indian policy.

At first, the government did not take much interest in educating the Indians, but rather in removing them. Soon, it was felt that if the missionaries could Christianize the Indians, that perhaps the government could put forth some effort to civilize them. Therefore, in 1819, the government began its civilization program by appropriating funds for the missions to use in operating the Indian schools.

The mission schools did not appear to be obtaining the desired goal of civilization as they were located on or near the reservations. Thus it was believed that the Indian children should be removed from their home environments before they could be civilized. This idea gave rise to the non-reservation government boarding school which proved to be even less fruitful than the mission school. As a result, reservation government boarding schools and day schools were established, and the missions were virtually eliminated from government Indian education in 1897.

At the turn of the century, emphasis was shifted to assimilation and a move was made toward public school education for Indian children. The states were not eager to accept such a responsibility and therefore this type of training was slow to take hold.

With the advent of the "New Deal," more emphasis was placed upon public school Indian education and complete assimilation. The
objective of public school education was assimilation in its purest form with the emphasis on making the Indian a self supporting and self-respecting citizen in order that he would no longer be dependent upon charity and direct relief from the "Great white chief,"¹ By 1945, a more detailed and specific plan was in operation to secure the desired ends. Somehow, results were not as visible as had been expected. Therefore, in 1953, the federal government attempted in effect, to shift the whole Indian education problems to the various states. By so doing, it was hoped that the states would recognize the Indians as citizens rather than as "wards" and treat them as such, thereby speeding up assimilation. Four states assumed the responsibility.

Because the states were not thoroughly cooperative in the educational endeavors, the federal government is currently attempting to meet all the needs, educational, economical and health problems, on the reservations from reservation resources in order to inspire the Indians to assume and maintain enough leadership on the reservations to automatically sever their paternal relationship. Methods of teaching Indian children as well as subject matter has changed with more emphasis placed upon helping them to appreciate and respect their own culture. The actual gains in the effect that the new techniques are having upon Indian assimilation are difficult to measure in as much as

Indians are no longer counted for statistical purposes when they integrate and amalgamate and the Indian population is rapidly increasing in spite of census lost due to assimilation.

Conclusion

It is apparent that the government has failed to secure its ends. Perhaps the medium is proper, but the means nonetheless are not. Indian policy has gone through a complete cycle from local policy to quasi-national policy, then to national policy, and from national policy to quasi-state policy to local or tribal policy, without attaining Indian assimilation through education. Thus, one must conclude that the proper means for educating the Indian either have not been touched upon or these means have not shown thus far any tangible results. True, attendance in schools and a higher literacy rate for Indians have risen, but these factors have failed to completely assimilate the Indian, which has ostensibly been the government's objective of educating Indians over the past sixty years.

Therefore, instead of letting the tribes work out their problems haphazardly, more pressure should be brought to bear on the states to genuinely accord resident Indians full citizenship and to take the state's responsibility of Indian education with some assistance from the federal government where and if needed, whether Indians pay or do not pay taxes.

Most Indians desire independence, but oppose taxes. Such being
the case, assimilation entails taxes, and as long as the Indian remains on the reservation, his taxes are at a minimum in the form of sales taxes for items secured off the reservation. Further, the Indian feels that the white man owes him something for the confiscation of his lands and does not see why he has to pay him anything. If paying taxes makes one a citizen, the Indian does not want to be a citizen, and uniquely, it seems that he still has a choice.

There are some Indians, perhaps a minority, who are hoping for the day when they can rise up again and rid themselves of the intruder. Of course, there is some doubt as to the practicality of this notion, but one writer has said that "both the educators and those who are trying to rebuild Indian economy are, essentially, still planning for a relatively stable population which can live primarily on Indian-owned land resources; and in so doing, they are planning for the day before yesterday."¹ This fact has made itself known among the Navajos and they are practically forced to assimilate. If the Indian population, which is today over 567,000, continues to grow as it has in the past, and assimilation likewise continues to be as slow as it has, there will be approximately 600,000 or more Indians in America by 1970, and the states will have to accept their responsibility for Indian education, citizenship and assimilation. A growing population has to accommodate needed change.

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