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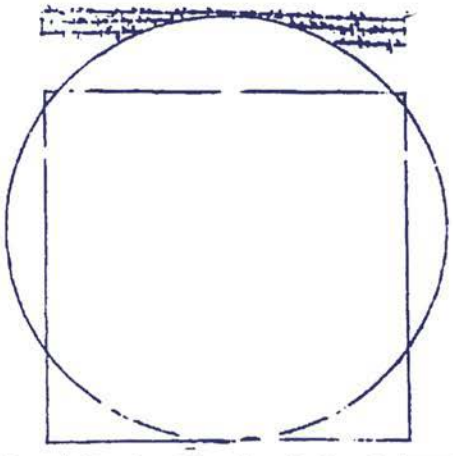

L´HOMME

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Anelia Kassabova und Sandra Maß

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Mary Romero and Eric Margolis

More Than Total Institutions. 19 and 20th Century US Indigenous Residential and Boarding Schools

Throughout the settler colonial world there have been boarding schools and other institutions designed to 'civilise' or 'socialise' indigenous populations. In the Anglophone lands of the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia there are centuries-long and unique histories of the use of schools to erase and replace the cultures of the original populations. This chapter will examine the history and social functions of 'Indian Boarding Schools' in the United States. We will argue that the goal of the 'Indian Schools' was not simply to teach skills allowing Native American children to survive in the English-speaking and capitalist world rapidly spreading from Plymouth Rock. From the beginning the intent was to eliminate all of the cultures which Anglos collapsed into one single ethnic category 'Indian'. There were, of course, no 'Indians' before the lost captain Columbus arrived in a place he thought was Asia and called "The Indies".[1] So perhaps the first accomplishment of the colonists was to name them all 'Indians'. As the colonies grew into a nation and expanded to fulfill what it considered its 'Manifest destiny' it fought nearly constant wars with the Native inhabitants. Established with the Indian Civilisation Act of 1819, the US policy aimed to eliminate indigenous cultures and identities and continued for over 150 years.[2] When tribes fell to US guns, a special policy of Indian Boarding Schools' was developed from an initial experiment in Carlisle Pennsylvania in 1879. This history is still controversial.

Shortly after becoming the first indigenous woman to serve as the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, Secretary Deb Haaland issued a Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative to address the "troubled legacy of the Federal Boarding School Policies", which relocated American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian children "to distant residential facilities".[3] This announcement followed reports of 215 graves discovered at

1 Charles C. Mann, 1491: The Truth About the Americas Before Columbus, New York 1911[2].

2 Cf. Mann, 1491, see note 1.

3 U.S. Department of the Interior, Secretary Haaland Announces Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative. Outlines Path Forward on Troubled Legacy of Federal Boarding School Polices in Remarks to National Congress of American Indians, in: Press Release 6/22/2021, at: https://www.doi.gov/pressreleases/secretary-haaland-announces-federal-indian-boarding-school-initiative; access: 30 March 2021.

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Canada's Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc First Nation at the Kamloops Indian Residential School. In addition to addressing the impact of inter-generational traumas, the initiative includes efforts to locate burial sites at boarding school grounds and begin the identification and Tribal affiliations of students' graves. However, unlike Canada, the US has yet to establish a "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" and openly discuss our history of "cultural genocide".[4] In fact there is an ongoing right-wing project to further bury this history, we will have more to say about this below.

While the boarding schools have most of the hallmarks of what Goffman termed "total institutions"[5] they were different: they certainly were intended to crush individual identity using the usual techniques of punishment and reward to create a new personality: cutting hair, wearing uniforms, replacing birth names (sometimes with numbers), strictly regimented schedules and what we would call today "panoptical surveillance".[6] What made the boarding schools different was the clear intent to erase not only personal identity of children, but the identity and existence of entire Native Communities.

"Kill the Indian, Save the Man" is the phrase Richard Henry Pratt used to describe the boarding school mission to assimilate and educate indigenous populations living on lands desired by the US government for its white citizens.[7] American Indians did not become US citizens until 1924. Pratt's mission seemed to many a better option than extermination, which was too costly in comparison. The Indian Wars required the purchase of weapons, maintaining armies of occupation and the loss of white lives. However, in many ways, education was secondary to cultural genocide. Merrill Gates, the secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners between 1899 and 1912, captured the boarding school mission in the following statement:

> "We need to *awaken in him wants.* In his dull savagery he must be touched by the wings of the divine angle of discontent. Then he begins to look forward, to reach out. The desire for property of his own may become an intense education force. The wish for a home of his own awakens him to new efforts. Discontent with the tepee and the starving rations of the Indian camp in winter is needed to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers, – and trousers with *a pocket in them, and with a pocket that aches to be filled with dollars*!"[8]

To be completed subjugated and controlled, the indigenous peoples in the Americas had to give up their language, change their beliefs and values, embrace the individual

4 Government of Canada, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, at: https://rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1450124405592/1529106060525; access: 30 March 2021.

5 Erving Goffman, Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Doubleday 1961.

6 Michel Foucault, Discipline & Punish. The Birth of the Prison, New York 1995.

7 David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction. American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928, Lawrence 2020[2].

8 Cf. the quotation from Merrell Gates, in: Adams, Education, see note 7, 26.

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over the collective good, adopt the desire for private over communal lands and usage and strive to increase their wealth instead of giving it away or sharing.

Figure 1: Debating class, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Reproduction Numer: LC-USZ62-38126, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection (Library of Congress). If there is one single common denominator to the boarding schools it is this. The Native Americans were seen as lazy and indolent. The solution was to habituate them to the constant labor of capitalist society, from work to live to live to work. There are many exhortations to labor: "There is no excellence without great labor".

In other words, erase 'we' and 'ours' and adopt 'I' and 'mine'. In essence, inculcate what Max Weber called "The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism".[9] Weber extensively quoted American Founding Father, Benjamin Franklin: "Remember, that time is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle, one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides."[10]

9 Weber's original essays in German were written at roughly the same time as Gates was Indian Commissioner, 1904–1905. He quoted Benjamin Franklin extensively, arguing that capitalism was the product of Anglo Saxons in Northern Europe and was based on "ethics" of individualism, frugalness, wealth accumulation and investment. Those are the precise "lessons" Gates intended to instil in Native children.

10 Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. 1905, Chapter II, at: https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/weber/protestant-ethic/ch02.htm; access: 20 March 2021.

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Regardless of actual labour – hunting, farming, gathering, toiling and spinning – American Indians were considered idle because they did not value capital. Furthermore, notions of home and family must accept Anglo-Saxon structures of patriarchy rather than matriarchy or polygamy; they were to follow white European laws that forbid women from owning property. Instead, nuclear families had to replace extended kinship, men were expected to become providers and wage earners while women engaged in domesticity and homemaking.

Because such drastic changes were unlikely to occur among adults, indigenous children became central tools in the government's Indian policy; they were not just targets for assimilation, the goal was for the elders to die off and be replaced by generations who no longer remembered 'the old ways' and had been fully socialised into the individualist, capitalist, Christian and patriarchal society of the settler colonialists. Indian agents, school superintendents, teachers and staff used schooling as the vehicle for 'civilising' children. To lessen parents' socialising their own children, the options of on-reservation schools and boarding schools lost favour and off-reservation boarding schools quickly become the preference among government officials and school administrators. The younger the child was when removed from their parents, the easier it would be to effect the socialisation. From the beginning, "the federal policy and practice of child removal arose from the desire to punish and control Indian people".[11] This policy of cultural extinction that removed children from their parents was devastating for generations. Its effects continue today.

The following contribution is an overview of off-reservation boarding schools in the US. We begin by describing the development of Indian schooling and the conditions of these schools that turned parents against sending their children away and reinforced their wish for local on-reservation schools. As residential schools encountered difficulty in increasing the number of students, tactics including roundups and restraint, were used to force parents into compliance. We also examine the forms of resistance by parents and their children. In analysing the use of the outing system, the gendered aspects of the boarding school become most visible, as well as white society's acceptance of indigenous children as labour in their homes and communities. It should be noted that in general Native parents were not opposed to educating their children to survive and thrive in America, but they came to fear and despise the involuntary institution of the boarding school, we end by examining this complicated relationship.

11 Margaret D. Jacobs, A Battle for the Children. American Indian Child Removal in Arizona in the Era of Assimilation, in: The Journal of Arizona History, 45, 1 (2004), 32.

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1. Development

As early as 1607, religious groups had started day schools for indigenous children near or on Indian Lands in the original 13 colonies.[12] However, the boarding school system was institutionalised under President Grants' Peace Policy of 1869–1870 and was largely supervised by Christian church groups.[13] Later, boarding schools were also built on the reservation. Parents wanted their children to learn English and to know the white man's ways to better assist the tribe and improve conditions on the reservation. However, the most controversial schools were boarding schools far from the reservations, separating parents from their children for a year or more at a time. School administrators strongly advocated for off-reservation boarding schools because they removed tribal influences and made it more difficult for children to run away.

After holding Kiowa, Cheyenne, Comanche and Arapaho warriors on charges of murder and destruction, Brigadier General Pratt proposed educating those who were willing.[14] Although most of the prisoners choose to return to their homelands, fifteen agreed to continue their education. Unable to obtain federal funding for the students, Pratt accepted Brig. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong's offer to welcome the Indians at Hampton Institute, which he had founded in 1868 to educate and train free Blacks and former slaves.[15] Many cite Hampton Institute as the beginning of Indian higher education, which in some cases led to graduates studying for advanced degrees in medicine, law and liberal arts at white universities, but its first and foremost goal was Americanising and teaching Christianity to the Indian students.[16]

Pratt was not supportive of placing Indians in the predominately Black Hampton Institute. He felt strongly that Indians "needed to be complete with white men" because "blacks could not provide appropriate incentives".[17] Pratt continued his mission to establish a separate institute for Indians and in 1879 he founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania. The Indian school system expanded rapidly and by 1902 consisted of 154 day schools enrolling 21,500 and 154 boarding schools, of which 25 were off the reservation.[18]

12 Cf. Margaret Connell Szasz, Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783, Albuquerque, NM 1988.
13 Cf. Jorge Noriega, American Indian Education in the United States. Indoctrination for Subordination to Colonialism, in: Annette Jaimes (ed.), State of Native America, Boston 1992, 380.
14 Cf. Andrew Woolford, This Benevolent Experiment. Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States, Lincoln, NB 2015, 66.
15 Cf. Wilbert H. Ahern, "'The Returned Indians'. Hampton Institute and its Indian Alumni, 1879–1893", in: The Journal of Ethnic Studies, 10, 4 (1983), 102.
16 Cf. Ahern, The Returned Indians, see note 15, 109–111.
17 Robert A. Trennert, From Carlisle to Phoenix. The Rise and Fall of the Outing System, 1878–1930, in: Pacific Historical Review, 52, 3 (1983), 271.
18 Cf. Margaret D. Jacobs, A Battle, see note 11, 33.

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Pratt did incorporate Hampton Institute's vocational training, which was quite successful. Apprenticeship programmes were developed to teach male students farming, carpentry, shoemaking, tinsmithing, butchering, blacksmithing, printing, painting, harness making, engineering and wheelwright. However, female students were limited to household training that included cooking, washing, ironing, sewing, knitting, crocheting and making clothes. This gendered vocational training was duplicated in every one of the boarding schools and was central to inculcating white expectations for manhood and womanhood. Male students were prepared to become providers for their families. Female students were closely managed in preparation for the ideal womanhood and the cult of domesticity.[19] Emphasis on vocational training over broader concepts of education prepared indigenous children to take their position at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder.

The Carlisle School was proud of its tin shop making useful things from washtubs to teacups. On the surface this appears an excellent kind of industrial labour, based on the kind of classes developed at the Hampton Institute. Clearly the goods produced were intended for the market and no doubt brought revenue to the school. There is a contradiction, however: at the time there were few tin shops on the reservations to employ the men, and second, tin shops in the rest of the country were unlikely to hire 'Indians'. So, the young men had a difficult choice, either stay in urban places where they could hope to find a manufacturing job or return home where they would have to learn the ways of life anew.

In "Asylums" Goffman included boarding schools as total institutions. However, there are important differences between boarding schools, where people of means sent their children, military academies or even the 'industrial schools' scooping up poor children who lived on the street in the major US cities like New York or Philadelphia. The vocational training mentioned above was not like home economics or shop classes. It was heavy industrial labour intended to help support the schools financially. Indian children in many places laboured in farms where produce was grown to serve in the mess hall or to sell. Tinware and other factory work like blacksmithing were produced for market. In other words, the labour was not paid and closer to slavery than to wage-labour.

19 Cf. Robert A. Trennert, Victorian Morality and the Supervision of Indian Women Working in Phoenix, 1906–1930, in: Journal of Social History, 22, 1 (1988), 113.

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Figure 2: These young men are working in the tin shop at the Carlisle school. The shop made items for the school but also produced for sale to support the institution. Digital ID: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ggbain.11205, Repository: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print.

2. Health and safety issues

Leaving voluntarily or captured by soldiers, children were placed on trains for lengthy travels to boarding schools. Upon arriving to the school, children were immediately striped of their identity. Regardless of the importance of the robes and regalia the children arrived at the boarding school with, their clothes were taken away and they were given uniforms. Uniforms for the boys resembled military uniforms worn by US soldiers and were photographed in numerous pictures of Native children standing in rank and column.[20] Girls were issued similar dresses, many times accompanied with aprons. Male students had their braids cut and their heads shaven, which for many was

20 There are many hundreds of photographs documenting the outward appearance of the 'civilising' process. They images were used as 'propaganda' to demonstrate the success of the Indian School mission. The before and after images were used to raise governmental and non-governmental funds to support the institution. Cf. Eric Margolis and Jeremy Rowe, Images of Assimilation. Photographs of Indian Schools in Arizona, in: History of Education, 33, 2 (2004), 199–230; Eric Margolis, Looking at Discipline, Looking at Labor. Photographic Representations of Indian Boarding Schools, in: Visual Studies, 19, 1 (April 2004), 72–96.

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associated with mourning. Girls' hair was cut short, which they experienced as humiliating and traumatic.[21] Stiff leather boots and coarsely made woolen underclothing insured students' discomfort, along with appearing as smaller versions of their supervisors. Stripped of their tribal identity, they were then given new names that "once translated, were perceived to be ridiculous and occasionally humiliating – such as Mary Swollen Face, Nancy Kills-a-Hundred, Sam Slow-fly …".[22]

Soon after, the children were introduced to English only rules, marching to and from buildings, standing at attention in lines and sleeping in dormitories. Students were introduced to the system of standard eating times, as were sleep, working and attending classes. Bugles and bells alerted them to line up to march to the next scheduled activity.[23] It is curious that at the time no one remarked on the contradiction between wanting Native children to 'erase we and ours and adopt I and mine' while being completely regimented, forced into uniforms and shaved to appear identical. Carlisle school newspaper, "Red Man", described the schedule in May 1914 as follows:

> Rise at 6:00 in the morning; breakfast, 6:30–7:00, putting rooms in order, 7:00–7:30; those on the work details, to work, 7:30 to 11:30; others to school 8:30–11:30; get ready for dinner 11:30–12:00; dinner 12:00 to 12:30; afternoon work details to work, 1:00 to 5:00; others to school, 4:00–5:00; get ready for supper, 5:00–5:30, supper 5:30–6:00; attend religious or other meetings, 6:15–7:00; study hour, 7:00–8:00; gymnasium, 8:00–9:00; to bed at 9:30.[24]

Along with regulated schedules, boarding schools also replaced the time previously framed around the natural seasons to the Anglo-Saxon holiday rituals of Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year, Indian Citizenship Day, Lincoln's Birthday, Arbor Day, Memorial Day and Independence Day.[25]

The students missed their traditional foods and meals served lacked essential nutrition and were not always sufficient to ward off the pangs of hunger. Since meals were shared with staff living at the boarding school, the best cuts of meat were always reserved for employees, leaving the children with the least meaty portions. Like most conditions at boarding schools, the food varied among schools. For instance, in boarding schools with vegetable gardens and livestock, the children were less likely to experience daily hunger. However, numerous students reported that they rarely were served the vegetables, fruits, eggs, cream or meat that were products of their labour. It is likely that those products were sold commercially for money to run the schools.

21 Cf. Martina Michelle Dawley, Indian Boarding School Tattooing Experiences. Resistance, Power, and Control through Personal Narratives, in: The American Indian Quarterly, 44, 3 (2020), 285.
22 Adams, Education, see note 7, 117.
23 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 129.
24 Preston McBride, A Blueprint for Death in US Off-Reservation Boarding Schools. Rethinking Institutional Mortalities at Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918, MA Thesis, Dartmouth College 51, 2013.
25 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 214–227.

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The US has only had two school systems run by the federal government: one was the military schools for dependent children on bases all over the world, the other were the Indian schools. Student labour was used to construct the numerous buildings, which might include a doctor's office, employees' cottages, laundry, dining hall, warehouses, stables, shops and poultry houses.[26] The boarding schools were structured to imitate white spaces consisting of buildings for various activities, such as dormitories, dining halls, classrooms and the chapel, surrounded by manicured nature. Ideally, the physical structures were properly ventilated, furnished with stoves, proper lighting, bathtubs, adequate number of beds and bathrooms.

However, in many cases these were not the conditions students found and overcrowding was a consistent problem. Underfunding of schools reduced the ability to improve or even maintain buildings. Consequently, more than one child per bed was not unusual, nor was the lack of blankets and clothing. Another unsanitary condition was the communal bathing and sharing wash basins, which required students to use the same water as others and meant the tub was not scrubbed and cleansed for each student. In some cases, students had to share towels to dry themselves. Unsanitary conditions were found in circumstances involving milking cows, handling produce and meat as well as in food preparation. Sick children were expected to continue with their daily activities and interacting with healthy students. All these unsanitary conditions increased regular outbreaks of epidemics, particularly trachoma, pneumonia, meningitis, measles, mumps, influenza, smallpox, typhoid and tuberculosis. It was not unusual to send the children home with communicable illnesses.[27]

Constructing buildings, maintaining the grounds, labouring in the laundry, cleaning buildings and working on farms exposed the children to additional health hazards and potential accidents. Using dangerous equipment, particularly when hungry and exhausted, increased the likelihood of injury. Among those reported were mashed toes from a printing press, broken collarbones from a fall, brain concussion from falling off a ladder, bruised hands, arms, faces and legs. Working with machinery also resulted in the loss of hands and broken bones. Some injuries were the result of being sent 'out' to nearby farms. Deaths were also reported from accidents during their employment in the outing system.[28] The lack of records, or tombstones, makes it difficult or impossible to determine the date or cause of death and in many cases the tribe of origin. Currently (2022) the Interior Department identified more than 400 schools and 50 gravesites. This is the first time the US government has attempted to count, much less identify, the Native children who died in the boarding schools.[29]

26 Cf. McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 31–57.
27 Cf. McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 82–104.
28 Cf. McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 62–64.
29 Cf. Graham Lee Brewer, U.S. Counts Indian Boarding School Deaths for First Time But Leaves Key Questions Unanswered, in: NBC News, 11 May 2022, at: https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/indian-boarding-school-deaths-interior-department-report-rcna28284; access: 20 August 2022.

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Unlike Indian parents, white Protestants adhered to the biblical admonition to "spare the rod, spoil the children", which condoned the use of physical punishment to discipline children. Boarding school personnel defended the use of corporal punishment with the assertion "that it promoted educational training, taught biblical obedience, or maintained the moral fiber of society".[30] The use of corporal punishment in parenting was foreign to Indians; childrearing incorporated play with learning and training for adversity and anguish.[31] Students were disciplined for the least offense, regardless of how trivial, such as marching out of step or holding another student's hand.[32] Prior to John Collier, a strong voice of reform in Indian education during The New Deal, educators held on to European standards from the colonial era that considered corporal punishment "a useful tool in promoting the discipline necessary for assimilation" and "if native children failed to modify their behavior voluntarily, the infliction of pain by means of spanking, whipping, and even beating was justified".[33]

Upon hearing reports of the corporal punishment, spanking and whipping that was used in the boarding schools and by some farmers employing the students Indian parents were alarmed and immediately began removing their children unless the violence ceased.[34] Male students reported being hit with baseball bats and clubs, along with being whipped. Matrons called upon male employees to whip uncontrollable girls. At times, older students were placed in charge of whipping or carrying out other punishment on younger students. In addition to corporal punishment, children were also disciplined by denying them regular meals and placed on bread and water for weeks. Some were denied school vacations.[35] Students were forced to carry heavy rocks for speaking their native language. In Sacaton Arizona Indian children were photographed cleaning the desert yard on hands and knees. The jail was also photographed – a one-room structure in the centre of a barren desert where triple digit temperatures Fahrenheit were common in summer.[36] Teachers were known to slap or hit the students with fists and push them down staircases. Berating, beating and belittling students was not uncommon in some of the boarding schools, including Carlisle.[37] In the case of children brought against their parents' will, dormitories were locked, and they were restricted to relieving themselves in buckets.[38] Jails and guardhouses in unsanitary

The full report can be found online, at: https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/inline-files/bsi_investigative_report_may_2022_508.pdf; access: 28 August 2022.

30 Robert A. Trennert, Corporal Punishment and the Politic of Indian Reform, in: History of Education Quarterly, 29, 4 (1989), 596.

31 Cf. Trennert, Corporal Punishment, see note 30, 596.

32 Cf. Jacobs, A Battle, see note 11, 40.

33 Trennert, Corporal Punishment, see note 30, 595.

34 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 236–237.

35 Cf. Trennert, Corporal Punishment, see note 30.

36 Cf. Margolis/Rowe, Images, see note 20, 221.

37 Cf. McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 67–69.

38 Cf. Jacobs, A Battle, see note 11, 39–40.

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conditions were also used to punish the students.[39] Some children adjusted to the rigid institutional life and even thrived, others ran away, but others died.[40] Confinement and corporal punishment were not mandated to cease until 3 January 1929.[41]

Humiliation was another form of punishment. Being forced to wear clothes of the other gender or engage in their work was common. For instance, a group of boys was punished for running away by having to work in the girls' laundry for several days. Forcing runaway girls to wear male uniforms while marching in front of the male barracks was another practice.

Institutional conditions in boarding schools not only incorporated physical punishment but submitted the children to substandard living conditions worsened by overcrowding, malnourishment and inadequate diets. The children's immune systems weakened by conditions, physical and psychological trauma made childhood illnesses and disease easily transmitted and frequently resulted in epidemics.[42] Unconcerned about the overcrowding, Pratt continued to increase the number of enrolled students to 950 when 450 was the school's actual capacity. The highest school enrolments were also a period of the highest death rate. An estimated 192 Indian students are buried in the Carlisle school cemetery. However, the actual total is most likely much higher. And the number of sick children sent home to die is unknown.[43]

3. The outing system

The original idea behind Richard Henry Pratt's design of the 'outing system' was to enhance assimilation of Indian students; they were to be farmed out as 'family members' to wholesome white families who would assist in teaching Christian moral principles. Along with the opportunity to further develop their English-speaking skills, working in these households was a form of applied industrial education to further instil a strong Protestant and capitalist work ethic. In essence, 'outing' sent young women to become domestic servants and boys to be unpaid farm labour.

Even though the outing system restricted Indian girls to domestic service, the programme offered a slight reprieve from the schools' strict disciplinary codes and constant supervision of the young women's daily lives. School personnel perceived them as "prone to filth, 'animal gratification,' lewd licentious, and promiscuous behavior, drinking and laziness".[44] Gender problems made matrons constantly concerned about keeping Indian girls from having sex before or outside of marriage. Matrons were

39 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 133.
40 Cf. Jacobs, A Battle, see note 11, 33.
41 Cf. Trennert, From Carlisle, see note 17, 597–617.
42 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 135–255.
43 Cf. McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 77–125.
44 Trennert, Victorian Morality, see note 19, 113.

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Figure 3: The girls at the school were taught cooking, sewing, home management, and grooming. Bismarck Indian School, North Dakota. Sewing Class, Created/Published between 1909 and 1932, Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-107204.

known to force girls to marry if having a boyfriend was suspected. Some girls were banished to the reservation and others were jailed for violating Victorian standards of womanhood.

To punish and control Indian girls they were sometimes deprived of employment, which was particularly important for those sending money home to help their families. Another aspect of controlling Indian girls were impediments placed against their participation in traditional or reservation ceremonies marking their transition to womanhood, for example the Diné Kinaaldá coming of age ceremony. Similarly young women were pressed to forego any marriage ceremonies that did not include a state marriage license and follow Protestant notions of nuptial agreements. Matrons also inserted themselves by visiting and observing the couple even after marriage. Moreover, outing to domestic service generally resulted in menial labour for long hours, no private space and being deprived of enough sleep. In no way did servant roles prepare Indian girls to advance in white society. For Indian girls from the Phoenix Indian Boarding School who were employed as domestics investigators found that wages were so low, the occupation was compared to a "peonage system".[45]

Pratt had envisioned that 'outing' or apprenticeships would involve white woman mothering the girls and teaching additional domestic skills that would be used eventually in their own home serving their husbands and family.[46] The "cult of domesticity"[47] was foreign to many Native communities who did not adhere to binary

45 Trennert, Victorian Morality, see note 19, 118–124.
46 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 194–196.
47 Susan Hill Linley, You Have Slept Out of Your Place. A History of Religion in America, Louisville, KY 1996, 41.

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identities. Furthermore social skills were not gender-specific to exclude women from butchering and tanning and other activities Anglos considered men's work.[48] Among indigenous cultures, matrilineal and matrilocal were the ways families were organised. Women owned property and had political rights; at the time women in the US could not even vote. However, as boarding schools expanded across the country, Pratt became concerned that white families in the West were not suitable to accept Indian students in their homes; he questioned their ability and willingness to serve as model households.[49] He was particularly critical of the Phoenix Indian School, which used the outing system to benefit the local white community rather than the Indian students. Male students provided cheap labour for the fruit and cotton growers. They were given menial jobs and the extreme anti-Indian and racial tensions kept interactions with white employers and their families impersonal. The outing system operated more as an employment agency; Indian boys were hired as hotel bellhops and construction labourers. The boarding school in Albuquerque, New Mexico was reported for sending Indian male students to work in the beet fields of Colorado and on the Santa Fe Railway.[50] Similarly, the Sherman Institute set up their outing systems with the intention of training Indians for jobs that whites felt they could do, which meant relegating them to second-class citizenship.[51]

4. Resistance

Pratt, as well as later superintendents, made numerous visits to the reservations in search of more students. However, parents wanted their children to be close and attend on-reservation schools. The fight for on-reservation schools become more insistent after learning about the use of corporal punishment and poor health and safety conditions. Recruiting students often involved "false promises, coercion and outright force".[52] While assuring parents that their children would return, Pratt intended to separate children from their parents permanently to destroy all Native culture beginning with familial ties. Exceptions were made for children who became extremely ill and returned to their families to die, often within days. At times, entire villages rejected any attempts to remove children from their homes to attend boarding schools.[53] Unwilling to allow whites to take their children to off-reservation boarding schools, parents took to hiding

48 Cf. Dawley, Indian Boarding School, see note 21, 284.
49 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 180–195.
50 Cf. Trennert, Victorian Morality, see note 19, 282–283.
51 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 183.
52 McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 34.
53 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 233.

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children in the hills, marrying the girls at younger ages and encouraging pregnancy to keep their daughters at home.[54]

When superintendents became less successful in removing children from the reservation to send to far away boarding schools, troops were sent to capture and remove the children from their parents. Parents sometimes built hideaways in storage areas to protect their children during government raids on their homes.[55] Parents were pressured to turn over their children by withholding or confiscating annuity goods and rations guaranteed to them by signed treaties. Destitute parents were pressured to send their children to boarding schools in exchange for bread, bacon, syrup, meat and tools such as hammers and axes.[56]

Students rebelled against corporal punishment and excessive work by slowing "their pace of work, lowering industrial production, disrupted classroom instruction, and purposefully disobeyed rules".[57] Students might also pretend to be sick to miss classes, steal food or create disruptions in the classroom. Giving teachers and administrators derogatory names seemed appropriate since the children had been renamed upon their arrival to schools.[58] At times, students engaged in physical fights to defend themselves from teachers using corporal punishment. Incidents of students attempting to burn down buildings occurred and, if they were caught, they were sent to reform school or the penitentiary.[59] Some students, primarily males, chose to take risks and run away to their homes. Incidents of students breaking down jail doors to release their incarcerated classmates to run away in groups were reported.[60] The distance travelled from Pennsylvania to Alaska, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada and New Mexico usually involved stealing a horse or jumping onto trains. If caught by local authorities, they were sent back to school.[61] An estimated 17 per cent of the students at Carlisle ran away between 1879 and 1918.[62]

Boarding schools that were based on liberal arts rather than vocational training offered Indian students more career options and future leadership roles. Seneca Indian School was one example that left an archive of student newspapers that suggest students used English proficiency "to serve their communities" and "to have a stake in their own identity".[63] Writing for student newspapers was one way that students structured their

54 Cf. Jacobs, A Battle, see note 11, 45.
55 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 232–237.
56 Cf. Jacobs, A Battle, see note 11, 37.
57 McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 71.
58 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 258–259.
59 Cf. McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 72.
60 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 253–257.
61 Cf. McBride, A Blueprint, see note 24, 106.
62 Cf. Genevieve Bell, Telling Stories Out of School. Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918, Ph.D. diss., Stanford University 1998, 210.
63 Jacqueline Emery, Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press, Lincoln, NE 2017, 23.

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own self-representations and projected the meaning of being an educated Indian. Historian Frederick E. Hoxie argued that Indian students' writings demonstrate "talking back" to whites and "Natives made it clear that they refused to accept the definitions others had of them – savage, backward, doomed" by challenging notions of white superiority.[64]

Students engaged in Native cultural practices away from the presence of teachers. For instance, students frequently taught each other legends, folktales and stories they had learned from their elders.[65] Schoolgirls might incorporate their culture by playing a Native domesticity rather than the Victorian domesticity advocated by their teachers. This involved building teepees, native baby cradles or creating miniature images of villages. There were also cases of students taking hallucinating substances found in the nearby woods and fields. Indian girls were reported ingesting jimsonweed, which had hallucinogenic properties. However, this could also have dangerous consequences if too much was ingested at one time.[66]

A more recent form of resistance to be documented is Indian girls' tattooing, which "demonstrated resilience with complex expressions of resistance, power and control because tattoos contradicted the boarding schools' strict Victorian values". Tattooing had been common among indigenous people in the Southwest and Northwest used for cultural purposes, such as marking tribal identification, healing, decoration and to indicate adulthood. Indian girls used tattooing as a form of opposition, resistance and power against the submissive, docile and dependent expectations placed upon them in boarding schools. Tattooing was used to control their identity and bodies, resisting identities given to them by teachers and administrators and power to establish solidarity with other students.[67]

5. Contradictory memories and school assessment

Boarding school narratives written by former students and indigenous teachers recall a wide range of assessment about their experiences. Reviewing several recent studies from American Indian perspectives, Julie Davis concludes that the "schools embodied both victimization and agency for Native people, and they served as sites of both cultural loss and cultural persistence".[68] Given the cruelty and hardship students experienced, these narratives also tell a story of positive encounters that pushed them to flourish or parents' letters thanking school administrators for the opportunities given their children. The

64 Emery, see note 63, 24.
65 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 260.
66 Cf. Adams, Education, see note 7, 262–263.
67 Cf. Dawley, Indian Boarding School, see note 21, 292–298.
68 Julie Davis, American Indian Boarding School Experiences. Recent Studies from Native Perspectives, in: OAH Magazine of History, 15, 2, (2001) 20.

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continuum of experiences is partially due to the particular boarding schools attended, different periods of time, changing administration and increased funding. Regardless of early government policies of cultural genocide, especially for large groups like Navajo and Inuit, languages and traditions continue today.

The Meriam Report "The Problem of Indian Administration" (1928) outlined "inadequate nutrition, crowded dorms and classrooms, poor health treatment, student labor, poorly trained teachers, and excessive discipline". The report strongly advocated reforms including the integration of "indigenous traditions, beliefs, and knowledge" as well as residential schools for young children and the use of boarding schools only for older students.[69] After the "New Deal for Indians", many boarding schools incorporated Native cultural activities and indigenous arts into the curriculum. Under the leadership of Indian Commissioner John Collier, schools were reformed by establishing programmes to support specific tribal affiliation and pride in the students' native culture.[70] Collier was especially adamant about eliminating physical abuse and was known to file charges against teachers who violated this mandate.[71] By the 1950s, tribal communities gained the ability to embrace their sovereignty, which allowed for more control over education and child welfare.[72]

White society termed all indigenous groups they encountered in North America 'Indians'. An unintended consequence of boarding schools was "erasing student's tribal identities" and "helped bring about a larger *Indian* identity".[73] First indications from the Hampton Institute were "two pan-Indian movements of the Progressive era – the Society of American Indians and the Native American church".[74] Pan-Indian identity came to bridge those differences and brought together Navajo, Sioux, Inuit and other tribes and bands into a political force that eventually manifested itself as a political actor in the 1960s with the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz.

Recent news of unmarked graves on the grounds of residential schools in Canada has had a ripple effect in the US. Details of the boarding legacy has never been a part of the required US history taught in school and many Americans were shocked to learn of the history of children taken away from their parents and forced to attend residential schools run by religions institutions and the US government located hundreds of miles away from their communities. The news has also renewed the painful memories of indigenous communities still coping with the intra-generational trauma resulting from

69 Woolford, This Benevolent Experiment, see note 14, 80–81.

70 Cf. Davis, American Indian Boarding School, see note 68, 22.

71 Cf. Woolford, This Benevolent Experiment, see note 14, 188; Trennert, Corporal Punishment, see note 30.

72 Cf. Dawley, Indian Boarding School, see note 21, 282.

73 Adams, Education, see note 7, 166.

74 Lorraine Aheran, Narrative Paths of Native American Resistance. Tracing Agency and Commemoration in Journalism Tests in Easter North Carolina, 1872–1988, PhD Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 2016, 116.

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violence and abuse, and missing relatives who never returned after being forcible removed from their parents.[75] In an opinion piece published in the "Washington Post",[76] Secretary Haaland addressed her own family's experiences with boarding schools and argued for government promotion of tribal culture and mental health services. However, she maintained that healing cannot occur until Americans acknowledge the injustices of physical abuse, loss of relatives and cultural genocide. She announced several initiatives under the Biden administration to begin improving government and tribal relations. The American Rescue Plan of 2021 will invest resources in American Indians and Alaska Natives tribal communities[77] and the American Jobs Plan (ARP) will create well-paid jobs and promote environmental justice in tribal and rural communities.[78] ARP includes tribes with direct equal access to the Department of Treasury's State Small Business Credit Imitative Program to support tribal businesses. Additional investments in the Bureau of Indian Education were included in President Biden's fiscal year 2022 budget. Education initiatives include resources from early childhood education to college for Native students and teachers.[79]

These initiatives move the government closer to fulfilling previous treaty commitments, acknowledging and strengthening tribal sovereignty and beginning to recognise the injustices perpetuated by federally funded boarding schools for indigenous children. Secretary Haaland is working with the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS), which is dedicated to breaking the silence of past abuses and seeking the truth to move toward healing and justice for survivors and descendants.[80] The Coalition is advocating for a bill to establish a Truth and Healing

75 Kill the Indian, Save the Man. An Introduction to the History of Boarding Schools, The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, 3 August 2020, at: https://boardingschoolhealing.org/kill-the-indian-save-the-man-an-introduction-to-the-history-of-boarding-schools/; access: 30 March 2021.

76 Deb Haaland, My Grandparents Were Stolen from Their Families as Children. We Must Learn About this History, in: The Washington Post (online), 11 June 2021, at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/06/11/deb-haaland-indigenous-boarding-schools/; access: 30 March 2021.

77 Cf. Department of the Interior, The American Rescue Plan. How It Helps American Indian and Alaska Natives, US, at: https://www.bia.gov/service/american-rescue-plan-act/what-arp; access: 30 March 2021.

78 Cf. Department of the Interior, Interior Department Welcomes President Biden's American Jobs, DOI News, 1 April 2021, at: https://www.doi.gov/news/interior-department-welcomes-president-bidens-american-jobs-plan; access: 30 March 2021.

79 Cf. US Department of the Interior Indian Affairs, President Biden's Fiscal Year 2022 Budget Makes Significant Investments in Bureau of Indian Education, 29 May 2021, at: https://www.bia.gov/news/president-biden-s-fiscal-year-2022-budget-makes-significant-investments-bureau-indian-education#:~:text=WASHINGTON%20%2D%2D%20The%20Biden%2DHarris,college%2C%20an%20increase%20of%20%24110.6; access: 30 March 2021.

80 Cf. The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, Break the Silence, Begin the Healing. Working for Truth, Healing, and Justice for Boarding School Survivors and descendants, at: https://boardingschoolhealing.org/; access: 30 March 2021.

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Commission on US Indian Boarding Schools.[81] The Bill, H.R. 5444, has been introduced to the House of Representatives on 30 September 2021. If passed, records on the 367 or more known Indian boarding schools will be located and analysed, which will provide a full account of the history.[82]

The above changes in policy and recognition of the actual and cultural genocide waged on Native Americans has produced push back. Republicans refused to vote for the bill, and as of February 2023 it has not passed.[83] Many elements of the civil rights movements beginning in the 1950s and 1960s are being contested and overturned by a vigorous white Christian and nationalist movement that captured the Republican party during the Trump administration. The state where the authors live, Arizona, has the largest tribal population in the nation. In 2010 Arizona legislature passed HOUSE BILL 2281, which has been signed by the governor and found constitutional by a federal court. This law was aimed at Chicano studies programmes in Tucson public schools. Its effects go far beyond that. It prohibits any class that "advocates ethnic solidarity" and courses designed for "pupils of a particular ethnic groups" or "advocates ethnic solidarity".[84] Thus it makes it difficult to accurately teach the history of Native Americans in the US West, in this context the genocidal nature of schools like the Phoenix Indian School cannot be accurately taught because resistance would be seen as 'ethnic solidarity'.

Alongside prohibitions against ethnic studies courses, there is a national movement to ban books that make students 'uncomfortable' including the Atlantic slave trade, slavery, Jim Crow segregation, the 'Indian Wars' and the Indian Boarding System. The Arizona State University Library has assembled one list of literature and non-fiction books banned in Arizona because the content runs afoul of the national attack on Critical Race Theory and/or House Bill 2281.[85] Books by Sherman Alexie including "The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven" (1994) and his 2004 book "Ten Little Indians" are banned. So is a 1997 children's book of Native American Indians by Joseph Bruchac and his book "Rethinking Columbus. The Next 500 Years".[86] Overall

81 Cf. Coalition Urges Support for Bill Establishing a Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies in the U.S., September 30, 2021, at: https://boardingschoolhealing.org/coalition-urges-support-for-bill-establishing-a-truth-and-healing-commission-on-indian-boarding-school-policies-in-the-u-s/; access: 30 March 2021.

82 Cf. The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, The Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School policies in the U.S. Act (H.R.5444 and S.2907), at: https://boardingschoolhealing.org/truthcommission/; access: 30 March 2021.

83 Cf. https://www.indianz.com/News/2022/06/08/gaylord-news-boarding-school-bill-faces-republican-opposition/; access: 1 September 2022.

84 For the full text see https://legiscan.com/AZ/text/HB2281/id/2477969; access: 30 March 2021.

85 Cf. https://libguides.asu.edu/BannedBooks/EthnicStudies#s-lg-box-16431188; access: 1 September 2022.

86 Cf. http://www.jenbigheart.com/2010/07/native-american-literature.html; access: 1 September 2022; https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/update-native-american-authors-among-books-banned-in-tucson; access: 1 September 2022.

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the resurgent right wing in American politics seems determined to restore all the founding myths of cowboys and Indians, Christian civilising of the natives in a land mostly empty, and a school system lifting the Native inhabitants to the modern world.

In conclusion, the total institutions imposing Indian boarding schools on Native children was fraught with contradictions. On the one hand, the goal of individualisation was frustrated by uniforms, military marching and rigid schedules. Skills taught to young men were generally not needed on reservations and they were discriminated against in urban employment. The gendered roles taught to young men and women were heavy-handed and came at a time when white women were struggling to change or abandon those stereotypes. On the other hand, students learned skills included English language, a common identity as 'Indians' and political tools of resistance. As with many total institutions like prisons and mental institutions, the power visited upon the bodies was overwhelming. Tribes and bands were unable to protect their children from police and army raids that amounted to kidnapping and the students had little ability to resist. However, the main goal "to kill the Indian to save the man" had very limited success. Many tribes and reservations survived much more violent attempts including mass murder and ethnic cleansing from the Trail of Tears to the Navajo Long Walk. Yet in many cases their languages, beliefs and ways of life persisted. So, with the boarding schools, the goal to create institutions that would eliminate the Indian way of life failed. However, the Native struggle to maintain their culture is under attack once again and once again schools are at the centre of conflict.

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