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Native American Education

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Declaration:

I hereby declare that I worked on the thesis on my own and that I used only the sources mentioned in the bibliography.

I agree with this diploma thesis being deposited in the Library of the Faculty of Education at the Masaryk University and with its being made available for academic purposes.

In Brno, August 2007

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Introduction

Education could be considered one of the most important means of each society to pass on its knowledge, either onto young generation or just in general among all its people. Each society developed its own typical ways and ideas about what education is, what should it contain, and how should it be transmitted.

Throughout the centuries, the world's geopolitical events interconnected the continents, and societies from one continent have been influencing the societies on the other. Sometimes the direction is more one-way than two-way; however this might seem an inevitable human activity.

During the winter and spring months of 2006 I was visiting a friend in Vermont, USA. That was the time when I was deciding about the topic of the thesis I was obliged to write, and it was then when I found out about the Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, situated not too far from the place I was visiting. It was easy to find out that the Dartmouth College belongs amongst first institutions educating Native Americans; however I did not know much what that meant. This information certainly raised my curiosity about the topic and although I knew some history of the United States of America I had no idea about Native Americans in the relation to education. That is why I decided to write the thesis with such a topic, made arrangements to visit the place again in winter and spring months of 2007 and with hopes that the work would help not only me but also to other readers to understand what also is Native American education, herein is the present paper.

First of all, it is necessary to present who are Native Americans in the context of this thesis. It is acknowledged, that there were no people in the Americas before Columbus arrival known as *Indians*, however for the purposes of this thesis the term *Native American* as well as *American Indian*, *Indian* or *Native* will be used. The use of common terms will help to acknowledge the diversity among different tribes and individuals and exclude the necessity to specify each fact to a certain tribe or an individual.^{1,2}

¹ This would be fairly impossible as the resources do not contain such specific information anyway. But still the importance of not too a big generalizations will be taken into account by providing few examples.

² The author is also aware of stereotypes and negative connotations which are connected with the use of the compound *American Indian* or a single word *Indian* within the United States society and of the thin line which may make the difference in the real meaning, nevertheless it will never be used in such negative connotation, so it is not offensive to the members of American tribes. During the research for the

There are many Native tribes throughout the American continents and from the geographical point of view this thesis will consider North-American Indians, specifically Indians of the present United States of America. Currently, there are 562 indigenous entities in the United States. In census 2000, 4.3 million people which is 1.5 percent of the total United States population, reported that they were American Indian and Alaska Native. In the same census, seventy-two percent of 5 years and older individuals claimed they spoke only English at home, 18 percent claimed they spoke other language than English yet spoke English “very well,” and 10 percent stated they spoke other language than English which they spoke less than “very well.” Concerning the level of education at least seventy-one percent of American Indians achieved high school education, which is lower in comparison to 80 percent of the total population. Statistics from the census 2000 also provided data about how educational attainment of Native Americans varied by place of residence. (Ogunwolle 2006: 1, 7, 17)³

It is sure, that before 1492 none of the Native Americans spoke any English and did not know about education in the form Europeans were providing it, nevertheless the following thesis will provide information about the long way Native Americans went to learning English and attending educational institutions, this is not to say it was their best destiny, however the history cannot be changed but still we can learn from it not to make mistakes in the future again.

So who is an American Indian? Historically, Wilkins (2007: 28) says, the determination who was considered an Indian laid on the fact whether the person met certain criteria set by the tribal nation, such as social, cultural, linguistic, territorial, sociopsychological, or ceremonial. However, as the power of the federal government grown during the nineteenth century, the tribal power over the tribal identity was being replaced by legal and race-based definitions pronounced through laws, regulations, and court cases. (Wilkins 2007: 21, 28)

Today, the federal government uses ethnological data, including blood quantum which is in fact “the most important criteria used by the federal government and tribal governments to determine Indian status.” (Wilkins 2007: 28) According to Wilkins, the use of blood quantum causes many problems especially as “it is not the carrier

thesis it was observed that acknowledged authors use these words as well, and it is politically correct to use them even in spoken language. At least the experience from the Dartmouth College, the Department of Native American Studies supports this claim.

³ For detailed information see Appendixes 1, 2, 3.

of genetic material and cultural traits as was thought in the nineteenth century.” Moreover, there were over thirty “legal” definitions stated by various officials and organizations about who can be pronounced an Indian. Wilkins (2007: 30) groups the definitions into six categories: 1. blood quantum, with one-fourth being the most widely accepted fraction,⁴ 2. the membership of the individual in a federally recognized indigenous community, 3. the residence on or near the federal Indian reservation, 4. the descendancy up to a specified degree, 5. the self-identification or declaration that someone is Indian, and 6. the miscellaneous category with definitions which do not fit in the previous categories. Defining who is Indian is not simple because there are too many institutions and aspects involved, and even though it is tribal right to establish their own membership criteria, the federal government implemented regulations that decide who fit to receive a certificate about degree of Indian blood and thus is eligible to receive federal programs and services prepared for American Indians only, that include areas of education as well.

The paper deals mostly with the development of the education of Native Americans in various historical periods. The first chapter covers Native American education provided by Native Americans themselves within their tribes, and also brings few notions about colonizers’ view over the Native American lives and education. From the second chapter on, the thesis deals with the education provided by white people for Native Americans. It brings facts and backgrounds of what was happening during the years since the Europeans landed in America, concerning the education.

The second chapter thus deals with the education of Native Americans in the colonial period. It describes the central ideas, which were mainly related to Native Americans’ civilization and Christianization. The chapter also provides information about first educational institutions for Native Americans, such as praying towns or missionary schools and about colleges for Native Americans.

The third chapter describes the long period after the constitution of the United States of America till the 1960s, and provides the ideas of education connected with the assimilation philosophy of the United States society, which was reflected in the federal government policies of that era. The chapter also presents information about the boarding schools that were used for education of Indian children.

⁴ See Appendix 4 for the *Chart to Establish Degree of Indian Blood*.

The chapter number four covers the period of self-determination which started in the 1960s. It was the time of changes connected with indigenous peoples' rights which obviously brought transformations to Native American education as well, precisely the allowance of culturally relevant curriculum and the use of Native languages in the community schools. The self-determination period also brought space for higher education of Native Americans, not only in the originally white people colleges, but also in newly founded tribally controlled colleges. A novelty was the establishment of Native American Studies programs at various universities during this era.

The chapter number five then introduces the Dartmouth College as an institution with a long history of Native American education, however the chapter is oriented at the present day. It brings an insight to the ideas of the Native American students at the Dartmouth College who were helpful with conducting a survey about the specifics of publicly and tribally controlled education.

For the purposes of the thesis the method of the secondary sources analysis was used together with the primary sources analysis of the structured questionnaires which were completed by Native American university students.

1. Pre-Colonial Period

Native Americans, at the time before the Europeans landed in America in the 15th century, were people who most likely did not know about the continent east, across Atlantic ocean, whose inhabitants changed lives of Native Americans ever since the first vessel landed in America. Salisbury (2001: 13) points out that no matter how much Native American history is starting to be implemented in thinking of archaeologists, linguists, and students of Native Americans, the historians in textbooks and scholarly titles still represent the beginning of American history from the arrival of European explorers and colonizers. However, the history of Native Americans goes far beyond that into the past.

There were hundreds of North-American Indian tribes living throughout the whole North American continent. They differed by languages, economies, political systems, philosophies, beliefs, religious ceremonies, ways of obtaining their food⁵, cultures, and ways of educating their children. The tribes were not living isolated but interacted with each other through exchanges. These exchanges consisted not only of material goods exchanges but included also cross community interactions of marriage, resources, labor, ideas, techniques, and religious as well as education practices. Salisbury (2001: 18) speaks about formalized and centralized exchange networks as of an important part of American history. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc (2006: 5) explain Native Americans willingness to learn because they were realizing how much this expanded “their ways of knowing.”

The knowledge we have about Native Americans’ lives and lifestyles from the pre-colonial period follows long histories of each tribe. Nevertheless, much more importance was laid on the knowledge and perception that came from the memories of the first European encounters. Based on their European perspective, Carney (1999: 18) summarizes, the colonizers saw a lack of means of education among Native Americans.

However, Szasz (1988: 9) points out that Pettit, who dealt with upraising of Native American children in his study⁶, recognized many attributes of raising Indian

⁵ Hunters, fishermen or farmers.

⁶ If interested for more information look in Pettit, G., A. *Primitive Education in North America*. (Berkeley, 1946).

children in their communities which were often and for long overlooked by Euro-Americans. He discovered some common practices used by native groups, which were mainly based on a holistic approach of that certain community for rearing its youth. These practices were often well tested during the generations and the methods were to encourage the growth of mature members of society. The knowledge American Indians had and shared was important for their survival. (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 5)

Native American children were surrounded by many different caring people in the group; by the closest members of the family, who were providing the basic guidance, but also by other members of the extended family such as grandparents, maternal uncles and paternal aunts, and cousins, who were equally important. Another important part in child-raising were “clan or lineage groupings, by secret societies, by societal leaders and, finally, by the entire community” (Szasz 1988: 11). Thus there were many people if not everybody from the group involved in child's life. Carney (1999: 18) concludes that the education of the Indians was “primarily conducted by the family unit, the extended family, or tribal elders.”

Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc (2006: 5 - 6) divide the structure of education in more specific way. Families and clans were the first teachers of Native children. Fathers, grandfathers, and uncles taught boys practical things of tracking, hunting, and cleaning the game animals. Mothers, grandmothers, and aunts taught girls agricultural practices of tilling the soil and producing varieties of foods. Elders then taught children to gather medicinal and food plants, and adults taught them how to prepare plants and animals for food and medicine, how to built houses, and how to pray, sing, and dance. They also taught them the mysteries of the stars and the solar system, creating calendars, special days and times for ceremonies, and rituals. Lomawaima (2002: 425) points out that Native education demanded practical and active learners who were willing to “experiment, practice, and eventually display mastery of skills or knowledge.” Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc (2006: 5) go even further and name subjects that were taught through the oral tradition and practical instruction. Among the subjects were: literature, religion, biology, botany, pharmaceuticals, geology, geography, cartography, dance, art, architecture, astronomy, agriculture, music, material culture, mathematics, marine biology, and hydrology.

Although it seems that the institutional form of education as it is known from the European perspective was missing, the indigenous education of Native American children had its patterns and rules. Lomawaima and McCarty (2006: 28 - 31) show the tribally⁷ specific patterns that present an evidence of the existence of an organized system. The system patterns, supplemented by some examples, are following:

1. Education for strength – such education meant achieving “the needs of society and the individual” and the education “included leadership, protection, sustenance, learning, and physical well-being”. For example, “Navajo youngsters were taught to make themselves strong by running toward the dawn light or by rolling in the snow on early winter mornings.” (2006: 28 - 29)
2. Education according to gender – educational systems reflected social life parted by gender. Girls got instructions not only from their mothers, but also from their father’s sisters, and their maternal aunts. They were taught the ways of “how to behave toward one’s husband, how to rear children properly... and their tasks as a woman and mother.” (2006: 29)
3. Education according to age – for example Anishinabe tribe set 3 stages that structured their educational system: 1. from birth to the age of seven, the children learnt from women and elders at home; 2. then they were divided by gender and learnt life skills; 3. at the adult age they sought wisdom from those who taught them “subjects” they were supposed to master according to their position in society.
4. Education for leadership – the aim of this educational approach according to Anishinabe tribe was to develop individuals who would be chosen to lead and complete given projects in the community. The qualities required were resourcefulness and independence together with a strong sense of obligation towards one’s family and neighbors.
5. Education according to clan or rank – meant that each clan within the tribe possessed the knowledge or methodology of how to teach and train people in assigned areas of life they were responsible for. There was also a rule that

⁷ This should not be considered unified and same for all tribes but presents pieces of information that are true across Native communities. (Lomawaima, McCarty 2006: 28)

one clan will not trespass into the area of another clan. For example, among the Hopi tribe, Bear clan trained the village civil leadership in administrative skills, while Coyote clan trained storytellers. Lomawaima (2002: 425) adds that the knowledge was built in successive layers; some students were chosen for certain skills, some knowledge was transmitted only within selected groups, and the “higher” education was not always open to everyone.⁸

6. Survival as the ultimate test – even though the indigenous education did not have any specific tests known from formal education, the test in informal education was whether the people survive or not. The educational goals and consequences for the failure were profound. The example from Navajo tribe helps to understand this concept: father-in-law had to know that he could depend on a strong young man to look after the farm when he was away, and then the young man was in charge of things because there would not be anybody for him to depend on.

In addition to the educational patterns Szasz (1988: 11) shows what was expected from a youth before he or she could be accepted as a mature member of society. It was required that he or she would achieve or master certain skills, among which are the following areas: economic skills, knowledge of cultural heritage, and spiritual awareness. The traditional training of native children thus consisted of three basic courses: “survival”, “religion,” and “ethics” which all were indeed interconnected.

The economic skills included the knowledge or abilities to physically survive. Native Americans were living in the connection with nature, which they depended on, and understood that it is necessary to live in harmony with it in order to survive (Reyhner and Eder 2004: 14). It is known that Indians were admired by English colonists for their “ability to support themselves from the land” and for the knowledge of “medicinal herbs” (Szasz 1988: 50). The ecological boundaries and available resources set the base for the important skills. For example, sedentary horticulturalist Indians living in areas of the southwestern deserts, who depended on their produce, had different priorities in skills taught to their children – year cycles, preserving the seeds for the next year, water conservation. On the contrary, the hunters and gatherers taught their children drawing the bow and shooting or making fishing hooks out of the fish

⁸ For example, the knowledge meant for adults would not be permitted for youngsters.

bones. Many seasonal activities connected with their survival were projected in the cultural ceremonies. The ceremonial leaders were recognized with having the supernatural powers (Szasz 1988: 12). These were based on their knowledge of the seasonal changes and ability to predict what is happening as certain natural events have tendency to repeat.

The cultural heritage was passed on by storytelling, the strongest means of providing communicating the culture to the children. The colonists were amazed by the vast memory capacities the Indians had. They were using the brain for keeping the stories and colonizers compared Indians' abilities with those of their own, which seemed fairly weak then, as they needed means of writing to keep the same quantity of stories. To illustrate the concept of memory "training", the story of Andrew George⁹ is showed. He recalled how his parents and grandparents gathered the children during the cold winter months together to learn. He remembered that the elder had repeated the story many times and then asked a child to repeat it. The teachers expected students to retell the story exactly and if the student got the story wrong, he or she was corrected and asked to repeat it all again. It was the elders' responsibility to transmit the culture to the young generation. The cultural ideals and moral instructions were hidden in the stories for the youth as well as inspirational stories about their ancestors. All that was supposed to help the young children to develop courage, generosity, and kindness. The stories also often covered ethical guidelines, which were showing the right paths to take, and hidden moral instructions. Szasz adumbrates this on James Sewid¹⁰ memories who loved the winter evenings storytelling and considered them a means of cumulative experience which was repeated every winter. She also explains that the children, who showed enough potential to become future storytellers, medicine men, or ritual leaders, like shamans or priests, by good memory and a strong interest, were taught their whole life and become important elements of each group. (Szasz 1988: 12 - 14; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 6)

Nevertheless, the spiritual awareness was not only for the chosen ones. Other children were also led to reach the knowledge of their culture which was considered a sign of maturity next to knowing how to cultivate maize or process the animals' skins. Most of the groups saw the origin of the world in the creative force which was within all

⁹ Palouse Indian and spiritual leader.

¹⁰ A member of Kwakiutl tribe.

things on earth. Szasz (1988: 15) claims that they did not make differences between “the spiritual and the material, the natural and the supernatural, or the human and the animal.” This brought them to the high coordination or connection with all natural processes influencing their lives, and to the compassion with anything that came into their lives.

Discovering of the spiritual awareness began early for the young people in the group through the attitudes of the family and older members of the tribe, and through the rituals and ceremonies. The peak in the discovering was around the time of puberty. For native people, puberty was a sharp line between childhood and adulthood, and it was connected with the ability to act in an adult manner. The Clackamas Chinook tribe, for example, expected the youth to become “so courageous, skillful, resourceful, and industrious that if necessary he could support himself and live alone.” Rituals were connected to the transition to the adulthood. Different tribes had different ways of preparing for them. The transition could include several days or weeks experiences, or even several years of preparing for the final steps. The preparation for the guardian spirit quest took several years before the event itself and consisted of fasting experiences, cold morning baths, or food taboos. The physical discomfort was a part of maturing and the goal was to harden oneself and overcome physical discomfort in order to obtain a guardian spirit, which would aid and guide the youth for the rest of his or her life.¹¹ (Szasz 1988: 16)

The methods and means to support successful passing on of the education used by Native American family and community should be shown. The two main means were discipline and incentive. Szasz (1988: 17 - 24) points out the oppositeness of these two but explains how they worked in harmony toward the same goal. She also offers notes about the observations of the early colonizers whose European cultural context brought a norm that included corporal punishment; therefore, it was hard for them to understand that many Native groups did not use it. However, the conclusion that there was no physical punishment was not right because it was used within the north-western tribes¹² (Szasz 1988: 180) who the colonizers did not know about yet due to the lack of discoveries of the western parts of the continent at that time.

¹¹ The guardian spirit would come either in the form of an animal or in some other living creature.

¹² The Klallam, the Sanpoil, the Nespelem, and the Chickasaw tribes.

In general, the reason for less usage of the corporal punishment by many tribes was the fact that the ability to endure pain was part of the child's rearing and eventually a sign of maturity. Instead of the physical pain, native cultures used other forms of controlling child's behavior. A favored way to discipline the child was a ridicule, often executed by the members of the whole community in the oral way, so it would become a story and everybody would repeat it and embarrass the "offender" so he or she would remember not to behave in the wrong way again. Another means of the control was, in some cases, the use of the supernatural. During the ceremonies the masked men played on child's imagination and emotion which was to punish them for the bad behavior. Szasz (1988: 21) calls these actions the negative ways of controlling the children, though meant for a good. Native Americans had also positive ways, incentives, how to encourage children to gain their economic, cultural, and spiritual maturity. These included rewards, praises, and privileges for achieving culture pattern ideals. For example, a feast in honor of the boy who hunted a deer for the first time, or excuse from some chores, like carrying water, gathering wood, or maintaining of the fire for the boy who proved to be a warrior.

Yet another way of children's education was simply play. It could be either a general child's play like wrestling, foot races, hoop games, ball games or swimming, or a play which would imitate adult life. Playful preparing for the adult life could range from boys going hunting or to the war to girls pitching tipis and taking care of the camp. (Szasz 1988: 23; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 14 - 15)

In order to understand Native American ways of lives and their explanation about the world, which were projected in their education practices, the moral and intellectual bases that guide human beings are shown. Lomawaima and McCarty (2006: 23) summarize the foundations of indigenous knowledge as follows: they observe surroundings, including environment, climate, celestial bodies, other living beings, and other human beings; they organize knowledge of the past; they explain what we see and who we are; they cope with circumstances through adaptive strategies, both "tried and true" or new and innovative; and they plan for the future. This demonstrates firm bases of holistic "philosophy" imprinted in Native American thinking.

Previous paragraphs showed that Native American way of raising children was interconnected with their education. All the resources describe the ways of raising children but do not necessary call it education. Yet another interesting thought is worth

mentioning, the educational methods as we know them today and as they are organized in different methodological approaches would have to be induced from the Native American ways of education; however, there should be no doubt that these would not be found. It is clear that the system of the education in the European way was missing but there were another ways used to achieve the needs of the Native American societies. It was showed that survival was the most important thing for Native Americans and everything led to it, simply, it was the way of their lifestyle, no matter how strange it seemed to the colonizers. Nevertheless, the power the colonists came with to the North America overwhelmed everyday lifestyles of Native people and started the process of colonization.

2. Colonial Period

The term colonial period in this chapter will be approached as the time from the landing of the first Europeans in the North America in the fifteenth century to the times of the American Revolution in the 1770s. Authors on Native American education use this term to historically distinguish important periods in the history of education of the United States of America. (cp. Szasz 1988; Carney 1999) Some authors talk about the time of *colonial missionaries* (Reyhner and Eder 2004) but still acknowledge the terms of colonization. A book about tribal colleges (Oppelt 1990) uses words like *missionary period* in the parts talking about this period. In this era the colonizers from Spain, Great Britain, and France entered the world of the American Indians and changed it with the consequences into these days.

It is necessary to add that some authors, e.g. Lomawaima (1999), lead a debate about the colonial education and its impact on present-day Native American education and on the stereotypes about American Indians. In fact, she uses the words *colonial education* for expressing the time not only connected with the colonization era but she broadens it up to nowadays. Lomawaima also distinguishes between the education of American Indian children by their parents, extended families, and communities, and the education of American Indian children and adults by colonial authorities, especially European-American and American institutions.¹³ The second is the majority involved in the education of Native Americans today. She claims that the goals of the colonial education of American Indian were to “transform Indian people and societies and to eradicate Indian self-government, self-determination, and self-education.” (Lomawaima 1999: 5)

There is no doubt that the terms *colonial period* or *missionary period* are interconnected and almost synonymous, as Christian missions were nearly the key part of colonization. It should be also mentioned that from the broader perspective the consequences of the colonization never ended only changed or legalized its sources of power and influence present day events, not only in the United States but in any other “discovered” world.

This chapter deals with the development of Native American education by non-Native people during the colonial period. Colonizers from Great Britain and their

¹³ This thesis covers the first in the first chapter and the second in the rest of the paper.

influence will be taken into account mainly, even though it is recognized that influence of Spain and France was significant as well, not only on or through the education but also due to the wars between European colonizing countries over the land and power, and between them and Native Americans for the same reasons. The English puritans and Spanish Jesuits were the most influential and involved in the education of the American Indians.

2.1 Savageness, Civilization, Christianization

After their arrival, the European colonists were encountering many differences when meeting with the Native Americans in the North American continent. First, it was their physical appearance, which, for the first sight, differed by the lack of clothing, showing their tall bodies and darker skin, use of different kinds of jewelry, hairstyles, and weapons with the clear lack of technology use. Second to recognize as the difference was the language, something the Europeans had never heard before. These bases, together with the different living environments, culture, and religions, led Europeans to perceive the Indians as savages. The obvious reasons supporting this label were observations on native social and political structure and culture. Since the Native Americans did not use writing, the lack of written laws or religious books were assuring Europeans about their primitiveness and unsophistication, next to leading wars for survival and not for different political ideologies. (Carney 1999: 16) The idea of savages was also maintained by scarce encounter with civilized communities which, according to the European view, were supposed to be clustered around an urban center. However, the Indians were living in what Europeans called savage communities, consisting of “nomadic roamers rather than landowners” which Lomawaima says led to stereotyping “all American Indians as nomadic wanderers.” (Lomawaima 1999: 8)¹⁴

There were also quasi-scientific attempts to make a scale which would tell the level of savageness of the natives. Pierre d'Avity formulated five degrees of brutality: 1. the non-use of reason; 2. the reliance on hunting/gathering like animals instead of agriculture, including information about diet and food preparation (eating on the ground); 3. the lack of morality, and the presence of nudity; 4. the types of habitation used; and 5. the lack of recognizable government structures. There could be added much

¹⁴ Again this assumption was based on the lack of knowledge of the geography and ethnography of the continent where other Indian tribes did not necessary live in a nomadic way.

more to support and prove the theory of savageness, like dirtiness, cruelty, cannibalism, lack of sexual morale, morality, and monogamous marriage, or the lack of work ethic or private property. All these were offenses against the European views dictated by the ethical codes or religious norms. (Carney 1999: 16 - 17) However, there is no doubt that they occurred in the European culture as well, such as the cruelty of inquisition or the lack of sexual morality.

The change of these savages became part of the Europeans' goals in North America, in accordance with the European view and culture, through civilization and Christianization. These two combined in the view of Bartolome de Las Casas (Carney 1999: 17) who believed that mankind is one and no one is born enlightened, so the Indians just needed to be civilized, and the way to do so was to bring them religion and education. This was a typical opinion from the colonial era. Szasz (1988: 53) says that to see that "Christianization and civilization (or civility) were mutually interdependent" was typical for the early Stuart England and these two concepts were applied on the Indians in North America through education. This explanation provides more understanding to the approach and actions taken by the colonizers.

Lomawaima (1999: 6) confirms Szasz's finding in her research and adds that "full status in one category required full status in the other." Therefore, if the Indians were to be civilized they ultimately had to be Christianized. Lomawaima (1999: 7) then states that the European colonizers' approach was based on the fear of things that are unknown, of barbarians who lived in the wilderness and that these fears lead back to Greek philosophy. She supports this argument with the examples of Spanish expulsion of Moors or Jews. She also gives explanations based on the Europeans' beliefs in doing things because they are orders of God, without any hesitation or consideration of "the possibility that the supremacy of Christianity might be an artificial or man-made idea." The civilization-Christianization approach was taken as a "natural truth" and became an excuse for the "natural" dominion of the Christian God over the Americas and their first nation inhabitants.¹⁵

¹⁵ Lomawaima (1999: 3 - 4) carries out a profound discussion about the natural or better to say unnatural history or true. She points out that natural history is a "study of natural objects and organisms" and these are "produced by nature and are not artificial or man-made." She says that the study of American Indians is often subsumed under the topic of natural history where it obviously does not belong to. Then she illustrates this on the case of museums, where American Indians were part of natural history section as if they were non-human subjects without having deserved to be included in museums devoted to American, i. e. non-Native, history, culture, and civilization. She concludes with stressing that "the racist

Oppelt (1990: 1) points out that Christianization was combined with saving the souls of the indigenous people, and reading and writing were necessary skills for Indians to become civilized people, next to teaching them European behavior and wearing dresses.

Besides, or maybe together with the changes of the core of the Indians' lives, there were other interests such as material exploitation and demanding new lands. The belief that Europe had the "right" to use the new world came, as Carney (1999: 17) suggests, from the debate over Aristotle's doctrine of natural slavery. According to this argument, some men are meant to be slaves with no rights for the property. Therefore, whoever would explain the strangeness or existence of the Indians in this sense, and put them into the box of being that type of mankind, could easily justify actions toward claiming the land.

Even though there were rare and still weak voices trying to state the cultural differences itself, be it either Spanish theologian Francisco de Victoria, who is a founder of the international law and who argued that Indians must be treated as owners of the land and must not be disturbed in their possessions, or Hugo Grotius, Dutch jurist, who did not advocate the application of ancient Roman jurisdiction practice over the land just because it was occupied by people whose government was different from Rome's, the European explorers stayed with the mass and with the concept of their superiority over the Indians and pushed them from the land. (Carney 1999: 18)¹⁶

This is a presentation of the ethnocentric approach. The differences between Europeans and Natives were so immense that from the point of view of those, who arrived, who discovered, who "knew" it seemed that there must be something done about these savages. This approach might seem as one quite specifically belonging to humans' nature, filled with the constant trying to change things and adjust them overwhelmingly to oneself opinions and views, of course with the help of power.

The differences noticed about Native Americans were not only physical as it was mentioned earlier but in thinking of Native Indians as well. This probably led

implications of the "unnatural history" of Indians extended beyond their exclusion from human history" and warns about the use of the terms without a through critical thinking.

¹⁶ Hugo Grotius also made a comment that if Indians had been able to reach Spain in a canoe and "discover" it, by no means would that justify Indian sovereignty over Spain. (Carney 1999: 18)

Europeans to think of Indians as of somebody who needs help.¹⁷ For example, as the trade and exchanges were so natural for Indians, after the encounter with the Europeans, they started to exchange with them as well. They were mainly trading furs for goods of metal and glass. Nevertheless, they did not use these objects, like copper pots or iron axe heads, for their original, utilitarian purposes, but carried them around, as they regarded them sources of physical and spiritual wellbeing on earth and afterlife as Europeans were viewed as supernatural figures and Indians just interacted with them and their materials in the way which was consistent with their own customs and beliefs. (Salisbury 2001: 24)

Hardly anybody was realizing that it was an encounter of two different, independent cultures, both of which developed under different conditions, both social and ecological, and one of them, the European one, believed and had the power to become superior to the other.

2.2 Beginnings of educational institutions for Native Americans

To give an idea about the education of Native Americans by the colonizers, the foundation of their approach should be demonstrated. In the fifteenth century Europe the education was conducted primarily in the home environment and with a special concern on vocational training and apprenticeship. Formal education was reserved mainly for the families who could afford to send their sons¹⁸ to study. There were only few families of this kind. In the first colonies, tutors were hired to work with the colonizers' children and also colleges started to be slowly established. Yet, only affluent families could send their young men to study, instead to send them back to Europe. According to Klug and Whitfield (2003: 30), among factors that accounted for the colonizers' view of education were: direct and indirect church control of education, the Renaissance and its emphasis on the development of the individual, and access to the books and their acceptance as learning materials; also the Scientific Revolution and its new ways of conceptualizing the universe, and the two movements of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic counter-Reformation played a role. (Klug and Whitfield 2003: 29 - 30)

¹⁷ And it is known that Europeans were fondly introducing their own culture and beliefs elsewhere in the world.

¹⁸ Education for girls was not an option yet. (Klug and Whitfield 2003: 29)

The education of Native Americans and its directions depended on the colonizing country and its religious background. Christian denominations brought their own ways of educational endeavors, e. g. Spain brought Roman Catholic Church missions, French established Jesuit patterns of assimilating Native American children into the Catholic faith, and English brought their protestant approaches. (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 7)

2.2.1 Catholic approach

The Spanish, as they were more active in the earliest days of contacts with the Indians, were more active in the efforts of establishing educational institutions for the Natives, and it was the Jesuits who operated most of the Indian schools in the Spanish Colonies. (Oppelt 1990: 1)

The effort was mostly aimed at taking Indians away from their original culture and also from the contact with other Europeans, and placing them into friaries around churches. The reason for that was materialistic exploitative approach of many colonizers toward Native Americans who liked to use them for work in the mines and fields, and thus the higher goals connected with the ideals of the rulers in Europe about Indians' civilization often vanished. Lomawaima says that in places like the South-Western parts of today United States of America, which was home for Native Americans with the sedentary lifestyles, the Spanish colonizers' main goal was to impose the control, especially by bringing Spanish religious and political institutions into their villages. This is an example of how Spanish colonizers managed to adjust to whatever needed to be done to overcome Native Americans' and be able to be in charge of their lives. (Lomawaima 1999: 9 - 10)

The first schools for the American Indians were open in and around the future Mexico City in the 1520s. The most outstanding was Santa Cruz del Tlaltelolco¹⁹ which was an Aztec-oriented university founded in 1536. Subjects which belonged to the bases of the European education such as Latin, Christian theology, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and music, together with the native medicine knowledge, Aztec culture and languages were taught there. It was a school where students were Indians as well as children of Spaniards. The Indian students become quite successful in studying Spanish language

¹⁹ Carney (1999: 20) considers this college to be one of the first tribally controlled.

and this success started to be threatening for the Spanish colonizers. First, the Spaniards felt that Indians with the Spanish language knowledge could infiltrate into the social stratification system, and assumed Spanish superior and Indian inferior position could change. The second problem was that Indians started to be able to lead discussions about fine points of Christian doctrine. (Carney 1999: 19 - 20; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 18)

The example of the Santa Cruz del Tlaltelolco school showed Native Americans' ability to study and learn in European manner but it was probably too early for the Spanish educators to recognize them as humans. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century the school was teaching only elementary subjects probably because the society was not able to bear successes of the Native Americans. (Carney 1999: 19 – 20)

A school that started a precedent of taking students from their families, communities and traditions was founded in 1568 in Havana, Cuba. The Indians from Florida were brought to this Catholic school ran by Jesuits. The practice of taking students from their homes is considered the beginning of this approach which was kept in the education of Native Americans for a long time. Carney (1999: 20) says that that was a “mean of facilitating their acculturation into white society.”

2.2.2 Protestant approach

Protestant missionary activities started early after the Protestants settled in the area of New England in 1606. Szasz (1988: 102 - 103) claims that there were two ways of securing the conversion and education of the Native Americans.

One way was asking for the financial help in England for establishing schools in New England, and the other way was effort of individuals working directly with the Indians, but which usually turned for the help in England as well.

The paper does not deal with the details about the sponsors of the schools and educational activities, however it should be recognized that without the financial help and support of these organizations any educational efforts would not happened. The sponsors were concrete organizations, individuals, English government, public, charity collections, either in England or in New England in America. The help was also coming from the New England Company which was founded in 1649 and served as a major source of funds for missionaries, and provided a political and financial framework for

Indian education in the seventeenth century New England. (Szasz 1988: 104)

Lomawaima (1999: 10) notes that English Protestants did not put as much effort into missionary endeavors as the Catholic nations but instead more work was done by devoted individuals. Before more institutional education of Native Americans started, the work of individuals included accepting Indian children in English homes, so they could learn the white way of life and through this informal method were brought to conversion and civility. The children were mostly helping with the home chores, learned English, and about Christianity. There were also efforts to bring Indian children to English homes in England. (Lomawaima 1999: 10 - 11)

Among the individuals who made a huge impact on Native American Education was John Eliot.²⁰ Between the years 1651 - 1674, he founded fourteen villages called “praying towns.” In each village he established a school with Indian teachers. Eliot himself was learning the Massachusetts language so he could bring the word of God to the local Indians and he managed to publish an Indian Bible in the Massachusetts language. The Indian students were studying English language and among other areas of education were practical things, such as crafts, arts, agriculture, and domestic skills, next to Christian ethics, letters, Latin, and Greek. (Carney 1999: 21) His plan was to educate students who would become teachers for other future students. (Szasz 1988: 111)

The attitude of some Indians towards the praying towns was fairly positive. One of the reasons for them being willing to go there was the fact that they were harmed by the wars and diseases. Oppelt (1990: 1) comments that Eliot concentrated his efforts on those Indians whose culture had been weakened by dependence on the colonizers and avoided the stronger, independent groups. Contrary to that, these same Indians became ostracized by other Indian societies that saw them as trying to give up their own culture for the one of the white people. And it is necessary to point out that their position in white people society and education was not easy either as it was not possible for them to become fully assimilated into the white culture. (Szasz 1988; Carney 1999)

The system of praying towns was working until the end of the 1700s when they all disappeared. Lomawaima (1999: 11) says that Indians from the praying towns did

²⁰ An English graduate of Cambridge University, who was very keen on bringing Puritanism to the Indians of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. (Carney 1999: 20)

not get much attention and appreciation after they helped English colonists to fight²¹ other Native Americans. Praying towns were therefore left to their own fate which eventually led to their end. (Lomawaima 1999: 11)

Oppelt (1990: 2) highlights that “Eliot’s efforts to Christianize and civilize the local Indians must be judged a failure.” He points out well-meaning of Eliot’s activities which nonetheless ended with a failure in efforts to convert and school the Indians. In fact he set an ineffective precedent for forced acculturation and control of Indians by confining them to reservations, which were generally controlled by white communities.

The Catholic and Protestant approaches even though they differed in their strategies in converting and educating the Native Americans, played an important role in the future directions of Native American education. As it was mentioned above, they both shared the intention of directive organization and changes of Native Americans education, and they both brought two significant courses the education followed afterwards. Firstly, it was the intention of removing Indians from their communities; secondly, it was the intention to put them into one place where they could be educated.

The education provided in English homes and through more or less successful missionary activities and schools for children in Indian communities on the elementary level managed to deal mainly with reading and writing, however it did not prove to be as efficient as expected, concerning the spread of Christianity and civilization. (Szasz 1988: 125)

Nevertheless, there were few successes and those Indian students who accomplished the elementary level wished to continue in studying. (Szasz 1988) They seemed to believe and understand that the education is a key to their future in the world full of quick changes, as well as to the future of relations between white people and Indians. (Carney 1999: 38) This was an impulse for the beginning of the colleges where Native Americans could study even though the main focus of the Indian education was not on academics. (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 8)

²¹ The important event which influenced this period was King Philip’s War 1675 - 1676 which was the first longer lasting Indians’ expression of their disagreement with the colonists’ actions. (Lomawaima 1999: 11)

2.3 Colleges for Native Americans

Within the white society there was a growing interest in establishing colleges for the Native Americans in the colonies. (Szasz 1988: 57) However, Carney doubts the purity of this interest. It appeared to be easier to get support from England for opening of the college specialized in education of Native Americans than for white students. The reason was that England did not wish to support the colonizers' colonial efforts themselves. (Carney 1999: 37) Surely, supporting the change of the savages was considered to be something elevating and as early as 1609, Robert Gray stated that "it is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which makes them barbarous and uncivil" (Carney 1999: 22), and therefore the general idea was that if the education is provided Native Indians can live better, civilized lives.

First colleges were opened several decades after settling in New England. They had various supporters, circumstances, and fates during their existence. The rest of the chapter 2 will deal with the founding of several colleges in New England which had education of Native Americans in their founding charters.

2.3.1 Henrico

The history of the Henrico College is inherently connected with Pocahontas. Her visit to England with her husband and son played a significant role in the establishment of the college in New England as she was considered the symbol of possible changes towards Christianization and civilization of the Indians as well as the representation of the mixture of "savagism" and civilities. Her visit to England initiated collections of money through the Church of England supported by the king James I. Her presence served as the reminder of the noble work of Europeans which should deserve attention of English people in Europe. After her death even more attention was paid to the support and financial contribution to the Native American education and for the first Indian college. The Henrico College was established in 1619 after receiving a number of gifts, like books for the library, maps, or communion set, sent by private sources. Although the Henrico College was built to educate Indians only, there were also plans for enrollment of the Euro American students. (Szasz 1988: 59 - 62)

The leading officials of the College were trying to negotiate with the local Indian leaders about sending their children to the college, as there was not too much interest

among them. However, the officials' correct treatment gained them respect and friendship from some of the Native Americans. (Carney 1999: 24)

Nonetheless, the contradictions in attitudes and conditions of the whole situation could not be prevented. It is evident that the impact of a few active colonizers could have reached only certain number of Indians and though overall attitude of the Native Americans to the colonizers' efforts stayed quite negative. The animosity was shown in 1622 by the Indians' uprising when about 350 European settlers of the Virginia settlement were killed. (Carney 1999: 24) Szasz (1988: 62) says that such uprising was the vivid demonstration of the Natives' attitudes; they did not feel that adaptation to the foreign culture could be useful for them and so they concentrated on removing the source of anxiety - the settlers. Szasz also claims that the lack of formal schooling for Indians in Virginia during the seventeenth century can be attributed to the strength and cultural cohesiveness of indigenous society. The Indian uprising, as well as other Indian rebellions and Indian – white clashes during the seventeenth century changed the colonists' approach to the Native Americans and discouraged interests in Indian education. Carney (1999: 24) adds that the colony's policy concerning Indians became consequently focused on their extermination. After these experiences there was less interest in education even of the friendly Indians at the Henrico College which led to its closing in 1624.

2.3.2 Harvard

The endeavor of the English public in England was not diminished by the experience with the Henrico College. Plans for another college for the natives in New England were being discussed. (Carney 1999: 24) The Harvard College was founded in 1636 as the first institution of higher learning in the colonies. (Oppelt 1990: 2) The Indian College in Harvard was completed in 1656 with accommodation for twenty students. Even though the College was physically prepared for Indian students, it was not until 1660 when the first Native American student entered and for next forty years housed only four students total. The capacity was used by English students and the available facilities by the campus printing press. Therefore the destiny of the Indian College building was to be demolished in 1693.

In the colonial period, there were only 6 Indian students, including the four during the years 1660 - 1693. Unfortunately, similarly to many other Native Americans, the students at Harvard suffered from diseases brought by Europeans and five of the six students died during or early after finishing the school. After all there was only one Indian student who gained a degree from Harvard in the colonial period.²² (Carney 1999: 24 - 27)

2.3.3 William and Mary

The William and Mary College was founded in 1693. The purpose of the College was education of the colonists' children, education and conversion of Native Americans, and training of the ministers. The William and Mary College had more elaborated system of education for the Indians which consisted of two levels. One was a grammar school which was preparing Indian children for the college studies, and the second one was an Indian College itself. The Indian College was founded in 1700. According to Szasz (1988: 69), the statistics vary in stating the number of Indian students attending the college. Carney (1999: 27) reports that even though there were more students at the grammar school than at the college, for sure there were more Indian students than at any other institution of higher education in colonial America.

Most Native Americans were enrolling the College in the period of 1710 - 1722. That was happening due to the governor of Virginia who used his political power and formulated an Indian policy, which he hoped could improve Indian – white relations, and ordered each Indian community to send two of their children to the College. At the same time he hoped that this would ensure a peaceful treatment and good relationships with the Native Americans, as their children would be held as hostages, as well as a chance to spread Christianity to the Indian communities after the students would return. (Szasz 1988: 69)

This seems to have been quite a typical approach of the Europeans since the times of Eliot. Europeans knew that Native Americans were treasuring their children the

²² The first Indian student at Harvard was John Sassamon, who was sent there by John Eliot. He played an important role during King Philip war and was killed by King Philip for a suspicion that he had uncovered plans about the upcoming attack on the English. The one and only Indian student, who gained the degree from Harvard in the colonial period was Caleb Cheeshahteumuck. He was fluent in four languages - Latin, Greek, English, and his own language and was considered an accomplished scholar. Another Indian student was killed by other unfriendly Indians. (Carney 1999: 26)

most and keeping them in homes of white people or schools would secure that colonists would be treated well by the Indian communities.

Native American leaders were expressing their disagreement with the Europeans' practice of removing children from the influence of the tribal community. For instance, in 1744 Onondaga-Mengwe chief Conassatego met with the commissioners who were deciding about practicing these policies and politely expressed his thoughts about differences between the customs of white people and Indians. In his speech he thanked for the opportunities the Europeans tried to give them and believed he expressed well enough his intention of quitting the policy. However, the polite way of expressing did not induce the commissioners to withdraw the policy and still required the young Indians to join the schools. Again Conassatego responded in a manner of emphatic arguing of the irrelevance of white education to the Indians. He also suggested that the white people should send their children to live with Indian communities and learn to be men, learn to survive, which was considered the weakest point of all whites. (Szasz 1988: 76 - 77; Carney 1999: 30) This example shows the differences in the thinking of white people and Native Americans, who were used to suggest or imply a situation, however this way of thinking was foreign to the white people and caused lots of misunderstanding.

From 1722 to 1743, there were no Indian students at the College and after that only a few in the time before the Revolutionary war. During the colonial era, there were sixteen Indian students at the William and Mary College, none of whom finished with the baccalaureate degree. (Carney 1999: 28)

Nevertheless, the William and Mary College had one unique feature concerning the education of the Indians. There was a request for an adult Indian person, who would accompany the Indian students, so this person can speak with the young students in their native language since they were in the English speaking environment. This should be considered an impressive recognition of the needs of the students, especially when the other attempts to educate Native Americans were connected with denying or prohibition of the use of native languages as means of extinguishing rather than preserving their culture. (Carney 1999: 31)

Another effort concerning the preservation of the Native American culture was set by Thomas Jefferson, who suggested that the students should not only be instructed

and led to Christianity, but also encouraged “to collect their traditions, laws, customs, languages”, and also seek other links which would help them to find out more about their ancestors and other relations with nations. Carney says that if this had come truth, the William and Mary College would become the first chair of anthropology on Native American studies in an American college. (Carney 1999: 29)

2.3.4 Dartmouth

The Dartmouth College, which was founded in 1769, was the first college primarily founded and aimed for the education of American Indians. The founder was Eleazar Wheelock, a Puritan preacher and educator interested in saving Indian souls. The main objective of his activities was the Indian conversion to Christianity through education. (Oppelt 1990: 4)

The Dartmouth College was founded during the era called “great awakening.” The time was linked to two movements which were influencing colonizers’ thoughts and lives. One movement was oriented on reason and mind and could be called anthropocentric; the other movement was connected with heart and feelings and could be called theocentric approach. These two poles made the colonists reinterpret their thoughts about their own lives, be it the relationship to England or their understanding of the universe. The thoughts brought them a dynamic energy, which changed into the endeavor concerning their activities in their new home land, especially the incentive for the Indian schooling. (Carney 1999: 31; Szasz 1988: 191)

Before the Dartmouth College was established there was a Moor’s Charity School administered and founded by Wheelock in 1754. It was a boarding school for preparation of the Indian youth for the college studies. Almost ten years after its foundation Wheelock got an idea to start his own college of liberal arts which would prepare Native American missionaries and teachers, who would, after finishing their studies, go back to their communities and work on spreading the God’s word. (Szasz 1988: 200; Carney 1999: 32)

Funds for the college were expected to be gained from the citizens of New England. However, the attitude of the people was already unfriendly toward Native Americans, therefore Wheelock turned for the help to England. (Carney 1999: 32) Samson Occum, a Native American belonging to Mohican tribe, played an important

role in Wheelock's search for money. Occum turned to Christianity when he was sixteen years old and continued studying Bible and English, especially by visiting his English neighbors. As he recalled he was frustrated by the lack of systematic instructions or school institutions he could attend, and felt the need for a tutor who could help him to comprehend the knowledge he got from his self-studies. It was at that time, when Occum met with Wheelock, who was then one of the most popular preachers in New England. Occum became Wheelock's student, stayed with him for four years and later became a minister. (Szasz 1988: 199 - 200)

In 1743 Samson Occum started to preach on his own at the age of twenty and traveled to Indian communities. He was considered to be an excellent preacher with unique skills when addressing Indians. Wheelock was encouraged by Occum's success in his studies and life as a preacher, and became convinced that all Indian youth could achieve a level of education allowing them to become other instructors to Indian youth. Although Occum was considered to overcome the colonial stereotype of the Indianness, he lived in relative poverty, as it was not possible for him to apply his abilities within the white society. (Szasz 1988: 200)

Between the years 1766 – 1768, Occum agreed to travel to England to raise money for Wheelock's new college. Wheelock was happy that he could send the best student who worked as a great example of possibilities in educating Native Americans and as an example of experience with Indian education. The trip was a great success and brought enough money to start the college. (Carney 1999: 33)

Wheelock's method for educating the Native Americans was to bring talented Indian children to his Charity school. This separated them from the influence of their families and homes. Oppelt (1990: 5) says that in education Wheelock accomplished more than his predecessors, and his method of removing children from their homes proved more effective than trying to convert and civilize the whole village as in the way Eliot did. At the Charity school students learned writing and reading, and studied English, Greek and Latin as well as farming.

Although the Dartmouth College was meant for Indian students mainly and it was considered a successful institution, Wheelock started to be discouraged about the education of Indian students and the effectiveness of his Indian missionaries. He changed his ideas and became a supporter of educating the white students and preparing

them to do the missionary work among Indians. This affected the number of Indian students at the College. Occum was distressed about the lack of Indians admitted to the College, especially because it was him who had played an important role in establishing the College, and complained to Wheelock, who did not take much action to change that fact. Occum then decided to take action and talked to Scottish contributors and managed to start what was called a “Scottish fund,” which was closely administered and secured only for the use for the Indian students at the Dartmouth College. (Oppelt 1990: 5 - 6) Thus the education of Native Americans at Dartmouth College continued, however with low numbers of students: only three Indians graduated from Dartmouth in the eighteenth century, no more than seventy-one Indians attended between the years 1770 – 1865, and between 1865 – 1965 only twenty eight Indian students enrolled at Dartmouth. (Calloway 2002: 18)

The colleges introduced in this section and information about their activities and histories could be comprehended as following: the Henrico College adumbrates attitudes, difficulties and complications that arose from the meeting of the two different worlds. Harvard College, no matter how much fame it gains today, did not show much success in educating Native Americans, eventually closed the Indian College, and preferred the white students. On the contrary, the William and Mary College provided much more support to the Native American students, e. g. tried to preserve their languages and their traditional culture, which was suggested by Thomas Jefferson. The Dartmouth College could get the most credit for starting the education of Native Americans, especially for being founded with that purpose, although the education went through complications during its existence. However, it should be admitted that the processes of establishing and developing institutions and other organizations usually go through difficult times hopefully to finish in the ideal state.

There are several pieces of information that could help to understand other circumstances of the education of Native Americans in the colonial period. Firstly, not too many Native Americans attended the colonial colleges founded for the purpose of Native Americans education. Carney (Carney 1999: 38) concludes that the reason was the fact that only the elitist children could attend the college and money was a big difference maker. He also says that it was not only few Indians but also only few white students who managed to become students at the colleges.

Secondly, another important factor of the Native American education was Indian community resistance to white education. If the fact of their strong cultural heritage of ways of the tribal education is excluded, Reyhner and Eder (2004: 16) say that it was caused by the behavior of the white people. The problem was that the education was interconnected with Christianization and the Indians were confused when the “Christians”, including missionaries, did not practice what they preached and taught, especially concerning their personal relationships, which included cheating and sexual behavior.

Thirdly, there seemed to be a collision in the purposes of the education of Native Americans. The education on the lower or elementary level consisted of learning mainly English language, writing and reading as well as practical things such as taking care of the house or agricultural practices. The higher education at colleges included the same subjects plus other academic subjects such as Greek, Latin, mathematics, and logic.

The aims of the education also became an issue. Even though the colleges were meant for academic studies, they often included farming and practical skills of white people practices. The parents of Indian children criticized this. It is known that the parents of the students at the Dartmouth College sent letters to Wheelock complaining about too much time spent on the farm and too little on the academics. (Carney 1999: 32) It could be speculated that the expectations of the Native American parents, those who agreed with the education of their children by white people, were rather connected with the success of their children in the white society based on the academic higher education than on the practical education.

The education of the Native Americans was thus oriented according to the expectations of the white society. The expectations included Native Americans’ ability to be economically active and able to support themselves, which would actually require a higher education. However, the society still was not ready to accept Indians among themselves and let them step up to higher positions of leadership in society which would be based more on the academic education and thus the education was kept down to the practical subjects. The only exception was their education to Christianity so they could preach and teach among their tribes. (Carney 1999: 41) The work of few active white people who started the colleges thus might seem counterproductive with what the rest of the society, not involved in schooling, wanted. Maybe the scholars wanted to see Indians who could have jobs much more than “just” to see Christianized Indians.

It is also important to note that Christianity was so natural for the white people that they probably could not understand the time and effort that needs to be invested in changing one's thoughts and ideas about the world. Carney (1999: 42) says that the white society had a limited view of the value of education for the Indians beyond the conversion.

The above mentioned problems can be recognized in the association with the William and Mary College when the voices aware of the effectiveness of the Indian education rose. Some of them required increasing funds for the school, and as early as 1724, a former faculty member expressed the problem of spending more money on the education of Indians, but them returning to their people or living in the town but seldom trying to move to a higher level, or choosing an idle life or a job as servants. The criticism fell also on "no corresponding economic development within the Indian community, or effective integration into the white society and economy to provide an avenue for fulfillment of that education." (Carney 1999: 29)

The era of colonial period brought the recognition of the differences between Native American and European approaches to the education. It is hard to judge how much it was possible to use critical thinking and some kind of feedback for their solutions. There is no doubt that the problems were developing as there were more Europeans coming to the North America, and the disturbance of the Native Americans' original lifestyles was gradually increasing and causing more resistance.

3. Federal Period

This chapter deals with a period of time from the American Revolution and from the beginning of the United States of America in 1776 to the 1960s when the time of Indians self-determination period started.

The enthusiasm of the independence and new republican form of government shaped new ideas of the political philosophy of that time. The main ideas were connected with the republican and civic virtues which influenced beliefs of many American citizens, from politicians to ordinary settlers. The main aims were to introduce new beliefs to the citizens and other people – Native Americans - in the United States of America. The republican virtues were aimed at activities of the responsible people towards the government. The civic virtues meant cultivation of oneself towards civility, so the person is beneficial to the whole society. According to that time views, Native Americans were not fulfilling these virtues and thus education was an obvious way for them to become responsible people, yet not citizens of the United States. Education was thus a means of acculturation and assimilation. (Civic virtues 2007)

Throughout the whole federal period the Indian policies of the federal government were developing from removal, reservation, assimilation, self-rule, and termination, each of them influencing Native American education in certain way. The experience of Native people was not very positive as the policies were strongly connected with general idea of assimilation and thus quite oppressive and destructive to Native American nations.

3.1 Background of the Native American Education from the 18th through the mid-20th Century

The “Indian problem”, as the presence of Native Americans and dealing with them in the United States of America was being called, had its solutions. The main foundation for it laid in the idea of civilization, which was also the main propulsive for the United States Indian policies. It is clear that the some approaches and thoughts were brought and developed from the previous colonial period. According to Adams (1995:

12 - 15) the idea of civilization consisted of idea of progress, idea of social evolution, and idea of property.

The idea of progress contained “man’s progressive evolution toward civilized perfection.” This meant necessity and desire of the progression to reach civilization, especially Christian civilization, which was an expression of man’s noblest sentiments. For many Americans, Adam (1995: 13) says, it was simply an application of the natural laws, or a question of fulfilling the divine mission of the nation. Pearce (in Adams 1995: 13) says that for Jefferson and his contemporaries it was a three-dimensional affair of “progressing from past to present, from east to west, from lower to higher.” (Adams 1995: 12 - 13)

The idea of social evolution was explained on Lewis Henry Morgan’s work from 1877 about various stages of cultural evolution and factors that characterize each successive stage. Morgan set seven “ethical periods,” levels of developing existence of all the people in the world. The scale consists of lower savagery, middle savagery, upper savagery, lower barbarism, middle barbarism, upper barbarism, and civilization. Indian people were scaled, depending on particular tribe, between upper savagery and lower barbarism. According to Morgan every society would, based on the natural and universal law of social progress, eventually achieve the highest stage. The idea of property was also part of Morgan’s scheme and the development of the positive approach to the property and possession was considered a necessity for society’s social, economic, and political institutions’ development. (Adams 1995: 14)

According to another early federal period thinker, William Torey Harris (in Adams 1995: 15), the attributes of civilization included a commitment to the values of individualism, industry, and private property, acceptance of Christian doctrine and morality, including the “Christian ideal of the family,” the abandonment of loyalty to the tribal community for a higher identification with the state as an “independent citizen,” the willingness to become both producer and consumer of material goods, and acceptance of the idea that man’s conquest of nature constituted one of his noblest accomplishments. (Adams 1995: 15) Those were absolutely strange attitudes imposed on Native Americans, except for the values of individualism, which occurred within Native American societies in a different approach toward it.

According to the philanthropists the solution of the Indian problem laid also in the work within the areas of land, law, and education. Concerning the land, the Indians' attachment to the tribal institutions and systems was the biggest problem. The solution to this was supposed to be the allotment act.²³ Concerning the legal system there was a major interest to bring white man's law onto the tribes. The area of education meant that Indians must be taught the knowledge, values, mores, and habits of Christian society. The education was supposed to bring them republican virtues and democratic freedoms which would work as an instrument of social progress leading to their assimilation. The only hope for the Indians' change was education of their children, as the adults were not making any progress. The education was also supposed to accelerate the process of cultural evolution, as they could jump from the early stages of savagism right to civilization. And finally, the education was based on the economic grounds. This would bring several advantages: the government would be relieved from obligation to provide funding to Native Americans, schooling would prepare Indians for economic self-sufficiency, and last but not least argument for their education was the fact that it was less expensive to educate Indians than to kill them. The economic self-sufficiency would allow the Native Americans to become responsible for their own economic welfare and that is why some educators inculcated the industrial or "Protestant" work ethic onto the schools. The schools became the solution to an Indian problem, as they would give Indians the knowledge and skills that were necessary for their survival in the civilized world. (Adams 1995: 16 – 21; Grande 2004: 13 - 14)

3.2 The Development of Federal Government Policies and Native American Education till the 1960s

In general, the policies in the area of Indian affairs covered these topics: civilization and education of Indians, regulation of trade and commerce with tribes, establishment of territorial boundaries between Indians and white people, use of treaties to maintain peace with tribes and to purchase Indian lands, and the status of the states which did not have any constitutional authority in the field of Indian policy. (Wilkins 2007: 112) Native American education was thus a part of a federal policy. The

²³ Will be discussed later in the text.

following text will show the changes and development of the policies and their influence on the education of Indians.

The American Revolution brought radical changes in the relationship between the United States government²⁴ and Native Americans. They were especially expressed by the laws set by the government. The change was also in the status of Indians within the United States. Since the establishment of the United States of America, the tribes were recognized as sovereign units in the Constitution that may administer their own government and be renowned as a distinct political entity. Thus the United States used the same legal procedures as with foreign nations like negotiating and signing the treaties. However, the Supreme Court confirmed their sovereignty by acknowledging the tribes not a foreign nations but dependent nations within the United States. The dependent nations had fewer rights, for example the United States government could claim their land or regulate their trade with other countries.²⁵ The Supreme Court decision standardized the status of the tribes by saying that status of the tribes is on the same level with the United States but not with the individual states. Therefore, the implication of this decision was that the tribes or the United States government, but not the individual states, had the jurisdiction over the tribal lands. (Carney, 1999: 43 - 44; Prucha 1986: 21)

Several authors in several ways described the relationship between the United States and the tribes in their research. They use terms such as “trust relationship” or “parental relationship” which meant that the federal government had the responsibility to provide for the Indians in the most beneficiary way. The relationship also included duality pattern, which meant that the tribal sovereignty was complemented by their dependency on the federal government and its decisions. (Carney 1999: 45; Prucha 1985: 10-11; Senese 1991: 163 - 164) Obviously when such approach is used by the government, it is always and only up to its administration to interpret it in its own convenient way.

Before the main policies will be discussed, the treaty making policy should be mentioned. The period of treaties started in 1778 by the United States treaty with

²⁴ Means the federal government of the United States of America, which will be referred to as government further in the text.

²⁵ The fewer rights status was applied, for example at the end of the War of 1812 when the Congress limited direct trade rights between Indians and British. (Carney, 1999: 44)

Delaware Indians. The Committee on Indian Affairs²⁶ authorized employment of a priest, who would live among Delaware Indians and instruct them in the Christian religion, also employment of a teacher who would teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic, and of a blacksmith to teach them one of the industrial arts. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc (2006: 8) add that the education of Native Americans focused on Christian values and vocational education so that Indian people could be “useful” to the dominant society and achieve “civilization.” They conclude that the United States policy makers set Christianization and civilization through education as the foundation of Indian education.

The treaty period lasted till 1871. During this time there were 645 separate treaties, 120 of which contained educational provisions which were supposed to secure the rights to the tribe to choose educational program that would fit its needs. The provisions seemed to be accepted naturally without a hesitation as some American Indians began to associate their survival with access to Anglo education and some took it as a necessity. However, the educational obligations were among the easiest to betray and the federal government often failed in fulfilling the treaty conditions. This behavior added to the frequent resistance of the Native Americans to the white education. (Carney 1999: 53; Grande 2004: 29; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 41 – 42)

The federal government’s policies had a variable impact on tribes. Wilkins (2007: 110) explains that the variability comes from the different times, different individuals, and different purposes of the policies, and the results of the variations were different responses of indigenous nations. He says that this is the reason why Native America is not much “different in the year 2000 than it was in 1900, 1800, or 1700.” Wilkins also shows a timeline of major policies, table 3.1, but at the same time he denies strict line as some policies do not terminate at particular dates. For example, there were many Indian removals prior to the 1830 Indian Removal Act as well as many thousands of Indians were relocated after the official policy ceased in the 1840s.

²⁶ A government institution that managed and directed relationships with Indian tribes.

Table 3.1 Historical Development of the Federal-Tribal Relationship

Dates	Policy
1770s-1820s	International sovereign to international sovereign
1830s-1850s	Removal
1850s-1890s	Reservation
1870s-1930s	Assimilation
1930s-1950s	Indian self-rule
1950s-1960s	Termination (assimilation)
1960s-Present	Self-determination/self-governance

Source: Modified from David E. Wilkins, American Indian politics and the American political system (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 111.

Among the first policies that had an impact on Native American education was the civilization policy and the Indian Civilization Act from 1819. The education of Native Americans was done mostly through missionary groups, which were in charge of administrating the schools. The role of the federal government was to provide economic and political capital. The Act was accompanied with the Civilization Fund, which represented a source for the financial support of the educators. The fund provided \$ 10,000 a year for Native American education. Wright, Hirlinger, and England (1998: 8) say that the federal government decision meant forced assimilation, although it was called humanitarian action at the time of application of the policy. (Carney 1999: 52; Grande 2004: 12; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 43)

The activities of the scholars supported by the Civilization Fund increased the number of mission schools. Before the act there were fourteen schools with 508 students. The number of schools increased within five years from the beginning of the Act to twenty-one schools with 800 students and by 1834 to sixty schools with approximately 2000 Indian children. The schools were mostly boarding and day schools of the elementary level only with few secondary courses. However, the federal funding was not in many cases sufficient and had to be complemented by church money

collections and by Indian treaty money. Coleman (1993: 39) sums up that less than 10 percent came from the fund, mission societies raised some money, and the main portion came from the Indian annuities.²⁷ Yet, the funding continued until the end of the Act in 1873. The circumstances of the repeal of the Civilization fund were connected with the rivalry of different church denominations over the financial support, as their interest was to gain money and not to provide education they promised. The church schools under the support of the government conspired in the development of “manual labor schools.” These schools introduced the concept of forced labor, which became part of Indian education. Grande (2004: 13) says that the education transformed from “ostensibly “moral” project of civilizing Indians into a for-profit enterprise.”²⁸ (Grande 2004: 13; Oppelt 1990: 6)

The following influencing policy was the removal policy and the Indian Removal Act from 1830. In the 1830s and 1840s there were thousands of Indians moved from the east of the Mississippi to the west of the Mississippi into so-called “Indian Territory.”²⁹ One of the official reasons for the forced removal was to provide enough time and space to the process of acculturation, and to protect the Indians from the white people. Nevertheless, the reasons were closer to securing enough land for the white settlers. Oppelt (1990: 7) points out that the policy makers and political leaders did not foresee or perhaps ignored the fact of future “invasion” of more settlers and possible necessity for the further removal needs. (Carney 1999: 47 - 48; Lomawaima 2002: 427; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 48 - 51)

The removal policy hindered missionary efforts of education of the Indians during the 1830s and 1840s. The removal of so-called Five Civilized Tribes³⁰ will be shown as an example of its effects. Five Civilized Tribes gained its name through their approach to the education as they were keen on learning English language so the white people cannot cheat them but not so keen on Christianity as it lacked balance between man and nature. The tribes developed a school system based on the white educational model with schools; however the removal policy interrupted their efforts. Nevertheless, the work of acculturated tribal leaders and the missionary societies renewed educational work in the Indian Territory. The work of Protestant and Catholic missions also

²⁷ It seems like the Indians were being civilized according to the white ways and even had to pay for it.

²⁸ The churches were endowed with vast areas of land which Indian children plowed, maintained, and harvested on. Many dioceses yielded high profits from the “free” labor. (Grande 2004: 13)

²⁹ Today Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma states. (Lomawaima 2002: 427)

³⁰ Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, and Chickasaw tribes. (Oppelt 1990: 7)

continued elsewhere in the United States and established new educational “stations” among Indian tribes during the removal times. (Coleman 1993: 40 - 41; Oppelt 1990: 7)

The reservation policy followed in the wake of the removal policy in the mid-1850s. The reservation policy was reasoned by several facts: the discovery of gold in the 1830s, the new land acquisitions by the United States, and the construction of railroads across the continent, moreover, the government wanted to keep the Indians and white people apart. Policymakers imagined that reservations would become places where the Indians could be civilized, schooled, and trained as domestic or manual laborers, and thus most Americans imagined the Native Americans would become ready to be assimilated into the white society. Missions operated day schools not only on the reservations but established off-reservation boarding schools as well. The mission scholars were also behind the philosophy of using the curriculum leading to Christianization and civilization of Native American children, which lasted through the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century. In the 1860s the federal government aimed to surrender its responsibility for Indian welfare and tribes became almost totally dependent on religious groups and their agents, who were nominated, besides other things, to direct Indian educational activities. That is why Prucha (1986: 153) says that the policy could as well be called the religious policy. No matter how much genuine the aims of white people were the funding for schools, administrators, and teachers was not sufficient which had an adverse effect on outcomes and conditions in the schools. (Lomawaima 2002: 427; Prucha 1986: 153; Reyhner and Eder 1991: 36, 45; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 10 - 11; Wilkins 2007: 116)

The Peace Policy, which was part of a more commonly known assimilation policy, started in 1869 and brought yet another new look on Native American lives. The objectives of this policy included replacing of the traditional communal economics for a system of private property, intensified education, and regulation of every aspect of Indian social life, such as marriage, religious practice, or granting of citizenship. The Indian education slowly became a central component of managing the Indians affairs. In 1870 the federal government allocated \$ 100,000 to support already operating schools for Native Americans and in 1873 stepped in and took total control of the Indian education.³¹ Federal officials based their efforts on models established earlier, i. e.

³¹ The reasons for the federal government withdrawal of the mission activities in the Indian education were described earlier.

manual labor and earlier boarding schools, and defined their own system of Indian education. The federal government planners started establishing and staffing day schools on reservations³² where the Indian agents were in charge. The encouraged curriculum was of academic and vocational subjects, sometimes a carpenter, farmer or blacksmith was paid to offer courses, thus the students were leaving the school with some knowledge of English and some skills. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc (2006: 12) say that many American Indian parents preferred the day schools to boarding schools, although some saw the advantage of boarding schools, where children were provided with housing, food, and health care. They also point out that views and opinions of Native Americans concerning their own needs were very rarely considered by the federal officials. (Adams 1995: 28 - 29; Coleman 1993: 45; Grande 2004: 13; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 11, 233; Wilkins 2007: 116)

In the same year the direction of the educational policies changed again. The problem was that the day school model allowed too much of contact between Indian children and their families and communities, and thus did not carry expected results of deculturalization. The voices against the day schools used examples of the impossibility to teach English language, as the children returned home and spoke their native languages. Thus the obligatory use of English language and the elimination of Native languages became the key parts to assimilation and civilization. Although, there were some advantages to the day schools from the government point of view: it was relatively inexpensive to operate them, there was less opposition from Native parents, and finally, there was a possibility that the child would daily bring civilized ways to its parents, the results of these experiences did not appear to be an effective instrument of assimilation and led to favoring boarding schools over day schools, preferably of the off-reservation schools. (Adams 1995: 28 - 29; Coleman 1993: 45; Grande 2004: 13; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 11, 233; Wilkins 2007: 116)

The main focus of the education at the boarding schools was on the agricultural and vocational training, the academics taught were supposed to principally support the vocational education. The stress on the vocational education was encouraged by that time theories about racial predisposition of the Indians leading to the approach of being too inferior in intelligence to learn academically. The enrollment of the Indian children

³² There was a condition for establishing the day school of the minimum of 20 students. The schools often comprised of one-room classroom, housing for a teacher, and a small garden for the teacher and students. (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 12)

in newly established schools was not sufficient, so in 1891 a regulation about the attendance of Indian children was implemented. (Adams 1995: 28 - 29; Coleman 1993: 45; Grande 2004: 13; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 11, 233; Wilkins 2007: 116)

Another policy of that period which influenced Indians was Allotment Act from 1887. Wilkins (2006: 116) says that this was the most devastating federal policy of the period. It was agreed that Indians' social structure, which was based on common stewardship of land, was the main obstacle to their civilization. Thus the white people believed that it is necessary to brake up the reservations and distribute small plots of land to individual Indians, and then require the allotted Indian to adopt Euro-American farming practices. The federal government then sold the land, which was not allotted³³ to non-Indians whose settlement among the Indians was supposed to help their acquisition of white attitudes and behavior, which means their assimilation and civilization. The Allotment Act, however, did not bring expected results and it was ended in 1934. (Wilkins 2006: 116 - 118)

By the turn of the nineteenth century it was evident that despite of the efforts of the governmental officials, missionaries, and teachers the indigenous languages, spiritual practices, and sociopolitical forms were kept within tribes and transmitted from generation to generation, so the Native American education went through several changes at that time again. Due to the poor results in Native American education in boarding schools, the federal government was trying to safe money it spent on their schools and supported the increase in Indian children attending public schools.³⁴ The states were not very fond of this, as they were not receivers of the taxes from Native Americans and their reservations on the state lands. Nevertheless, the education of Native Americans was partially in their hands from now on. The interest of the states at that time was, however, mostly in the financial support they got from the federal government, and not really to benefit the Indian children. (Coleman 1993: 45; Grande 2004: 14 - 15; Wright, Hirlinger, and England 1998: 9 - 10)

By the 1920s, however, it was clear that forced assimilation and allotment were not the right directions and the federal policymakers were convinced to rethink federal

³³ The lands accounted for very large areas, for example Iowa Tribe's members kept 8,658 acres and over 200,000 acres of the tribe's "surplus" land (over 90 %) was purchased by the federal government. Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians kept 529,682 acres and had to sell over three million acres (over 80 %) of the "surplus" land. (Wilkins 2007: 117)

³⁴ Meaning the state schools.

Indian policy again. In the wake of the changes, which led to the limited tribal self-rule and period called New Deal era, was the two year-study investigating socioeconomic conditions among Indians. The results of the research were summarized in *Meriam Report*. The *Report* brought detailed information about the harsh conditions of Native American lives, such as high infant death rates and mortality rates, poverty, horrible health conditions, poor housing, and inadequate education. The *Report* criticized many areas of Indian lives, among which were existing educational policies, such as removing Indian children from their homes and communities. It also presented ideas for the future about community-centered and individual-centered educational characteristics, which would bring more “natural” background of the education, and suggested steps towards using tribal, social and civic life features as the basis for Indian education. *Johnson-O'Malley Act* which authorized payments to the states or territories for the education of Indians in public institutions was part of the reforms. The payments were supposed to secure that children did not pose a financial burden to public schools and schools had money to provide the culturally relevant curricula. (Coleman 1993: 50 - 52; Grande 2004: 15; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 249)

The changes that were continuously taking place during the era contained some proposals for tribal self-rule, including establishment of tribal governing and economic institutions which led to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Act authorized tribes to organize and adopt constitutions, bylaws, and incorporation charters subjected to ratification by vote of tribal members. However, they were subject to the approval of the federal government secretary of the interior as well. Some politicians came with thoughts that the Indian Reorganization Act in fact brought more paternalism and regimentation, and compared it to communistic and un-American government activities. Nevertheless, the changes brought allowance of tribal religions and language use, and relevant Native curriculum with assumed humane approach in schools. (Lomawaima 2002: 431; Wilkins 2007: 118 - 119)

The changes of the 1930s popularized ideas of freeing the Indians from their dependence on the federal government. During the 1940s the thought, that the time came for the termination of the indigenous groups, which were sufficiently acculturated and did not need the federal government to act as their trustee, appeared. Prucha (1986: 340) notes that terms such as *emancipation* of the Indians from special laws and regulations or sometimes more preferred term *readjustment*, to avoid words with

emotional overtones were typically used during this era. The termination policy from 1953 declared that as soon as possible the Indians “should be freed from federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians.” (Wilkins 2007: 120) The policy conferred full criminal and some civil jurisdiction over Indian reservations in five states³⁵, and aimed on relocation from rural and reservation areas to designated urban centers. Wilkins (2007: 121) says that it was an attempt to destroy the tribal communal system. (Prucha 1986: 340; Wilkins 2007: 120 - 121)

The implication for the Native American education was that the responsibility for Indian education was transferred to individual states. There was lots of critique about the Indian education in the termination era about the conditions in schools for the Indian children, the curriculum, or language use in the classroom. However, the positive consequences of the era according to Reyhner and Eder (2004: 148) were high enrollment numbers of the Indian children at schools thanks to the money provided by *Johnson-O'Malley* funds for the contracted public schools. Prucha (1986: 352 - 353) adds that returning Indian veterans from the World War II played an important part in securing more respect and desire for education among Native Americans. The movement away from boarding schools toward community day schools was stopped and new appreciation of the boarding schools arose. Most of the students, Prucha (1986: 342) sums, were enrolled in public schools, less in on and off reservation boarding schools and the least number of students attended community day schools. (Grande 2004: 15; Prucha 1986: 352 - 353; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 232, 248 - 249)

The New Deal era brought optimism as the educators and officials who dealt with Native American education expressed a positive attitude toward their culture. The developed curriculum included aspects of the Indian culture as well as practical vocational training so the students were prepared for life both on and off the reservation. Grande (2004: 16) critically that the vocational training programs, assumably designed for the benefit of Indians, “ready labor exploitation” as it was still difficult for the Native Americans to gain any other education that would allow them to move to the better job positions and not to stay only with manual labor jobs. The public schools were supposed to develop programs to meet the special needs of Indian student, however the Native parents were rarely involved in the preparation of the programs or

³⁵ California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin. (Wilkins 2007: 120)

in the local political decisions which would allow them to participate in decisions of the school districts and in direction of their children education. Nevertheless, the World War II destroyed the educational programs of the 1930s as the money flowed into the war expenses and according to Szasz (1999: 189), the result was the support of the “education for urban living within the mainstream society” and whatever was built during the pre-war period vanished. Thus, after the war the interest in culturally recognized education was lost and schools, because of the lack of the development of Indian centered programs, were unprepared to deal with Native Americans as a unique cultural group. Szasz (1999: 193) also sums that until the 1960s the federal government never considered that Indians might want to and should determine the shape of their own education. (Grande 2004: 15 - 16; Lomawaima 2002: 432 - 433; Szasz 1999: 188 - 193)

3.3 Educational Aims and Schools for Native Americans

Native American education was totally in hands of the federal government which appointed various institutions for educating them. In this part of the paper the aims of the education will be introduced as well as educational institutions for Native Americans with the major emphasis on boarding schools and their regime and rules.

Adams (1995: 21 - 24) summarizes the aims of Native American education as follows. The first aim was to achieve the ability to read, write, and speak English language. He adds that the officials did not want to only educate but also to acculturate the Indians. Coleman (1993: 53) points out that while tribal education was based on enculturation of the children, white educators forced double process on the children – deculturation which was followed by learning about totally new way of life and thinking. Nader (in Reyhner and Eder 2004: 145) notes that the students necessarily brought their values, attitudes and beliefs which constituted their “Indianness” into the school, however “the fact that the student must do all the modifying, all the compromising” was saying something to them about the relative value of their own culture as opposed to that of the school, meaning the American one.

Another aim beyond English language was introduction of civilized branches of knowledge, which accounted for arithmetic, science, history and the arts so they could see what the civilized life means. The third aim was individualization, details of which

were already mentioned earlier in the chapter. However, to provide even closer information about the idea it is necessary to point out the difference between Native Americans perspective and white American perspective. White Americans measured individual's worth by the capacity to accumulate wealth, while Indians did so by what was given away. There were two ways to facilitate individualization: 1. teaching how to work and 2. believing in private property and possessive individualism. The forth aim was Christianization which would bring the Indian new ethical codes. And yet, the fifth aim was citizenship training so the Indian children could eventually become prepared for their assimilation into the American society, moreover they would be prepared for the duties and privileges of American citizenship. Thus the plan was to transform everything that was internal and proper for any Native American. (Adams 1995: 21 - 24; Coleman 1993: 53; Reyhner and Eder 2004: 145)

At the beginning of the federal period, missionary schools were involved in the Indian education. They were supported by federal funding. The change from mainly missionary schools to more federal directed schools and later public schools came in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth century. There were basically three types of school institutions: reservation day schools, reservation boarding schools, and off-reservation boarding schools.

The reservation boarding schools emerged by the late 1870s after the experience with the day schools on reservations³⁶ which appeared not to withdraw the children sufficiently from the influences of their home lives, and thus brought limited effect. Boarding schools were usually located at the headquarters of the Indian agent. The curriculum was divided into four primary grades and four advanced grades. Half of the school day was devoted to English and basic academic subjects, the other half of the day to industrial training. The children were divided according to the gender; boys worked on the school farm and girls were trained in housekeeping. Among the proposed advantages of the reservation boarding schools were characteristics that were previously ascribed to the day schools, which was the potential of uplifting influence on parents who the children visited during the summer vacation periods or in some instances during the Christmas holidays. Such optimism, however, did not come to the practice and in the more controlled environment of the boarding school the children still were not sufficiently removed from the influence of tribal life. (Adams 1995: 30 - 31)

³⁶ Their characteristics were discussed earlier in the text.

The reservation officials sought to eradicate children's attachment to tribal ways and their relatives and began to search for ways to further isolate the schools from tribal communities. There were three suggested solutions by various Indian agents. One suggestion to the solution was to eliminate vacation periods, another was to move the school away from the headquarters, and the last one recommended a technical solution of improving the physical barriers around the school. (Adams 1995: 35 - 36)

The solution became off-reservation boarding schools. Carlisle in Pennsylvania was the first federal off-reservation boarding school. It was founded and led by Captain Richard Henry Pratt in 1879. Pratt developed his own theory about Indian education.³⁷ His theory was that Indians were born blank and their surrounding shaped them into savages. He was a proponent of environmental determinism when primitive or uncivilized environment creates the savagery, not the race.³⁸ This led him to the assumption, which was absolutely in accordance with the assimilationist vision, that if the Indians were segregated from their families and cultures, they would gradually become able to be integrated into the white world and this would even be done in the controlled fashion. This idea became the fundamental basis of the off-reservation system of boarding schools in the United States and worked as an example for following boarding schools. (Coleman 1993: 43 - 44; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 13)

The basis of the off-reservation schools laid in the outing system, aim of which was to integrate students into the civilized community. The children were supposed to be educated and absorbed one by one into the white populations, for example, by living in the homes of the white families during the vacation times or by working at hotels, restaurants, ranches, farms, and businesses. This would allow them, among others, to understand the value of hard work and money. (Adams 1995: 53 - 54; Klug and Whitfield 2003: 69; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 14)

According to the policymakers two parallel steps were necessary to take to fulfill the aims of the Native American schooling. Adams (1995: 100 - 112) calls this process an assault on cultural identity. One way to reach this was to change children's outward

³⁷ He developed it while he was a director of a prison, which held Native Americans after the war at Fort Marion, Florida. (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 13)

³⁸ It seems like in the range of white people's attempts to educate Indians this theory was rather more sensitive compared to the theories that followed assuming Native Americans race prevents them from abilities to be educated.

appearance,³⁹ the second one was to change their inner ideas, values, and behaviors. Among the adjusting means was cutting children's hair. There were two reasons for that: the control of head lice, and maybe even more important was the fact that long hair symbolized savagism for the white Americans. Another change was in their clothing. Children's clothing, blankets, ornaments, and jewelry were taken from them and exchanged for the standard school uniform.⁴⁰ Another assault on tribal identity was change in children's names. They had to choose a *civilized* name not only because the teachers could neither pronounce nor memorize them but also because of their future functioning in the white man's world. (Adams 1995: 100 - 112; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 15 - 19)

The children who were taken from their families were often homesick and searched friendship and companionship with other students. They were not allowed to use their native languages and only English language was permitted. The environment of the boarding schools was dramatically different from their Native communities. Students had to adjust to prisonlike regimes, to strict and military manners. The schools had high fences, sometimes with barbed wire and there were strict rules regarding children's personal freedom. Everyday routines had their own times and students had to get used to the bell ringing and whistles. Concerning the health issues, the practices at the boarding schools involved sharing the beds, sharing eating utensils, drinking from the same cup, and also just spending hours together with other contagious and infectious people, which caused spread of many diseases and fairly high death rates; all due to the campaign to civilize, assimilate, and acculturate American Indians. (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 18 - 21)

The specific military atmosphere was reinforced by the discipline policy, which consisted of the corporal punishments or even imprisoning the child. Breaking the rules often caused restriction in foods or in students' privileges, or children were forced to march, mop floors, paint walls, clean filthy bathrooms, or do similar jobs. Teachers slapped student's hand palms, made them to stand in the corner, lie on the floor in front of classmates or stand on one foot. The strict regime often caused students resistance to the school officials' behavior. They resisted in many ways, for example by avoiding classes, pretending ignorance, misunderstanding to the administrators' orders, also

³⁹ See Appendix 5 with a picture of Navajo student before he entered boarding school and after he was partially civilized.

⁴⁰ Sometimes the uniforms reminded more of the army uniforms.

physical actions were common, such as breaking fences, furniture, doors, vehicles, or plumbing toilets. There were cases when students also set fires. Main interest of many students was to get out of the school and so runaways were quite often. Then the parents came and asked the school officials to explain why they think their child wanted to leave. The answers are in the text above as actions of the school officials felt humiliating to the students. (Adams 1995: 121 - 124; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006: 22 - 24)

Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc (2006: 16) say that many children suffered from the separation from their families and communities, they missed their homelands, playmates, foods, and their languages. However, some students grew to love the boarding schools and their returns home caused them more pain than it should. They were criticized by elder people but also the students criticized their own homes and communities due to the lost contact with their former life. Native Americans thus assess the experience with boarding schools in many different ways based on their very individual encounter with them. Overall, the boarding schools were and still are one of the most discussed topics in the process of Native American education.

This chapter described the background of the Native American education from the constitution of the United States of America. It concerns the idea of Native Americans civilization based on that time social theories which provided for the justification of the educational directions. The general approach was that the civilized person must acknowledge the ideas of progress, social evolution, and property. With this approach the white people continued educating Native Americans. These broad ideas were the foundation for the federal government policies that were developing under the common notion of assimilation. The white peoples' way of Native American civilization was connected with lots of oppression. The solutions to the needs for more land for white settlers were hiding under the civilization deeds together with various policies, starting with the Indian removal behind the Mississippi river, following with their removal to the reservations, and later after the Allotment Act from the reservations on their own lots or into the urban areas.

These policies were influencing the education itself, which was changing from day and boarding reservation schools, to off-reservation boarding schools which were

seemingly the best solution to American Indians civilization and assimilation to the white American society through education, as they brought children far away from their homes and communities. Among the aims of the Native American education were literacy next to knowledge of arithmetic, science, or history, as well as civilization, Christianization and preparation for citizenship. The end of the chapter provided information in a greater detail about the Carlisle school, the first federal off-reservation boarding school, about the regime and rules it exercised over the students which were subsequently applied for other off-reservation boarding schools with all its harsh conditions and ill-treating the children, which should at least today be considered humiliating.

4. Self-Determination period

The period from the 1960s to the 1980s was a critical time in indigenous-federal relations. The era is marked with the significant influence of Martin Luther King's philosophy of social protest that raised the moral consciousness of the nation regarding equal liberties. By the dawn of the civil rights movement, the American Indians voiced their opposition to termination and other oppressive government policies. The policy of that time characterized the government-to-government relationship between the United States and eventual recognition of tribal nations. The period was prolific with indigenous activism leading to many changes within political, legal, and cultural areas and to termination of the termination policy. (Klug and Whitfield 2003: 39 - 40)

By the end of the 1960s Indian tribes developed a leadership that was able to articulate Indian rights and concerns. In this time many Indian organizations⁴¹ which affected new policies were established. Native Americans advocated the idea of "letting Indian people...determine their own destiny." (Grande 2004: 16) Wilkins (2007: 121) says that "the federal government responded to this activism by enacting several laws and initiating policies that recognized the distinctive group and individual rights of indigenous peoples." Besides new laws that were designed to improve everything concerning tribal nations and Indians, there were some decisions that had devastating impact on the federally dependent tribes. These were based on a backlash among disaffected non-Indian organizations, officials and congressional members from states where tribes had gained political and legal victories. Subsequently, Wilkins (2007: 122) says bills threatening to abrogate Indian treaties were introduced. No matter how much Indian tribes and their supporters tried to repel these activities, there were some decision made by the Supreme Court not in favor of Indian tribe, for example, limited enforcement powers over non-Indians on the tribal land. Thus Wilkins (2007: 122 - 124) distinguishes another feature of the late 1980s era. He critically calls the federal policy an "inconsistent blend of actions" and says that it both affirmed tribal sovereignty but on the other hand it severely reduced tribal sovereign powers, especially in relation to state governments. (Grande 2004: 16; Wilkins 2007: 121 – 124)

⁴¹ For example: National Indian Education Association, Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, American Indian Movement, Indian Controlled School Boards, National Congress of American Indians, National Indian School Boards Association, Native Americans Rights Fund, Navajo Area School Boards Association, Association of Community Tribal Schools (Grande 2004: 16; Tippeconnic III. 1999: 37)

However, in the area of Native American education several new directions were taken from the beginning of the 1960s. Local or tribal control became a basic principle of the sovereign status of American Indian tribes. Since then it was the legal right of tribal government to make decisions about how to educate tribal members. Federal policy of tribal self-determination, supported by legislation, provided administrative mechanisms for tribes so they could take greater control over their own affairs, including education. These steps were necessary to take to fulfill the programs as well as promises of the 1960s. The education of Native Americans at that time was directed not only by the federal government, the responsibility of which was to provide educational programs which were supposed to meet the special educational and cultural needs of the Indians, but there also and especially was an effort to place direction and control of the schools in Indian hands to assure the educational goals. (Tippeconnic III. 1999: 34, 39; Prucha 1986: 379)

Tippeconnic III. (1999: 39) emphasizes an important aspect that needs to be taken into consideration concerning several terms. He says that terms such as *community control*, *local control*, and *tribal control* are often mixed and denote Indian control of education. However, he suggests that *tribal control* means the actual tribal government control and *community* or *local control* means that school boards comprise community members. (Tippeconnic III. 1999: 39)

The increased Native Indians' control over Native American education was based on two major studies: *Indian Education: A National Tragedy – A National Challenge* known as *The Kennedy Report* and *The National Study of American Indian Education*. Both studies, similarly to *Meriam Report*, suggested changes in Native American education and were foundation for many acts of that era. In 1971 Congress passed the *Navajo Community College Act*, which provided federal financial support to the college. In 1972 an *Indian Education Act* appropriated funds to public schools to meet the culturally related academic needs of Indian students, it also encouraged Native parents' involvement through mandated committees, and it directed funds to Indian institutions, organizations, tribes, and individuals for support of educational services. The *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* from 1975 authorized the federal government to 638 contracts with Indian tribes and organizations for tribal operation of federally held programs. *Johnson O'Malley* program was changed by this *Act* as well, as it allowed more Indian control of the contracts made with public schools.

In 1988 Congress passed *Tribally Controlled School Act* which allowed direct granting, instead of contracting, to school boards to operate schools. Szasz (1999: 200) claims that *Indian Education Act* and the *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* were the milestones for Indian people. Tippeconnic (1999: 37) emphasizes the fact that the changes in legislation were not happening because of the goodwill of the government but rather because of the “political wisdom and persistence of Indian educators, Indian institutions, Indian organizations, tribes, and other driving forces behind legislative and executive branch actions.” (Grande 2004: 16; Lomawaima 2002: 433 - 434; Szasz 1999: 196 - 200; Tippeconnic III. 1999: 36 - 37)

The new laws authorized special funding for programs aimed at Indian students in on and off-reservation schools as well as urban schools on the elementary and secondary level. A novelty missing in the Native American education from its beginnings – Native parents’ involvement in school program planning was also introduced. Parent advisory committees were required in districts where the school boards had less than a majority of Indian members. In this case Tippeconnic also notes slight distinction in the term *parent involvement* which he says does not automatically mean tribal control. (Grande 2004: 16; Prucha 1986: 374, 376, 379)

4.1 Community Schools

The era of the 1960s brought government support for the community and tribal schools. The initial experience with the tribal school came in 1966 with the first community controlled school on the Navajo reservation. The Rough Rock Demonstration School marked the first time when the elected school board, comprising of Indians only, had complete control of the school. It was a challenge in which the Navajo people wanted to show that they are able to lead and be in control of their community education. The school welcomed parents in the school activities, the curriculum and teaching methods integrated the Navajo culture and language. The school slowly created bilingual and bicultural teaching materials which were used by the community teachers. Lomawaima and McCarty (2006: 123) say that the concept of the community schools was based on the presupposition “that students are more successful if they are able to learn in a context that is socially, linguistically, and cognitively compatible with the local culture.” This is in fact something that was

missing in Native American education provided by white people from its beginnings in the colonial period. The classrooms, Lomawaima and McCarty continue, were organized around learning centers and small-groups of students were given instructions in Navajo and English languages. The curriculum was developed by teachers as well as students and consisted of interdisciplinary units based on local content and themes. The classes were complemented by the summer literature camps in which students conducted field-based research on topics such as animal husbandry, ethnobotany⁴², archeology, or geology of the region. Parents, elders, school staff and students participated in these classroom and field based activities through storytelling, songs, dramas, art, research and projects, which were fondly recorded and later provided sources for curriculum resources. This community work was very empowering for all people involved and the students got chance to feel confident about their own culture, community, and their identity. (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006: 122 - 125; Tippeconnic III. 1999: 34 - 36)

The community school program at Rough Rock School was evaluated after several years of functioning and the students did very well, for example, scores in English listening comprehension rose from 58 % to 91%. In general, the education of Native Americans was always rated with very poor results as the assessment was based on the curriculum which consisted of topics absolutely strange to the children.⁴³ The school system relied on students' academic achievement scores and high attendance rates which were considered an indication of students' success and thus success of the system. However, the results of the schools varied, depending on who was in charge of the assessment. (Klug and Whitfield 2003: 220; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006: 125) Nobody before realized that the environment for educating the Indian children according to the white culture was too strange for them and negatively influenced their studies; nevertheless, Native American education from its beginning during colonization era to the 1960s was done in the name of civilization and acculturation so such realization could not possibly come to officials' mind.

⁴² Ethnobotany studies plants that are used by different cultures for food, shelters, medicine, clothing, hunting, and religious ceremonies. (VEILLEUX and KING 2006)

⁴³ The thought about the constructivist approaches can be taken into account here. The children did not have chance to create schemata about the world they were taught about as they often lived in absolutely different world, not only environmentally but also linguistically, and their schemata from the tribal life did not match the schemata of the white world.

Klug and Whitfield (2003: 220 - 226) say that the important part of the success of the community school activities lays in the interest of non-Indian teachers in tribal culture, languages, storytelling, history as it is given in common textbooks, and in participating in community events as well as promoting healthy lifestyles.⁴⁴ For example, if the teacher learns the language, not only does he or she become more of a part of the community, but also may understand the difficulties of the children learning English language as the Native languages and English have significant differences in phonemes, pragmatics, and social use of languages. The insight into these differences might help the teacher to know what they need to do to make English more understandable for the students. (Klug and Whitfield 2003: 220 - 226)

According to Klug and Whitfield (2003: 228), to provide the best possible education it is necessary to work in accordance with American Indian communities. The children need to know that they will be supported by their communities in obtaining their educational degrees. The Western education still has strong impact on Native American traditions and culture and to help to make it change it is necessary to encourage students to obtain their education so they are able to serve their tribes. Klug and Whitfield sum that if the aims of education will still be perceived as an individual goal and not as a benefit to the Nation as a whole, the conflicts between school and home will continue. They also emphasize the need for more American Indian professionals serving in Native American communities so the Native people will not stay inferior to the dominant American culture.

4.2 Higher Education, Tribal Colleges, and Native American Studies

The previous text showed that the effort of the government was aimed at providing mostly elementary and vocational education for the Native Americans. Their chances to study at the higher level of education were thus quite limited, which was very upsetting for them. However, Reyhner and Eder (2004: 290) say that as Native Americans were struggling to fight for lower education privileges and trying to stay as close to the community as possible, they could have hardly imagine leaving their Indian

⁴⁴ To help in a holistic endeavor by recovering traditional values, to diminish alcohol and drug abuse, and to inform about healthy eating habits and exercising. Such motivation was used by Shoshone tribe teacher – she told the students how far their grandfathers could run in the old days. That way the students became motivated to do what their forefathers were able to do. (Klug and Whitfield 2003: 224 – 225)

communities for large and impersonal non-Indian colleges and universities.⁴⁵ (Reyhner and Eder 2004: 290)

There were few exceptions to the lack of the higher education institutions of Native Americans, such as Cherokee Indian Normal School established for and by the Lumbee Indians in North Carolina in 1887. The school went through several stages and developed into an institution that ultimately accepted non-Indian students and in 1971 became part of the University of North Carolina System. (Reyhner and Eder 2004: 291 - 292)

Besides universities such as Cherokee School, belonging originally to Indian-only colleges and universities, there were movements for tribal colleges and Native American Studies programs at large universities, which started its existence in the self-determination period. An aspect influencing this direction is that Indian students enrolling in mainstream colleges had a 90 percent dropout rate and based on the statistics some colleges would not even accept Indian students. The failure of these university attempts led to the exploration of alternative routes to higher education for American Indians. (Reyhner and Eder 2004: 295)

The idea of higher education was supported by Native and non-Native educators, who committed their careers to the success of Native American youth education. The federal government also promoted community action programs on Indian reservations. The legal support came through the 1978 *Tribally Controlled Community College Assistant Act*⁴⁶, which provided funding for the core operations of the colleges. However, the first tribally controlled college was created by Navajo Nation in 1968. It was called simply Navajo Community college.⁴⁷ Since then the number of community colleges and universities rose to 33 throughout the United States⁴⁸ and offer associate, 4-year, and graduate study programs and as Gipp (2003: xiv) says, they are important for their communities and tribal governments as well as their existence is no less important in regional and national scale. Nevertheless he says that the tribally controlled colleges belong to the least funded institutions of higher education in the United States,

⁴⁵ Especially after the experience with remote off-reservation boarding schools. Also, it is hard to imagine what environments the Native Americans came from and how much possible or impossible was it for them to imagine such places.

⁴⁶ Renamed in 1998 to Tribally Controlled College or University Assistance Act. (Gipp 2003: xiv)

⁴⁷ Today Diné College.

⁴⁸ However, the White House website page states only 32 of tribal community colleges. (White House Initiative 2007)

which has an impact on the programs they offer and their ability to attract qualified faculty and staff. Gipp (2003: xv) adds that although there was an increase in recent years in federal funding through a variety of government programs, the funds are often restricted and do not allow innovations and creativity the colleges need to sustain their basic needs. Thus, Gipp fears that the culturally relevant education which they are supposed to offer might be threatened. (Gipp 2003: xiii - xv)

Mann (2003: xviii) says that the development of tribally controlled colleges was important for the sustenance of the traditional knowledge and development of strong Indian identities, they are “places that honor and celebrate the dignity and cultural integrity of first nations, which are balanced with contemporary and innovative academic programs of educational excellence rooted in the archetypal teaching of Great Mysterious Spirit.”

The information about community schools and tribally controlled colleges show how important it was for Native Americans to achieve the laws which helped them to establish these institutions and grounds for tribally relevant programs. One note is worth mentioning, this is that even after more than 400 years of assimilationists’ efforts they were able to preserve much of their culture, spiritual values and social arrangements, which got chance to evolve again thanks to American Indians activism in the second half of the twentieth century.

Finally, the Native American studies will be looked upon. The American Indian or Native American Studies⁴⁹ at mainstream institutions of higher education have a very brief history. Reyhner and Eder (2004: 304 - 305) point out, that as the Native Americans were relocated to cities they often experienced lots of emptiness and got support by many community activists and university students who protested against the treatment of Indians. The universities⁵⁰ where these students studied were among the first institutions that established Native American Studies programs and associated courses. (Champagne and Stauss 2002: 1)

Native American Studies programs are often taught within broader interdisciplinary programs of bachelor’s and master’s degrees as well as Ph.D. programs. Champagne and Stauss (2002) collected information from various American

⁴⁹ Further in the text marked as well as NAS.

⁵⁰ University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles, and San Francisco State College. (Reyhner and Eder 2004: 304 – 305)

Indian Studies departments in many universities and tried to put together some generalizations. There are several issues that connect the NAS. One of them is their struggle for their permanence or better to say their seeking for permanence and for achieving departmental status. The problem is that the schools often do not have enough funds in their budgets. Another issue the NAS struggle with is the lack of the control over the faculty and in general low numbers of teachers, which causes limitations in the course offerings for the students. This in fact had a stimulating impact on the development of distance learning and cooperation within the universities, such as teacher or student exchanges. Champagne and Stauss suggest that such exchanges should be happening with tribally controlled colleges, so the courses offered at universities as well as tribally controlled colleges are extended. (Champagne and Stauss 2002: 3 - 6)

There is another issue concerning the need for separate Native American Studies programs. Some school administrators, even though they mean it well, have a tendency to underestimate the need for Native American Studies and try to incorporate them into ethnic studies by classifying Native Americans as ethnic group. The contemporary American theories of ethnicity, according to Champagne and Stauss (2002: 6), do not account for the Native American experience, and therefore their history and political status would stay marginal within the discourse. In addition, the issues of tribal membership, federally recognized tribes and their rights are so complicated themselves that they cause problems to the university administrators in dealing with their tasks, so there is no wonder that some propose to include NAS under the ethnic studies. Thus, if the NAS were mingled with ethnic studies, there would be a danger of total disappearance of typical features of the Native American Studies within study programs. This is to say that ethnic studies and American studies theories often focus on assimilation of individuals and groups into the United States society and so the cultures and histories would disappear. Nevertheless, there is minimally one reason for keeping NAS and that is that most students in Indian studies are mainly interested in Native rights, history, and culture. (Champagne and Stauss 2002: 6 - 7)

To take the practical point of view into the consideration, the reasons for diminishing ideas are budget and limited funds next to organizational problems which should be admitted are absolutely minor in comparison to the vast culture of Native Americans. (Champagne and Stauss 2002: 6 - 7)

Champagne and Stauss (2002: 8) believe that what causes the misunderstanding about the Native American Studies is a different approach of the United States disciplinary structure, which reflects goals, interests, values, and institutions within social, cultural, and economic specializations of Western civilization that are so apart from the interest, values and goals of Native communities. They also say that the focus of Native American studies must move away from following the mainstream academic disciplines and find “its own organization and purpose through analysis, research, policymaking, and participation in Indian communities.” Native American Studies should basically reflect its background of American Indian communities, traditions, and values, in the same way as Western civilization is the background for its mainstream academic work. Champagne and Stauss then emphasize the need for dealing with contemporary Indian communities and only marginally with the critique of the colonial era, no matter how much it is necessary, but it covers only non-Indian forms and puts only non-Indian history and policy in central focus and leaves the Indian role in history and preservation of community in the background. (Champagne and Stauss 2002: 8)

Native American studies should provide background for the studies about one’s own Native community, but should not function as a substitution for direct living in Native communities. As more than two-thirds⁵¹ of contemporary Native Americans live in urban areas, many do not have direct contact with their reservation community. The NAS courses can thus provide some help for students in learning about their tribes as well as in gaining the knowledge in historical, cultural, and policy analysis. It is important for the students to get views from both mainstream and Indian teachers; this will help them to develop analytical skills so they can become critical, informed and active participants in Native community life no matter if they decide to work with organizations and associations that serve Indian tribes or not. They conclude, similarly to what was said about community schools earlier in the text, that this is important not only for tribal communities but also for regions and the whole nation. (Champagne and Stauss 2002: 9; Ogunwole 2006: 14)

The last suggestion Champagne and Stauss (2002: 10 - 11) make is about what was known to the Native American education for centuries. This is the holistic and community based reflection. The overspecialization could lead to misinformation of the

⁵¹ See Appendix 6 for statistical data.

students and public and therefore the Native American Studies should be created by students, Elders, scholars, administrators, and Tribal members.

5. Dartmouth College Today, Including Student Survey

5.1 Native American Studies at Dartmouth College

The history of the Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, today a private, four-year liberal arts institution, was introduced in the Colonial Period chapter. Through centuries the College developed into an acknowledged Ivy League university. Until the 1970s it was a man-only college as well as, with few exceptions, white-only college. The numbers of Native American students were very low, in the years 1770 – 1865 there were no more than seventy-one Indian students at Dartmouth and in the years 1865 - 1965 only twenty-eight enrolled (Calloway 2002: 18; Wright 2007)

The self-determination period brought changes to Dartmouth College as well. In 1970 the College president wanted to rededicate the Dartmouth to an old promise to Native American education, so he supported the recruitment of American Indian students and at the same time began to plan a Native American studies program. The department of Native American Studies at Dartmouth was thus established in 1972 as one of the first Native American Studies programs in the United States. The goal of the department was to incorporate courses dealing with histories, cultures, and artistic traditions of Native Americans into regular Dartmouth academic curricula. Calloway⁵² (2002: 18) notes that the beginnings of the studies were modest with only two courses. However, the department grown into a permanent study program that offers courses in many fields, for example Native American history, culture, religion, government, language, law and policy, archaeology, film, as well as more specialized topics, taught by regular faculty and visiting teachers.

Students may choose a major in Native American Studies or minor study program. The courses are interdisciplinary with other programs or departments and the department is open to students of other fields so they can explore different approaches to Native American Studies. The faculty members of Native American Studies department also teach in other academic departments⁵³ that correspond with their expertise, which helps to build connections with other departments, programs, and individuals. Calloway (2002: 24) points out that the students at Dartmouth College can

⁵² Today the chair of the department of Native American Studies at Dartmouth College.

⁵³ For example anthropology, history, religion, English, and Government. (Calloway 2002: 19)

thus meet Native teachers and Native issues in their “regular classes” without a necessity to attend Native American Studies class. (Calloway 2002: 18 - 19) This is certainly enriching for many students outside of the Native American community at the College. It is good for them to see, that Native Americans have many educated experts among them with a very high expertise in various areas.

The number of Native American students accepted at Dartmouth in 2001 was 41 from 21 states and 31 tribes, this counted to the total enrollment of 120 Native undergraduates. Since the beginning of the Department, the graduation rate rose from 50 to 72 percent. Today the school must, however, deal with much higher competitiveness with other universities that also offer Native American programs. Native American Studies are funded by several resources: from regular institutional funds, by private donors and corporate funding, and an important part of the finances comes from alumni. Their contributions helped to initiate a program that brings Tribal Elders to “work” as advisors to Native students on campus. The studies at Dartmouth College are expensive, and as many other American colleges it offers financial aid programs. Dartmouth official website claims that over 80 percent of Native Americans at Dartmouth receive grant assistance. By this way the College is trying to attract Native American students to come to study here. (Calloway 2002: 20, 22; Native Students and Financial Aid 2004)

The Native American Studies department aims not only to educate in the curricular sense but also to help to eradicate negative, romantic and distorted stereotypes about Indian people, the teachers do not tell the students what to think, but they try to give them “plenty to think about.” The hope about this lays in the Department openness to both Native and non-Native faculty as well as students, which always allows to bring many different viewpoints. (Calloway 2002: 25)

5.2 Case Study: Native American students survey

The department of Native American Studies is situated in a little building called Sherman House, where the library of Native American Studies is also situated. Next to the Sherman House is Native American House, which provides housing for some of the Native American students.

During the spring semester⁵⁴ I had the great opportunity to visit the department of Native American Studies at Dartmouth College. The purpose of the visit was mainly to get resources for this thesis and also to gain information from Native American students at the College. The following part will provide information about a student survey.

During writing this thesis and my visit at Dartmouth I started to realize that Native Americans have many opportunities in their education today, at least legally. They can orient not only on mainstream Western academic but also on Native American Studies programs. However, through my experiences with many places in the United States and Canada I did not remember seeing many traces of Native Americans, except for some museums, airport decorations, school sport team names, or shops with Native American souvenirs. That is why the thought that the need for Native American efforts for preserving their cultures through education would be nearly pointless as the United States mainstream society would swallow whatever would not be able to compete on the market or would not add to the public common good. Nevertheless the previous text showed that educated Native Americans and their education in either way have their important place in the tribal as well as United States society.

To illustrate Native American views about Native American education and to address the estimations about what Native Americans prospective might be, a short questionnaire was dealt among 10 Dartmouth College Native American students. The research was done on March 26th 2007 in the Native American Studies library and Native American House. I was present in case help would be needed to further explain some questions. 9 questionnaires out of 10 returned back to the analysis.⁵⁵ Even though the number of respondents is seemingly low I believe that their comments are valuable information that will help to reveal experiences and thoughts of a group of Native Americans.

There were 12 questions in the questionnaire.⁵⁶ The main element, which divides the respondents' answers into two groups, is the question whether they attended tribal or state school⁵⁷ on the elementary or high school level.

⁵⁴ From January 31st to April 4th 2007.

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, I did not get a questionnaire back from supposedly best Native American student in several years, nevertheless I got the questionnaire back from a student whose intentions are to work in the field of Native American education policies and make many changes.

⁵⁶ See Appendix 7

Students that went through state education on both levels answered as follows:

1. In the answer to the question about what the students missed by not attending tribal school they agreed on missing *“being around a lot of other Native students,”* studying with *“Native peers...there were only four of us in my graduating class of 500,”* or *“with a majority of Native students.”* The lack of Native students also caused that *“the few Native students that I know were not open about their identity.”* This was a case of a member of Lumbee Indian Nation of North Carolina who was growing up in New York City and who pointed out that *“people there do not believe that Native people still exist. It was easier to not explain one’s existence.”* In a personal conversation she also explained that it was easier for them to let the people think they were Portoricans. Only in one answer the student did not see lack of Natives as a problem as she⁵⁷ attended school with 25 percent of Natives. Besides this they also missed culturally sensitive approach, learning the tribal *“language in an academic setting”* and not less important for Native Americans throughout their boarding school experiences *“being at home, around Navajos environment – soul.”*

2. The answers to the question about what they remember from learning about Native Americans in their school were not too surprising. Besides two *“nothing”* answers and a verbal comment *“Indians are alcoholics,”* there were answers criticizing mostly inaccuracy in Native history and absurdity of how it was presented. One answer specified *“that we came across the Bering Strait, which is against my own understanding of who we are and where we come from.”*

3. Answers to the question about imaginary return to their early student years and their choice between tribal or state school were very diverse and it seems that they also showed an internal contradictions. Many acknowledged a choice of tribal school, if they could, but at the same time added many notes. The tribal school would simply *“be good”* where one could *“hang out with natives.”* For another student the choice would be because *“white kids in the surrounding towns are very racist.”* Other answers confirmed their misgivings about the quality of tribal schools by acknowledging that *“state school prepared me academically”* and *“my life would be very difficult,”* another speaks about *“a stigma that tribal schools are not as good*

⁵⁷ Meaning the public school.

⁵⁸ A member of Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Anishinaabe, Wisconsin.

as state schools”, which might appear among many white as well as Native people. One answer of the 21 year old Navajo student showed “*mixed feelings*” about the question. Another student showed lots of courage, ambition and hope for the future Native American education in her answer as she plans to “*make change in tribal schools so our Native youth can attend tribal schools to recieve (sic) cultural education and adequate “Western” knowledge plus tools to be able to continue on with their education without sacrificing traditional beliefs, and to learn these “Western tools” for the benefit of our own people.*”

4. Many reasons why and how is access to the tribally controlled education important were displayed, they connect in several points. Everybody agreed that it is very important to have access to tribally controlled education, which itself is very important. Only one answer was of a practical kind pointing out the problem of funding by saying that access is important only “*if resources are available, otherwise, no.*” Probably if there is no money, the level of the education becomes unsatisfactory. The Lumbee tribe member student emphasized her tribe “*history of fighting for our own schools*” and the role that her tribe played in the higher education of Native Americans. She points out that her tribe, concerning the tribal education, also tries “*to work with the state and county in order to “own” our education as much as possible.*” Another student expressed the need of the control of “*how and what people learn,*” which other student developed by saying “*people have a knowledge and way of learning specific to themselves for a reason,*” which another student confirmed by need for the “*control over our own education systems.*” Next student, however, was not optimistic “*as long as there is a governing body called the USA tribes will be conversing with each other*” which is not good for the students. They expressed the need for respect for their cultures and their traditional ways of doing things. Another answer indicated a need for access as “*it’s a tool of freeing ourselves from continued colonization*” which other complemented by mentioning the infamous “*history of colonial schools and their effect on native children.*” Yet there was an answer that brought out the question of identity, which the tribally controlled education preserves, as “*the curriculum can be set up to reflect and reinforce culture: language, stories, history, etc.*” This is thus important because there is “*ever present danger of assimilation.*”

5. The questionnaire also has an open question in case students wanted to add anything else about Native American education. One comment was about minor funding for tribal education, which causes that the state education is “*a necessity in order to academically succeed*” that brings Native people closer to assimilation. Other comments touched the need of reciprocity of tribal and Western education: “*We have much more to offer USA society,*” “*Native education is beneficial for Natives and non-Natives alike*” because it can tell many things about North America and international relations across nations, and finally that Western education is not bad but “*cultural learning needs to be reciprocal.*”

Students that went through tribal education on both levels, two respondents, answered as follows:

1. Answers to the question about what the tribal school education brought them personally consisted of native language, understanding of tribal traditions and practices, religion, and history, and also being close to home and family.

2. The answers to the question about what they remember learning about Native Americans were in concord with the previous answers, especially language, history “*our entire history from a native prospective (sic),*” and ceremonies with dances.

3. Answers to the question about imaginary return to their early student years and their choice between tribal or state school were, based on the answers of state school only respondents⁵⁹, quite surprising. One student⁶⁰ from Oglala Lakota, South Dakota tribe would rather attend state school because “*state school has better curriculum and would prepare me for college better then the tribal system.*” The same student in a personal conversation explained that tribal school was “*too easy...don’t teach academically*” which thus does not put any challenge on students. He confirmed that there are now more relevant books for tribal education but his experience shows that the teachers “*were lazy and laid-back,*” and could do much more. The tribal school was “*focused on culture and language...with the priority to*

⁵⁹ And also might be surprising especially after the text in previous chapters, however funding, even though it was not studied in a greater detail, is probably behind various experiences at tribally controlled schools, more than the lack of willingness or effort from people involved.

⁶⁰ He revealed his future of being chosen as a spiritual leader, which makes him tied with his tribe, puts responsibilities toward his tribe on him, and he knows he will return to his village after he finishes studies. His academic major is psychology.

graduate...work just to fill statistics...to get by and pass” and the school brought him *“very few useful skills for the college.”* The other student said that he would first attend tribal school because he liked learning his language and then go to state school because he was *“behind in terms of the sciences and math.”*

4. The reasons stated for why and how is access to the tribally controlled education important were not that united. One student said that to have access is important if the education is about that tribe, the tribe then should have access to curriculum. And the importance was stressed only *“if it prepares children in learning and advancing their education.”* The other student emphasized the continuance in passing on *“native values and history to the younger generation.”*

5. Concerning the question with any special comments there were notes about importance of tribes being educated in general and about *“more support when leaving the reservation.”*

To summarize and compare the answers of the two groups there are these conclusions:

1. Concerning the question discussed in point 1 the group attending state schools mostly missed the language and culturally relevant topics as well as being close to the home and with other Native students. On the contrary, these are areas, which were most satisfying for the students at the tribal schools as these were more oriented this way. If state school students missed languages and tribal school students had them as a part of curriculum and even marked them as personally beneficial then it could implicate that the tribal education is better in the sense of the satisfaction on the cultural level.

2. Concerning the question discussed in point 2 the state school students remembered the misinterpreted and mistaken, irrelevant history classes, whereas the tribal school students were satisfied with history knowledge from the Native perspective. In this point tribal schools provide more satisfying education over the state schools again.

3. Concerning the question discussed in point 3 the state school students would rather stay with state school as there is a general suspicion about the quality of tribal school in a sense of academic preparation in general and also about preparation for higher education, which was confirmed by the evidence of the tribal

school students. Thus the state schools score higher, although the deeper reasons are not known. Some students, however, to the benefit and excuse of tribal schools suggested their underfunding, nevertheless there was also a voice against “*lazy*” teachers at the tribal school.

4. Concerning the question discussed in point 4 the state school students almost without exception agreed with the importance of the tribally controlled education. The students of tribal schools were, however, more reserved about too much enthusiasm. Their experience brought them to much wider critical thinking and realizing the existence of many necessary changes which should be done for improvement.

5. In point 5 there were not any special notes except for the one of tribal school student who would appreciate more support after leaving the reservation, which is quite logical that after spending his whole life in the community the step outside is not easy.

To conclude, it seems that the tribally controlled education has a strong support by Native American students, however those who have experienced it might have a little bit better perspective of what do tribal schools amount to and about what should be done to improve it. Nevertheless, there was felt a strong will about tribally controlled education from the students who attended state schools as well as from the students who attended tribally controlled school.

Conclusion

The present paper dealt with Native American education. The aim of the work was to convey what could be Native American education as there are as many ideas about it as there are thinkers. In order to fulfill the task, the thesis was divided into chapters which chronologically introduced different periods that were structured by events, policies, and practices connected with Native American education. The first chapter showed what is, or better to say what was as it does not exist in the absolutely same way today, Native American education, meaning the original one. It showed that Native Indians were educating their children in the holistic way which meant to create a whole person, who is helpful to the community and is able to acquire means for one's own and others survival. Thus the original Native American education developed a system to pass on what was most important for the society.

However, the following chapters provided information about a critical change in Native Americans' lives, which came together with the colonizers to the Americas. The colonizers, as they came from a different world, with different values, different means of survival, and different conceptions about the world, based on their own histories, did not see Native people differently than just savages. Soon the colonizers started to civilize Indians which was connected with Christianization. Since then till the 1960s the education of Native Americans was in hands of white people.

As Lomawaima (1999: 6 - 7) says colonizers felt it was the natural order of God to be dominant over the savages and it was their duty to civilize them. The concept of civilization and Christianization remained in the education of Native Americans for a long time. The colonial period started with two main educational systems such as the catholic approach of placing and educating Indians around monasteries and the protestant approach of devoted individuals' work who were, for example, taking children to their homes and introducing them to white ways of life. The efforts included foundation of so called praying towns where the schools were established for the Indians to be educated in. The colonization period was also typical by the foundation of several colleges meant in particular for Native Americans, however they did not gain much success among Native Americans and some of them ended its Indian colleges.

The main purpose of education during this period was educating Indians who would be than able to spread the Christianity among their communities. Some groups

were keener on this than others; however, the general approach of the Native Americans was not friendly towards white people activities. The Indians resistance during this period was based on the white people behavior which was diametrically different from what they preached.

During the period which started with the constitution of the United States of America in 1776 Indian lives were shaped by governmental policies that often legalized actions that had aggravating impact on Native Americans and thus on their education. The civilization of Indians was now even more associated with their elevation above the savageness through teaching them individualization and sense of private property so they could become useful members of the United States society. From a broader perspective, the general approach typical for this period was assimilation and acculturation, which was happening through the system of various policies developing during the time. The beginning of the era was connected with the civilization of Native Americans, followed by the policy of removing them away from the white settlers, which was advocated by giving them time and space to adjust to new things in their lives, however the reasons for removal was more the need for land for the settlers than any adjustable needs. However, the white people situation required more land and the Indians were thus removed to the reservations, that still was not enough and another solution was the allotment policy which was supposed to create the internal acceptance of individualism, taking care of one's own lot and proper acculturation while living literally next to white people. However, it is evident that all these efforts of the white people imposed absolutely strange, unacceptable, and probably ever surprising ideas on Native Americans.

The objective of the education, which started in more institutional form through day schools, on and off reservation boarding schools and missionary schools, was to introduce republican virtues and democratic freedoms which, once accepted and acquired, would allow the Indians to reach social progress and total assimilation. The education was however mainly vocational and labor oriented and did not allow the Native Americans the promised assimilation. Nevertheless, the resistance of Native Americans toward the white ways continued, as they were being more and more betrayed by many people and the government. It seems that everything what was connected with Indianness was an obstacle to civilization, meaning the Indians' development but at the same time meaning an obstacle to the white civilization or

society, in a physical sense. As the adjustment of the Indians did not go as easily as expected, the policies were changing to comfort the governmental needs, until the education peaked with the off-reservation boarding schools where the children were totally separated from their homes and communities. The experience was mostly painful for the children and for their parents. That is to say that the contact of the children with their tribes was so limited that they, very naturally, had a tendency to return to their homes and Native ways of life.

In the turn of the nineteenth century the governmental policies directed responsibilities of Indians' education towards public schools which were not very interested and at the same time not professionally ready for educating Native Americans. First indications of relieve from the educational struggle and hope for a positive change came in the 1930s with researches about Native Americans, which pointed at the problems in education, especially the lack of more culturally relevant education. However, the time after the Second World War was connected with the termination policy of the acculturated tribes and the direction towards the Indian self-rule turned to ever stronger assimilationists' efforts and bringing Indians to urban areas.

Finally, the self-determination period of the late 1960s triggered the wave of changes in the civil rights. Many new Indian organizations and institutions were established and started their effort towards changes concerning their position within the United States society. Newly realized studies provided suggestions about directions in Native Americans education. This brought educational laws allowing community controlled education with culturally relevant curriculum, use of the tribal languages, establishing of the tribally controlled colleges and overall promotion of higher education for Native Americans. Native American Studies programs started in many colleges and universities which were supposed to bridge the two worlds in the academic world. The programs were and still are open to students of all backgrounds and thus would allow them to learn more about each other worlds.

During the whole period of white people's educating Native Americans, till the 1960s, there were constant assaults on the cultural identity, such as changing the outer appearance of the Indian children in boarding schools as well as inner changes, including change of their names to English names or prohibition of Native languages use. Seemingly amazing might be the fact, that even after 400 years of the Western influence, the tribal communities were able to keep many features connected to their

tribes such as the languages, religions, ceremonies, or arts, and thus they could use them as the foundation for the community and tribally controlled and oriented education. This might be an evidence of a strong coherence of the Indian culture. One could think that it would not be possible to withstand such a long and exhausting struggle; however Native Americans probably have something more than many other cultures. They have long consistent history of education, which was based on a holistic approach and thus did not carry information consisted of pure curriculum as it was known, but information that embraces everything that is connected with that culture. Yet there was another characteristic concerning the Indianness, the endurance. For hundreds of years they were taught to endure many struggles, so they were somehow able to overcome the educational attempts of white society.

The thesis also provided a survey conducted among Native American students at the Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. The survey was intended to find out their experiences with state and tribally controlled education. The students who experienced state provided education claim they missed culturally relevant curriculum and being around other Native students, the question concerning the things they remembered learning about Native Americans, their experience was mainly misinterpreted history classes. On the contrary, the students from the tribally controlled schools stated positive attitude and experience in these two cases. Another discussed topic was whether they would choose state or tribal school, the students of both schools preferred the state schools. The reasons were mostly the quality of the education and adequate preparation for the further college education. There are several reasons for their answers; the main reason indicated is the underfunding of the tribal schools which does not allow to provide proper programs. They all expressed a strong support to the tribal schools, however the students with the tribal school experience were more cautious about blunt support and realize many improvements the system needs.

The thesis outlined the main points concerning Native American education. I am glad I was allowed to write work with such topic and hopefully it created compact paper which can serve to other students, either as a source of information or as help when choosing the topic for the diploma thesis. However, today, I would choose much narrower part of the Native American education, as it was sometimes not easy to follow the line because the topic is absolutely endless. This is also why there are not many names, data, laws, court cases, and offices and agencies or tribe specific information

involved in the thesis, neither many website sources. For an inspiration to further interested students, or for my own further studies, the educational history of one tribe, either pre-colonial, colonial,⁶¹ or just one decade or boarding schools experiences or today culturally relevant curriculum are very interesting areas of research with plenty of resources. Also, the Native Americans are very friendly and often willing to help and welcome you to their communities, at least that is what they said.

⁶¹ In Lomawaima's sense - up to day.

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Appendixes

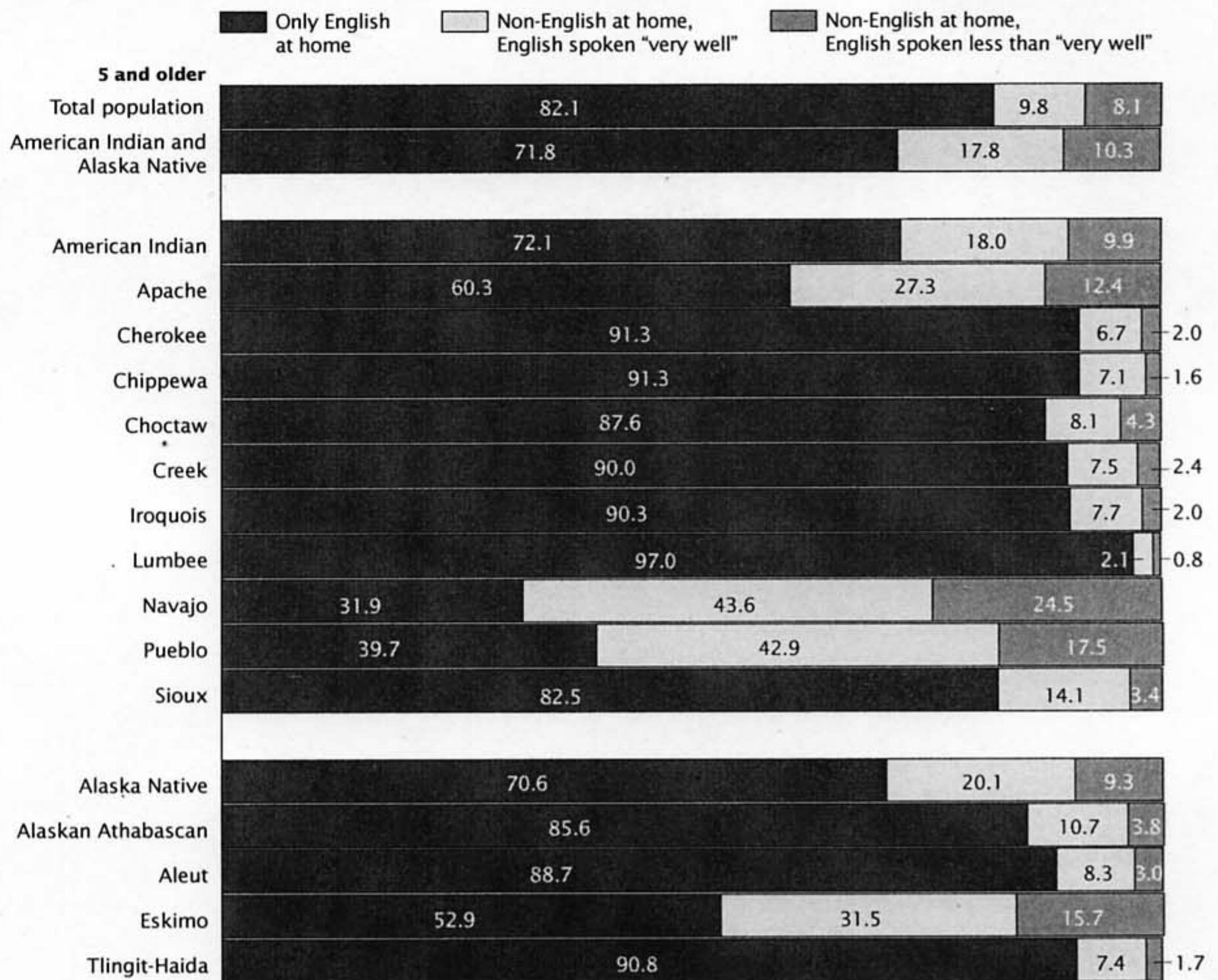
Most American Indians and Alaska Natives spoke only English at home.

- Seventy-two percent of individuals 5 years and older who reported their race as American Indian and Alaska Native spoke only English at home; 18 percent spoke a language other than English at home, yet spoke English "very well"; 10 percent spoke a language other than English at home and spoke English less than "very well."
- Ninety percent or more of Cherokee, Chippewa, Creek, Iroquois, Lumbee, and Tlingit-Haida spoke only English at home.
- Navajo had the highest percentage who spoke a language other than English at home and reported they spoke English less than "very well" (25 percent).
- Ninety-one percent of Tlingit-Haida spoke only English at home, compared with 53 percent of Eskimo.

Figure 3.

Language Spoken at Home and English-Speaking Ability: 2000

(Percent distribution of population 5 and older. Data based on sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf4.pdf)



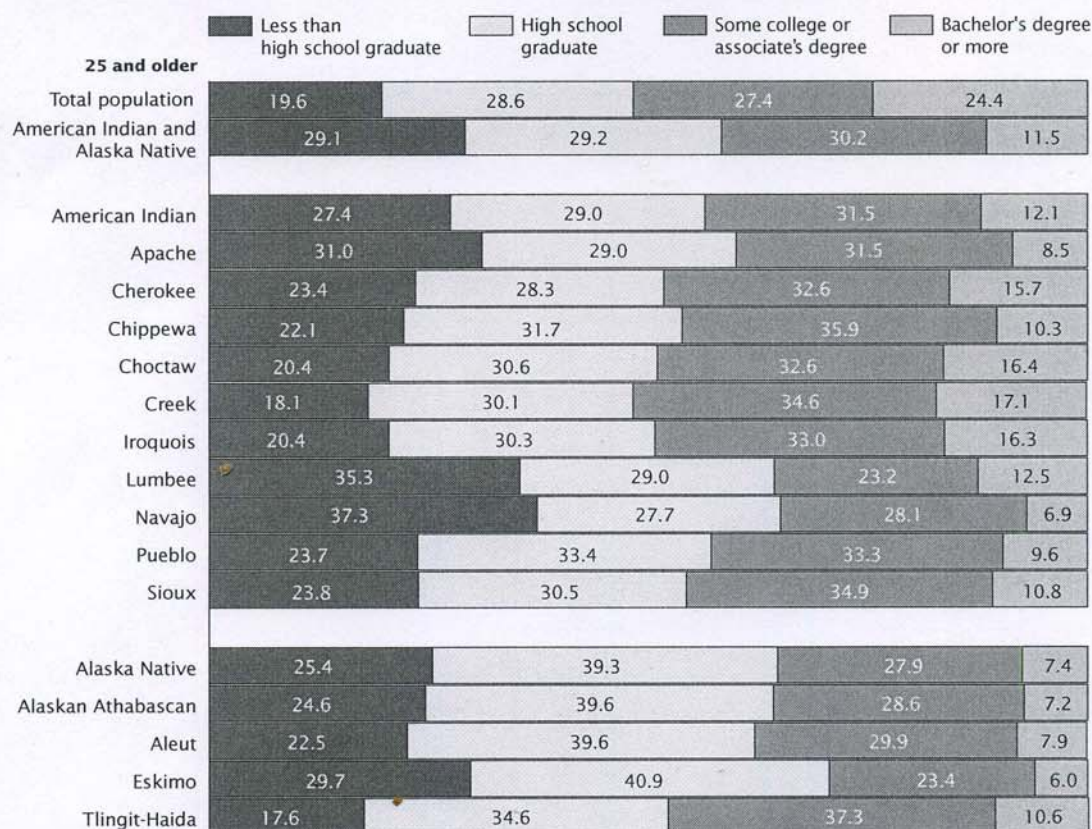
Note: Some percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 special tabulation.

Seventy-one percent of American Indians and Alaska Natives were at least high school graduates.

- The educational levels of American Indians and Alaska Natives were below those of the total population in 2000. Seventy-one percent of American Indians and Alaska Natives 25 and older had at least a high school education, compared with 80 percent of the total population. Eleven percent of the American Indian and Alaska Native population had at least a bachelor's degree, compared with 24 percent of all people.
- Educational attainment varied among the American Indian tribal groupings. About 80 percent of Creek, Choctaw, and Iroquois had at least a high school education. The percentages of the tribal groupings with at least a bachelor's degree ranged from 7 percent to 17 percent.
- Seventy-five percent of Alaska Natives had at least a high school education. Among Alaska Native tribal groupings, 82 percent of Tlingit-Haida had at least a high school education and 11 percent had at least a bachelor's degree, in contrast with 70 percent and 6 percent, respectively, of Eskimos.

Figure 4.
Educational Attainment: 2000

(Percent distribution of population 25 and older. Data based on sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf4.pdf)



Note: Some percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 special tabulation.

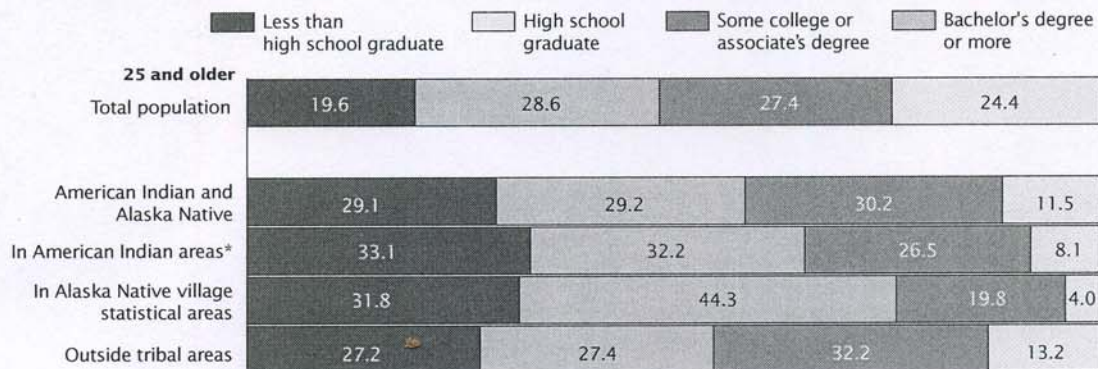
Educational attainment of American Indians and Alaska Natives varied by place of residence.

- Seventy-one percent of the American Indian and Alaska Native population, 73 percent of their counterparts living outside tribal areas, and 80 percent of the total population had at least a high school education. The percentage for American Indians and Alaska Natives in AIAs was somewhat lower, 67 percent.
- A lower percentage of American Indians and Alaska Natives residing in ANVSAs had at least a high school education, compared with those living outside tribal areas (68 percent and 73 percent, respectively).
- The percentages of adults with at least a bachelor's degree among American Indians and Alaska Natives living outside tribal areas (13 percent), the American Indian and Alaska Native population (12 percent), and the total population (24 percent) were higher than those of adults living in AIAs (8 percent) and ANVSAs (4 percent).

Figure 13.

Educational Attainment by Place of Residence: 2000

(Percent distribution of population 25 and older. Data based on sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf4.pdf)



* Includes federal reservations and/or off-reservation trust lands, Oklahoma tribal statistical areas, tribal designated statistical areas, state reservations, and state designated American Indian statistical areas.

Note: Some percentages do not sum to 100.0 due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 4.

Table 1.2 Chart to Establish Degree of Indian Blood

	NI*	1/16	1/8	3/16	1/4	5/16	3/8	7/16	1/2	9/16	5/8	11/16	3/4	13/16	7/8	15/16	4/4
1/16	1/32	1/16	3/32	1/8	5/32	3/16	7/32	1/4	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32
1/8	1/16	3/32	1/8	5/32	3/16	7/32	1/4	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16
3/16	3/32	1/8	5/32	3/16	7/32	1/4	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32
1/4	1/8	5/32	3/16	7/32	1/4	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8
5/16	5/32	3/16	7/32	1/4	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32
3/8	3/16	7/32	1/4	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16
7/16	7/32	1/4	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32
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9/16	9/32	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32
5/8	5/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32	13/16
11/16	11/32	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32	13/16	27/32
3/4	3/8	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32	13/16	27/32	7/8
13/16	13/32	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32	13/16	27/32	7/8	29/32
7/8	7/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32	13/16	27/32	7/8	29/32	15/16
15/16	15/32	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32	13/16	27/32	7/8	29/32	15/16	31/32
4/4	1/2	17/32	9/16	19/32	5/8	21/32	11/16	23/32	3/4	25/32	13/16	27/32	7/8	29/32	15/16	31/32	4/4
1/32	1/64	3/64	5/64	7/64	9/64	11/64	13/64	15/64	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64
3/32	3/64	5/64	7/64	9/64	11/64	13/64	15/64	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64
5/32	5/64	7/64	9/64	11/64	13/64	15/64	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64
7/32	7/64	9/64	11/64	13/64	15/64	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64
9/32	9/64	11/64	13/64	15/64	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64
11/32	11/64	13/64	15/64	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64
13/32	13/64	15/64	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64
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17/32	17/64	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64
19/32	19/64	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64	51/64
21/32	21/64	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64	51/64	53/64
23/32	23/64	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64	51/64	53/64	55/64
25/32	25/64	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64	51/64	53/64	55/64	57/64
27/32	27/64	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64	51/64	53/64	55/64	57/64	59/64
29/32	29/64	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64	51/64	53/64	55/64	57/64	59/64	61/64
31/32	31/64	33/64	35/64	37/64	39/64	41/64	43/64	45/64	47/64	49/64	51/64	53/64	55/64	57/64	59/64	61/64	63/64

Source: Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix area office. Tribal Enrollment (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1980).

Note: To determine the degree of blood of children, find degree of one parent in left column and the other parent in the top row; read across and down. For example, if a child has parents with 11/16 and 5/8 degrees of blood, then that child would be 21/32 degree Indian.

*Non-Indian.



Navajo student Tom Tortino as he appeared at the time of his arrival at Carlisle, ca. 1880. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)



Navajo student Tom Tortino as he appeared three years after his arrival at Carlisle. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution)

One-third of American Indians and Alaska Natives lived on reservations and designated statistical areas.

- In 2000, about 34 percent of the American Indian and Alaska Native population lived in American Indian areas (AIAs).⁹
- Two percent of the American Indian and Alaska Native population lived in ANVSAs, while 64 percent lived outside these tribal areas.¹⁰

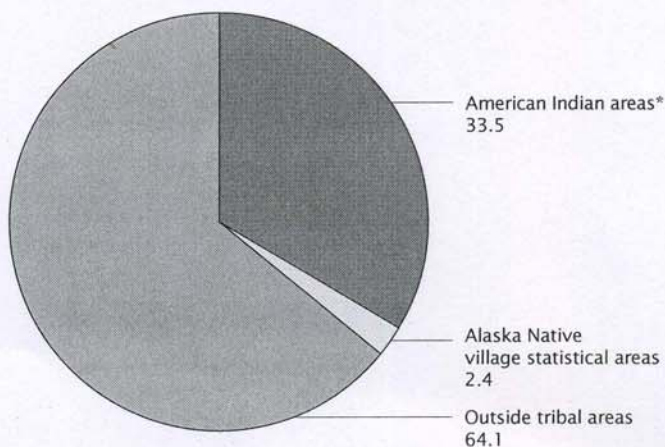
⁹ American Indian areas include American Indian reservations and/or off-reservation trust lands (federal), Oklahoma tribal statistical areas (OTSAs), tribal designated statistical areas (TDSAs), American Indian reservations (state), and state designated American Indian statistical areas (SDAISAs). Selected characteristics for the single-race American Indian and Alaska Native population living in large specific American Indian reservations are provided in Table 3.

¹⁰ Selected characteristics for the single-race American Indian and Alaska Native population living in large specific ANVSAs are provided in Table 3.

Figure 10.

American Indian and Alaska Native Population by Place of Residence: 2000

(Percent distribution. Data based on sample. For information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/doc/sf4.pdf)



* Includes federal reservations and/or off-reservation trust lands (20.9 percent), Oklahoma tribal statistical areas (9.3 percent), tribal designated statistical areas (0.1 percent), state reservations (0.04 percent), and state designated American Indian statistical areas (3.2 percent).

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 4.

Hello,

My name is Olga Sochorova and I am from the Czech Republic where I study at the Masaryk University, Brno.

I am in the 5th (last) year of my masters program studies of English Language and Literature, and Physical Education to be a teacher for secondary schools. My last year is connected with writing a final thesis.

I am glad that I had the chance to stay with a friend in Vermont and was able to go to the Dartmouth College to get resources for my thesis.

Since my thesis deals with Native American Education, the theme not very much studied in the Czech Republic, I would like to add this questionnaire to my thesis.

Please, answer the following questions: (if needed, use the back side of paper)

1. Age:

2. Tribe and state where are you from?

3. What is your academic major?

4. What schools did you attend: (circle)

a) Elementary education: tribal or state?

b) High school education: tribal or state?

5. If you attended a tribal school, please answer this question:

What do you think an education provided by a tribal school brought to you personally?

6. If you attended a state school, please answer this question:

What do you think you missed by not attending a tribal school?

7. What do you remember learning about Native Americans in your school?
(the main things that come to your mind right away)

8. If you could go back and choose (or your parents) would you rather grow up attending tribal school or regular state school? Why?

9. Why did you choose to study at Dartmouth College? (check any that apply)

- ☐ the tradition of Native American education at the College
- ☐ the programs offered to Native Americans
- ☐ prestige of the College
- ☐ financial reasons
- ☐ others (please, specify)...

10. Do you think that it is important for the members of Native American tribes to have access to the tribally controlled education? Please, reason your answer no matter if it is yes or no. Simply why so?

11. How important is the tribally controlled education for today's Native American children (in all levels, or specify elementary, secondary, and college level) and why?

12. Is there anything else you would like to state that is important about the education of Native Americans?

Thank you very much for participating and good luck with your studies. Olga