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AUTHOR Noley, Grayson
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ABSTRACT

For 500 years, European-Americans have attempted to change and assimilate American Indian peoples through various forms of education. Attempts by well-meaning groups to reform Indian education have generally ignored the cultural validation necessary for American Indian children to succeed in American schools. As a result, Indian children frequently are at risk of school failure. Organized in chronological order, this paper reviews historical efforts to acculturate American Indian peoples through education. The first section includes missionary education of Native Americans during the colonial period, Indian students at early institutions of higher education, missionary motivation and failure, and Choctaw development of their own school system offering bilingual and cultural education. The second section covers federal government responsibility for Indian education, coercive Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools that took Indian children from their families, the Meriam report criticizing such schools, the "progressive" notion of a common culture disseminated through public schooling, and relevant federal legislation from 1934 to 1975. The final section discusses potential educational reforms that Native peoples themselves are demonstrating or proposing. These reforms and efforts include Indian participation in educational decision making, parental involvement, tribal activities that honor educational achievement, recruitment of promising Indian students to higher education (particularly teacher education), programs to help Indian teacher aides to become teachers, and culturally relevant curriculum at all levels. Research needs related to American Indian education are discussed. (Contains 29 references.) (KS)

# EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURES

Submitted by

Grayson Noley
Division of Educational Leadership
and Policy Studies
Arizona State University

Tempe, AZ 85287-2411

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## Educational Reform and American Indian Culture

**Chapter Author: Grayson Noley**

### Introduction

In 1540, Tuscalusa[1], learning of the imminent arrival of the Spaniard, Hernando de Soto, sent his son as an emissary to meet and invite this stranger to visit Athahachi, the home of the great Miko. De Soto, of course, had no intention of bypassing this great Mabilian leader, a popular Miko who was recognized as the leader of a large territory. Tuscalusa and other Mabilian leaders also had heard about de Soto but the reputation the Spaniard had gained in a short period of time was one which caused great foreboding.

De Soto arrived in Athahachi to a warm welcome but wasted little time before making his depredatory purposes known as he immediately detained Tuscalusa as a captive. Tuscalusa, ordered to accompany de Soto to the town of Mabila, a densely populated area, did not resist but did manage to send a message telling his people to prepare for the possibility of combat with the Spaniards.

De Soto and most of his soldiers, after a brief journey, arrived in Mabila where he was greeted with the courtesy due a visiting dignitary by being showered with gifts of obvious value. Once inside the confines of the town, Tuscalusa removed himself from de Soto's custody and refused to obey orders to return. When one of de Soto's officers, in frustration, slashed another Miko who refused to

[1]Tuscalusa was the Miko (leader) of the Mabilian Indians, a group belonging to the Muskogean language family and related closely to the Choctaws with whom they became even closer following the de Soto encounter. Mabila was a large fortified town apparently surrounded by fields and an apparently large population. It was located north of the present city of Mobile, Alabama. Later, the Mabilians were known mainly as the source of the so-called Mabilian trade language which apparently was used by traders throughout the southeast.

intercede, the Mabilians fought back and threw the Spaniards out of the fortification, severely wounding de Soto himself. De Soto, while awaiting the arrival of the remainder of his army, planned an assault that resulted in severe casualties among the Mabilians, many of whom died in fires set by the soldiers (Bourne, 1922).

Word about this Spanish assault spread quickly and as a result, de Soto was confronted almost constantly during the remainder of his journey through the southeastern part of North America. He had planned to return to Cuba following his assault on Mabila, however, the booty he and his men had collected in previous raids on native communities was burned in the fires they set during the one of the first major battles between North American natives and Europeans. He, therefore, found it necessary to remain on the continent because he had intended to use the stolen goods as evidence of this continent's riches. De Soto had hoped that this evidence would be sufficient to attract other Europeans to the Florida peninsula where he foresaw himself as the governor of another Spanish-claimed territory.

Less than 100 years later, in 1637, scarcely five years following their first contact with Europeans, the Pequot Indians were nearly completely annihilated. They were attacked by English soldiers and their Indian allies at a time when most of their defenders were away. Many of those not present in the Pequot community at the time of the attack were later hunted down, captured and sold into slavery or killed (Hauptman, 1990). Hauptman suggests that the slaughter of the Pequots "clearly fits the most widely accepted definition of genocide," referring to the 1948 United Nations Convention on Genocide (pp. 76-77). The Puritans justified the action, however, saying that, "Gods hand from heaven was so manifested...that the

name of Pequots is blotted out from under heaven,..." (pg. 76). Fortunately, the slaughter was not as complete as the Puritans thought but the same people who founded Harvard College and accepted a commitment to serve American Indians as well as their own people were clearly guilty of hypocrisy of the first order.

These two examples of first contacts with Europeans represent that misunderstandings between cultures have deadly results. Europeans found the native people to be inconsistent with their images of society and considered them savages. The native people, on the other hand, found the newcomers to be overbearing with their demands and obvious disrespect of American Indian societies. The resulting conflict represented more than mere frustration and anger on the part of the native population. These were the earliest manifestations of the culture clash that continues unresolved despite the passage of half a millennium. The battlefields of today extend to the classrooms and the casualties are the descendants of the people who first greeted the ships that brought hunger, disease, and conquering armies.

The purpose of this paper is to review some of the many attempts to change American Indian people through some form of education. European-American efforts to assimilate native people that have occurred throughout the five-hundred-years of European presence in North America have not been successful. American Indian people continue to value their cultures but their children frequently are "at risk" of failure in American education. Attempts by well-meaning groups to reform education have nearly uniformly ignored the cultural validation necessary for American Indian children in American schools. As a result, American Indian youngsters continue to be classified as less likely to succeed in American schools

than their European-American counterparts. Realistically, one should understand that American Indian youngsters are embattled as they attempt to negotiate their ways through American public schools. They continually must fend off efforts aimed at acculturation and must thicken their skins to racial slurring occurring in classrooms and textbooks.

The rest of this paper is organized in chronological order reviewing historical efforts to acculturate American Indian people through education as a means to render them more acceptable neighbors. There are three major sections. The section on cultural interfaces reviews historic education activities including a description of the Choctaw Nation's efforts to reform itself. The second section discusses the role of the federal government in the operation of schools for American Indians and the reforms of the twentieth century. The paper concludes with a discussion of the potential resolutions that contemporary American Indian people themselves are demonstrating and proposing to reform American education.

## Cultural Interfaces

### Colonial Educational Efforts

The earliest significant interfaces between American Indian cultures and European-American education did not occur until early in the 19th Century. This was more than 300 years after the accident of history that was the precursor of so much misery and suffering among American Indian peoples. Many actions undertaken by the invading Europeans were considered to be educational in nature, especially the efforts of John Eliot in the seventeenth century. However, the Congregationalists in New England and the Franciscans in the southwest provide

two examples of the imposition of European cultures on the original inhabitants of North America.

In the southwest, the Franciscans were builders of missions. The objective of the priests was to convert Indians as a glorification of the Christian faith, their charge in North America as defined by the Pope. Yet, they also seemed to find the Indians useful for other than religious purposes. For example, one finds frequent references to the Indians who accompanied the mission building priests and performed the manual labor required in construction as "servants." However, it seems that rarely did the Franciscans allow them inside the missions they constructed (Forrest 1939, Naylor and Polzer, 1986). The good Franciscans were content to "teach" the southwestern Indians, who had the misfortune to be in their path, only those things deemed necessary for the minimal participation in worship services and for serving the comfort of the Franciscans. In other places, those called servants by the journalists who recorded the travels and work of the Franciscans, especially of Kino, reputed to be the most prolific of the mission builders, may have been called slaves.

In the Protestant northeast, the relationships were somewhat different. Indians did not build missions for the missionaries but they still were exhorted to accept Christianity and to abandon their own beliefs. Szasz, in a recent presentation, provided details about the treatment of one individual, a Mohegan named Samson Occum, who became an instrument of the Christian missionaries (Szasz, 1990). Occum was educated by the missionaries and became a licensed minister who was enlisted to take the Christian message to other northeastern

Indians. He served, according to Szasz, as a cultural broker between the Mohegans, and other Indians of the northeast and the incipient English population.

The primary motive of the missionaries for offering the opportunity to learn in the culture of the invader appeared to be an honest effort to Christianize. However, it may seem to some that the ministers who "sponsored" Occum abused the relationship by using him for fund raising purposes and by their failure to acknowledge the value of his leadership or his talents as a preacher and writer. For his efforts as a Presbyterian minister and school master, Occum's total pay for twelve years equaled the amount paid to three English ministers for one year. Indeed, it appeared that Occum, who was sufficiently chagrined to call this to the attention of the Boston Board of Commissioners, one of two missionary groups under whose auspices he worked, was more a servant to his supposed benefactors than to the God he learned to praise and worship.

**Institutions of Higher Education**

Benefactors of such institutions as Harvard, William and Mary and Dartmouth, are alleged to have recognized the value of extending education to members of American Indian nations. Harvard, in 1650, accepted the Indian College from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Heathen agreeing to educate 25 students per year. There is little evidence that Harvard ever gave much attention to this responsibility, even to the present time. William and Mary also had an Indian College as part of its original mission but, like Harvard, William and Mary failed to pay much attention to this aspect of its purpose.

Dartmouth, originally Moors Indian Charity School located in Lebanon, Connecticut, was first named for one of its earliest benefactors, Joshua Moor, a

farmer of Mansfield (McClure & Parish, 1811 report. 1972). Although the school began under the cloud of the French-Indian War, it survived intact and in 1764 found itself with 30 students, only half of whom were Indians, the balance being English and other Europeans preparing to be missionaries.

In 1769, a charter was issued for a new college in New Hampshire. Eleazar Wheelock, Occums teacher and the driving force behind the movement to provide an education for Indians, was appointed president of this college that was named in honor of the Earl of Dartmouth, its first English patron. Moors Indian Charity School, to which Wheelock did not relinquish his ties, was relocated near Hanover, New Hampshire in 1770 (pp. 49-51). After the Moors School was moved, the Christian association that oversaw it was disbanded and Wheelock asked the Dartmouth Board of Trustees to accept responsibility for the Indian school. The Board declined, stating that their charter gave them jurisdiction only over Dartmouth College and that the two entities, even though they were viewed as one institution, were operated as distinctive institutions. As time passed, the Indian emphasis of Dartmouth gradually faded from prominence in the decision-making process.

**The Missionary's Motive**

The aforementioned efforts were not the only activities aimed at the education of this country's original inhabitants, but they are notable because of the stature these institutions have attained. Individuals like Wheelock felt that it would be more humane to Christianize and otherwise acculturate American Indians instead of exterminating them. This view also was expressed a short time later by

Thomas Jefferson. In a private letter, Jefferson, rationalizing the acquisition of land, stated that,

> the ultimate point of rest and happiness for them [American Indians] is to let our settlements and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix, and become one people (Washington, ed., 185,6 "to Colonel Hawkins," 18 February 1803).

Similarly, Wheelock believed that,

> the least expensive and most efficacious method to make them peaceable neighbors was to form a friendly connection with them by educating their children in the principles of the Christian religion, and teaching them the arts of civil life;... (McClure & Parish, 1811 report. 1974).

Ministers and politicians both demonstrated concern for the education of the American Indian people although not for the same reasons. Wheelock and others like him were evangelists but Jefferson's motive was clearly the acquisition of land. The contrast between these two motives is significant but not inconsistent with the manner in which European-Americans regarded American Indians.

Neither Jefferson nor Wheelock gave any indication that they lent credence to the Indian cultures they encountered. Neither seemed to consider the possibility that their actions were in conflict with cultures that had endured and met the needs of American Indian people for many generations. Rather, the missionaries and politicians of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries dealt with the original inhabitants as groups devoid of culture and religion.

In fact, American Indian nations already had and were using methods for transmitting their accumulated knowledge from one generation to the next. There is little doubt that these methods, for the most part, served the economic, political and social needs of the indigenous groups. Wheelock and others like him did not comprehend this and were, perhaps, driven by high-minded rationalizations, such

as those proposed by McClure and Parish, as they attempted to aggrandize the work of these missionaries. The civilization of those who did not meet the civilizer's criteria was said by Wheelock's biographers to be a slow process. They said,

> It is the work of ages. To enlighten the wild hunter of the forest with a knowledge of the arts and sciences, to inspire him with a taste for the refinements of civilized society, and the practice and enjoyments of true religion, has always been attended with great discouragements (pg. 86).

This was partially designed to excuse what they must have considered a disappointing record of educating those they considered to be without religion and culture. Further rationalizing the work of the missionaries, McClure and Parish stated,

> Enlightened princes have ever found it a vast labor to civilize and reform barbarians. The wonderful exertions of the celebrated Czar, Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, in this work, near the commencement of the last century present a forcible example of the slow progress made in leading nations from a savage to a social life. Persevering courage and wisdom, are necessary in a reformer of wild hunters (pg. 87).

They earnestly pursued their life's work with motivation derived from rationale such as above, despite what may be considered the wrongheadedness of their efforts. In spite of all the well-meaning educational efforts of Wheelock and other missionaries, it cannot be said that they had significant success in the acculturation of those with whom they interacted. However, missionary efforts, especially those of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), did eventually provide a foundation for the development of systems of public schooling in some American Indian groups prior to similar educational advances by the American states (Strong, 1910).

**The Development of American Indian Educational Systems**

It was noted earlier that, before the arrival of the Europeans, the people native to this land already had methods in place for transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next. The Choctaws, one of the largest nations in the southeastern portion of North America, were a well-organized and sedentary people who had developed an advanced level of agriculture. They, as close relatives of the Mabilians, also were among the first native groups on the North American continent to engage in violent confrontations with Europeans. As time passed and there was more interaction with Europeans, the realities associated with their presence became only too well-known to Choctaw leaders.

In 1817, one of these leaders, Pushmataha, came to the conclusion that the most effective method of dealing with the European-Americans was to send Choctaw children to schools in which they could learn the ways of their adversaries. They would be better prepared to cope with European-Americans when they assumed the mantle of leadership (Noley, 1985). Other Choctaw leaders concurred that education was the best investment they could make; a decision that resulted in the dedication of the entire annuities of both the 1816 Treaty of Fort St. Stephens and the 1820 Treaty of Doaks Stand to education (Kappler, 1904). The latter treaty allowed as well for the sale of fifty-four sections of land with the proceeds to be applied to the support of Choctaw schools.

The willingness of the Choctaws to dedicate so much of their own revenue to the support of education resulted in the extension of an invitation for the European-Americans to send teachers among them for the purpose of establishing schools (p.165). Just prior to this, several missionaries had visited some of the southern nations and by 1816, a few had settled among the Cherokees in North

Carolina. A Congregationalist minister named Cyrus Kingsbury, a missionary operating under the auspices of the ABCFM was one of those who settled among the Cherokees in 1816. Scarcely a year later, he decided to move to the Choctaw Nation where he started what eventually became his life's work (p.147).

Upon arrival in Choctaw country, Kingsbury and his colleagues slowly began to establish the foundation of what would become a sophisticated system of public schooling that was better capable of meeting the needs of the Choctaws than its counterparts elsewhere in the United States were of meeting the needs of the their respective communities. Actually, this system was not developed by the missionaries but by the Choctaws themselves although the model was provided by the men and women of the ABCFM. After little more than ten years, the Choctaws already had begun to establish schools without missionary assistance. The missionaries saw the potential competition of these schools and were critical of them suggesting that it was impractical to operate schools where the language of instruction was Choctaw. These schools apparently provided opportunities for adult learning as well as instruction for children. The continued development of these schools was blunted by the removal treaty of 1830.[2] The seed however, had been planted for the development of schools that maintained Choctaw culture and language as well as providing for an understanding of the alien culture.

The missionaries attempted to inculcate Choctaws, as well as other southeastern nations, with the tenets of Christian religion. In doing so, however, they also taught other aspects of their culture. It was their firm conviction that

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[2] The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, signed by leaders of the Choctaw Nation in 1830, provided for the removal of Choctaws from their original homes in Mississippi to lands in what is now the state of Oklahoma.

Choctaws had no religion or culture and this misconception was the driving force behind the missionary zeal to "civilize" them. The missionaries did not allow for differing concepts of life and living and, therefore, ignored every indication that they were dealing with intelligent people who had highly organized and complex societies. This view prevailed well into the twentieth century.

However, the missionaries did understand the value of bilingual education. They decided that if they were to succeed in teaching Choctaws, they first had to offer instruction in the Choctaw language. Cyrus Byington became proficient in this language and translated several religious documents into Choctaw, publishing them to be used as textbooks. Loring S. Williams translated religious hymns into the Choctaw language. The Choctaw hymnbook, still in use today, has the initials LSW on many of its pages, memorializing this Christian zealot (p.224).

Kingsbury and his colleagues established schools throughout the old Choctaw Nation in the state of Mississippi during the 1820s. They vigorously opposed the United States government plan to remove Choctaws to Indian Territory, or what is now Oklahoma. Upon removal, the missionaries of the ABCFM, in a demonstration of loyalty, went to Indian Territory with the Choctaws and continued their educational and evangelistic endeavors. Their educational work now was in cooperation with other efforts sponsored by the Choctaw government.

During this time when American educational leaders such as Horace Mann and others were struggling to establish public schools in the United States, the Choctaws, and as well, their northern neighbors, the Cherokees, accomplished this task following their removal to Indian Territory. The Choctaws (in 1842) and the

Cherokees (in 1838) passed legislation establishing workable systems of free schools before nearly all of the states.

Seven boarding schools, three for boys and four for girls, initially were established by Choctaw legislation with the administration of each contracted to different missionary societies. Then, in 1848, in addition to the boarding schools, neighborhood schools began to be established in the Choctaw Nation serving to make basic education available to all Choctaw children. All educational initiatives of the Choctaw Nation were supported totally from revenue derived from investments, treaty provisions, and incidental government income such as licensing (Noley, 1979).

Two important concepts utilized in the Choctaw Nation during the 1820's, bilingual education and Indian control of schools serving Indian children, continue to create discussion and controversy today. The missionaries of the ABCFM modeled bilingual education even as their counterparts in other societies dismissed the idea as being useless. Indeed, opposition to the value of this instructional necessity continues to be strident and vitriolic in some quarters.

Indian control, the second important concept, only recently has been implemented in modern times. The Rough Rock Demonstration School, opened in the late sixties, was the first contemporary school to be operated by an Indian nation (Roessel, 1977). However, following the passage of the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (88 Stat. 2203), many other Indian nations began to contract with the federal government to take over the operation of schools or opened new schools governed by members of Indian communities. The idea behind these schools is that they should be better able to meet the needs of

Indian children because their governing policies would be made by persons familiar with Indian cultures. This is, of course, preferable to schools governed by the majority who have tended to create policies reflecting their own interests failing to recognize individual and group differences.

Finally, a fund created by the last removal treaty, the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, provided scholarships for students who wished to attend college in the eastern states. This fund was known as the "Forty Youth Fund" and although it was intended to expire within twenty years, it continued throughout the sovereign tenure of the Choctaw Nation (Kappler, 1904).

**Summary**

The Europeans obviously did not consider the possibility that they were facing comprehensive cultures when they first encountered the native peoples of the North American continent. Consequently, they attempted to impose their own cultures and religions on the people they called Indians. When the native peoples were compliant, they found themselves in positions of servitude. When they were not, they were treated as enemies and still were subject to servitude. Indeed, when the Puritans waged war against the Pequots, many of their surviving numbers were sold into slavery.

Eleazar Wheelock and his contemporaries found themselves diving head first into an evangelical mission to convert native people, never pausing to consider the potential legitimacy of their cultures and religions. Wheelock's work was important to American educational history and his contributions will continue to be honored. At the same time, we are indebted to Szasz for calling attention the

important work and contributions of Samson Occum, the talented Mohegan who was misused by Wheelock and his contemporaries.

The missionaries of the ABCFM had learned little from the experiences of Wheelock and his contemporaries, although there is clear evidence that they knew of them. Nevertheless, Kingsbury and the other missionaries who found their way to the Choctaw Nation made it clear that their conception of Indian religion was that of "total darkness," a frequently used phrase. They too attempted to run roughshod over the cultural manifestations of Choctaws and probably never understood that the Choctaws already had rationalized the presence of the missionaries. The Choctaws knew that the missionaries might be useful for their educational offerings instead of for their religious instruction. This is evidenced by the few converts made during their first few years in the Choctaw Nation.

Choctaws learned quickly from the missionaries and after about a decade they already had schools of their own, taught by Choctaw teachers in the Choctaw language. At the same time, the ABCFM missionaries demonstrated their imagination and ability to innovate by learning the Choctaw language and publishing texts for what was, perhaps, the first bilingual education program in North America. So it was that by the end of the 1820s, the combined efforts of Choctaws and ABCFM missionaries modeled two contemporary educational phenomena, bilingual instruction and Indian control.

The Choctaws completed a comprehensive overhaul of their method of transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next following their removal to what is now Oklahoma. They opened a system of public schools that prevailed until Oklahoma statehood. In addition to the public schools, the Choctaw Nation

also operated a system of elite male academies and female seminaries to prepare students for college entry. A scholarship fund created by the last removal treaty enabled forty students annually to attend college in the "states."

The face of Choctaw education changed almost totally during the 1800s as did the Choctaw Nation, in general. However, their change did not parallel changes in other American Indian nations and one should not assume that other native nations **should** have changed in the same way. The focus of the present discussion is on the story and methods of change.

The Choctaws, under the leadership of Pushmataha, decided that educational change was important for the sake of survival but they struggled to remain in control of the events shaping that change. In the end, because of political manipulation by the United States government, control was lost. However, during the time of their political independence, the changes in Choctaw lifestyle and culture were measured and gradual. The society that emerged was far from perfect but it did meet the basic needs of its members and provided them with opportunities for full participation in the derived benefits. In other words, Choctaws reformed themselves, they made decisions and they consulted others when they deemed it necessary. They did not allow others to intimidate them or to unreasonably influence their direction. In this regard, the society was successful.

## The Federal Role and Twentieth Century Reforms

### The Development of Federal Schools

Federal government responsibility for the education of American Indians was grounded in promises made in more than 100 treaties between the United States and various Indian nations. Unfortunately, the manner in which the federal

government met its obligations have not been a source of pride for Americans. In fact, a federal report released in 1969 called government actions a national disgrace and national tragedy (Senate Report, 1969).

An important attempt to reform the government's administration of Indian affairs began during the first term of Ulysses S. Grant and became known as Grants peace policy (Priest, 1969). This came as a result of an act of Congress that established a Board of Indian Commissioners with authority to oversee and direct the administration of Indian affairs (16 U.S. Stat. 40). This Board consisted of nine non-Indian "philanthropists" who immediately launched an attack on the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Ely Parker, a Civil War Union General who became the first American Indian [Seneca] to hold the post of Commissioner. The board felt that the law gave them authority over Parker. In retrospect, it seems possible that the nine "philanthropists" were unwilling to work side-by-side with a member of the race for whom they presumed to have primary authority.

At the time the Board was created, the government invited church organizations to participate in the administration of Indian affairs by recommending individuals to serve as government agents to the various Indian nations. In doing so, the government expressed its displeasure with the existing system of the appointment of military officers and often corrupt civilians to serve as government agents. It was hoped that the churches would recommend persons with genuine religious convictions. Presumably, a Christian minister or layman would be more trustworthy than the military men or civilians who previously held these posts.

Unfortunately, the different Protestant groups argued among themselves about the extent of their power, which was actually limited to making recommendations to the President for these assignments. In some cases, the appointed agents exercised power they did not have legally and kept other denominations from obtaining a foothold. The bickering that ensued resulted in the abandonment of this policy after ten years although the authority was not repealed until the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act in 1935.

The most notorious of the United States efforts to provide education for American Indians was the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Off-Reservation Boarding School (ORBS). The model for these schools is said to have been the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, best known for its football teams led by Jim Thorpe, the man who is considered to be the greatest athlete of the first half of the 20th century (Wheeler, 1979). Although Thorpe brought considerable attention to Carlisle, its other history was less positive.

Captain Henry Pratt, who became a "friend" of Indians when he was assigned to care for them at the time they were held captive by the United States in Florida, eventually escorted some of them to Hampton Institute where they received vocational training. As Hampton was an institution established for African-Americans, Pratt opined that a similar school for American Indians would pay great dividends. Eventually, he found the appropriate officials who were in agreement with him, and was allowed to open a school in an abandoned military post in Carlisle, Pennsylvania (Heuman, 1965).

To fill his school, Pratt toured the northern plains including North and South Dakota, sometimes threatening and coercing Indian parents to send their

children to Carlisle. Eventually Pratt had the necessary students and began to operate his school in strict military style. His philosophy of "kill the Indian, save the child" obviously was intended to rid the children of all vestiges of their cultures, giving them instead, strict military discipline and a non-Indian perspective on life. In order to meet this objective, the children were required to exchange their tribal clothing for contemporary non-Indian clothing and the boys had their hair cut. "Before" and "after" photographs were taken to demonstrate a positive contrast. This act represented the first physical efforts to "kill the Indian."

Again, like the missionaries, Pratt could see no value in the preservation, much less the promotion, of the cultures from which the Indian children emerged. And, like the missionaries, Pratt's level of success was minimal. Students who left Carlisle hoping to join American society found the dues were very high. They frequently found their ways back to the reservation where they found that, due to their long absences, their dues likewise were unpaid. Some children never had the opportunity to go anywhere as they succumbed to diseases and were buried on the grounds of the military establishment. That graveyard, arguably, is one of the saddest places in North America for resting there are children who died far from their relatives who probably never knew the circumstances of death.

Other ORBS were established across the United States, sometimes, like Carlisle, on abandoned army posts. These schools, operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, were similar to Carlisle in their methods of military-like discipline and their efforts to "kill" the Indian. They, too, ran roughshod over the cultures in which Indian children were raised. The Bureau of Indian Affairs long has been

maligned for its shoddy operation of schools but despite this, several of these schools have celebrated centennials in recent years, 100 years of failure.

Conditions at the ORBS became notorious and were studied in a major government review of the Administration of Indian Affairs (The Institute for Government Research, 1928). This study, conducted in the latter 1920's, is popularly known as the Meriam report, and provides information regarding the shortcomings of these schools. It charged, for example, that the manner in which Indian children were made to work violated child labor laws in most jurisdictions. The study also criticized the methods of military discipline describing how students were moved in formation from dormitory to classroom to dormitory. Finally, there were criticisms of the curriculum, the quality of staff preparation and the act of removing children, especially small ones, from their homes taking them far from their parents and other relatives for long periods of time, sometimes forever.

The importance of the study was that, for the first time since the early 1820's, the federal government attempted to assess the impact of its support of educational programs for American Indians (cf.Morse, 1822). Criticism emerging from the report may have led directly to the attention received by Indian affairs in general and education in particular in the years just prior to World War II.

**Twentieth Century Reforms**

The technology and purpose of education always seems to attract the interest of Americans. Usually, when there is someone willing to address an educational issue in public, controversy soon follows. Such was the case with the Committee on Secondary School Studies, more commonly known as the Committee of Ten, which emerged from a meeting of the National Education

Association at Saratoga, New York in 1892. Actually, some of the controversy emerged early, due to the makeup of the committee which included only one representative of the public schools, five college presidents, two headmasters of private secondary schools, The U. S. Commissioner of Education, and the Chairman, Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard.

Due to the fact that no women were appointed, feminists objected, arguing that the majority of teachers in American schools were women and that there was a growing number of girls in secondary schools. Eliot himself was controversial but this leader, who was credited with bringing Harvard to the level of preeminence it has enjoyed throughout the twentieth century, did not shy away. Even the Committee members themselves were critical, one suggesting that the report be named for Eliot since his ideas were so prominent. In any event, this report had major influence on the development of American education and has been reviewed by students of education since that time.

It is unfortunate, however, that this report demonstrated no concern for those outside the mainstream of public consciousness. For example, there was no evidence that concerns about multi-cultural education in any form were even discussed. Some critics maintained that the proposed curriculum was so tightly constructed that all secondary school graduates would have the same education whether or not college was in their future. Indeed, the Committee presumed that the secondary school diploma would be terminal in spite of the fact that the program of study prescribed appeared to be college preparatory (Rippa, 1971).

Clearly, the American agenda for education generally was ignorant of the needs of American Indians as well as other American minorities.

## The Progressives and their Minority Ag nda

Persons involved in the intellectual discourse surrounding progressivism were important actors in the demands for reform in American Indian education which emerged following the publication of the Meriam Report. The two directors of BIA education who followed publication of the report had ties to the ideas attributed to progressivism. Because the ideas associated with progressivism are wide-ranging, it is useful to focus on an issue that may be considered to be at the heart of John Dewey's theory of education and democracy, a landmark of progressivism. The idea of a "common culture," should stir great interest among American Indian education leaders (Dewey, 1900).

Both Horace Mann and Dewey have been characterized as being deeply sensitive to the need for social integration. Dewey is said to have pressed "insistently" for the sort of common schooling that would bring the various creed, ethnic, and class backgrounds into "little embryonic communities." This is in keeping with the often presumed egalitarianism of Thomas Jefferson, who recognized the value of a state (presumably public) system of education and Horace Mann who is recognized as the champion of the common school movement. But, in fact, the thinking of Dewey and Mann may go beyond simple democratic inclinations.

The danger in this line of thinking, as I see it, is in the assumption that it is correct to develop a "common culture." It would seem that focusing on the development of a sound political state, founded on the basic fundamentals of democracy and egalitarianism, would be an admirable goal. One does not contest this line of thinking. However, American Indian people have found that the

manner in which American schools have attempted to do this is through their assimilation into a European-American culture. A movement toward a "common culture" should mean that all groups would sacrifice a part of their cultures in order to meet all others at some point at which new norms would be established. What actually seems to occur, however, is that small groups are compelled to discard many aspects of their cultures in order to conform to a European-American mainstream.

Schools clearly have been the instruments of assimilation in the twentieth century and this is what American Indian people have nearly unanimously rejected for many years. Several years ago, Cremin (1980) concluded, not surprisingly, that the common school thrives best where there is a reasonable homogeneity of race, class and religion within the school population. It is important to document what sometimes has been painfully obvious to those denied access to learning because of differences in race and culture.

More recently, Goodlad (1984) asserted that "schools reflect the surrounding social and economic order". He suggests, therefore, that,

> if the school is to be anything other than a perpetrator of whatever exists in the society, states and local school districts must set - if they have a mind to - school policies that to some degree transcend and minimize the role of the classroom as reproducer of the culture (pg. 161).

This appears to be a rather radical suggestion in today's conservatism as it appears to reject what is nurtured by society. It offers commentary on the quality of life in some quarters and on the heterogeneity of cultures and conditions. It also appears to suggest that new norms are desirable, similar to the Dewey notion of a

"common culture." In any event, it is, at the least, a more realistic view of the status quo of the nineties.

At the same time that the progressives were waxing philosophic about the notion of a common culture, African Americans, American Indians, Hispanics and others systematically were being denied access to the benefits of public schools. African Americans did not have access to public schooling on an equal basis due to the U. S. Supreme Court's affirmation of the doctrine of "separate but equal" (Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896). American Indians had limited access to public schooling due to the reluctance of some states to recognize their responsibility to them as citizens. This may have been prolonged by the presence of boarding and day schools operated for Indians by the BIA. Hispanics were and are denied access due to a reluctance of some jurisdictions to recognize the responsibility to provide instruction in Spanish.

Finally, it should be made clear that school availability and access to education are separate issues. A school can be located across the street but not be accessible as many American minorities have known for many years. A school can be available to American Indian and Hispanic kids but not accessible due to differences in language. In fact, the extent to which minority children were not allowed to attend mainstream schools, raises questions regarding the extent to which Cremin could make judgments about schools with culturally diverse populations.

The progressive, Will Carson Ryan, who became head of BIA education during the Hoover administration and who was a member of the survey staff of the Meriam report, established a new attitude in this agency. This was an attitude of

tolerance and a desire to understand the Indian population. When Ryan was succeeded by Willard Wolcott Beatty in 1932, the BIA had another progressive educator whose administration was characterized by attempts to bring an understanding of Indian cultures to the government's schools.

During the Beatty years, the BIA was under the leadership of a liberal bureaucrat who, like Ryan, believed that decision-making would be better if it were based on a knowledge of Indian cultures as opposed to the intuitive judgments of politicians and bureaucrats. Bilingual education, recognition of the importance of family and other ideas began to find their ways into these BIA schools that punished Indian children for speaking their own languages. Unfortunately, the onset of World War II ended the activities designed to be more culturally appropriate for American Indian students. The post-war conservatism of Congress was not friendly to diversity in America, and abuses reminiscent of earlier times were not uncommon in post-war America.

**Focus on Legislation**

Congressional action requiring change in the administration and delivery of American Indian education began in the political climate of the Great Depression. The Johnson-O'Malley Act, passed in 1934 (48 Stat. 596), sought to encourage public schools to enroll American Indian children and offered, for the first time, a per capita inducement. This action appears to have followed a Meriam Report (1928) comment lauding the government's plan to transfer Indian children into the public school system. Four caveats were given, however, with one of them being,

> that the federal authorities retain sufficient professional direction to make sure the needs of the Indians are met; (pg. 415)

The Johnson-O'Malley Act authorized the BIA to make contracts with states for the purpose of providing education and other types of assistance. The act also allowed federal regulation of the implementation of the law, including the establishment of minimum standards for services (48 Stat. 596).

The regulations growing out of the legislation were poorly enforced for more than three decades before demands by various American Indian groups caused the government to redraft regulations and monitor their enforcement. Prior to this, the abuse of the Johnson-O'Malley Act included the diversion of funds granted to the public schools into the general budgets. The Indian students, to whom benefits were supposed to accrue, were not served.

Parents are now more involved in the administration of the Johnson-O'Malley Act by virtue of the Parent Committees. The Parent Committees are given authority by federal regulation to make decisions about the manner in which the public school may use the funds it receives for the benefit of Indian children. Although in some jurisdictions these committees are still ineffective, they are growing in strength. Among other things, they provide a training ground for participation in school governance through membership on boards of education.

World War II and the Korean Conflict exposed large numbers of American Indian people to life off the reservation and out of the rural areas where they mostly lived prior to the wars. Following their return to civilian life, many of these former soldiers decided to explore life in urban areas taking advantage of the G.I. Bill for college and the BIA's Relocation Program for job training. Although these opportunities seem to have offered new lives for American Indians, the poor management of the Relocation Program served to strand some individuals in urban

areas without training or jobs and some believe that this was the beginning of enclaves of what commonly are called urban Indians. Urban Indians were unable to access services in the same way as their relatives who chose to remain on the reservation so health, employment and educational needs often went unmet.

In the latter part of the fifties, the BIA embarked upon another program that has proven to be far more successful. The Higher Education Grants Program provides educational support in varying amounts to federally recognized Indian college students nationwide. Although the amounts available are small and must be distributed to growing populations of college-going American Indian students, the program usually is the first financial aid contact made by students seeking funds to support their educational ambitions. Unfortunately, the numbers of applicants in some cases soon will far outstrip the available funds. This is due, partially at least, to the decision of some tribes to allow tribal membership, and thus, eligibility, to large numbers of individuals with minuscule degrees of Indian blood.

The Indian Education Act of 1972 was intended to encourage the public schools to become more involved in the provision of activities designed to meet the unique, culturally related education needs of American Indian children. It was similar to the Johnson-O'Malley Act in that it also required that a Parent Committee agree to the programs offered.

The Indian Education Act also was subsequent to the publication of a widely publicized government study; Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge, popularly known as the Kennedy report. As in the Meriam Report, there were criticisms of the failure of federal policy, of national attitudes, and of the education itself. A dominant policy of coercive assimilation was blamed

for these failures, a theme not unlike the criticisms of the activities of the missionaries of centuries past. It appears to be time for policy makers to listen to the American Indian people who so often have been the victims of the federal government's ineptitude.

In 1975, the United States Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (88 Stat. 2203) that permitted, among other things, opportunities for American Indian nations to enter into contracts with the federal government to perform services previously performed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or Indian Health Service. This has proven to be useful for Indian nations that have the organizational structures to assume these responsibilities and demonstrates in these instances that Indian people do not need a patronizing federal government constantly making assumptions about their needs.

**Summary**

What has been the net impact of American education on American Indian society? Visions of American Indians imbued with European values and living neo-American lifestyles held by early politicians such as Thomas Jefferson and early religious leaders such as Eleazor Wheelock did not materialize in the nineteenth century. Continued attempts to assimilate American Indians in the twentieth century have been found to create more problems.

Only recently have influential non-Indians begun to understand that cultural differences do not render people less civilized, only somewhat different. One is careful to note the fact that many American Indian people have found individual successes in a variety of professions despite the experiences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It should be highlighted that American Indians of many

nations have learned how to do more than just survive in the American culture as they have used the knowledge and skills obtained to do just as Pushmataha envisioned in the second decade of the nineteenth century. This great Miko suggested then that it was necessary for Choctaws to be educated in the ways of the Europeans so when negotiations became necessary, they would understand the needs and motivations of their adversaries as well as their own.

Problems associated with the poor and unimaginative administration of schools and other aspects of Indian affairs by the BIA, as documented in the Meriam and Kennedy Reports, and the reluctance of the public school systems to confront and address intelligently the existing cultural differences, have created chasms deep and wide. The work required to bridge these chasms and the need for overhauling the systems serving Indian people will be undertaken by a small cadre of American Indian educators. As time progresses, this cadre will continue to grow and the chasms will grow smaller. For the present, however, a distressing need is for the preparation of more American Indians as educators, and for the improved preparation of non-Indians who necessarily must serve as teachers of American Indian children.

## Resolutions

### Introduction

Throughout the history of American Indian and European American relationships, the latter have misperceived the former. From the beginning, it is clear that Europeans gave no consideration to the possibility that American Indian cultures were substantive and useful, or even that they existed. This resulted in a pattern of behavior that consistently led European Americans to try to change

American Indian people so that they would best conform to European views of civilization. This ethnic arrogance did not allow for the development of relationships based on mutual respect and egalitarianism. Rather, the most benevolent of the Europeans sought to impose religious beliefs and sweep away the cultures of American Indian people. The most militant sought to sweep American Indians from the face of the earth.

Relationships between American Indians and European Americans have not improved in many respects during the present century. Some may argue that changes have occurred to the extent that instead of fighting against the U.S. Army, as in the nineteenth century, now American Indian men and women proudly serve in the American military forces. However, not all Americans are aware that American Indian people have been fighting on the side of the U.S. military since the Revolutionary War. Indeed, there has been an American Indian General in most wars beginning with the revolution. Unfortunately, the experience of many Indian veterans has been that while they were valued as soldiers, their value as Americans when they returned from the wars was ignored.

Others might argue that changes have occurred to the extent that American Indians are now full and equal citizens of the United States with all the rights and responsibilities implied. Despite this reality, American Indian people have been treated as second class citizens and now rank at or near the bottom in nearly every social index used as measures of human suffering in the United States. Education is only one of these indices, although, perhaps the most important due to its potential for aiding in the improvement of other categories.

**Indian Control and Involvement**

American Indian education, using nontraditional methods, thrived in nineteenth century America, as exemplified by the successes of the Cherokee and Choctaw Nations. These Indian nations developed and implemented educational models that were successful to the extent that the mean educational attainment of their citizenry exceeded that found in the adjacent states of Kansas, Arkansas and Texas.

Presently, American Indian education leaders believe that the performance of their children would improve markedly, if they had the same opportunity to control education that the Choctaws and Cherokees had more than one hundred years ago. It seems ironic that of the two models of education exemplified in the nineteenth century, the boarding schools developed by non-Indians and the academies and neighborhood schools developed by the Choctaws and Cherokees, the one that prevailed for Indian people was the non-Indian model and the one that prevailed for all other Americans was the Indian model.

If anything is clear about American Indian education, it is that Indian people must become equal partners in the decision-making processes that create the conditions within which American Indian children are educated. This means that where and to the extent possible American Indians should take over the schools presently operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and create other schools where their children are either not served or are inadequately served by the local institutions. It also means that American Indian people must take advantage of the rights of participation and involvement given them by the Johnson-O'Malley (JO'M) and Indian Education Acts (IEA) and use these opportunities to guide and

influence the curricula and programs offered by the public institutions their children attend.

American Indian parental involvement is critical to the future educational development of their children. Parents can monitor and control the assimilation processes that continue to occur in the schools to the detriment of individual self-esteem. Parents are the ones who can review the texts and other print material used in schools as a means of identifying the racial slurring that continues to be found in the assignments of elementary and secondary school students alike. Parents must become proactive and serve on boards of education in institutions where their children are distinct minorities for these are the schools where they are most "at risk."

In many instances, JO'M and IEA parent committees have served to perform the roles intended by the legislation. They have used the authority given by the laws and used it for the improvement of the schools' regular educational programs and, as well, for the development of after school and summer educational activities. These activities have ranged from basic skill development to "latchkey" programs to enrichment programs for high achieving students. These committees also have worked to recognize the efforts made by Indian children by honoring them in special ceremonies as a means of reinforcing positive behavior.

Tribal organizations also can reinforce parent involvement and student achievement in a variety of ways. They can sponsor honoring activities for high school graduates such as is done by the contemporary Choctaw and Cherokee Nations and provide financial support for post-secondary educational pursuits. But, if honoring educational achievement is important, getting the students to that point

obviously is important. Parent committees and tribal organizations should work together to promote activities that expose elementary and junior high school aged students that opportunities really do exist upon high school graduation and that there are many people who are interested in them as individuals. Parent committees who honor achievement and participation by students in these grades demonstrate to students that someone cares and that they are valued. This is an activity now engaged in by many parent committees in all parts of the United States and, although there is no research to show the impact, the responses of students and their parents clearly are positive and encouraging.

An activity that is supported by the literature is the early recruitment of students by both universities and career representatives. At the Cherokee Nation several years ago, the education department began sponsoring a "career" day for junior high school aged students. This event has grown into an annual affair that attracts representatives of a variety of professions and institutional representatives from local as well as state and national institutions of higher education. The early identification and recruitment of minorities in a variety of areas but especially in teacher education is recognized in the literature as an especially important strategy (Case, Shive, Ingebretson, & Spiegal, 1988).

Project Prime at Arizona State University recognizes the value of early identification and takes the Cherokee Nation model a step further. The students identified are also assessed for their academic weaknesses and given the opportunity to improve their skills so that by the time they are ready to choose a university, the universities are hoping they will choose them. Project Prime also works with the parents of these youngsters giving them the confidence that their

children are not only college material but that their parents can help them get there. This is in recognition of the importance of family in American Indian communities. The success of one member of the family is a success for all.

**Cultural Validation**

American Indian children must have the opportunity to grow into adulthood with the understanding that they are worthwhile individuals who are equal to all other Americans. They must believe that they are respected for their Indianism as they respect others for their individual worth. They must believe that they are valued in American society in general to the extent that they can achieve in any way they choose according to their individual talents. But parents alone cannot be expected to accomplish all this on their own. They have the right to expect the cooperation of institutions of higher education who train the professionals who staff the schools most of their children attend.

American society has a responsibility to serve all Americans equally as well, a mandate that is loaded with implications. This does not mean that non-Indians must become modern missionaries and impose their values but it does mean that elementary and secondary schools must strive to employ as teachers and administrators American Indians who are qualified for these positions. It means that teacher training institutions must seek out and recruit these Indian people and provide them with the technical skills required of individuals who teach in America's schools without denying them the opportunity to maintain and use their cultural heritage. This is because the modeling that occurs due to the presence of American Indians in significant roles in the school validates both the presence of the Indian student and the institution itself.

Institutions for teacher education must strive as well to discover ways to better prepare non-Indian teachers of Indian youngsters to serve the unique needs of these children and their cultures. This is in recognition of the fact that teachers generally are prepared to serve a non-Indian population and because of this, Indian students are left with instructors who have no knowledge or concern for their educational and individual needs. This creates an inequality due to the fact that teachers **are** knowledgeable of the educational and individual needs of non-Indian students because their preparation has focused on this "middle" ground.

One of the ways in which teacher education might better serve American Indian populations is through the development and delivery of "on-site" programs. There are many teacher aides hired by both JO'M and IEA programs who are both capable of and interested in becoming certified teachers. Unfortunately, these teacher aides are, in general, individuals who may be the sole support for their families or have some other valid reason to make regular attendance at a university not feasible. As a practical matter then, "on-site" teacher education for American Indian communities appears to be the most promising method for increasing the number of American Indian teachers.

Although it is probably advisable that at least a small amount of work be taken "on-campus," most of the actual learning experience is recommended to be given either at the school where the teacher aides are employed or in another location near their homes. Teacher aides might be given some credit for the classroom experiences they are getting at the same time they attend both lower and upper division classes which may be delivered using any number of innovative ways including interactive video as well as the traditional classroom.

Certain structural adjustments must be made for the sake of cultural validation on university campuses as well as elementary and secondary schools. American Indian students at all levels have the right to expect that the intellectual and emotional demands they bring to the institution have the same chance of being met as those of majority students.

> ...where opportunities are present for reinforcing values attributed to American middle class culture - such as are embodied in curricula that focus on Eurocentric histories, traditions, and so on - similar opportunities should be available for minority students. Minority students who do not have the opportunity to have their existences validated are students who do not have an equal opportunity to grow intellectually and emotionally. Therein lies a major shortcoming of university support for minority students (Noley, 1991, pp. 109-110).

Universities and public schools are obligated to respect and protect the cultural integrity of its American Indian students just as it does for its majority. At the university level this could mean a duplication of academic programming offered such as tutoring, counseling and advising among other services. It also might mean that curricula should be examined for its ability to provide equal validation for all American based cultures. Social opportunities also are important and they are embedded in such extra-academic activities as Indian clubs with various emphases and campus cultural centers.

It is probably more important to examine curricula at the elementary and secondary levels. In their formative years children should not be subjected to attacks on their cultural integrity because they personalize these assaults and do not understand that they result from intolerance and ignorance. When these attacks come in the guise of learning, it is not surprising that students become confused and seek to reject what they consider personal affronts to their dignity.

Elementary and secondary schools that find ways to honor American Indian cultures in addition to screening text materials for offensiveness are institutions that are offering education on an equal basis to their students. Although some may choose to argue that screening text materials for offensiveness is the same as censoring, they should be informed that it is clear that the literature already has been screened for its offensiveness to the majority population. It is necessary to perform the same task for the benefit of American Indian children and other American minorities.

**Research and Development**

One of the great frustrations of examining the education of American Indian people is that frequently, in large data sets, their numbers are not available specifically. Rather, they are combined with other small groups in the "other" category. This occurs even when the subject of the data collection is minority populations.

Unfortunately, even when data describing American Indians are presented, they may be unreliable due to the widely varying methods of defining just who can be categorized as American Indian. Because some tribes allow anyone who can trace their heritage to an Indian ancestor to be enrolled as a full member and others require a high degree of Indian blood to claim membership, a person of one tribe with a small degree of Indian blood can be enrolled while another with a higher degree in another tribe cannot obtain membership. However, tribes do have the right to determine their membership so researchers are advised to be aware of the differences so their judgments might be tempered where necessary.

There continue to be burdensome issues which require specific research to be conducted. For example, there is a small but growing, yet inadequate, literature on American Indian school dropouts. A series of specific studies should be commissioned focusing on tribal groups and geographically bound groups. Means of conducting ongoing dropout studies are available due to public school participation in JO'M and IEA programs but it will be necessary for tribes and the appropriate federal agencies to place a priority on research. Lest there be any doubt, the appropriate agencies are the Indian Education Programs of the U.S. Department of Education and the Office of Indian Education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior.

At the postsecondary level, there also are opportunities for research focusing on success or persistence. Again, tribes contracting for the administration of the Higher Education Grants Program are at least potential custodians of a considerable amount of data on the college-going American Indian student. This is another area in which there is a small but growing body of literature, mostly dissertation research, but yet enough to have some utility for those charged with the responsibility for retention.

A key to the continued development of research capability of tribes is the creation of tribal partnerships with universities. Research institutions that have relationships with state and local governments should consider that tribes have the same needs for research and development activities and should be thought of similarly. In some cases, data are being collected and held on a regular basis but never analyzed and used for developmental purposes. Professors looking for interesting areas of research should seriously consider these opportunities.

Clearly, there are many areas and opportunities for research and development with tribes. Tribal governments can benefit from the knowledge potential available and realizing this should establish priorities and the mechanics for partnerships with universities and for the development of their own basic research initiatives.

**Ideas and Activities**

Although it is clear that certain programs and activities have given opportunities for educational development to Indian people, the extent to which commonly accepted educational methods are useful with American Indian children is sometimes questionable. Understanding this, various American Indian educators have identified approaches that appear to be useful in serving their children. For example, the view that American Indian children have unique learning styles which should be understood and accommodated by teachers is a position advocated by many prominent American Indian educators (cf. Swisher and Deyhle, 1989). Other American Indian educators have found that "holistic" approaches are useful and derive success while still others have become enamored with theories of hemispheric dominance.

American Indian educators find themselves being rather practical in their approaches to solving educational problems. The tendency is for educators and tribes to identify specific problems and attack them directly. For example, the problem of drug and alcohol abuse has become an educational priority due to the impact it has on children in schools. Curricula to combat this problem have been developed by tribes and educational institutions and have found varying degrees of success.

Teen pregnancy has been the cause of unknown numbers of dropouts. A program developed at the Cherokee Nation, modeled after another serving a different population, was intended to give pregnant girls a place to continue their education at the same time they were given the prenatal attention they may never have otherwise received. The young mothers could remain in the center even after their babies were born learning, in addition to math and science, techniques of child care. Indeed, some mothers stayed in the alternative schooling situation until they graduated.

In boarding schools, students come from a wide variety of backgrounds and find themselves in academic trouble sometimes because of poor preparation and sometimes because the regular classroom is insufficiently stimulating. A "Saturday Academy" developed at Sequoyah High School sought to address this problem by supporting the additional needs of both extraordinarily talented students as well as those who needed help just to keep pace with the rest of the class. A variety of innovative classes were given on Saturday mornings in addition to other activities such as visits to university campuses, historical sites and industrial facilities. A ropes challenge course was constructed to aid in the development of self-confidence and to teach the value of cooperation. Tutoring was available to students on a daily basis as a result of this program. But the innovativeness of faculty led to the development of a design class wherein students had the opportunity to learn about robotics in one year and to design, build, launch and recover rockets during another. Other faculty took advantage of opportunities to find imaginative ways to assist lower achieving students to obtain a grasp on basic

skills. Social skills were taught and other confidence building exercises were provided in a variety of other innovative activities.

These are examples of the kinds of direct approaches to problem resolution that are simple in appearance, simple in their implementation but complex in concept given that something like a ropes challenge course can successfully address serious problems related to trust and cooperative behavior. However, one must not be satisfied that activities such as those described in this brief section are answers to the serious problems of American Indian education. These are not long term solutions; rather, they are direct approaches 'esigned to "stop the bleeding" so that good and imaginative educators can have the time to develop plans that will address the long term needs of American Indian children.

In conclusion, it should be said that the educational problems presented by American Indian youngsters are, in reality, manifestations of hundreds of years of unequal inter-relationships. Problems created over a period of five-hundred years cannot be solved tomorrow.

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