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The Persistence of Language and Culture Activism in the Face of Colonization:
The Effects and Unintended Consequences of
Native American Educational Policies From 1880 to Present

by

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Thesis Abstract--Idaho State University (2022)

Colonizers have used language and education as tools to acculturate colonized peoples. This thesis examines these aspects of the colonial relationship between the United States government and Native American groups, in a historical context. It explores how language and cultural repression by the government paradoxically created resistance to acculturation and produced activists that preserved their peoples' languages and customs. This is done through examining the United States' obligations to the education of Native American groups under the law, the government's Native American policy and discussing what informed changes in this policy over time. Native American youth in the Indian Affairs system from the 1880s to the 1940s exercised their agency at school by resisting full acculturation through the continued use of their indigenous languages, in spite of the potential consequences. It is this resistance to acculturation that has led directly to the historical and modern activism, which has preserved many Native American cultures and languages.

Key words: Native American History, Language, Education, Law, Shoshone, Apache, Day Schools, Boarding Schools, Indian Policy, Revitalization

Introduction

The surest way for a colonizer to destroy a subject people's culture is to destroy their language. This is the method that has been used by colonial systems around the world; to subdue, and to subject, native populations. This is no different in the context of the colonial westward expansion of the United States of America. Native American tribal land was swallowed rapidly by European settlers. This was followed by a push from the government of the United States, post Civil War, for tribes to become assimilated into the European Protestant culture which was dominant in the United States at the time. This met with a certain level of success, but the process was never complete. The unforeseen consequence of these actions was that for every method used by the government to destroy Native American culture, those same methods created activists who then resisted the government's pressure.

Treaties between tribes and the United States government regulated interaction between the political entities by the use of written language to formalize these agreements. It is the interpretation of the language used in these treaties, done by the judiciary of the United States, that has both harmed and helped the tribes to assert their rights.¹ These treaties allowed for the government of the United States to administer standardized education to the tribal youth.

In the late-nineteenth century this education was undertaken at boarding schools on the reservation. During the first half of the twentieth century, day schools on the

¹ Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbara Cosens, "Cultural Linguistics and Treaty Language: A Modernized Approach to Interpreting Treaty Language to Capture the Tribe's Understanding.," *Environmental Law* 50, no. 2 (2020): 420.

reservation were more common, but the Bureau of Indian Affairs operated boarding schools off reservation. These boarding schools taught a government approved curriculum, and the dominant culture of the United States was introduced to the Native American students. For most of the history of the United States oversight of the educational process, especially during the height of the federal boarding schools, native language, dress, and traditional arts have been frowned upon in favor of acculturating Native American youth into the larger American society.² Native Americans have struggled to maintain their cultures and languages in the face of this ongoing pressure by the government of the United States.

The research for this thesis will focus on, but not be limited to, the Uto-Aztecan speaking groups. These include the Shoshone and Bannock Tribes of southern Idaho, along with the Duck Valley Shoshone on the Idaho-Nevada border, with the various Shoshone communities in the western United States. The Shoshone people once occupied a territory that included pieces of six different states, including Idaho, Nevada, and Wyoming, among others.³ This thesis will also include the bands of Western Apache in Arizona, with a focus on the Apache who live at Cibicue on the White Mountain reservation. It will explore historical context of how language and oral traditions persisted, how they were used to resist indoctrination and loss of culture, and the effects of prominent activists.⁴ This information will be supported by the experiences of other Native American groups, such as the Blackfoot, Cherokee, and Kiowa who do not share the same language family but have been challenged by the same policies. This thesis will explore the

2 Stan Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy* (Helena: Montana State Office of Public Instruction, 2001), 26–27, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED456945.pdf>.

3 Raymond Yowell, interview by Norm Cavanaugh, May 8, 2006, Great Basin Indian Archives, https://www.gbcnv.edu/gbia/gbia_docs_oralhisttrans.html.

4 Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 30.

attempts of the United States government to silence the Native speech and culture of the Native American tribes. It will show how some Native American individuals and groups have used their own agency and activism during the twentieth century to preserve their language and culture.⁵

The westward expansion of the United States of America constituted the colonization of a vast territory with an existing population. The United States government pursued a policy of coercive acculturation during the 19th and 20th century, which attempted to erase the culture and language of Native Americans. The organized tribal governments of the Shoshone and Bannock Tribes, and Western Apache, along with local tribal activists, worked to preserve their culture. For many Native American groups, culture and landscape are tied together by language and oral tradition.⁶ Studying the ways by which tribal members used language to resist the full subsuming of their cultures provides an opportunity to address the problems inherent in the American colonization process. It can show us how communication between the tribes and the government can be improved through better mutual understanding.

It would appear that the Shoshone bands and tribes, and the bands of the Western Apache, have at least seen some successful activism in preserving their language and culture in the face of harsh pressures that have been put upon them by the government. This activism is evidenced by the retention of parts of their traditional knowledge and language, and an apparent cultural and language resurgence in the early 21st century. It is known that the United States government undertook the indoctrination of Native

5 Yowell, interview.

6 Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, 7.

American children on a massive scale during the late 19th and early 20th century. The damage done to the cultures of Native Americans through this acculturation process have had massive ramifications, and the United States government achieved much of its goals. Had the government's actions been a complete success, the entire culture and lifeways of all of the various Native American groups would have been erased. The type of language used in the various treaties, and the policies of, and actions by, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its predecessors, tied the hands of the tribal governments politically. How did the tribes successfully retain their cultures?⁷ If the United States government failed at completing the task of indoctrination and acculturation, then is it due in part to the activities of individuals and families within the tribes? I posit that because Culture is transmitted via language, that the continued use of a culture's oral traditions, along with its original language, can be used as a buffer against the purposes of colonizers to acculturate indigenous people into the larger whole. This thesis will explore this answer to see if it is valid.

How did Native American individuals and families use language and oral tradition to resist indoctrination by the school system, can this be verified historically and if so, who were the activists and what methods were used in their resistance? Also, how effective was this resistance in preserving the core pieces of Native American culture?

In the era from first contact with Europeans until the current day, Native American education has taken many forms. There have been day schools both on and off the reservations, as well as on and off the reservation boarding schools.⁸ Depending on location and time period

⁷ Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbara Cosens, "Cultural Linguistics and Treaty Language: A Modernized Approach to Interpreting Treaty Language to Capture the Tribe's Understanding,," 420.

⁸ Ellison Jackson, interview by Norm Cavanaugh and Joe Ducette, January 27, 2006, 2, Great Basin Indian Archives, https://www.gbcnv.edu/gbia/gbia_docs_oralhisttrans.html.

these schools may have been operated by the federal government, religious organizations, or the tribes themselves.

Historiography

In order to better understand the complex history and the relationship between the United States government and the Native American tribes, a baseline knowledge is required. This thesis focuses on two aspects of this relationship. The first is the historical record, the second is understanding the significance of cultural and language. The historical record includes primary sources such as treaties, court cases, acts of Congress, congressional reports, newspapers and first-person accounts. The secondary sources take a more in-depth and analytic view of the complex interactions between Native American and the federal government. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, a Native American historian and researcher has provided wonderful insights into many aspects of the history examined in this thesis. Lomawaima, with the assistance of Jeffery Ostler, has provided well rounded research on Captain Richard Pratt and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.⁹ Her writings about other Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools include the oral histories of some students who attended Chilocco Indian Agricultural School.¹⁰ Lomawaima also provides analysis that challenges the way that the government has contradicted its own stated goals by creating policies that operated in direct opposition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs statements.¹¹

9 K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Jeffery Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt: Cultural Genocide and Native Liberation in an Era of Racial Oppression," *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (2018): 79–100, <https://doi.org/10.5749/jamerindieduc.57.1.0079>.

10 K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Oral Histories from Chilocco Indian Agricultural School 1920-1940," *American Indian Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1987): 241–54, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1184044>.

11 K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal," *American Educational Research Journal* 39, no. 2 (June 2002): 279–305, <https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312039002279>.

It is important to note Jeffery Ostler's contribution to this study. In addition to his work on Richard Pratt with Lomawaima, Ostler additionally has provided profound insight on how the federal government has dealt with Native Americans historically in his book *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States: From the American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas*.^{12 13}

Informing much of this work are the writings of Francis Paul Prucha. His history, written in 1976, of the Native American policy from the 1860's into the twentieth century, recounts the activities of Christian reformers and their attempts to alter the government's policies towards Native Americans. Prucha chronicles how these Christian reformers sought to achieve full acculturation of the Native American groups. He provides a historical foundation from which we can juxtapose Native American activism in the face of overwhelming odds.¹⁴ Richard White is a respected historian who has written volumes on the history of the United States. He discusses many topics that are important to this study. Among these topics he specifically discusses the laws and court cases of the late nineteenth century. Specifically important is *Lone Wolf V. Hitchcock* that had lasting ramifications for all Native Americans. White also describes many of the same activist activities of Anglo-Americans who claimed that they were trying to save the Native American peoples from extinction through expedited assimilation. It may be that this single concept became the guiding force for the Bureau of Indian affairs and its predecessors from the 1880s through the 1950s.¹⁵

12 Jeffrey Ostler, *Surviving Genocide: Native Nations and the United States From the American Revolution to Bleeding Kansas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

13 While Ostler's Book *Surviving Genocide* covers a period of time prior to the major portion of this study, it addresses many of the legal, questionably legal, and illegal actions taken by the Federal government towards the five Civilized Tribes. It is a recommended read on its own merits.

14 Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

15 Richard White, *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Jon A. Reyhner, an educator and historian, has written extensively on the history of Native Americans with a focus on educational policies. Reyhner and Jeanne Eder have written a detailed history of the education received, and the methods by which this education was administered. This history covers the time span from the early colonial period until the end of the twentieth century.¹⁶ Contemporary with Reyhner is Stan Juneau, a Native American educator whose history of Native American education parallels that of Reyhner. Juneau includes not just a history of education from colonization forward, but also includes what education looked like to members of the Blackfoot tribe prior to contact.¹⁷ Juneau's voice and point of view provide insight into why the Anglo-American educational system falters when policy uses a one size fits all approach. Using both Juneau and Reyhners works together to understand the context of the government's education of Native Americans, we can see the flaws and benefits from two sides.

Frederick E Hoxie, a political historian, wrote *This is Indian Country*. *This is Indian Country* provides detailed examples of historical Native American activists that are relevant to any study of the interaction between government and Native Americans.¹⁸ Important to this discussion is his writing on the efforts of Sarah Winnemucca to have the government recognize that students learn best in their first language.

16 Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

17 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy* (Montana State Office of Public Instruction, 2001).

18 Frederick E Hoxie, *This Indian Country: American Indian Political Activists and the Place They Made* (New York: Penguin, 2012).

Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbra Cosens have created a persuasive historical argument towards how the use of language is used by the government to exclude the voices of Native Americans from having the power to shape their own destinies. Treaties were written in English. In many cases there was not a direct translation for the English words into the languages of those expected to sign them. The lack of written language by many Native American groups added to the lack of understanding between the negotiators on both sides. It is argued that this lack of context has been used by the federal court system to silence Native Americans. This has been done by the use of literal translations of treaties into Native languages without understanding the nuance of the spoken word.¹⁹

The cultural and language aspect is as important to this study as the historical because it provides context to the depth of emotion attached to the government's attempts at acculturation. Primary sources come from oral histories, newspaper articles, and interviews. The secondary sources often rely heavily on many primary sources to convey the importance of their research.

It is important to note here that Native American culture is not monolithic. Each tribe, band, or group may use language in different ways, and it would be the work of a lifetime to document them all. Using two Native American groups within the same language family allows for this study not to be too broad in scope. The Apache and Shoshone approach their languages differently. Apache has remained fairly stable while Shoshoni is considered vulnerable. Tribes and bands within these two language families are taking steps to preserve their language and culture.

19 Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbara Cosens, "Cultural Linguistics and Treaty Language: A Modernized Approach to Interpreting Treaty Language to Capture the Tribe's Understanding."

To understand the Apache language and its usage in a cultural setting is important to having a general understanding of the deeper moral connection that is felt by the Apache to their land. Keith Basso, a linguist who spent many years working with the Apache and documenting their language, has written extensively on this topic. His book *Wisdom Sits in Places* provides multiple, excellent examples of the use of landscape and language to communicate cultural values.²⁰ These examples provided by Basso also show how language is used to maintain cultural norms.

Christopher Loether, a linguist and researcher of Uto-Aztecan languages, has spent a number of years working with the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of Fort Hall. He provides insight on the damage done to the Shoshoni language by the governments attempts at acculturation, how it hurts language revitalization, and what must be done to overcome the obstacles to a full resurgence of language and culture.²¹

M. Eleanor Nevins, a linguist who worked with the White Mountain Apache, provides a look at a more recent state of the Apache language than that of Basso. Her work compares well with Loethers, and provides a means of comparison of the state of the languages between the two groups.²²

The boarding school experience is one that is shared culturally across all Native American groups. Lomawaima documented some of the oral histories from Chilocco,²³

20 Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*.

21 Paul V. Kroskrity and Margaret C. Field, eds., "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideology: A Shoshoni Case Study," in *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 238–54.

22 M. Eleanor Nevins, "Learning to Listen: Confronting Two Meanings of Language Loss in the Contemporary White Mountain Apache Speech Community," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 14, no. 2 (December 2004): 269–88, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jlin.2004.14.2.269>.

23 Lomawaima, "Oral Histories from Chilocco Indian Agricultural School 1920-1940."

while Clifford E. Trazfer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc compiled a collection of articles that directly relate to life at the boarding schools.²⁴ This collection includes many direct quotes from the students that attended the boarding schools, their attitudes towards the system, and their acts of resistance.

The autobiography of Ester Horne is enlightening to many of the aspects of life at the boarding schools, and Native American education. Horne, a Shoshone born in Twin Falls Idaho, recounts her life story and explains her own thoughts and feelings about the boarding schools, their instructors, and what influenced her to become a teacher and work in the Bureau of Indian Affairs educational system.²⁵

Organization

This thesis will be split into three chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter, “Treaty Obligations, the Law, and Native American Educational Policy” includes a brief legal history of the treaties made with the Shoshone and Bannock of Fort Hall Idaho, and the executive orders issued in regards to other Shoshone groups, along with those executive orders that apply to the Western Apache of Arizona. It explores how the language of these treaties and executive orders has been used to strengthen or weaken the tribes legal standing. It looks at how Anglo-American reformers affected Native American Policy. It also explores the historic policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and its predecessors, in regard to fulfilling the United States government’s treaty obligations to educate Native American youth. This chapter will also look at early Native American activists and their contributions.

24 Clifford E. Trazfer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues : Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences. Indigenous Education*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press., 2006).

25 Esther Horne and Sally McBeth, *Essie’s Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1999).

The second chapter, “Language, Culture, and the Federal Boarding School Experience until Termination” examines the history of language and cultural expression from the 1880’s to the beginning of the 1970s,²⁶ and the methods by which language may have been used to preserve the core of traditional culture by Native Americans. This not only explores the use of traditional languages as resistance, but it includes traditional oral storytelling, written accounts, and poetry, recorded not only in their own native languages, but in English as well so that others could hear their voices. Ethnographic research collected by anthropological linguists, such as Keith Basso, will demonstrate some of the forms that oral traditions took and how they are used to convey cultural meanings and preserve cultural paradigms. I examine boarding school records for evidence of linguistic use in youthful rebellion by students. Histories and correspondence are included to provide further examples of rebellion happening through the continued use of Native American languages and traditions. Relationships between students, staff, teachers, and school administrations are discussed. In addition, histories and correspondence will document the success or failure of the use of language and oral traditions to preserve culture.

The third chapter, “Language and Cultural Preservation in the Era of Self-determination to Present” provides a look at the state of language and cultural preservation in the era of self-determination that began in the early 1970s to the present

26 Howard University Law Library, “A Brief History of Civil Rights in the United States,” accessed February 23, 2022, <https://library.law.howard.edu/civilrightshistory/indigenous/termination>.

day. How have the efforts to save language and culture been successful, and what more is needed to assist in this process.²⁷

The Conclusion of this thesis will discuss the activism used by Native Americans, and how the passive and active resistance against full acculturation helped to maintain the languages and cultures of certain tribes. This was accomplished by the activists who pursued the continued use of their native languages, in spite of the pressure applied by the government's schools and curriculum, prior to self-determination. In addition, those who followed after them continued to pressure the government, and in some cases their own tribes, to preserve their languages, cultures, and history. It will also look at the politics and rhetoric that have engendered policy change.

²⁷ As with the end of Termination there is no firm beginning to Self-determination, rather an increase in civil rights activism beginning in the late 1960s.

Chapter 1

Treaty Obligations, the Law, and Native American Educational Policy

This chapter will explore the United States' obligations to the Native Americans under the law. It will also discuss the effects that Christian reformers had on the legislative process, and how Native American activists challenged policy.

Prior to the coming of Europeans, Native Americans were educated by members of the tribe. This education was carried out by means of acculturation, the child learning survival skills through observing the roles of each member of the community. The transfer of knowledge was gendered and passed from elders to youth. This was a holistic style of learning where survival was tied to oral history, tribal culture, and spirituality.²⁸

One of the traps found in the study of the history of the United States of America is that education for Native American youth started with European contact. The fact is that Native groups were educating their children in their own cultures, ways, and traditions for as long as they have existed as distinct peoples. The Eurocentric model of education is much more structured but is not any more rigorous than the education that was being received by Native youths already.²⁹ John Reyhner notes:

Indigenous people have always been able and willing to learn new ways of living, using guns to hunt several centuries ago or computers today. However, most desire the freedom to sustain the traditions they cherish and to change in their own way at their own pace, without losing group identity.³⁰

28 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 5–6.

29 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues : Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences. Indigenous Education.*, 22.

30 Jon Reyhner, "American Indian Boarding Schools: What Went Wrong? What Is Going Right?," *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (2018): 64, <https://doi.org/10.5749/jamerindieduc.57.1.0058>.

Through the process of colonial expansion, Native Americans have been forced into American culture. They have made efforts to maintain their own cultural identities but have become involuntary minorities in what was once their own lands.³¹

The legality of treaties made by the United States with Native American tribes comes from the language used in the Constitution of the United States. In Article One, the Constitution grants the Congress of the United States the authority to ratify treaties on behalf of the people of the United States.³²

The foundation of what would become, the federal oversight of Native American education, was written into the language of the Northwest Ordinance of 1781. In Article Three of this document, it states that the ideals of European Protestantism, including education, would be encouraged among the Native Americans by the government of the United States forever.³³

The policy of the United States government towards tribal education began in 1819 when the Congress gave the President authority to provide for the educational needs of Native Americans. During the time period between the passing of the Northwest Ordinance in 1781 until the United States ended the making of treaties with Native Americans by the Indian Appropriations Act of 1871, early education was handled by the tribes themselves or by churches operating missionary schools. Starting in 1819, many of these missionary schools were operated by religious organizations.³⁴ In exchange for their educational oversight, these organizations received land grants and power over the distribution of tribal rations which were obligated via

31 David Wallace Adams, "Beyond Bleakness, The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," in *Boarding School Blues : Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences. Indigenous Education.*, ed. Clifford E. Trazfer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press., 2006), 42.

32 U.S. Const. Art. II § 1.

33 "United States Code: Ordinance of 1787: The Northwest Territorial Government," 55,146 § (1787).

34 Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 43.

treaty. There continue to be a handful church operated schools today, but by 1880 the government had begun to assume most of the responsibility for the education of Native American youth. Groups of Anglo-Americans began to form groups that purported to have the desire to lift the Native Americans up by acculturating all of them. These so-called Friends of the Indian³⁵ made a large political impact and informed policy choices for generations.³⁶ The first on reservation federal schools of the 1880's and 1890's in many cases used abandoned military buildings that were refitted for educational uses. These schools carried out policies that were meant to acculturate the Native American youth into European culture. If these attempts would have been successful, it would have meant the end of Native American culture.³⁷

As the making of treaties is the negotiation between sovereign nations, treaties made between the United States and Native American tribes, by virtue of the language used, supersede all state laws, as long as the treaty has been ratified. This is an important distinction as it makes the Supreme Court of the United States the final arbitrator in any legal dispute between any governmental entity within the bounds of the United States and Native American tribes.³⁸

The treaty language and processes were problematic for both the Native Americans and the United States government from the first treaties until the end of treaty making in 1871. The Native Americans went into negotiations in good faith, believing

35 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 119.

36 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 151–52.

37 Robert McCarthy, "The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Federal Trust Obligation to Native Americans," *BYU Journal of Public Law* 19, no. 1 (2004): 127.

38 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 10.

that once the treaty was signed, or verbally agreed to, the promises made by both sides were in force. The government's negotiators were not so naive, but it appears that they generally held the belief the treaties would be ratified. This was not always the case, and many treaties negotiated in good faith died on the floor of the Senate due to political maneuvering. This was the case for several treaties negotiated in the Northwestern United States by Issac Stevens in the 1850's. Many of the treaties that Stevens signed either directly, or indirectly, affected the Shoshone and Bannock.³⁹ Stevens, as governor of the Washington Territory, negotiated many treaties which became a model for later treaties in the area. This included the Fort Bridger Treaty that provided the legal framework for the Fort Hall reservation to be created by executive order.⁴⁰

The ambiguous language used in the treaties in conjunction with the inadequate translators, along with what should be considered under representation of the Native Americans during negotiation, has led to many problems. The most famous of these is the failure of General Oliver Otis Howard to properly work with the Nez Perce over a treaty negotiated by Stevens that was in dispute. This led to the Nez Perce War.⁴¹ A lesser-known example, but important to this study, is the claim of the Duck Valley Western Shoshone that their land was taken without a treaty being negotiated with them. Raymond Yowell of the Western Shoshone has said:

Now, when we're talking about consent, this turned out to be, in later practice, treaties of cession, where Indian nations would cede their land to the United States via a treaty. And so, in 1848, when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed—which supposedly took in Shoshone country as well as other Indian nations—that's what the United States hangs its hat on how they acquired the territory of the Western Shoshone Nation. But if you look at Article 6 of that treaty, it does not say that. It does not say that the Mexicans had extinguished the title of any of the Indian nations

39 Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1900).

40 United States President & United States Office Of Indian Affairs., "Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reserves, from , to July 1, 1902" (1902), <https://www.loc.gov/item/34008449>.

41 Elliott West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 428.

within the area that they claimed... We have never signed a treaty ceding our land to the United States.⁴²

These are just two examples of where the lack of understanding culture and language by agents of the United States government has created unnecessary difficulties. The complexities of the political process required a more expedient way to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding United States. In 1871 the Congress of the United States forced the cessation of treaty making between the United States and Native American tribes. This action caused that all future political interaction between the Native American tribes and the federal government would be conducted by executive fiat.⁴³

One of the problems that continues to plague the legal processes for Native American tribes is that the states in which reservations exist have made, and continue to make, attempts to curtail the treaty rights of Native Americans. Individual states have attempted to exert authority over the rights of the tribes to self-governance, including their educational systems. According to the current interpretation of the Indian Commerce Clause found in the United States Constitution, only the Congress has authority over the Native American tribes. This means that the individual states legally only have powers on tribal land as granted by acts of Congress.⁴⁴ This does not, however, keep the states from challenging portions of the treaties in court.

Near the end of the late 19th century, the status of the relationship between Native American tribes and the United States government changed. During the treaty period, Native American tribes had been treated as sovereign nations that were partially

42 Yowell, interview, 2–3.

43 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 11.

44 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 12.

independent. After the end of the treaty period the tribes effectively became wards of the state. In 1888 the Board of Indian Commissioners believed Native Americans would vanish culturally within twenty years.⁴⁵ This was reflected in the official Indian educational policy, which in turn was being guided by Christian reform groups.⁴⁶ During the late nineteenth century there was a surge in the number of social reform groups that covered a variety of social topics including the rights of Native Americans. These groups were predominantly made up of, and backed by, Christian religious reformers.⁴⁷ The goal of these groups was to prepare the Native American for life in the white man's world. The reformers held the view that Native American cultures could not survive in what they termed the civilized world. In the reformers' opinion, only by eliminating Native American cultures could the Native American become part of American civilization.⁴⁸

A group of reformers calling itself Friends of the Indian espoused the full acculturation of Native Americans.⁴⁹ Their focus was much the same as Richard Pratt who founded the flagship federal boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. They valued the human lives but not the culture of Native Americans. The most successful of these groups was The Indian Rights Association, which according to Francis Paul Prucha would heavily influence governmental policy towards Native Americans for many years. The Indian Rights Association argued that no one can be civilized if they are not protected under the law. Its founders, Henry S. Pancoast and Herbert Welsh, created the association after visiting the Sioux reservation in the summer of 1881

45 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 21.

46 White, *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age.*, 603.

47 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 132.

48 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 139.

49 Alexandra Harmon, "When Is an Indian Not an Indian? The 'Friends of the Indian' and the Problems of Indian Identity," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 95.

and saw the difference between how government and religious institutions handled relations with Native Americans.⁵⁰ Pancoast and Welsh faulted the federal government for its lack of efficiency and lack of even handed justice, while conversely being impressed with the work of religious groups.⁵¹

Like other reformers of their time, The Indian Rights Association was not interested in saving Native American cultures but bringing about full acculturation through the guarantee of full protection under the law. The mission of the group was as follows, to work towards even handed justice and provide education of all types that would acculturate Native Americans.⁵² These reformers held the belief that Native Americans could become the equal of Anglo-Americans, but not without guidance. They firmly believed that the Native American population, a quarter million in their time, would become extinct in a short period of time. This lead these reformers to attempt to put Native Americans on equal footing legally in as many ways as possible. The Friends of the Indian drastically misunderstood the situation of Native Americans, to the point of attempting to divest Native Americans of their federally managed lands and removing self-governance.⁵³ The preferred avenue of change used by the reformers was through legislation, though petition was also used.⁵⁴ One of the legislative successes, from the viewpoint of the reformers, was the Dawes Act of 1887. This laws primary prevision was to break up reservation lands into individual allotments to be granted to Native American

50 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 136.

51 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 139.

52 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 139.

53 White, *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age.*, 604.

54 Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900*, 139.

individuals.⁵⁵ This was intended to stop settler encroachment on Native American lands but instead had the opposite effect. One can see the reformers influence here, as well as a provision in section five of the Dawes Act that provided United States citizenship for Native Americans who fulfilled the requirements for it outlined in this law.⁵⁶ The reformers planted the idea of the extinction of the Native Americans deeply. It was widely enough accepted that by the early twentieth century, anthropologists, including Franz Boaz and his students, undertook “salvage” ethnological studies in order to preserve some record of the cultures they thought to be closest to extinction.⁵⁷

In contrast to the Christian reformers, like the Indian Rights Association, some Native American activists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries actively resisted acculturation. Prominent Native American leaders, such as Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, worked for better treatment and the fulfillment of treaty obligations for their peoples. Activists like Sarah Winnemucca would challenge America’s supposed cultural superiority by pointing out the many outrages committed against her people by the United States government.

Winnemucca was the daughter of a Paiute chief. The Paiutes themselves are related closely to the Shoshone and Bannock and are part of the same Uto-Aztecan language group. Winnemucca at a young age learned to read and write in English working for a settler family in Nevada.⁵⁸ Later she worked as a translator for the Indian agent, Mr. Parrish, at the Malheur

55 “Dawes Act (1887),” National Archives, September 9, 2021, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act>.

56 Statutes at Large 24, 388-91, NADP Document A1887.

57 Jacob W. Gruber, “Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology,” *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 6 (1970): 1296.

58 Hoxie, *This Indian Country*, 136.

Indian Agency in Oregon, and then in the agency school teaching English.⁵⁹ She saw firsthand the negative effects that changes in agents and policy had without the consent of her people while at Malheur, and how people that were supposed to be good Christian role-models often were the opposite.⁶⁰ She was on good terms with many of the soldiers she knew, including General Howard, and worked with them during the Bannock War.⁶¹ Winnemucca wrote a book about her life and challenged the paradigm created by the United States. Later in her life she would argue that the best course of action would be to leave Native Americans on their own lands and then protect those lands from encroachment by white settlers.⁶² In her own writings, Winnemucca writes scornfully about how the government treated her people, explaining to the reader the hypocrisy of the wars waged against Native Americans in the name of civilization, and how representatives of the churches and government manipulated and used Native Americans to get gain.⁶³

Using the skills, she learned in her youth and in her work as an interpreter, Winnemucca opened a school for Paiute children in 1885 at Lovelock, Nevada. She taught the children basic skills and to speak English, using Paiute to introduce new material. Part of her methodology was to send the children home with homework so that they could use the lessons to educate their families. This demonstrated that bilingual education could be achieved outside of the Bureau of Indian Affairs regulatory power,

59 Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, Kindle (Boston: G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1883), 59.

60 Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, 62–67.

61 Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, chap. 7.

62 Hoxie, *This Indian Country*, 156.

63 Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, 103.

and by a Native instructor. Winnemucca's school was open for three years before a lack of funding caused it to close.⁶⁴

When discussing schools and education for Native Americans it is important to note that there had been boarding schools and day schools on reservations prior to 1879, but it was with the founding of the Carlisle Indian School that the era of Bureau of Indian Affairs off reservation boarding schools began. It would become the first of many off reservation boarding schools dedicated to acculturating Native American youth. These schools provided many Native American youth their first experience with the greater American society. As Stan Juneau explains it "The stories of this transitional period involve pain, cruelty, loss, survival, and pride... For reasons that history can now view as both good and bad, Colonel Pratt took it upon himself to do what he could for the people he saw as vanquished Indian warriors."⁶⁵

The education provided at the boarding schools was diverse for the time period. According to Captain Richard Pratt, the first superintendent of Carlisle Indian School, the educational goal was to place Native youth in a position where they could be on near equal footing with their white neighbors. Pratt wanted the Natives to have the same educational opportunities as white youth. He believed that this would allow them to become their own guides through life, no longer beholden to interpreters or Indian Agents. His plan was to provide the youth with a solid foundation of English and math skills, and then provide opportunities for the youth to put these skills to work by having the youth board with white families and work for

64 Hoxie, *This Indian Country*, 140.

65 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 24–25.

white people. This would give them the chance to see the white man's world for themselves, up close and personal.⁶⁶

The stated goal of the Indian Boarding School system within the United States was acculturation and assimilation. The slogan "Kill the Indian and Save the Man" is attributed to Pratt. This statement is often quoted incorrectly and out of context. Pratt's original statement is as follows:

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one,⁶⁷ and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.⁶⁸

Many boarding school administrators listened to this slogan without understanding what Pratt had understood himself to mean. Pratt himself was concerned about the disease and poverty he witnessed on the reservations and chose to act, by attempting what K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Jeffrey Ostler call radical assimilation.⁶⁹ The methodologies used to this end at the various boarding schools included the repression of Native languages, dress, and other cultural habits found to be outside the norms of Anglo-American society. Clifford Trazfer, Jean Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc suggest that this active repression of language and cultural identity fostered an attitude of

66 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 26.

67 This statement is attributed to General Phillip Sheridan who later denied making it. It seems clear from Pratt's commentary that he believes the statement had been made by Sheridan.

68 Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 84.

69 Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 85.

resistance and activism that ironically has helped to preserve Native American cultures and languages.⁷⁰

The curriculum of the boarding schools was that of a standard school of the period. The school provided an education up to a 10th grade level in the physical and social sciences. The students were provided with options for extracurricular activities and were expected to participate in some of them. Over the course of its history Carlisle was lauded for its successes. One of its more important accomplishments is found in the student records that provide the school's letters of recommendation for graduates to companies such as Ford Motor Company.⁷¹ The school also had an impressive history, producing many artists and athletes.⁷²

This was not achieved without negative effects on the students. On arrival at school the students were deprived of everything they brought with them from home. Hair was cut, with the excuse of removing parasites, this was especially difficult for many who prized their long hair. They were soon dressed in military style uniforms, faced with a military style education, and military styled discipline. This was a traumatic experience for most of the students.⁷³

This type of educational system and its curriculum were made possible through of the unequal position of Native Americans that was created by the language used in treaties, and interpretation of those treaties and acts of Congress by the court system. The court system of the

70 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues : Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences. Indigenous Education.*, 1.

71 "Student Records Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center," Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, accessed February 24, 2022, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_records.

72 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 27–28.

73 Clifford E. Trazfer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, "Introduction," in *Boarding School Blues : Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences. Indigenous Education.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press., 2006), 17–18.

United States has struggled with rectifying the text of the treaties with their intended meanings from the beginning of the Republic. From the Marshall era onward, the United States Supreme Court has formed a corpus of rulings that continues to guide the court at this time.⁷⁴

It is the language used in the treaties themselves that has allowed the government of the United States to manipulate the way the trust responsibilities pronounced in treaty are handled. By following the example of the Marshall court, the policy of the United States towards the Native American tribes has been paternal in nature. It is this perceived paternal relationship that has allowed the United States government to continually change its policies in regard to the tribes. Current court precedent requires that all treaties be interpreted as how they would have been understood by the Native American negotiators at the time they were signed.⁷⁵ This is difficult to do because of the active repression of Native languages that has been pursued by the government.

According to Article 7 of the *Treaty With the Eastern Band Shoshoni and Bannock, 1868*, The Shoshone and Bannock Tribes are required to send all of their children in the six- to sixteen-year-old age group to school. The treaty stipulates that the government of the United States will provide school buildings and teachers to ensure that all tribal children receive "the elementary branches of an English education".⁷⁶

74 Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbara Cosens, "Cultural Linguistics and Treaty Language: A Modernized Approach to Interpreting Treaty Language to Capture the Tribe's Understanding.," 415.

75 Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbara Cosens, "Cultural Linguistics and Treaty Language: A Modernized Approach to Interpreting Treaty Language to Capture the Tribe's Understanding.," 417–21.

76 "July 3, 1868 Fort Bridger Treaty," 15 stat., 673. § (1869).

There is both exact and vague language used in the 1868 Fort Bridger Treaty. The physical requirements are exact, down to the number of students per teacher. The educational requirements are vague, giving no real or expected guarantees other than an "elementary" education.⁷⁷

The Western Apache did not receive their reservation through treaty negotiations. Several treaties with various Apache bands and other closely related tribes were negotiated with the intent of curbing hostilities, but the Western Apache were not included in the reservation system until President Ulysses S. Grant established several reservations in the southwest for the Apache tribes by executive order. These include the White Mountain Reservation in 1872, and Papago Reservation in 1874. At this point, what would become the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to manage the education of Apache youth.⁷⁸ Like the Shoshone and Bannock, the Western Apache have had several educational changes since the creation of their reservations. During the early boarding school period, they attended both federal day schools and federal boarding schools. From the 1930s onward Apache students attended a combination of public, federal day, federal boarding, and Catholic schools.⁷⁹

The Congress of the United States passed legislation in the 1930's that would have long term effects on Native American educational policy. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, also known as "The Indian Reorganization Act", brought about significant change to the way the federal government interacted with the tribes. Along with sweeping changes to how Native

77 July 3, 1868 Fort Bridger Treaty.

78 United States President & United States Office Of Indian Affairs., Executive orders relating to Indian reserves, from May 14, 1855 to July 1, 1902.

79 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "Field Investigation and Research Reports. The Education of American Indians, October 1969, Volume 2." (Congress of the United States, October 1969), 202.

American trust lands were managed, this act provided for increased financing of Native American education, including the basis for lower cost loans for those in the Native American community who pursued higher education.⁸⁰ Also, in 1934, Congress passed the Johnson O'Malley Act. Johnson O'Malley provided the Secretary of the Interior full authority to negotiate contracts on behalf of Native American tribes. This made the negotiating power of the Interior Department the dominant factor for many competing Native American interests including agricultural assistance, medical care, and especially education.⁸¹ Johnson O'Malley has become part of the United States Code as 25 USC 5342, and it has been updated as recently as 1988. It continues to affect the flow of money to Native American schools.⁸² Access to the money provided in both the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 and the Johnson O'Malley Act began the process of giving Native American individuals and tribes access to the funding needed to improve their educational opportunities. These opportunities would grow as individuals gained more access to higher education and tribes gained more control over how education is handled for their specific needs.

After World War II the governments Native American policy shifted again with a push for what is labeled Termination. Termination has its legal foundation in the court case of Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock in 1903. This ruling reversed nearly one hundred years of precedent set by the Marshall court by ruling that the Congress of the United States could void individual elements of treaties by passing new laws.⁸³ Termination was the name

⁸⁰ Congress of the United States, "Wheeler-Howard Act, June 18, 1934" (United States of America, 1934).

⁸¹ "Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934," 25 U.S.C. 5342 § (1934), <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/25/5342>.

⁸² Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934.

⁸³ White, *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age.*, 603.

given to the concept of aggressively pushing the older ideas of the assimilation of Native American as quickly as possible, forcing them into the mainstream of Anglo-American culture. In the early 1950s this process was led by Dillon S. Meyer who, replacing Milton Eisenhower, had spearheaded the relocation of Japanese-Americans living on the west coast during the war.⁸⁴ Under the guidance of Meyer, Termination included relocating families from their reservations to other areas.⁸⁵ If followed through to its desired end, the Termination policy would have negated all existing treaties with their associated rights, reversed all executive orders regarding tribes, dissolved the Bureau of Indian Affairs, disbanded all Native American reservations, and education would be left to state school boards.

The goal of Termination was that Native Americans would simply become Americans in every way, becoming fully subject to state and federal laws including local education.⁸⁶ The acts of Congress in regard to Termination culminated in two major changes to Native American policy. The first was the *House Concurrent Resolution 108* that withdrew federal aid from one hundred and nine Native American groups. The second was *Public Law 280*, which allowed for states to assume civil and criminal jurisdiction over Native American lands if the state chose to do so, via statute or amending state constitutions. *Public Law 280* is not popular with Native Americans because of the potential loss of rights. It is also not popular with most states as it would increase responsibility without increasing funding.⁸⁷ Still, the threat of this law hangs over many Native American communities.

84 Kenneth R. Philp, "Dillon S. Myer and the Advent of Termination: 1950-1953," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (January 1988): 38, <https://doi.org/10.2307/969792>.

85 Philp, "Dillon S. Myer and the Advent of Termination," 59.

86 Rodney Frey, "Termination Policy of the 1950s into the 1960s," accessed January 10, 2022, https://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/~rfrey/329termination_.htm.

87 Frey, "Termination Policy of the 1950s into the 1960s."

The Senate published the results of a field investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs educational system in 1969. According to this report there were some students from Fort Hall that were still enrolled in Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools.⁸⁸ These students made up a small minority of the total students from Fort Hall, having been selected to go to the boarding schools based on perceived socialization issues.⁸⁹ Most students were attending public school off reservation at this time. The boarding schools attended included Chilocco, Fort Sill, and Riverside in Oklahoma, as well as Stewart in Nevada.⁹⁰

Self-determination was the other side of the coin to Termination, and the concepts go hand in hand. Originally, self-determination was defined as the concept that once free of their cultural bonds, the individual is free to make their own independent decisions as a citizen of the United States.⁹¹ The intent was to have Native American individual's take on the responsibilities of citizenship fully, no longer being tied to their tribes and being free agents for themselves.⁹² This aspect of Termination had the potential to devastate Native American communities across the country.⁹³ Responding to Termination during the 1940s and 1950s, Native Americans took the earlier concept of self-determination and expanded it logically to groups of self-determining individuals, in this case the tribes of

88 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 141.

89 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 141.

90 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 141.

91 Val Napoleon, "Aboriginal Self Determination: Individual Self and Collective Selves" 29 (n.d.): 31.

92 Frey, "Termination Policy of the 1950s into the 1960s."

93 David E. Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 226.

which they were willing members. I consider this to be similar to the formation of unions for the purpose of collective bargaining. The modern tribe acts as a sovereign political body that can determine its own membership, and the individual members exert their agency through the actions of the group. Activists working together with a sympathetic presidential administration were able to reinforce tribal sovereignty by the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act passed in 1975.⁹⁴

Looking back to the beginning of twentieth century, shifts in earlier policies led to many day schools being built and used for the education of Native American youth. In some cases, these existed as on reservation public schools. This is the case for the Western Apache where their day schools have been on the reservation. In the case of the Shoshone and Bannock of Fort Hall, by the 1960's most tribal youth were attending either the public school on the reservation or ones in the towns surrounding Fort Hall, and the small number considered to be behind or at risk were encouraged, and sometimes coerced into attending off reservation BIA operated boarding schools.⁹⁵

Changes in attitudes by the government had been slowly going on from the beginning of the Kennedy administration. The focus on civil rights during the 1960s had allowed for Native American activists to successfully lobby the Kennedy and Johnson administrations for some concessions on Termination.⁹⁶ The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, proceeded to examine the state of education for Native Americans. The 1969 report prepared for the United

94 Geoffrey D Strommer and Stephen D Osborne, "The History, Status, And Future of Tribal Self- Governance Under The Indian Self- Determination and Education Assistance Act" 39 (n.d.): 18–19.

95 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 148–50.

96 Hannah Patrice Blubaugh, "Self-Determination Without Termination: The National Congress of American Indians and Defining Self-Determination Policy During The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations" (M.A. Thesis, Oxford Ohio, Miami University, 2018), 61–62.

States Senate indicates that many highly intelligent youths on the Fort Hall reservation were losing interest in school by 7th grade and many were dropping out before completing high school. One of the conclusions that this report came to was that the youth were being taught a series of stereotypes, through their textbooks, about their own people which were untrue at best and malicious at worst. This created an atmosphere where the youth used their agency to rebel by not doing the assigned work, and eventually walking away from the Eurocentric education they were being taught.⁹⁷

In addition to the public day schools some students were enrolled in boarding schools. These were the students considered to be orphaned or at risk if they stayed in the home. The students who attended boarding schools during the 1960's also had a high dropout rate. The students' families indicated that there was a stigma that had become attached to attending BIA boarding schools and were hesitant to send their children to them.⁹⁸

The summary of the Senate's field investigation concluded that education at Fort Hall was relatively the same as at other reservations around the country.⁹⁹ That is to say that the Native American community was not being served well enough by using the existing Eurocentric model. The authors of the Senate Committee report offer a reasonable synopsis of the state of Native American education.¹⁰⁰

97 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 145-57.

98 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 159.

99 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 159-60.

100 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 159.

Indian education at Fort Hall looks little different from Indian education elsewhere. High dropout rates and barely passing grades for students who do stay in school dramatically highlight the failure of public schools to serve the Indian children and youth with whose education and future, they have been entrusted. Curriculum irrelevance, language barriers, and special difficulties faced by students from a different culture in the Anglo school are all present here and have all been noted in other parts of this report as well. In addition, the analysis of Indian stereotypes found in state-used textbooks, discussed earlier, provides specific demonstration of the inability of the schools to handle satisfactorily the confrontation between and the education of students from different cultural backgrounds.¹⁰¹

Since 1969, because of the efforts of Native American Activists and their allies, changes at a federal level have happened in regard to the education of Native Americans. These changes have been part of a greater policy change towards more secure tribal sovereignty.

This chapter has provided a brief legal history of Native American policy, from the beginnings of the United States into the modern period, with an emphasis on education. The role of Native American activists throughout cannot be ignored. The next chapters will provide insight into how some of these activists were motivated by the same system that was working to destroy their culture.

101 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 159.

Chapter 2

Language, Culture, and the Federal Boarding School Experience Until Termination

For many people, language and culture are inseparable. It is by language that history and traditions are passed from one generation to another. When considering the generalized Native American experience, one must take language into account. From ancient times through the present day, colonizers have bludgeoned the colonized through the use of language. This is done primarily through the use of the colonizing language in law, commerce, and education.¹⁰² This chapter explores how indigenous languages were used to resist the acculturation process at boarding schools from 1880 to the late 1940s, which marked the beginning of Termination. In order to better understand the use of language as a tool of resistance, the first section discusses how Native American cultures and languages are intertwined and the social pressures that can be exerted through language. The second section discusses the on-reservation school at Fort Hall and why it failed. The third looks at the federal boarding school system and how it engendered resistance and activism from the youth it was attempting to fully acculturate.

Native American Cultures and Language

The linguist Keith Basso, when discussing the Apache language, part of the Uto-Aztecan language family, says "Communicative acts of topographic representation" are key factors in understanding how Native people culturally interact with their natural surroundings. For the Apache and other groups in the same language sub-family,

¹⁰² Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbara Cosens, "Cultural Linguistics and Treaty Language: A Modernized Approach to Interpreting Treaty Language to Capture the Tribe's Understanding.," 418.

landscape and language are intertwined. It is the description of local topography that inform the core beliefs and concepts of cultural thought.¹⁰³

According to Basso, when Native communities talk about the topography of their traditional lands, they unconsciously exhibit both the topography and the language with mutual knowledge of how they see themselves in relation to it. This gives places and names a certain depth and linguistic power not normally found in European culture. A place in the landscape can take on special meaning, and its name can carry that meaning in conversation.¹⁰⁴ In addition to Basso's observations, Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbra Cosens also provide a description of language as being a cultural knowledge memory bank that allows for the speakers to share the cultural experiences of the group through space and time.¹⁰⁵ When people are removed from their languages and home lands they lose access to parts of this cultural memory bank.

It was noted in *The Idaho Indian in Transition* published in 1972 by anthropologist Sven Liljeblad, that the Native American groups of Idaho, including the Shoshone and Bannock tribes, have managed to maintain much of their cultural identity. In the case of the Shoshone, their tribal language, and the residual elements of their culture, had been retained from the time before Europeans. Many elements of European culture have also been adopted and incorporated into their own unique cultural system.¹⁰⁶ According to Liljeblad, in spite of the transition to the current "modern" culture and adoption of European life ways and technology, Native Americans

103 Keith H. Basso, "'Speaking with Names': Language and Landscape among the Western Apache," *Cultural Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1988): 101.

104 Basso, "'Speaking with Names': Language and Landscape among the Western Apache," 101–2.

105 Sammy Matsaw, Dylan Hedden-Nicely, and Barbara Cosens, "Cultural Linguistics and Treaty Language: A Modernized Approach to Interpreting Treaty Language to Capture the Tribe's Understanding," 435.

106 Sven S. Liljeblad, *The Idaho Indians in Transition, 1805-1960*. (Pocatello, ID: Idaho State University Museum, 1972), 80.

in Idaho continued to engage in uniquely tribal activities. These activities often are more modern in origin than pre-contact traditions and have come about through the distilling of older traditions and European influences, but they are truly culturally Native.¹⁰⁷

It has been observed that the oldest generation maintains the traditional belief system, and the youngest generation adopts some of the traditional lifestyle under their influence. This creates a cultural duality where publicly, the individual may be called by an English name and participate in the wider culture under this persona, but among friends and family, have a tribal name and participate in the tribal community under this persona.¹⁰⁸ A key factor in the continued maintenance of culture is the folklore and how it is used and transmitted. Elders who have learned the folklore expertly tell the rising generation the oral traditions from the legendary past. It is important to note from the work of ethnographers recording the oral traditions of the tribes that these tales have been told in similar fashion with little change for generations.¹⁰⁹

One of the key linguistic elements that can be seen in the Shoshoni language, that has been transferred by the Shoshone people into their use of the English language, is their focus on the group. Christopher Loether has observed that the plural “we” is often used in place of the singular “I”. Additionally, Shoshone youth are encouraged not to be prideful, and to think of the feelings and privacy of others first. Children learn early that they are not to brag about themselves or put themselves first by making first person demands, for example it is considered impolite to say “I want ...” or “I like ...”. Also, the

107 Liljeblad, *The Idaho Indians in Transition, 1805-1960.*, 80–81.

108 Liljeblad, *The Idaho Indians in Transition, 1805-1960.*, 84.

109 Liljeblad, *The Idaho Indians in Transition, 1805-1960.*, 84.

topic of another's wellbeing is generally considered to be off limits in conversation. Rather than the typical Anglo-American greeting of "how are you?" the Shoshone will greet people with something less personal, such as "what are you doing?".¹¹⁰ This indicates a more group focused society where the success of the group holds a higher status than the success of an individual.

There must have been a great amount of dismay among the young Shoshone and Apache who began attending schools that operated under the curriculum provided by the Anglo-American culture. The focus on individual accomplishment rather than a focus on group success would have been extremely difficult to adapt to. Students of day schools on the reservation and those who attended off reservation public schools would have had a cultural framework at home as a buffer. Boarding school students would have to create their own cultural frameworks, without the support of family or community elders.¹¹¹

The ideology of the United States government during the period of 1880-1900 continues to have long lasting affects into the modern period, the idea was that the government is responsible for the civilizing of Native Americans. In order to accomplish this, all indigenous institutions had to be replaced with their homogeneous Anglo-American counterpart. The concept was that education leads the way to social changes, and this led the government to the use of schools as the primary method of indoctrination and destruction of indigenous culture.¹¹²

Paradox defines the history of Native American education. On one hand, the government has taken action at times to destroy Native American cultures, and on the other, it periodically

110 Christopher Loether to Dwain Garbett, January 6, 2022.

111 Clyde Ellis, "'We Had a Lot of Fun, but of Course, That Wasn't the School Part' Life at Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920," in *Boarding School Blues : Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences. Indigenous Education*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press., 2006), 87.

112 Lomawaima and McCarty, "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy," 282.

encourages Native American agency.¹¹³ According to K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, these swings in policy relate directly to what the United States government considers to be safe or dangerous cultural traits in a given time period.¹¹⁴ In other words, the students were to have the dangerous traits purged, allowed to keep traits that were considered safe, and to be taught new traits that the government felt were beneficial.

Fort Hall Boarding School

Initially, the governments educational plans at Fort Hall were not opposed by the members of the tribes. The first school at Fort Hall was a day school that provided educational opportunities, in spite of being underfunded, during its short period of operation from 1874 to 1880.¹¹⁵ The on-reservation boarding school that opened in 1880 was rigorously and violently opposed by members of the tribes.¹¹⁶ Many of the reasons for the opposition to the boarding school at Fort Hall came directly from the government's choices about what, where, and how the school was to be. The school itself had been an abandoned US Army barracks that was hastily converted into a school. The Fort Hall boarding school was twenty miles away from the location of the Agent's office, the agency grounds, and the places where many of the tribes' members lived. It was based on the Carlisle model that was designed to acculturate Native American youth. A few students attended with the willing permission of their families. The rest were coerced by

113 Lomawaima and McCarty, "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy."

114 Lomawaima and McCarty, "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy."

115 John W. Heaton, "'Bad Medicine': The Shoshone-Bannock Rejection of the First Fort Hall Reservation Boarding School, 1880-1900," *Idaho Yesterdays* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 1-13.

116 Heaton, "'Bad Medicine': The Shoshone-Bannock Rejection of the First Fort Hall Reservation Boarding School, 1880-1900," 2.

the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent who manipulated them by withholding allotted food rations.¹¹⁷

For the students at the Fort Hall boarding school came the pressures to acculturate associated with boarding schools. They were pressured to behave and speak like the Anglo-American culture they were surrounded by, on pain of corporal punishment. This led to difficulties when they would return home for the summer and try to reintegrate with their families. An essay written by one of the students in 1889 shows the level of language indoctrination, "I think it is a good thing we are not allowed to talk Indian, it reminds us of the past and we long for the camp. It was the hardest thing I ever had to do to part with my friends and camp, but since I've got used to the white peoples ways I like them much better than my own." This statement alone, with its negative reflection of the culture and language of the tribes, demonstrates why many of the parents vehemently opposed the boarding school at Fort Hall.¹¹⁸

Many of the students of the initial boarding school at Fort Hall used their personal agency to resist the strict policies of the school. According to John W. Heaton in his study of the school, "Some openly resisted by running away, refusing to cooperate, or damaging campus facilities. Others resisted passively by refusing to respond, disrupting class, or secretly following cultural practices."¹¹⁹ In one clearly documented case of active resistance, the female students chose a side in a disagreement between female staff members. One of the staff, Miss Cook, the daughter of the Indian Affairs agent, was accused of conspiring to remove the Administrator, Burt

117 Heaton, "'Bad Medicine': The Shoshone-Bannock Rejection of the First Fort Hall Reservation Boarding School, 1880-1900," 1-5.

118 Heaton, "'Bad Medicine': The Shoshone-Bannock Rejection of the First Fort Hall Reservation Boarding School, 1880-1900," 5.

119 Heaton, "'Bad Medicine': The Shoshone-Bannock Rejection of the First Fort Hall Reservation Boarding School, 1880-1900," 5.

Pottinger, and his wife. According to Pottinger, some of the female students attacked Mrs. Pottinger on Miss Cook's behest.¹²⁰

A key to understanding the feelings toward the Fort Hall boarding school education comes from a report made in May of 1887 by Robert Gardner to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Gardner indicated that the boarding school failed for a number of reasons, but the tribes were not anti-education. In fact, he pointed out that the tribes wanted a new school to be built at Pocatello, because it would facilitate access to the students by their parents. The parents wanted what any caring guardians want, to be able to monitor the physical and mental welfare of their children, including cultural and linguistic maintenance. Gardner reported that the Shoshone and Bannock parents wanted a larger school with more teachers and a less strict treatment of the youth. He suggested that a new school be built, replacing the dilapidated boarding school.¹²¹ Gardner proved to be an open-minded man who was looking out for the tribes' interests.

Through the stories of hardship, discipline, and acculturation there is still a theme where some of the Native American elders felt that education in the ways of the white man's world was a way to protect their cultures. The idea was that to deal with the white man, one had to speak the same language and learn to understand their thought processes.¹²² Luther Standing Bear, a Lakota, was one of the first students at Carlisle Industrial Indian School. He later became an activist and wrote several books targeted at

120 Heaton, "'Bad Medicine': The Shoshone-Bannock Rejection of the First Fort Hall Reservation Boarding School, 1880-1900," 6.

121 Heaton, "'Bad Medicine': The Shoshone-Bannock Rejection of the First Fort Hall Reservation Boarding School, 1880-1900," 6-7.

122 Reyhner, "American Indian Boarding Schools," 69.

the Anglo-American audience. He stated that his goal was to learn everything he could at school, in spite of the hardships he encountered, and remain Lakota.¹²³ Thus the system designed to eliminate Native American cultures, created at least a few strong advocates for the preservation of these same cultures. It is important to note that while some of the students were resisting openly, others were quietly resisting in their own ways, and most were learning and growing from the education that was provided. This is evidenced in the next section by examples of federal boarding school students who became well educated teachers, administrators, and activists.

The Federal Boarding Schools and Cultural Resistance

Native Americans resisted the destruction of their cultures with varying levels of success. Linguistic resistance at the off reservation boarding schools demonstrate how Native Americans resisted the destruction of their cultures. A point that cannot be over emphasized is that the Native American experience is not monolithic in nature. While the various tribes, bands, and nations of Native Americans share the experience of colonization, and may share some traits in common, there is not one singular Native American culture, but many.¹²⁴ The original goal of the Indian Boarding School system within the United States was full acculturation of the students. The methodologies used to this end at the various boarding schools included the repression of Native languages. Clifford E. Trazfer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, suggest that this active repression of language and cultural identity fostered an attitude of resistance that, ironically, has helped to preserve Native American culture and language.¹²⁵

123 Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 90.

124 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction."

125 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 1.

It is important to point out, as Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc noted, that a study of the oral and written histories of the early boarding school period are often interwoven with themes that are drawn directly from the oral traditions known to the individual students.¹²⁶ Some of the boarding school students used the oral traditions they learned as small children as motivation to overcome and persevere. This is a variant on the "Hero's Journey" tale, where the hero is faced with a seemingly insurmountable challenge that is overcome through courage, craftiness, and strength. While the students did not face the creatures from their various oral traditions, they faced adversaries as great as any monsters fought by their hero ancestors.¹²⁷ Through the struggle, these students overcame the challenges created by the United States government by emulating the qualities of the heroes found in their oral traditions. These were many of the individuals who returned home and preserved their traditions while using the knowledge and skills obtained at school to benefit their communities.¹²⁸

The opinion of many Anglo-Americans was that mastery of the English language was key to education and acculturation. This opinion, combined with the observation that immersion is the best way to teach language skills, led to the enforcement of the English only policy at the Indian Affairs schools.¹²⁹

Many students would in fact fall somewhere in the middle between the assimilated student and the defiant runaway. Those students that accepted acculturation endured

126 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 2.

127 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 22.

128 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 3–4.

129 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 12.

many societal pressures when they returned home.¹³⁰ This is verified by the story of “Ndee Dah Naazine”, when an Apache girl was confronted by the story of the tribal policeman who was being too white. In the story recorded by Basso, the young woman who had been attending boarding school was reminded strategically of her cultural responsibilities. She had become accustomed to the dominant American fashion trends while attending boarding school. She made the cultural faux pas of wearing her hair in curlers during a traditional ceremony. Several days later her grandmother hosted a party where she told the tale of an Apache police officer who had embraced European culture too much. This story telling performed the function of social coercion, forcing the girl to realize her social mistake.¹³¹ This provides an example of the pressure that a language can exert in a social context. These stories are connected with the places in the landscape where they occurred, and the moral of the story can be driven home without telling the story in full.¹³² The Apache call this speaking with names. By saying "It happened at" followed by a place name, the moral of a historical story or tale from folklore is transmitted to it recipient in full.¹³³ In the case of the young woman it would have had the same cultural impact to have simply said it happened at Ndee Dah Naazine.¹³⁴ The young woman’s grandmother, by telling this story, was actively resisting the encroachment of the dominate culture in her tribe and family.

According to Reyhner, when the students returned home from boarding school they faced social pressures to revert back to the tribal archetypes. Refusal to do so could result in being

130 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, “Introduction,” 16.

131 Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, 56–57.

132 For an excellent explanation of how humans understand spatial reality see Yi-fu Tuan’s *Space and Place*.

133 Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, 90.

134 Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*, 34.

shunned. The students faced two challenges: First, they had to endure their time at school. Second, they had to balance their Anglo-American education with their own cultures, language, and values.¹³⁵

Active resistance took many forms. Among these were speaking their own language among themselves, singing traditional songs, and writing stories and poetry in English.¹³⁶ At Carlisle, a former student who returned for a brief time as a teacher and secret activist, Gertrude Simmons, wrote poetry and stories under the pen name Zitkala-Sa. Her writings invoked the longing for her Native culture and beliefs, bitterness of the students, and the hypocrisy of the staff. Simmons was able to get some of her writings included in the Carlisle school newspaper, but as her writings became increasingly critical of colonization and the school itself, the writings of Zitkala-Sa were no longer printed.¹³⁷ The following is a short example of her writing:

A wee child toddling in a wonder world, I prefer to their dogma my excursions into the natural gardens where the voice of the Great Spirit is heard in the twittering of birds, the rippling of mighty waters, and the sweet breathing of flowers. If this is Paganism, then at present, at least, I am a Pagan.¹³⁸

These small acts of defiance were an infraction of the rules, important enough to receive punishment, yet still minor enough not to be officially recorded in the official record. This proved to be valuable methods by which culture and language were preserved.¹³⁹ These acts of resistance were not without their dangers. The use of Native

135 Reyhner, "American Indian Boarding Schools," 62.

136 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 18.

137 Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 91.

138 Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, "Why I Am a Pagan," *Atlantic Monthly*, 90, 1902, 801-803.

139 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 21.

languages by the students could be punished. This punishment could be anything from a lecture to corporal punishments.¹⁴⁰ According to Lone Wolf, a member of the Blackfoot tribe, the government boarding schools of the late 1900's had one goal, "The government had decided we were to get the White Man's Education by force...We were told never to talk Indian and if we were caught, we got a strapping with a leather belt."¹⁴¹

Digitized student records from the Carlisle School spanning the years 1884-1917 are deafeningly silent in regard to discipline for the use of language. Not one of the examined records indicate the punishment of a student for anything overtly cultural in nature. Theft, sex, drunkenness, assault, and property damage are all well documented in the disciplinary files, but language use is not documented at all. It may be that linguistic trespasses were not considered worthy of inclusion in the records. It is also likely that it was not included in the public record because it did not reflect positively on the stated goal of assimilation.¹⁴² The records for many of the other boarding schools have not been fully digitized, and due the ongoing Covid-19 restrictions, access to the archived material is not currently accessible, though in the future a study of the records from other boarding schools may give a greater insight to this topic.

Part of the human experience is perspective. A group of individuals may experience the same series of events yet react to them differently. For example, the death of the same loved one creates different responses in each individual based on their perceived relationship with the deceased. The students of the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools shared similar experiences because of Indian Affairs policies. Their reactions vary widely based on their tribes

140 Trazfer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction," 21.

141 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 26.

142 United States of America, "Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center" (United States of America, 2019), <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/>.

specific culture, the school administration personnel, and their own attitudes towards attending the school. Shared experience does not necessarily equal shared perspective. The prime example of this is how the former students of Carlisle viewed Richard Pratt. Some of these individuals such as Luther Standing Bear and Gertrude Simmons Bonnin fully rejected acculturation.¹⁴³ Others like Carlos Montezuma and Chauncey Yellow Robe, admired Pratt and tried to have him reinstated as the Carlisle administrator after he had been dismissed in 1904.¹⁴⁴

It must be noted that some of the students felt that they benefited from the education they gained at the boarding schools. According to Adams, in 1899 close to half of the more than 2500 jobs created by the boarding schools had been filled by Native Americans. This included teaching and engineering positions.¹⁴⁵ One of these teachers was Esther Horne. Large parts of Native American cultures continued to exist in spite of this indoctrination due to many reasons. One of these reasons was that some parents were willing to take on the task of giving their children early learning in their own language. They would learn about their own culture at home and then received a European education at school. This is what happened with Esther Horne.¹⁴⁶ Horne, born in 1909, was a Shoshone student who graduated from Haskell Indian School in Kansas and as an adult, became a teacher at Wahpeton Indian School in North Dakota.¹⁴⁷ Horne's early life began near Twin Falls, Idaho where her parents' home schooled her. Her father was able

143 Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 91–96.

144 Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 91.

145 Adams, "Beyond Bleakness, The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," 45.

146 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 11–19.

147 Adams, "Beyond Bleakness, The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," 51.

to provide textbooks for Horne and her siblings. Horne's mother did her best to teach the children, though she herself had only been educated until the sixth grade.¹⁴⁸ She later would attend a local public school before going to Haskell. In her autobiography she said, "my mother and father worked very hard to instill in us the fact that we had a great deal to be proud of as Indians."¹⁴⁹ Horne relates that Haskell had its own secondary language that she calls "slanguage". This was made up of common place words that were used in specific context to communicate private things openly without the authorities catching on. This type of linguistic behavior is called code switching, "the modifying of one's behavior, appearance, etc, to adapt to different sociocultural norms."¹⁵⁰ It was also at Haskell where she discovered how closely related many western Native American languages are. She recounts her story of being teased by two Comanche boys, and when she asked how they knew her language, they explained that Comanche and Shoshoni are closely related.¹⁵¹

As with having their own "slanguages" that they could use to code switch when needed, students at each boarding school created their own social structures.¹⁵² They generated their own peer relationships. They collaborated on school approved plays, sports, and social activities. They also worked together to play pranks and react with solidarity, resisting the powers that be. These students utilized their agency to resist acculturation.¹⁵³ Most often they would quietly talk

148 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 19.

149 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 19.

150 Dictionary.com, "Code Switching," in *Dictionary.Com* (Web, n.d.), <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/code-switching>.

151 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 33.

152 A good example of this type of created social structure is found in K. Tsianina Lomawaima's article "Oral Histories From Chilocco Indian Agricultural School 1920-1940" *American Indian Quarterly*, Summer, 1987, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer, 1987), pp. 241-254. Narrative #4 provides a glimpse into not only a created social structure, but the types of punishments used for infractions specifically at Chilicco.

153 Adams, "Beyond Bleakness, The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," 56.

with each other in their Native languages, away from the eyes and ears of the watchful authorities. Horne recalls:

We students nurtured a sense of community among ourselves, and we learned so much from one another. Traditional values, such as sharing and cooperation helped us survive culturally at Haskell, even though the schools were designed to erase our Indian culture, values, and identities.¹⁵⁴

According to Clyde Ellis, who has documented life at the Rainy Mountain School in Oklahoma from 1893-1920, the act of resistance that was punished most often at the Rainy Mountain school was speaking in the student's Native language. There were a variety of methods used by Rainy Mountain school administrators to punish the use of language. These included brushing teeth with soap, forcing boys to cross dress, the addition of extra chores, and restrictions on what events students could attend.¹⁵⁵ This attempt to stamp out Native language use was not effective. Ellis points out that the students made sure that they were careful to only speak their languages when the administrators and teachers were not around.¹⁵⁶ This repression by the boarding schools lead to the unintended consequence of cultural and language preservation.

One of the positive byproducts of this type of repression came in the form of syllabaries. A syllabary is a set of written characters for a language, each character representing a syllable. Some students would write notes phonetically in their own languages, using Latin letters, so the teachers could not understand what was being written and would not read them out loud. Some kept these types of notes, which lead a

154 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 33.

155 Ellis, "'We Had a Lot of Fun, but of Course, That Wasn't the School Part' Life at Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920," 75.

156 Ellis, "'We Had a Lot of Fun, but of Course, That Wasn't the School Part' Life at Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920," 75.

few, later in their lives to compile a written form of their Native language, thus preserving it for future generations.¹⁵⁷

In researching the records, and in reading first person accounts, it is likely that most of the students during the federal boarding school period hated the disciplinary aspects of these military style schools. Many ran away, and others were sent home for major infractions of the rules. Notwithstanding the disciplinary nature of the boarding schools, many students would go on to have careers at the boarding schools, as is the case of Ester Horn, or work for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as was the case of Parker McKenzie who created one of the written systems for the Kiowa language.¹⁵⁸ In many cases, the previous students had an appreciation of the skills learned while at school, and fond memories of friends, some of the instructors, and administrators who made a difference to them. This is expressed well by Curtis, a member of the Creek Tribe who attended the Chilocco Indian School.

The school did a lot of good, I, I look back on it, and I can realize that there were a lot of things that I learned there that were invaluable to me in later life. I learned an awful lot of things there that I would never have known otherwise. Ah, the bad part of it, of course, was the discipline and, being away from home, not having any family life...¹⁵⁹

Jon Reyhner points out one major flaw in the early boarding school system. Teachers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, while in most cases were highly credentialed, were unprepared to teach Native American youths. Many of these highly educated teachers failed to

157 Ellis, “‘We Had a Lot of Fun, but of Course, That Wasn’t the School Part’ Life at Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920,” 75.

158 Ellis, “‘We Had a Lot of Fun, but of Course, That Wasn’t the School Part’ Life at Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920,” 89.

159 Lomawaima, “Narrative #4” in “Oral Histories from Chilocco Indian Agricultural School 1920-1940,” 248-49.

educate their students. Other instructors who may not have been as qualified in the subjects they taught, but were more understanding of their students' situations, often succeeded in their efforts.¹⁶⁰ This is a commentary on lack of understanding between teacher and student that reflects the general level of cultural misunderstanding that has been seen from the time of first contact between Native Americans and Europeans to the present.

Esther Horne made her decision to become an educator in part because of the influence of two of her instructors. Both of these teaches were well educated Native American women. They provided the students with a strong sense of respect for their Native American heritage. One of these instructors was Ella Cara Deloria, a member of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, a graduate of Columbia Teachers College, who would later work with Franz Boaz, Ruth Benedict, and Margret Mead as a linguist and as a fellow anthropologist.¹⁶¹ The other instructor was Ruth Muskrat Bronson a member of the Creek Tribe and a graduate of Mount Holyoake.¹⁶² According to Horne both taught from the assigned curriculum, but according to Horne, they were able to carefully intermingle Native American values and pride into their work in the classroom.¹⁶³

Perhaps more important than the education Deloria and Bronson provided was that they listened to their students. They taught their students: Critical thinking, how to debate, and how to verbally defend themselves as Native Americans without appearing

160 Reyhner, "American Indian Boarding Schools," 62.

161 "Ella Cara Deloria - Akta Lakota Museum & Cultural Center," accessed November 3, 2021, <http://aktalakota.stjo.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=9006>.

162 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 41.

163 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 41.

defensive.¹⁶⁴ Horne's experience was no doubt different from other students, even those attending Haskell at the same time, as it was her own personal experience. She attended Haskell from 1924 to 1929, during a time when the first graduates from Carlisle and other boarding schools would have been able to return as teachers. Other schools had Native American instructors, but the attitudes of both students and instructors were formed by school administrations. The curriculum was controlled by Indian Affairs, but the quality of instructors and administrators would vary from school to school. Clyde Ellis provides one of the best examples of this problem. The Rainy Mountain school had two teachers and one industrial instructor for 146 students.¹⁶⁵ Compared to Carlisle's thirteen teachers and fourteen industrial instructors for 585 students, this means that Carlisle had a more than double student to instructor ratio.¹⁶⁶ This created double the workload for Rainy Mountain's staff exacerbating any deficiencies the instructors had.

Deloria and Bronson were not alone in their attempts to quietly help the boarding school students through the rigors, and hardships of life at the schools. In her paper "Oral Histories From Chilocco Indian Agricultural School 1920-1940," Lomawaima records the account of one of the students that had attended Chilocco named Edgar. Edgar recalls how his adviser at Chilocco quietly looked out for the boys under his care, even when they were not being honest with him. A man whom Edgar calls Applehead revealed to him later in life that he was keenly aware of what mischief his students were up to, and yet he pretended not to notice. Applehead

164 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 41.

165 Ellis, "'We Had a Lot of Fun, but of Course, That Wasn't the School Part' Life at Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920," 80.

166 "Carlisle Roster of Employees", "Reports on Examinations and Promotions of Pupils", Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_records.

had been a former boarding school student, and as such, he understood the pressures on the students and let them be rather than disciplining them for their actions.¹⁶⁷ According to research by Adams, as many as sixteen percent of teachers and half of all engineering positions were filled by prior students by the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁶⁸ This number would decline as the curriculum for the schools became more advanced and the policies of Indian Affairs changed over time.¹⁶⁹

The rate of students attending the Bureau of Indian Affairs ran boarding schools during the 1920s had peaked at an estimated eighty-three percent of all Native American children attending one of the schools for some period of time.¹⁷⁰ According to Samantha Williams, by the mid-1930s the number of children attending boarding schools had reduced drastically through the efforts of native activists and reformers pushing to keep the children at home and educated locally. The children that still attended the boarding schools were those that lived far enough from public education that travel was impractical, or those children that the Bureau of Indian Affairs considered to be at risk. At risk children were those who were considered by the local Indian Agents to be living in unsafe conditions or who were considered orphans.¹⁷¹

167 Lomawaima, "Narrative #5" in "Oral Histories from Chilocco Indian Agricultural School 1920-1940," 251.

168 Adams, "Beyond Bleakness, The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," 45.

169 Adams, "Beyond Bleakness, The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," 45.

170 Samantha M. Williams, "Native American Boarding Schools: Some Basic Facts and Statistics," Samantha M. Williams PhD, accessed January 6, 2022, <https://www.samanthamwilliams.com/blog/native-american-boarding-schools-some-basic-facts-and-statistics>.

171 Williams, "Native American Boarding Schools."

The vast majority of government ran boarding schools were closed by the mid-1930s with only five still in operation today. The ones still in operation have adapted and changed with the times and operate much differently than originally envisioned.¹⁷²

One of the largest challenges faced by Native Americans as a whole, was Termination. Starting in the late 1940s and continuing through the 1960's, this loss of tribal status was a cultural disaster for many Native Americans. With over 100 tribes and bands affected, Termination on a purely physical level meant the loss of their reservations, allotments, and lands.¹⁷³ Additionally, the relocation of families away from their lost reservations during Termination, with the purpose of helping Native Americans find wage work, further broke up tribes, cultures, and made language maintenance difficult. Students living on the reservations in some cases were relocated.¹⁷⁴ They were placed in an environment where their native language was only spoken in the home, and the schools were not yet prepared for bi-lingual education. The loss of tribal sovereignty also threatened to defund education for those who remained in the reservations.¹⁷⁵ Termination had its roots in ideas of the Christian reformers from the turn of the century. The reform groups continued to exist but started to lose relevancy. The effects of their earlier work were still being felt in policy late into the twentieth century. The concept behind termination was to eliminate tribal bonds in order to make each Native American a free agent, answerable only to themselves and the government.¹⁷⁶ In response to the threat imposed by Termination, the National Congress of American Indians or

172 Williams, "Native American Boarding Schools."

173 Frey, "Termination Policy of the 1950s into the 1960s."

174 Philp, "Dillon S. Myer and the Advent of Termination," 59.

175 Frey, "Termination Policy of the 1950s into the 1960s."

176 Frey, "Termination Policy of the 1950s into the 1960s."

NCAI was formed in 1944,¹⁷⁷ with Ruth Muskrat Bronson among the many Native Americans playing an active part, Bronson having retired from Indian Affairs in 1943.¹⁷⁸ NCAI is one of the largest Native American activist groups and lobbies the government about problems held in common between the many cultures of the Native American and Native Alaskan communities. It was the NCAI that lobbied the presidential administrations, eventually gaining concessions in the 1960s, and full policy change in the 1970s.

This chapter has discussed the history of education and activism from the beginning of the federal boarding school period into Termination. The individual choices made by Native American students and educators, from the 1880s through the 1960s, attempted to keep the cultural and linguistic flames alive, with some success. The next chapter will examine education and activism using the Native American ideas of tribal self-determination beginning in the early 1970s that bring us to the modern day.

177 NCAI, "National Congress of American Indians," National Congress of American Indians Home, accessed March 2, 2022, <https://www.ncai.org/>.

178 Gretchen Harvey, "Muskrat, Ruth," in *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* (US: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, January 1996), <http://libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=khh&AN=12593974&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Chapter 3

Language and Cultural Preservation in the Era of Tribal Self-Determination

Civil Rights Era and Education Moving Forward

This chapter will look at policy changes in education from the end of the 1960s to present day. It will also examine the available history of, and challenges that are faced by activists working towards language revitalization. Beginning in the Termination era, there began to be changes in the way Native cultures were treated by federal schools. Speaking one's own Native language, if it was not English, was still frowned upon. Yet in spite of this there began to be bilingual instructors available for struggling students.¹⁷⁹ The 1950's and 1960's brought human rights to the attention of the American masses through the civil rights movement. The creation of the United Nations in the aftermath of World War II would eventually bring about the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, released in 2007, which is an important step that gives Native Americans tools to use in the struggle to save their cultures and languages.¹⁸⁰ Issuing this declaration, the United Nations recognized the inherent value of indigenous people by giving them a voice on the world stage. The struggle continues as tribes seek greater recognition of their rights and a fulfillment of the promises made to them by the federal government over the course of generations.

It is important to note that the educational curriculum of Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, not including the work programs, for both boarding schools and day schools, has been nearly identical prior to the advent of tribal self-determination. Many students would go to day school knowing little to no English, and have their Native languages repressed by the instructors who

179 Reyhner, "American Indian Boarding Schools," 70.

180 Reyhner, "American Indian Boarding Schools," 71.

may not have been qualified for teaching their specific subjects.¹⁸¹ All teachers are required to be certified in the state where they teach. Interestingly I am only aware of one state, the state of Montana, which requires instructors to understand the cultural heritage of their students.¹⁸²

According to the field report prepared for the United States Senate in 1969, Shonshoni was spoken as the main language in one fifth of all households at Fort Hall, and that close to fifty percent of households were bilingual.¹⁸³ This report, while generated at a time when the civil rights movement was in the minds of the American people, still put forward an English first response to education. It states, “The lack of English comprehension is a problem that faces Indian parents when they attempt to help their children attending public school.”¹⁸⁴

The Senate report details that, at that time there seemed to be a disconnect between spoken and written English for adults living at Fort Hall. One of the contributors came to the conclusion that the Shoshone-Bannock tribes used the English language as a communicative tool without valuing nuance.¹⁸⁵ The report itself was highly critical of the way the Bureau of Indian Affairs had handled nearly all of its responsibilities at Fort Hall, including education. Many of the Shoshone and Bannock students were described by their teachers in various negative ways. In contrast to these accounts, one of the school counselors observed that most Shoshone and Bannock students were brilliant, and they

181 Elanor Little, interview by Norm Cavanaugh, January 17, 2006, 5, Great Basin Indian Archives, https://www.gbcnv.edu/gbia/gbia_docs_oralhisttrans.html.

182 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 55.

183 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “The Education of American Indians,” 126

184 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “The Education of American Indians,” 126

185 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, “The Education of American Indians,” 127

had much latent talent that just needed a source of motivation.¹⁸⁶ Motivation though, is difficult when you are learning a second language and most of what you learn about your own people is negative. A survey made of the textbooks in use at the time indicates that almost every historical item taught to the Native American students about Native Americans were negative tropes and stereotypes.¹⁸⁷

By 1969 most Native American students were attending public schools either on or off of their reservation. This is documented in in the Senate's report on Fort Hall, and points out the inadequacies of the system and how it was failing the students.¹⁸⁸ The lack of understanding by the teachers, at the time of the report, about the culture of their student is well documented in their own words in the report.¹⁸⁹ The required curriculum of the 1960s was still filled with negative stereotypical ideas that were damaging to the students self-image.¹⁹⁰ The 1960s and the civil rights era focused attention on underserved and underrepresented communities. John F. Kennedy and his immediate successor, Lyndon B. Johnson listened to the complaints coming from the Native American activists, including the NACI, and promised change. The Senate held a series of hearings and investigations in the late 1960s that pointed to heavy mismanagement by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Change happened slowly because of the political climate. By the end of Johnson's presidency, tribal self-determination and partnership were being discussed

186 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 155

187 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 156

188 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 142

189 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 136–37.

190 U.S. Congress. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "The Education of American Indians," 139–40.

while looking towards the end of Termination.¹⁹¹ As the 1970s began, Richard M. Nixon became involved the process. He stated in an address to congress on July 8, 1970

No self-respecting law firm would ever allow itself to represent two opposing clients in one dispute. Yet the Federal government has frequently found itself in that position. There is considerable evidence that the Indians are the losers when such situations arise. More than that, the credibility of the Federal government is damaged whenever it appears that such a conflict of interest exists.¹⁹²

In 1970 the Nixon administration formally ended Termination, introducing a policy that put tribal self-determination first and made progress towards undoing the damage caused by Termination.¹⁹³ It was this pivotal point in policy change that allowed for many federally funded language programs.

While general improvements to the education system have occurred over time, much damage has been done to the proliferation of both the Shoshoni and Apache languages. The effects of colonialism have made a lasting impact on Native American languages. According to World Atlas, prior to contact with Europeans, there were close to three hundred languages spoken within the boundaries of the modern United States. As of 2017 there were one hundred and sixty-seven. Of those remaining, one hundred and twenty-six of these are endangered, with Shoshone being considered vulnerable.¹⁹⁴ An

191 Blubaugh, "Self-Determination Without Termination: The National Congress of American Indians and Defining Self-Determination Policy During The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations," 60–62.

192 U.S. Congress. Senate. Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Committee on the Judiciary, "Administrative Practices and Procedures Relating to Protection of Indian Natural Resources" (Congress of the United States, October 19, 1971), 6, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Federal_Data_Banks_Computers_and_the_Bil/E2idajOa724C?hl=en&gbpv=0.

193 Blubaugh, "Self-Determination Without Termination: The National Congress of American Indians and Defining Self-Determination Policy During The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations," 63.

194 "Endangered Indigenous Languages of The United States," World Atlas, 2017, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/endangered-languages-of-the-united-states.html>.

endangered language is one where there are not enough speakers to perpetuate the language without some kind of intervention. Vulnerable languages continue to have enough speakers to maintain the language, but the number of speakers is not growing or is slowly declining. The Apache language is doing well on paper, but its older generation of speakers are concerned for its continued health. Understanding this should give one pause and suggest that some action needs to be undertaken.

Reyhner points out in his history of Native American education that many Native Americans prioritize the halting of language loss. This is because it creates a generational gap between grandparents, parents, and grandchildren, that disrupts the flow of cultural knowledge and potentially can cut younger people off from their own cultural heritage.¹⁹⁵

Language Preservation and Revitalization

To preserve and revitalize a language so that it can be taught in a modern setting, there needs to be a bedrock of linguistic materials. These materials include syllabaries, lexicons, and grammars that have been recorded and preserved by historians, anthropologists, and Native language activists. Parts of the Shoshoni language began to be recorded as early as the 1850s when a group of missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, colloquially known as “Mormons” built a settlement in the Lemhi Valley on the Salmon River in central Idaho. These missionaries kept records of their time at their mission and have contributed much to the early post contact history of the Lemhi Valley Shoshone.¹⁹⁶ Christopher Loether explains that these records, that were mostly kept as diaries, are housed in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint records library in Salt Lake City. Loether also comments that the Shoshoni

195 Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*, 55.

196 Brigham Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caxton Printers, 1980),

recorded in these diaries, was recorded as the individual writer heard and understood them.¹⁹⁷ This makes deciphering their actual meanings extremely hard to accomplish. There are several different Shoshoni grammars that have been printed over the last one hundred and twenty years. Most of these have been written either by linguists, Native American language activists, or by a collaboration of both.¹⁹⁸

Native Americans from various tribes have created writing systems, grammars, and syllabaries. This began with the Cherokee syllabary written by Sequoyah in the early nineteenth century. An Apache holy man named Silas John Edwards developed an entire written language for specific parts of the spoken Apache language that are used in religious rituals. Edwards began this writing system in 1904 after receiving a vision. It is not widely used because he taught it only to those he felt would treat the prayers he had recorded with respect. His concern was that the language needed to be recorded in order to preserve the prayers he said that he had received from God for his people.¹⁹⁹ One of the versions of the Kiowa written language owes its origins to the boarding school system, where its orthography began as notes passed between Parker McKenzie and his future spouse.²⁰⁰

Loether, a linguist, and expert on the Shoshoni language, explains that linguists at the beginning of the twentieth century looked at Native American languages and saw a need to document them for description, or in other words, salvage what they could before

197 Loether Email to Garbett, January 6, 2022.

198 Loether Email to Garbett, January 6, 2022.

199 Keith Basso and Ned Anderson, "A Western Apache Writing System: The Symbols of Silas John," *Science* 180, no. 4090 (1973): 1013–22.

200 Parker P. McKenzie and William C. Meadows, "The Parker P. McKenzie Kiowa Orthography: How Written Kiowa Came into Being," *Plains Anthropologist* 46, no. 177 (August 2001): 238, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2052546.2001.11932030>.

the languages disappeared. This process has changed over the course of the last century.

Beginning as salvage projects that seek to preserve extinct or nearly extinct languages, to a need for revitalization and language maintenance for a growing community of speakers.²⁰¹

In the latter half of the twentieth century, quite likely influenced by Termination and tribal self-determination, professional linguists began to work directly with Native American language activists to provide more effective ways of preserving and teaching Native languages to local populations. Loether and Gould, worked together on the Shoshoni Language project, working towards benefiting the Fort Hall Reservation.²⁰² Linguist Jon Daley of Boise State University worked with Beverly Crum, a Shoshoni language activist from the Duck Valley Reservation on the border of Idaho and Nevada, to produce *Western Shoshoni Grammar* in 1995.²⁰³ Activists also worked on their own to produce linguistic works. Malinda Tidzump wrote several documents on the Shoshoni language including *Shoshone Thesaurus* in 1970, and with the assistance of Wesley Kosin “Suggested Shoshone Alphabet Symbols” in 1967, on the Shoshone Wind River reservation.²⁰⁴ The Apache language has long been studied and documented, as is exemplified by the work of Basso, and has remained relatively strong throughout the 20th century. Because Native American activists had been laying the groundwork in the 1960s and 1970s, more recent language and cultural revitalization work has been able to

201 Christopher Loether, “Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study,” in *Native American Language Ideologies*, ed. Paul Kroskrity (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 238, <http://search.ebscohost.com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=mzh&AN=2016712328&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

202 Loether to Garbett, January 6, 2022.

203 David Leedom Shaul, “Survey of Shoshone Grammar” (National Science Foundation, 2012), 8.

204 Shaul, “Documenting Endangered Languages Grant No. 0854517,” 9.

occur. In the early 1970s, Beverly Crum was working with University of Utah linguist Nick Miller, who provided a written form of Shoshoni. She actively sought out native Shoshoni speakers for the purpose of teaching them this written version of their language. The goal was to create a body of written materials to educate Shoshone youth for which Shoshoni was not their first language.²⁰⁵

In 1982 the Duckwater Shoshone School began a three-year project to provide a bilingual education with funding from the federal government. While this was intended for the education of the children living in Duck Valley, the director of the program Ms. Blackeye, indicated that adults who were not Shoshoni speakers were beginning to learn from the students who were involved in the project.²⁰⁶

By the early 1980s there had been more improvements. According to the “Study of the Attitudes of Educators, Parents, and Students toward the Shoshone-Bannock Tribal School” by David McArthur, confidence in the school and its teachers had improved. For his thesis, McArthur generated a survey which was distributed widely at Fort Hall. The survey reports that seventy-three percent of students surveyed felt like their instructors had a solid grasp on Native American history and culture. In addition, a large majority of parents felt comfortable with discussing their children’s concerns and problems with the school.²⁰⁷ This is a positive shift from the attitudes recorded in the 1969 Senate report.

205 Beverly Crum, “Shoshone Speakers Needed,” *The Native Nevadan*, January-February 1974.
<http://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk>

206 “All These Kids Are Learning to Speak Shoshone in Duck Water,” *The Native Nevadan*, 1983, 32-33.
<http://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk>

207 David E. McArthur, “Study of the Attitudes of Educators, Parents, and Students toward the Shoshone-Bannock Tribal School” (M.A. Thesis, Pocatello, Idaho State University, 1982), 66.

By 2003 the kindergarten class at the Fort Hall School was being taught about traditional culture, how to count in Shoshoni, and learned a little Native American Sign language. The teacher, Sandra Rainey, made the effort to include the extra instruction on top of the curriculum provided by the Blackfoot School District.²⁰⁸ These are two examples separated by place and time that demonstrate the ongoing work at language preservation by members of both the Western Shoshone, and the Shoshone and Bannock Tribes.

The Western Apache have also been actively working on the same types of projects as the Shoshone from the 1970s until present. In 1973 the White Mountain Tribe published an Apache-English dictionary.²⁰⁹ In 1975 the Apache of the Fort Sill Tribe began instruction for youth in the Apache language at Anadarko. This instruction was carried out by older members of the community who wanted to protect and revive their language.²¹⁰ In 1980 Arizona State University, in collaboration with the San Carlos Apache, made audio recordings of Apache language songs to preserve them for the future.²¹¹

In researching the history of Apache language activists and their contributions to the preservation of their language, I have found little to no information on any specific individuals, though there must be many for the language to remain as strong as it has. I believe that there are some reasons for this. The Apache seem to be culturally reserved. Basso encountered this when collecting information for *Wisdom Sits in Places*, it took years to develop relationships with his contacts, and the information his contacts provided him was disclosed on their terms. Another

208 “Fort Hall Teachers Incorporating Culture,” *Navajo Times*, June 12, 2003, Thursday, sec. C.
<http://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk>

209 “Apache-English Dictionary Published by White Mountain,” *Wassaja*, 1973, June, 4.
<http://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk>

210 “Apache Language,” *Wassaja*, 1975, September, 3. <http://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk>

211 “ASU Studies Apache Language,” *Navajo Times*, November 27, 1980, 13.
<http://www.americanindiannewspapers.amdigital.co.uk>

possible reason for the silence surrounding activists may be because of the strength of the Apache language itself. One of the key points of this thesis is that activism grows in response to the amount of pressure applied from outside influences to change. Apache, as with other Native American Languages, is under still under pressure. The large number of Apache speakers make the revitalization process easier, therefore it appears less threatened than other indigenous languages, which in turn may result in less vocal language activists.

Two examples of the revitalization process have been documented for this thesis for both the Shoshone and the Apache peoples. The Shoshoni language example is provided by Dr. Christopher Loether in his paper “Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.”, and the Apache example is provided by Dr. M. Elanor Nevins in her paper “Learning to Listen.” By comparing and contrasting these two documents we can gain a better knowledge of what is required for effective language revitalization and maintenance. The Dishchii'bikoh Community School at Cibecue, Arizona provides instruction in Apache on the White Mountain reservation as a first and second language. The school has been in operation since 1991 serving the people of the White Mountain Reservation. During the time that Nevins spent at Cibecue working for Healthy Nations Ndee Benadesh: The People’s Vision, she helped to develop new language materials for Healthy Nations technology-based education system. Because of her constant contact with the community, she has been able to gain insight and assess the language ideologies in play at White Mountain.²¹²

212 Nevins, “Learning to Listen,” 274–79.

The Chief Tahgee Elementary academy is a charter school that serves the Shoshone of Fort Hall through immersion education in the Shoshoni language and hopes to provide service to the Bannock portion of the Fort Hall community at some point in the future. The charter was approved in November of 2012 and the schools initial Board of Directors included language activists such as Drusilla Gould, and recognized education specialists including Dr. Beverly Klug of Idaho State University.²¹³ Loether's paper was published three years prior to the schools charter being approved, which makes it a valuable resource on the difficulties faced by activist and academics. Nevins and Loether discuss many of the same issues.

According to Loether, the effectiveness of language revitalization is dependent on many cultural factors. One of these factors is how cultural and social meanings factor into how language is used within the speaker's society, and the United States as a whole. Beginning and continuing revitalization efforts rely on how each Native American community feels about their language, and not on the methodology of how the language is taught.²¹⁴

Loether strikes upon the common theme that while Native Americans have been grouped together, each group has its own culture and relationship to the governments of the North American countries they are encompassed by. Loether talks about concepts that are termed language ideologies by linguists. These are basic cultural concepts and feelings that can be unique to each Native American group in regard to language.²¹⁵

213 Joel F. Weaver and Cyd Crue, "Chief Tahgee Elementary Academy Charter" (Idaho Public Charter School Commission, November 6, 2012), <https://www.cteacademy.org/aboutus.php>.

214 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.," 238.

215 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.," 238.

Current language ideologies have been affected by colonialism causing many Native American groups and individuals concern over the value of their original languages. The Euro-American colonizers brought their own language ideologies and disrupted those of Native Americans during the colonization process. Loether's solution for effective revitalization attempts involve the dismissal of colonial language ideologies and exploring the foundational elements of indigenous language through study of their practices and beliefs. He also points out that any revitalization efforts need to be community based.²¹⁶ Even within the individual Native American group there can be competing language ideologies.

Loether states that roughly 90% of the people enrolled as members of the Shoshone and Bannock tribes, at Fort Hall Idaho, are Shoshone or of Shoshone decent. At the time of the writing of Loether's paper in 2009, there were a little less than a third of the population of the Fort Hall Reservation that could be considered fluent in Shoshoni. Of these fluent speakers, the largest numbers of speakers are those over fifty years old, with a small minority of children learning Shoshoni as a first language.²¹⁷

Unlike the Shoshone at Fort Hall, where a limited number of people remained fluent in Shoshoni, many adult Apache are fluent or semi fluent in their language. Nevins records that use of language was not just reserved for traditional situations, but it was also being adapted to newer social situations.²¹⁸

216 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study,," 238–39.

217 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study,," 240.

218 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 270.

The difficulties faced by the Shoshone of Fort Hall, confront many other groups of Native Americans. For many nations, tribes, and bands, the lack of a standardized linguistic framework makes teaching their language as a second language extremely difficult. This framework for modern teaching requires an official standardized dictionary, and literature written for the education of both first and second language learners. The work of language activists is important to this process. Work like that done by Beverly Crum in the 1970s can be used to inform modern language programs and serve as platforms for the present generation of linguists and activists.

Other problems facing revitalization efforts include that English has become the language of commerce, discrimination, overly critical language speakers that can discourage new learners, lack of community support, and lack of support from the educational system.²¹⁹ Speakers who are overly critical may be one of the more difficult obstacles to overcome. Walter Fisk a member of the Te-Moak tribe of Western Shoshone, explained that being overly critical of new Shoshoni learners can push them away from the language, and makes them not want to learn more.²²⁰

One of the challenges of teaching a standardized version of the Shoshoni language at Fort Hall lies in the large number of dialects present. Pre-contact, the Shoshone peoples lived as extended family groups. This resulted in many dialects that are mutually intelligible. This means that instructors teaching Shoshoni need to be aware of all the dialects and teach new learners multiple words for English terms.²²¹ The Shoshone have a firm respect for the extended family group and the groups freedom when it comes to certain cultural aspects including language.²²²

219 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

220 Walter Fisk, interview by Dwain Garbett, Telephone, January 28, 2022.

221 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

222 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

The Shoshoni Language Project did not exist in a vacuum. They studied the work of other language projects and activists, while working with the Shoshone and Bannock Tribes.²²³

Nevins points to two differing language ideologies among the Apache that, while sharing the desire to preserve the language, take different forms in the minds of their proponents. The first is the cultural values of speaking. This relates directly to the research of Basso and others, where the moral structure of Apache society stems from language and how it relates to the family and the landscape. The second Nevins describes as political. The Apache tribal government has a vested interest defining the tribe's identity as part of a larger national and international discourse.²²⁴ Because of the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, tribes have been given an international platform where they can more aggressively seek funding and assert their sovereignty. Article five of the declaration states "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State."²²⁵

Using the political language ideology can become problematic because federal funding for large scale revitalization projects require that a recognized "expert" be part of the program.²²⁶ This particular language ideology, when applied within the United States, potentially puts non Native American linguists in the uncomfortable position of being

223 Loether to Garbett, January 6, 2022.

224 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 272.

225 Vereinte Nationen, Hochkommissariat Menschenrechte, and United Nations, *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: A Manual for National Rights Institutions* (New York, N.Y: United Nations, 2013), 9.

226 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 272–73.

called the "expert", when the other people involved in the language revitalization projects are often more fluent and in some cases better capable of being the language educators.

It can be difficult for children to learn Shoshoni because it is almost a necessity to have an older person in the home speaking the language so that the child can learn. When this happens, it is usually because a grandparent or older relative is involved with the raising of the child. This is a common cultural aspect of the Shoshone people.²²⁷ Because of this, many children have had to learn the language without the benefit of a Shoshoni speaking peer group.²²⁸ The somewhat limited nature of learning only a specific dialect of their language can manifest itself as an inability to express themselves fully in their first language. This in turn can lead them toward predominantly using English, as it is widely used, and can be considered a more prestigious language. This isolated, dialectical learning is not always the case because Fort Hall is only one of several Shoshone reservations throughout the states of Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada. Many Shoshone families attend events and visit relatives regularly. This gives Shoshoni speakers an opportunity to be exposed to many different dialects within their language.²²⁹

There is a concept stated as respecting the language, where if the Native speaker nurtures the language, then the language will help take care of its speaker. This idea came to Drusilla Gould from her grandmother at Fort Hall. Gould's own mother would go to day school with her for the first year, in order to help Gould learn the new customs and help translate the harder concepts from English to Shoshoni.²³⁰ Gould, who has become a well-known Shoshoni language

227 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"
228 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"
229 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"
230 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

activist, and lecturer at Idaho State University, continued this tradition with her children and grandchildren. This theme of grandparents teaching grandchildren is one that continues in other parts of the Native American community.²³¹

There are some “language ideologies” found at Fort Hall that can cause opposition to revitalization. The first is contempt for Shoshoni as a language. This has arisen from the European concept that there must be one prestige language per nation. This creates situations where people lose the sense of their language's usefulness in the face of the language of national commerce. The second is called social Darwinism by linguists. This is where the national language is considered to be better formed and have more prestige than other languages used within the bounds of a nation. Third is language utility. This is the use of the language that provides the best communication without consideration of its cultural aspects. The fourth is Variationism. Variation is considered the norm. This corresponds with the extended family dialects of the Shoshoni language.²³²

Another concept that proves detrimental to language revitalization is called “genetic fallacy”. This is the concept that one’s ancestry, or culture and traditions, makes it easier to learn the ancestral language. It is comparable to the idea that someone of Irish decent should be able to learn the Irish language with little effort. This can create the false expectation of ease for a student learning a second language. In most cases, the learning of a new language requires quite a bit of effort. This realization for someone that believes

231 Little, interview.

232 Loether, “Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study,,” 245–46.

the "genetic fallacy" can create feelings of inadequacy that can hinder or halt their learning progress.²³³

There is also the idea that is held by some Native Americans that their languages never change, and that the current Elders of the tribe speak the pure language as handed down by the ancestors. This can create major problems to standardization if some of the speakers object to changes that they do not think the ancestors would have made. This freezes languages in time and hurts the efforts to revitalize a living language, because just like culture, language is always changing.²³⁴ Another consideration for the Shoshoni language is the power that words have. Some words, names specifically, are not supposed to be spoken. This includes certain geological features, place names within the landscape, or spiritual beings. These words are not to be used because they may cause harm to the individuals who speak it or hear it spoken.²³⁵ This is a common theme that is found cross culturally in many Native American groups. Barre Toelken discusses some of these taboos in *The Dynamics of Folklore*.²³⁶ This topic also came up in my discussion with Walter Fisk where we discussed many topics, including the concept that winter is the only safe time to tell the stories of Coyote.²³⁷

One last language ideology discussed by Loether has been touched on already in this thesis. It is the concept that if a person cares for their language, then the language will take care of the person.²³⁸ This concept is perhaps the most interesting of the language ideologies

233 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

234 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

235 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

236 Barre Toelken, *The Dynamics of Folklore*, Kindle (Logan, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1996).

237 Fisk, interview.

238 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

discussed by Loether. Asking rhetorically, how often are our own world views informed by how we think, and how do the languages we speak inform our thought processes?

The Shoshoni Language Project conducted multiple outreach programs, including the production of language learning materials, workshops, and training for language instructors in the modern American pedagogy.²³⁹ The work of activists like Gould, and Beverly and Earl Crum, rely on the efforts of their activist peers, and predecessors. It is important to note here that without the efforts of Native American activists working to save their languages, successful collaborations like the Shoshoni Language Project could not happen.

The Shoshoni Language Project encouraged students of the language to speak Shoshoni while shopping or conducting other business on the Fort Hall reservation. By doing this the students themselves expanded the places where the use of Shoshoni can be used. By increasing the domains of use for the language, this increases the comfort of its speakers. As this has happened, increased interest in language classes on the reservation has led to cooperation between the Shoshone and Bannock tribes and Idaho State University. Loether explains that all parties can benefit from this type of partnership if it is based on trust and genuine respect for the concerns of all participants.²⁴⁰

It is a fact that in the years since the American colonization of the West, the number of language domains have diminished. With the loss of these domains the willingness of young people to learn the language lessened.²⁴¹ One of the most difficult hurdles to overcome in the revitalization process is the economic assimilation that many

239 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"
240 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"
241 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

Shoshone have accepted. In the Anglo-American system there is little to no emphasis on traditional culture and language. Loether explains that the economic needs of people have to be addressed by language activists in order to provide the needed support structure for successful revitalization.²⁴²

In regard to language domains, the Apache at White Mountain seem to have less of a problem. On the White Mountain reservation tribal government meetings, and church services are conducted in Apache. Many adult Apache converse and conduct business in both Apache and English.²⁴³ The tribal radio station's DJs also speak mainly in Apache, demonstrating new cultural elements. In spite of these positive efforts at language maintenance there is still a fear that the younger generation is losing their language through the encroachment of English pop culture.²⁴⁴ The fears of the older Apache are found throughout Native American cultures, as Reyhner aptly states "English language mass media has probably posed a more potent threat to tribal languages and cultures than English-only schooling in day and boarding schools."²⁴⁵ The older generation of Apache have a genuine fear that the language will be lost, but they hold competing ideologies on how it should be preserved.²⁴⁶

Providing language domains, places where one can speak their native language comfortably is important to revitalization attempts. This is where bi-lingual education and immersion schools have a special place. Duckwater Schools' bilingual program provided one language domain for students in the early 1980's, and it was not alone. Another example of this

242 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

243 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 271.

244 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 270-71.

245 Reyhner, "American Indian Boarding Schools," 71.

246 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 271.

comes from the Navajo Reservation is the Rock Point Community School. In 1960 Rock Point began English as a second language classes. By 1967 Rock Point had transitioned to bilingual education. According to Reyhner and Eder, Rock Point was the school with the lowest average standardized test scores of the schools on the Navajo reservation in 1960. By 1988 students at Rock Point were scoring higher on standardized tests than the neighboring schools, and the other Native American schools in Arizona.²⁴⁷ The conclusion reached is “—that instruction in the students’ Native language helped rather than hurt Indian students academically.”²⁴⁸ This example supports the claims made by Sarah Winnemucca in the 1880s, that students learn English and other skills better when it is presented to them in their first language.²⁴⁹ This documents a solid change from English first attitudes of education during Termination, to the bilingual and immersion schools of the present day.

Nevins worked on a tribal project that provided language learning materials for the schools. This was in her favor because she worked for and with the tribal government and was able to build strong relationships with the tribe.²⁵⁰ Nevins discovered that local knowledge of her research has framed the conversations she has had with the Apache. Many adults are concerned that the younger generations are not learning Apache because the language is an integral part of their greater system of morals.²⁵¹ She also encountered bias caused by the actions of previous researchers who had not engaged in a reciprocal

247 Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 272–75.

248 Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 275.

249 Hoxie, *This Indian Country*, 157.

250 Nevins, “Learning to Listen,” 271.

251 Basso, ““Speaking with Names’: Language and Landscape among the Western Apache,” 101–2.

relationship with the White Mountain Apache. This created a sense of cynicism about researchers generally.²⁵² It is important to understand that language preservation is not just about saving the language, it is also about saving the culture that originated it. This is where a balance must be struck between those who support sponsored language programs, and those who want to maintain a sense of who they are in an ever-changing world.²⁵³

To promote language revitalization, the language ideologies that promote a negative outcome must be addressed. Engaging with the tribal community in a way that the tribes can recognize, and profit from various linguistic resources, such as what educators and linguists can provide, can help to minimize the amount of time and effort required for revitalization to take hold.²⁵⁴ This is dependent on the relationships that are developed between academic and local language activists. These relationships are built on trust, relying on each other's strengths, but it is on the shoulders of the academics to openly share everything they know about the language.²⁵⁵ The aspect of trust between the academic and the activist is of the utmost importance, cannot be rushed, and it takes time to build.

The recording of traditional stories and teaching them English can be important to a holistic education, but stories, songs, and dances that are recorded in their own language tend to carry a power and strength that can only come from the nuance of their original languages. Norm Cavanaugh of the Duck Valley Shoshone Tribe did a number of oral history interviews with various older Native Americans throughout the Great Basin cultural area that are kept in the Great Basin Indian Archives at Great Basin College. These interviews were given from 2006 to

252 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 271.

253 Nevins, "Learning to Listen," 274.

254 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

255 Loether, "Language Revitalization and the Manipulation of Language Ideologies: A Shoshoni Case Study.,"

2014. Cavanaugh interviewed Earl and Beverly Crum, language activists from Duck Valley. In this interview Beverly Crum explains that in her opinion, all Shoshone poetry is music that is meant to be danced to. In her eyes the poetry, music, and dance are all the same.²⁵⁶ Beverly Crum also makes an interesting statement on the use and recording of the written Shoshoni Language:

But, there would be, the sound, the “noo-teN,” the “nnn,” wouldn’t show up until there was something following it. Remember? One of the rules? One of the rules! [Laughter] Well, it’s the silent “n.” The silent “n.” So that, you really do need to have, like yourself, teaching a class, who is a Shoshone speaker. And the [Shoshone at 10:44] newe taikwaken, the newe taikwa, tamme _____. That’s language. Not the written part. That’s just symbols representing language.²⁵⁷

Earl and Beverly Crum, like Drusilla Gould and the many other Native American language activists have worked long and diligently to preserve their Native languages for future generations. By working to create sets of symbols by which the language can be properly recorded and taught, this can be properly applied to create a pedagogy that benefits Native American students, allowing them to learn their history and the educational necessities of modern life in their own languages. An important consideration is that direct translation for the sake of translation does not necessarily preserve the language and culture. Without the efforts of language activists working to record their own tribal oral histories,²⁵⁸ poetry, and songs,²⁵⁹ language revitalization would be made much more difficult due to the lack of context.

256 Beverly Crum and Earl Crum, interview by Norm Cavanaugh, February 1, 2006, 2–3, Great Basin Indian Archives, https://www.gbcnv.edu/gbia/gbia_docs_oralhisttrans.html.

257 Crum and Crum, interview, 5.

258 Gus Palmer, “Uto-Aztecan Language Family,” in *When Dream Bear Sings: Native Literatures of the Southern Plains*, 9th ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press., 2018), 16.

259 Beverly Crum, Earl Crum, and Jon P. Dayley, *Newe Hupia: Shoshoni Poetry Songs* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt46nz00>.

The fact that on the White Mountain and Fort Hall reservations, as well as many other reservations, Native Americans have been able to establish immersion charter schools is laudable. Both Nevins and Loether have pointed to different Language Ideologies being championed by different parts of both the Shoshone and Apache communities. I have reached out to both schools for more information on their histories, but as of the presentation of this thesis they have not responded. This is to be expected, as successful schools have to pick and choose who they spend their time and efforts with wisely, as these resources are finite, and I am one of many researchers who would take up their time if allowed. Also, I have not had the time built the kind of relationships required for honest and open discussions with the activists I would have most liked to work with.

Considering the history of Native American language and education policy, the emergence of these language immersion schools, along with the many already existing Shoshoni and Apache language programs available to the different tribes and bands, gives hope to the future longevity of the languages and cultures for both the Shoshone and Apache peoples.

Conclusion: Activism, Politics, Language and Culture

How many people living their everyday lives consider themselves to be activists, or to identify with the term? Specifically, how many Native Americans consider themselves to be activists? There are many Native Americans who weave their way in and out of this history, who have contributed to the preservation of their languages and cultures in small yet meaningful ways. Are these people activists as well? We have many examples of activists that would embrace that term to describe their actions. Standing Bear, Ella Cara Deloria, Ruth Bronson, Essie Horne, Drusilla Gould, and Beverly and Earl Crum, are just a few of these. There are others that I would argue should be considered activists through their simple acts of resistance. The man known as Applehead, Edgars's teacher at Chilocco comes to mind. He, as an instructor, knew what the boys in his care were up to, but he made a conscious decision to look the other way. Many of the boarding school students were activists at the time of their attendance without realizing the fact. Parker McKenzie, the note passing student, is a perfect example of this type of resistance as a youth, creating an activist as an adult. Like pebbles in a pond, each act of resistance touched many people and had far reaching affects.

The introduction to this thesis stated that the best way for a colonizer to destroy a culture is to destroy the language of the culture. This is not a uniquely American, nor even a modern problem. The United States attempted to stamp out Native American languages and cultures, did it succeed? Partially. As stated earlier, in 2017 roughly half of the Native American languages and dialects that existed prior to European colonialism

continue to exist, and of these, most are vulnerable or endangered.²⁶⁰ The purpose of this thesis is to examine how this process has been and continues to be resisted. Through the writings of individual Native Americans, this concept of self-determination and personal agency have continued to surface and resurface in each of the eras studied. As Luther Standing Bear said in 1931:

[I] tried to adapt myself and make readjustments to fit the white man's mode of existence. But I was a bad Indian, and the agent and I never got on. I remained a hostile, even a savage if you please. And I still am.²⁶¹

Standing Bear was not the only student to feel this way. The pressures to acculturate, juxtaposed with youthful rebellion, created a myriad of individuals experiencing and reacting to the same events in ways that the educators could not foresee. Many who experienced the education administered by Indian Affairs ran schools, such as Deloria, Bronson, and Horne returned as educators who would use their agency to soften the harsh rhetoric being used to crush the cultures of the students.²⁶² In Deloria's case, this form of rebellion helped to shape her into a renowned linguist and anthropologist. Parker McKenzie would work for Indian Affairs, and from the inside of the bureaucracy push for change and preservation of his own tribal language.²⁶³ McKenzie is not the only one of his tribal group to produce a writing system. Alecia Gonzales, a Kiowa teacher who comes from a younger generation, in 2001 published a writing system that relies on the IPA rather than the Latin alphabet. She created a new system because of IPA's

260 "Endangered Indigenous Languages of The United States."

261 Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 93.

262 Horne and McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*, 41–42.

263 McKenzie and Meadows, "The Parker P. McKenzie Kiowa Orthography."

ability to provide symbols for sounds that the Latin alphabet cannot.²⁶⁴ Changes did come to the educational system, spasmodically, from the Great Depression through Termination, and after Termination as the education of Native American youth was slowly handed over to the local school districts. It is because of the efforts of a few determined people in the Native American communities, that worked against the paternal nature of government, that these changes have happened.

The future is looking brighter but it is still uncertain. Termination has ended as a policy, but Public Law 280 has not been repealed. Tribal self-determination is the current policy, but *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* is still a precedent. Many Native American cultures and their languages are endangered, some much more than others.

The Shoshoni Language Project was a step in the right direction in its time for the people at Fort Hall, but it has since ended. The Apache continue to use their language. They have taken control of their language domains and have a strong base to work from, but they still fear for the future of their language and culture.

Culture is always changing, and the past affects the future. By examining the past of the education provided to Native Americans, we can see the many flaws in the system and do our best not to repeat them. Culture and language can separate and exist independently. For the language, separation from culture leaves a dead language that is only remembered by religious experts and scholars. The loss of its associated culture indicates that the language will lose its context slowly over time. Likewise, a culture that

264 Amber A. Neely and Gus Palmer, "Which Way Is the Kiowa Way," in *Native American Language Ideologies* (Tucson, 2009), 283–84.

has lost its language can continue to go on, but it needs to begin borrowing stylistic elements from other cultures and languages to replace its lost pieces.

I suggest it is best for the language and the culture to live vibrantly together, but this takes effort in a world that is becoming ever more global. These efforts need to include language preservation supported by the various Native American cultures, government, and academia. Undoing the damage done to the indigenous cultures and languages that still survive after colonialism is a task worthy of praise. All of those who have advocated for their cultures, whether it be by quietly resisting authority, or by actively seeking the redress of wrongs, these deserve our respect. Education should not be used again as a tool for the destruction of cultures, rather it should be used to lift people up in the places where they stand and in their own languages.

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