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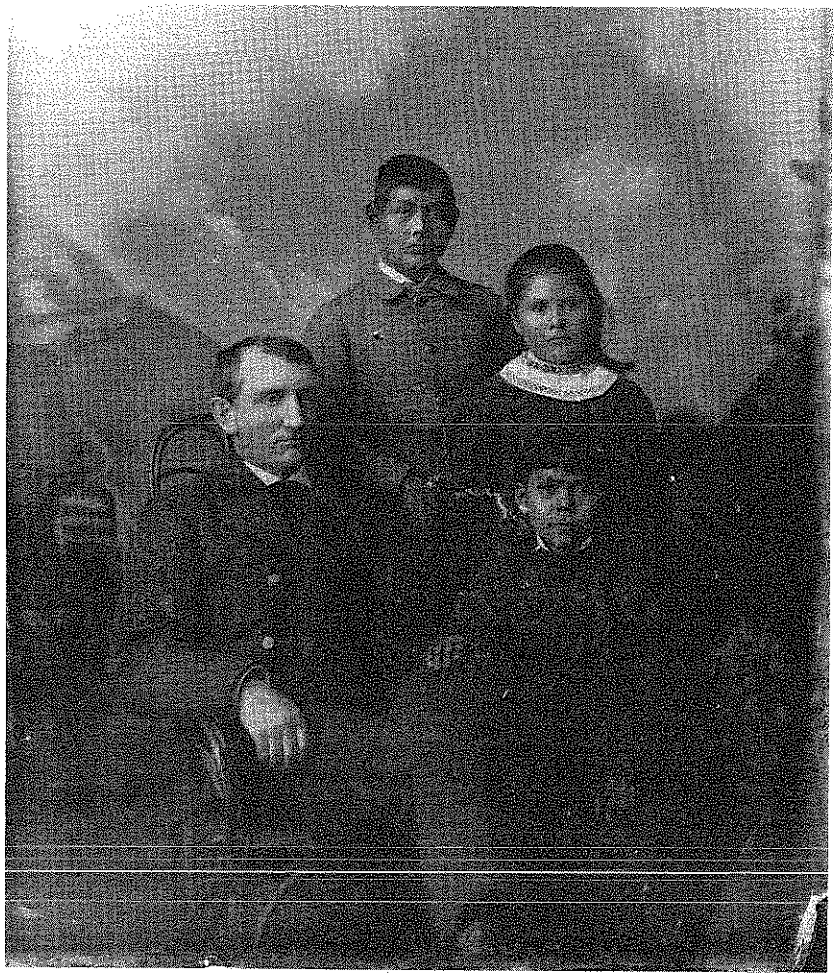


2. Richard Henry Pratt with three students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (ca. 1880). Photograph by J. N. Choate. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution/ Choate 158.

I

English and Colonialist Discourses

In February 1900, when Zitkala-Ša (née Gertrude Simmons) published "The School Days of an Indian Girl" in the *Atlantic Monthly,* she became the first Native writer to alert a mainstream readership to the devastating effects of off-reservation, English-only boarding school education for Native children. Zitkala-Ša herself had been educated at White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute, a Quaker-run school in Wabash, Indiana. The institute's relation to American Indian education began in 1882, when its board of trustees voted to redress the school's financial difficulties by accepting federal funding to educate Native students. White's had been founded twenty-two years earlier by the Society of Friends as a school for poor children, with funds donated by a wealthy Quaker entrepreneur, on land purchased from Meshingomesia, chief of the Miamis. Now, ironically, it was time to fill the space formerly occupied by indigenous people with indigenous people. To achieve that aim, Quakers followed the pattern of other religious organizations in sending representatives directly to the reservations to recruit students. In 1884 they convinced the mother of eight-year-old Gertie Simmons to allow her to leave the Yankton Agency in Dakota Territory to attend White's Institute. Simmons (Zitkala-Ša) would later describe these Quaker missionaries as "that class of white men who wore big hats and carried large hearts."[1]

The Quakers' renowned compassion was limited, however, at least from the perspective of Native parents. Gertrude Simmons apparently went to White's Institute voluntarily, with her mother's permission (her French

American father had abandoned the family before her birth). Nevertheless, files from the school indicate that most parents were unaware that the agreement on which they had "put their mark" gave the school the right to keep the children for three years, with no vacation. In this arrangement White's Institute was typical of boarding schools in the late nineteenth century, whose underlying assumption was that it would take that long for students to absorb European American culture and learn to speak English. But against the wishes of Native parents, this process was subtractive rather than additive, to borrow the terms of linguist Wallace Lambert. Students were expected to learn English not as an additional language but rather as the only language worthy of acquisition. They were not to become bicultural but rather to substitute the Christian majority culture for their own. Ostensibly designed to ease Native children into participation in European American society, these English-only schools functioned to implement a language policy that threatened the existence of students' home languages and cultures. How and why this policy evolved in the United States in the late nineteenth century is the focus of this chapter.[2]

To understand the development of the government's English-only program, it is crucial to recognize that it was situated in a colonialist context. As in other instances of colonization, control over language served as an important instrument in political as well as cultural exploitation, for it could be used to represent indigenous peoples' lives in such a way as to weaken claims to Native sovereignty and strengthen the United States government's bureaucratic and territorial agendas. As Eric Cheyfitz notes, Europeans used language to transform Native identity by representing indigenous peoples as "barbarians" or "savages" and thereby justified (to themselves) establishing structures of domination and subordination in foreign lands. Such rhetorical constructions were manifest not only in politics but also in education. Gauri Viswanathan and Alistair Pennycook, for example, demonstrate how nineteenth-century British educational discourse in Asia represented South Asians and Southeast Asians as intellectually and morally deficient in relation to their British educators and in turn justified imposing British ways of knowing on colonized populations. Similarly in Africa, English was used in colonial schools to frame students as inferior and to denigrate their native tongues. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o recalls that if students at his school in Kenya were caught speaking Gĩkũyũ, they were physically beaten or forced to wear a metal plate around their necks carrying a message such as "I AM

STUPID" or "I AM A DONKEY." The English language was thus used to control the way colonized people perceived themselves and their relationship to their own languages and associated cultures. As Jorge Noriega has shown, this mission to impose values through education was not limited to the British Empire but was an ongoing concern in the United States of America.[3]

This chapter traces the evolution of ideas associated with the United States government's imposition of English on indigenous populations, from the introduction of President Ulysses S. Grant's post–Civil War Peace Policy to the end of the nineteenth century. In order to understand the process by which meaning was constructed in government and missionary texts, I examine the discourse of the educational policymakers, with particular attention to their references to the English language. This rhetorical analysis reveals the ideological universe in which particular beliefs about language acquisition were formulated and disseminated. Although various regions of the country figure in the analysis, I pay special attention to Dakota Territory, in particular the Yankton Agency, because it supplied most of the students to the earliest off-reservation boarding schools. Examining the Yankton Agency sheds light on practices and attitudes at other agencies, for government agents on all the reservations had control over virtually every facet of life, and they shared similar assumptions. The Yankton Agency is of additional interest because it was a home base of the Dakota Mission, which played a significant role in the development of American Indian education and in the struggle over bilingual versus English-only instruction. Finally, Yankton was the birthplace and early home of Zitkala-Ša, whose work I analyze at length in chapter 5.

It is easy to be judgmental about nineteenth-century ideological perspectives, especially when – in hindsight – many of the ideas are disputable or even demonstrably erroneous. But though some of the views articulated in the past were deliberate distortions of the truth, many of the established notions were seemingly logical conclusions based on what was apparently the best information available. In this book, then, I adopt Carl Kaestle's definition of ideology, which assumes that individuals embrace particular social theories that guide them in determining how to live their own lives and how to create a stable or just society. When a significant number of individuals who are positioned similarly within the social order share these theories, the theories serve to link a variety of social institutions, even if the individuals' purposes differ and even though there may be tensions and contradictions

within and among them. In other words, although people do not think exactly alike, their views may reflect prevailing conceptions of how the world operates or should operate. These conceptions become accepted cultural wisdom, or what Antonio Gramsci calls "social hegemony": the consent that the majority gives to the group in power to promote a way of life and thought for the larger population.[4] The goal of this chapter is to delineate the ideology underlying the United States government's language policy and to show how the English language itself was used to sanction imposing English on the Native population.

THE PEACE POLICY AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

In the early 1860s, wars occurred repeatedly between the United States military and indigenous people in the West and Southwest, largely in response to encroachment on Native lands by European Americans migrating from the eastern states. The fighting on both sides was so brutal that the public began to demand an approach different from the policy of annihilation that the military had apparently adopted. Unable and unwilling to stop the westward movement, the government turned its attention to the welfare of indigenous populations in an effort to right the wrongs committed against them, which were largely perpetrated by the government itself. President Grant instituted a peace policy in 1869 to remove the causes of hostility and thus to ensure safety for the people who called themselves settlers. He appointed as commissioner of Indian affairs his former military secretary, Ely S. Parker, a Seneca (1869–71), and he placed Quakers and members of other religious groups in positions of power at the government agencies on the reservations. As it turned out, "peace policy" was a misnomer because, as one Quaker participant noted, "while offering peace with one hand, [the nation] has grasped the sword with the other." Nevertheless, when the policy was first implemented, the idea of peace was appealing to the nation, and the findings of the newly appointed Peace Commission were eagerly awaited.[5]

The Peace Commission was headed by then commissioner of Indian affairs Nathaniel Taylor (1867–69), a former Methodist minister who, according to Francis Paul Prucha, was motivated by a genuine concern for the tragic circumstances of indigenous people in the West. Presumably to convince Congress to fund his proposal, he adopted a phrase favored by the leg-

islators and stated that it "costs less to civilize than to kill." Couched in the language of conciliation, the commission's report represented the government as acting in the interest of humanity and national unity, which was especially important after the recent rupture that characterized the Civil War. Taylor believed that the English language would be used as a tool for erasing differences between Anglo-Saxon and Native people. However, underlying that idea was the notion that Native ways of knowing must be erased: "Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment and thought; customs and habits are moulded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated. By civilizing one tribe others would have followed. . . . In the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble." Assuming that a uniform language could fuse the multitude of Native nations into a controllable entity – "one homogeneous mass" – the Peace Commission recommended that compulsory schools be established in which Native languages would be "blotted out" and replaced with English. Viewing Native people as a "barbarous" and "savage" race, commission members did not take into account the idea that Native languages could convey intellectual values and morals. The civilian Board of Indian Commissioners, appointed by the president in 1869 as part of his peace policy to oversee corruption in the Office of Indian Affairs and to create a "civilizing plan" for indigenous people, shared this assumption of the superiority of English. In its first report, the board recommended that the government establish schools and hire teachers "to introduce the English language in every tribe."[6]

When the Board of Indian Commissioners issued its first report in 1869, the only schools in existence for Native people, with a few inferior exceptions, were those conducted by missionary societies and by Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks for their own communities. Many reservations had no schools at all. Overall, the government's record of fulfilling treaty promises to erect and operate schools on the reservations in exchange for land was weak at best and duplicitous at worst. The Yankton Agency is a case in point. According to the treaty of April 19, 1858 – the date Yankton was established – the United States government would provide $10,000 for schools, and children between seven and eighteen years of age would be required to attend school nine months a year. However, it would be years before a formal program was instituted. In 1863, for example, the Yankton

agent complained that a school at the agency could not function because parents insisted on taking the children on their seasonal hunting expeditions. The only schooling provided from 1865 to 1868 was a summer class taught by the wife of the reservation agent. A day school did open on the reservation in 1869, but the Presbyterian mission that established it received no government compensation.[7]

In 1870 the government assumed a new responsibility toward the education of Native people, with Congress appropriating $100,000 for industrial and other schools. Congress also ended the treaty process and rhetorically denied Native sovereignty by declaring indigenous peoples to be "wards" of the United States. In 1873, through the Indian Office's new educational division, the government began to establish its own schools and hire its own teachers. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edward P. Smith (1873–75) expressed frustration with day school programs and appealed for the establishment of government-operated boarding schools as the only way to guarantee the acquisition of English: "It is . . . well nigh impossible to teach Indian children the English language when they spend twenty hours out of twenty-four in the wigwam, using only their native tongue." The report of the government agent at Yankton, John G. Gasmann, an Episcopal minister, reflected those concerns. The only schools at his agency at this time were day schools run by the Presbyterian and Episcopal missions. Gasmann deemed these schools inadequate because of the poor attendance record, which he maintained was the result of lack of discipline in the Yankton home. His wish for a boarding school as a way to solve that problem was fulfilled when Bishop William Hare was sent to the Yankton Agency, the new headquarters of the Episcopal mission, and supervised the construction of such a building in 1873, St. Paul's School for Boys. However, in spite of the call for increased government involvement, and although a number of boarding schools were established on the reservations, most of the education for Native people was provided in reservation day schools operated by a variety of religious agencies.[8]

The focus of all mission schools, of course, was on teaching Christianity, through whatever means were feasible, and that meant teaching primarily in the vernacular. Yankton missionary John P. Williamson, who was raised at the Dakota Mission his father had cofounded, defended instruction in the Dakota language by arguing that the goal of education at the Presbyterian school was "to impart ideas, and not words": "English is an unknown

tongue to the Indian children. It takes three or four years in a boarding school, and twice as many in a day-school, for them to learn enough English to make it a fit medium for the conveyance of ideas to their minds. Is it right to pass by their native tongue, the natural vehicle for the conveyance of truth, and spend half a dozen years preparing some other mode of conveyance for our truths . . . ? We say emphatically, no; the primary steps in education must be given in the mother tongue." This is not to say that English language instruction in the mission schools was ignored. However, whatever English language instruction was provided in the bilingual schools at the Yankton Agency rarely produced English-speaking students, and by 1878 agent John Douglas was fiery in his objection to the pedagogical approach of these missionaries: "In the Indian schools on this and other agencies along the river it is earnestly maintained that the Indian mind cannot be properly developed or knowledge imparted to it except through the medium of the Indian tongue. I fear as a consequence that the study of English is too much neglected, and it is very rarely spoken by the children. . . . This I regard as a serious evil." Douglas's sentiment concerning missionaries' use of Native languages to teach Native people was shared by many in the government service. His argument that the study of English was "too much neglected" soon became an even more strident call for education exclusively in English.[9]

FROM BILINGUAL EDUCATION TOWARD ENGLISH ONLY

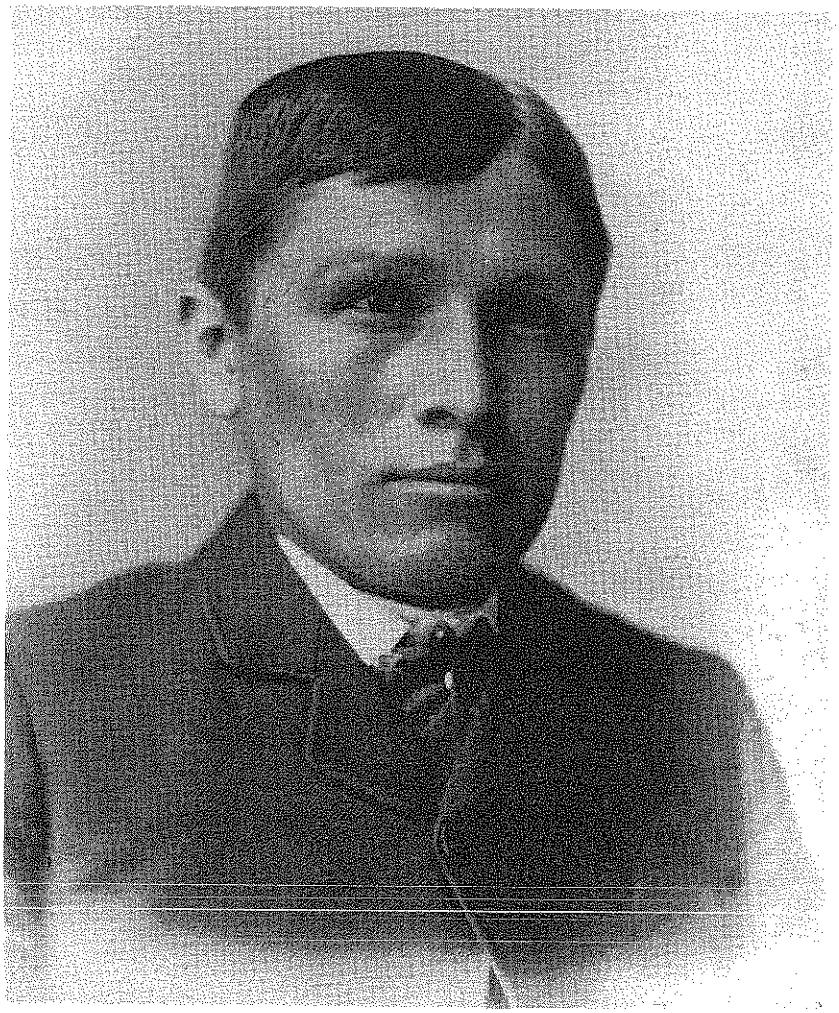
Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, who had created an English-only program for prisoners of war in Florida (1875–78), convinced the government to recruit students to attend English-only manual labor boarding schools off the reservation. In 1878 the Indian Office sent Pratt to Dakota Territory to enroll students in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, a school General Samuel Armstrong had established for freed slaves. On "the principle of tak[i]ng the most pains with those who give the most trouble," Lakotas were the first to be approached because they had continued to engage in armed resistance to encroachment on their lands. A special effort was to be made to enroll girls, for Pratt believed that the goal of civilizing Native communities could be achieved only if the females were transformed into models of European American domesticity. As the recruitment project expanded, the government followed what historian James Gump describes as

a pattern of imperial rule: the attempt to convert the leaders first in order to diminish the source of power in the colonized community. Accordingly, in 1879 Pratt was assigned to persuade Lakota leaders at the Rosebud Agency to allow their own children to attend the new Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania.[10]

Pratt had some difficulty procuring these students, however. According to Pratt's memoirs, Spotted Tail initially refused, insisting that he did not want his children to learn the thieving and mendacious ways of European American people. Pratt then used English-language literacy as the carrot to induce Spotted Tail to agree to his educational plan. Telling Spotted Tail (through an interpreter) that if he had known the English language he would not have been tricked into signing a treaty that deprived him of his lands, Pratt underscored the link between literacy, economic security, and civil rights: "Cannot you see it is far, far better for you to have your children educated and trained as our children are so that they can speak the English language, write letters, and do the things which bring to the white man such prosperity, and each of them be able to stand for their rights as the white man stands for his?" According to Pratt, Spotted Tail and the other leaders were so convinced by this argument that they offered to part with many more children than he was authorized to take from the agency. Pratt suffered a slight reversal in 1880, however, when Spotted Tail visited Carlisle and removed his own children from the school. Spotted Tail was appalled to discover that they were dressed in military uniforms, had been baptized and given Christian names, and were forced to do manual labor. Furthermore, they had not learned to speak English, nor had they become literate – which Spotted Tail had been led to believe was the main objective of the school.[11]

Despite occasional setbacks, Armstrong and Pratt took advantage of every opportunity to sharpen their public relations skills. As soon as their respective American Indian programs commenced at Hampton and Carlisle, they devised various ways to demonstrate to a skeptical public that English-only education off the reservation could succeed in civilizing Native people. Even before the first group of students arrived at Hampton, Armstrong wrote to Pratt: "Be sure to get a variety of styles of first class photographs of the Indian youth you bring, letting them appear in the wildest and most barbarous costume." For years the two men disseminated before-and-after photographs to illustrate that the students could adopt the outward appearance of European American society (see figs. 3 and 4 for the

3. Tom Torlino (Navajo) on arrival at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1882). Photograph by J. N. Choate. Courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle PA.



4. Tom Torlino (Navajo) three years after his arrival at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1882). Photograph by J. N. Choate. Courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA

most famous and widely circulated set of photographs). School newspapers, offered nationwide by subscription, reprinted photographs of students eating and working, published anecdotes about their second-language acquisition, and reported on their attendance at religious services and conversion to Christianity.[12]

The movement toward English-only education, as Hampton and Carlisle made clear, was not designed to put an end to the Christianizing of Native people. Christianity was the dominant religion of the United States, and missionaries, government officials, and philanthropists all encouraged Christian teaching in American Indian schools because they believed in "its power as a practical element of civilization," to use the phrase of humanitarian reformer Herbert Welsh. Allowing the continuation of Native spiritual practices was unimaginable to these Christian Americans, historian David Wallace Adams has argued, for indigenous traditions encouraged and strengthened the very values the schools were attempting to erase. Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton who was "house father" to the Hampton boys in the Indian Department from 1880 to 1881, later explained this civilizing project in a nutshell: "No white American ever thinks that any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the white man's clothes, eats the white man's food, speaks the white man's language, and professes the white man's religion."[13]

However, students returning to the reservations from boarding schools had few opportunities to apply the skills they had learned and virtually no employment. Reunited with their families, most resumed their former way of living and speaking. This outcome paradoxically fueled the government's determination to expand off-reservation schooling but did not inspire more job opportunities. By now it had become clear that reservation day schools were difficult to sustain because parents were reluctant to cooperate. Although school attendance was not a federal mandate (policies differed according to state), treaties with some Native communities contained clauses for mandatory attendance at schools established on the reservations. Government agents went to great lengths to enforce this policy by withdrawing rations or sending police to round up students. Even when police were successful, however, Yankton agent W. D. E. Andrus expressed frustration that parents persisted in practicing tribal customs at home and thus continued to hold sway over their children. Clearly, a battle for control over the children's minds and spirits was taking place on the reservation.[14]

The government determined to shift the balance of control by changing the site of battle, and so the Indian Office began to speed up the establishment of off-reservation boarding schools, in the interest of preventing students' "return to the blanket." According to Secretary of the Interior Samuel J. Kirkwood (1881–82), the eradication of tribal culture and its concomitant problems could be achieved only through the children's acquiring the English language and only away from their parents: "The difficulties to be overcome are mainly these: The Indians do not speak and do not wish to learn to speak our language. . . . It is not probable that much can be done in the way of teaching our language to adult Indians, but much may be done and is being done in the direction of so teaching those of school age, and our efforts to maintain and extend Indian schools should be earnest and constant." In 1880 the Indian Office issued regulations for the guidance of government agents that emphasized the importance of teaching in English, but it stopped short of demanding an exclusively monolingual approach: "All instruction must be in English, *except in so far as* the native language of the pupils shall be a necessary medium for conveying the knowledge of English, and the conversation of and communications between the pupils and with the teacher must be, *as far as practicable* in English" (emphasis added). The next year Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price (1881–85) took it one step further, calling for enforced language acquisition: "The Indian child . . . must be compelled to adopt the English language." His wish immediately became reality at the new off-reservation government boarding school in Oregon, whose first rule – after cleanliness and obedience – was "*No Indian Talk*" (emphasis in original).[15]

In the early 1880s the schools had little central control, chaos reigned, and relatively little learning was taking place. Fostering English-language literacy for Native students was, as Commissioner Price said of the entire educational endeavor, "pioneer work." English-language policies and practices were subject to trial and error; there were virtually no precedents or textbooks to follow. In 1885 Commissioner of Indian Affairs John D. C. Atkins (1885–88) placed the new superintendent of Indian schools, John H. Oberly, at the head of the Indian Bureau's new Education Division, in an effort to make the educational program more efficient, which paralleled the movement toward centralization for all schools in the United States. Oberly immediately addressed the lack of uniformity in methods of instruction and emphasized that the textbook materials were inappropriate for Native chil-

dren's needs. The principal of the Haskell Institute, for one, had written to Oberly about this matter, claiming that the stories in the conventional readers furnished "as much meaning to the Indian as would stories of the actual condition of Moon-ites or Sun-ites to us." Many of the schools were modeled after the common school system, which provided free education in knowledge and skills and socialization into American mores, but Oberly recognized that Native children could not be taught effectively in the same way as "white" children.[16]

Despite the recognition that the educational program devised for English-speaking children was unsuited for Native students, virtually no one in the government up to this time suggested an alternative to English-only education. Even Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan (1889–93), who had unique insight into some of the weaknesses of the schools because he was a professional educator – the first nonpolitician selected for the post – remained committed to English-only instruction. Drawing on his expertise, Morgan pointed out that the academic expectations of the present programs were unrealistic: even the most advanced Native students were given no more than a grammar school education. He understood that it was not possible for students to acquire academic literacy in English during the three-year or even five-year term that most of them spent at the industrial schools, noting that it took fourteen to fifteen years for children in the public schools to complete a course of study. However, Morgan was as much a product of his time as were the government officials and reformers who preceded him. He never questioned the civilizing project, and thus his rhetoric reflected the prevalent assessment of Native languages and cultures as signs of "barbarism and paganism." Paradoxically, instead of calling for more pedagogical support for linguistic and cultural difference, Morgan suggested doing away with support altogether. He determined to replace Indian school education with public school education. However, this program too ended in failure because he underestimated not only the problems accompanying differences in language and culture but also the racism of public school parents.[17]

One notable exception to the demand for English-only education was Superintendent of Indian Schools William N. Hailmann (1894–98), a well-known leader of the educational movement that was based on the work of Friedrich Froebel, who stressed active learning and a balance of respect between teacher and student. Although he had no experience working with

Hailmann 1894-98

Native children, Hailmann's background as a German-speaking immigrant sensitized him to their needs. He understood that punishment for speaking one's own language, common in the schools, was counterproductive. He argued that the vernacular enabled children to express feelings and thoughts and that it was the means through which they were "held in ties of sympathy and love" with their kin. Furthermore, he understood the personal and linguistic benefits that could accrue when teachers acknowledged the inherent value of knowing two languages: "The possession of one language, far from being a hindrance in the acquisition of another, rather facilitates it. The sympathy and respect which a teacher shows for the idiom of the child will be rewarded in a hundredfold by the sympathy, respect, and affection with which the child will apply himself to the acquisition of the teacher's idiom." In addition to encouraging teachers to learn the language and culture of the children they were teaching, Hailmann advocated an end to rote learning, the "stupid, mumbling repetition of words" from decontextualized spellers and readers, and published a lengthy *Syllabus of Language Work* to guide teachers toward more productive second-language instruction. In his annual reports, he proposed a curriculum based on conversation related to subjects of interest to Native children, arguing that teachers should take into account students' own resources and experiences and build on them to make possible the acquisition of a new language and culture. Only when students were taught to appreciate their own ways of knowing, he maintained, could they move forward as language learners. Among his accomplishments during his four-year tenure was the development of a kindergarten program staffed by teachers who spoke the children's home languages.[18]

However, Hailmann's plan was formulated within the context of the civilizing project. His goal was to inculcate "respect and love [for] what is good and best in the American civilization, to which the red children of plain and forest are to be led," which demonstrates that his bilingual approach was not devised in the best interest of Native languages and cultures. Furthermore, Hailmann privileged industrial training over literacy acquisition for Native students, leaving the door open for his successor, Estelle Reel (1898–1910), to focus exclusively on vocational training at the expense of Hailmann's educational philosophy. In 1900, the year Zitkala-Ša published three eloquent pieces in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Reel proposed a new course of study that tied virtually all learning for Native students – including the study of English – to industrial, domestic, and agricultural training, arguing that "the theory

of cramming the Indian child with mere book knowledge has been and for generations will be a failure." As Tom Holm has pointed out, now that the schools had failed to assimilate indigenous populations, old representations appeared in new guise, marking Native people as incapable of intellectual advancement.[19]

By the end of the nineteenth century, even the philanthropic reformers had lost faith in residential education as a tool for assimilation. The optimism that had accompanied the opening of the first off-reservations boarding schools was gone. Government-sponsored education for indigenous people in the new century would not be intellectually based or even balanced between intellectual and practical pursuits. As Frederick Hoxie and Alice Littlefield have established, schooling was to be exclusively practical, thus officially preventing all but a very few from achieving economic prosperity. The boarding schools were geared toward producing low-paid workers to supplement the cheap labor force that had previously been drawn primarily from the ranks of immigrants and other economically deprived populations. According to this way of thinking, the English language would be useful to the vast majority of Native people only insofar as it provided opportunities for them to serve the needs of European American middle-class society. If the Bureau of Indian Affairs hoped that its failure rate would decrease when the measure of success in the schools was changed from acquiring literacy in a second language to acquiring vocational skills, however, it miscalculated. Margaret Connell Szasz shows that whatever approach to American Indian education the bureau tried met with failure. Native families were interested in education that would help their children gain skills useful in the real world. But the government did not seek input from the families. Consequently the vocational curricula designed by Reel and her successors did not prepare most students for either reservation or urban life.[20]

In blaming the students rather than acknowledging the failings of the school system, most officials failed to take into account several factors that impeded second-language and literacy acquisition in the Indian schools. The numerous archival documents I have examined reveal that these barriers included boredom and anxiety, for too often the curriculum was poorly designed and tedious, the language lessons were decontextualized, and the teachers were untrained, incompetent, and culturally insensitive. Many students spent little time in one place, moving from mission to government

school, from reservation to off-reservation school, or from Indian school to public school. Sometimes their education was interrupted or even cut short because of changes in government policy. Daily manual labor – which the boarding schools depended on to help meet institutional costs – took its toll. As a 1928 government-sponsored investigation (known as the Meriam Report) revealed, many students at boarding schools experienced illness or depression, typically the result of old buildings with insufficient ventilation, crowded dormitories, low sanitation standards, inadequately trained medical staff, poor nutrition, abnormally long days, and lack of extended recreation. The military atmosphere at some schools precluded the warmth of family life that might have provided stable mental health. A significant number of students left or ran away to escape abusive treatment, including sexual harassment and assault. Largely because of the way the school system was structured, most students achieved little more than a grammar school education, if that, and consequently acquired only a low level of language proficiency. Only the rare student became fluent in the second language. Those who had maintained their first language could return home and immerse themselves in a traditional life, but too often students left school with weak skills in both English and their native tongue and suffered feelings of inadequacy related to linguistic and cultural loss.[21]

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND RACE

To understand how the United States government could perpetuate a failed English-only educational system, it is necessary to examine the assumptions underlying its program as articulated in the discourses related to language and culture. And here the complexity of government policy decisions is especially evident, for they were deeply embedded in strongly held beliefs informed by Christian doctrine and philanthropic approaches to education. For example, W. D. E. Andrus, the reservation agent at the Yankton Agency, framed his discussion of schooling in religious and humanitarian terms, declaring that education for Yanktons was "their only salvation" and that teachers should be "devoted to the welfare and improvement of their students." The purpose of education in his mind was to use English to inculcate European American values: "I cannot too strongly condemn the practice of teaching in the Indian language. . . . It is believed by nearly every one of experience that it is both time and money thrown away. The day-schools

should be in charge of competent, practical, self-reliant, *white* teachers, who would devote all their energies to teaching in the English language, and in *English only*" (emphasis added). Andrus's rhetoric reflected the prevailing notion that the English language represented an entire culture and functioned as the conveyer of mainstream "practical, self-reliant" values. According to Charles and Mary Beard, this nineteenth-century celebration of self-reliance was tied to the doctrine of individualism, which was more than a mere extension of the democratic notion of individual rights. Reinforced by the spread of a popular form of Darwinism, the tenets of individualism held that society was an aggregate of competing individuals and that only the most ambitious and industrious would survive and succeed. The primary signifier of success was the accumulation of private property. Because individualism as understood by European American society was not evident in communal tribal life, David Wallace Adams argues, its lack was viewed as a barrier to Native peoples' acculturation.[22] As the language of individualists, English was believed to be capable of breaking that barrier and thus of improving students' lives.

Andrus's racial emphasis on "white teachers," too, was compatible with the notion of cultural improvement, according to the colonialist discourses of the day. According to historian Alden Vaughn, Anglo Americans had not always viewed Native people as essentially different in color. In the seventeenth century, for example, their hue was typically thought to be a result of environment. However, as Vaughn has shown, once the color line was drawn and indigenous people were identified as "red," race prejudice was added to existing prejudice against Native languages and cultures. By the late nineteenth century, few people could accept the idea of Native peoples' full participation in European American society. Andrus's insistence that the teachers transmitting the culture be white reflected a nineteenth-century construction of race as a concept that determined not only ethnic stock but also character. As Robert Berkhofer Jr. explains, outward characteristics were believed to mirror inner qualities. Andrus's pedagogical theory dictated that English should be taught to indigenous people but should not be taught by them, thus keeping European American society in a position of control. In essence, he subscribed to what Reginald Horsman has identified as a European colonial view: the belief that Caucasian people were destined to exert dominion over other races.[23]

Underlying these notions about language, culture, and race was a view of

civilization that was linked to the popularized version of social Darwinism – biological determinism – that had gripped the country. The colonialist discourse that permeated the culture infused even the language of the growing number of humanitarian reform groups, known collectively as "Friends of the Indians." Although they objected to the government's duplicitous relations with Native communities, these Protestant reformers shared the government's views about what acquiring English as a second language signified. For example, after visiting several Episcopal schools in 1882 – including St. Paul's School at the Yankton Agency – reformer Herbert Welsh would write: "The children gain a knowledge of the English language, which is an absolute necessity to any future *progress in civilization*" (emphasis added). In tying the English language to the notion of progress in civilization, Welsh's rhetoric reflected a theory of social evolution that viewed civilization as developing in a series of stages. Popularized by United States ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan, this theory proposed that a society could advance from "savagery" (hunting and gathering) through "barbarism" (making crafts, cultivating crops) to "civilization" (developing a written form of language). In Morgan's account, most indigenous people had already developed naturally from a savage to a barbaric condition, but he emphasized that movement to the next stage would be slow. Likening their progress to that of the once-barbarous Anglo-Saxons, Morgan maintained that it was unrealistic to expect Native people to "jump ethnical periods," and he proposed a slow process of initiation through agricultural education. It should be noted, however, that reformers typically deviated from the latter view. For example, although Herbert Welsh subscribed to Morgan's overall paradigm, his writings also show that he believed the boarding school experience could speed up the evolutionary process: "[The Indian] has already shown himself capable of effort . . . and has given promise of increased capacity in the future could but a fair chance be accorded him."[24]

At the same time, paradoxically, some reformers questioned Native peoples' innate ability to learn English. A few months after the government boarding school opened at the Yankton Agency in 1882, an article appeared in the *National Journal of Education* – later reprinted in the Dakota Mission's bilingual newspaper – explaining why the students in this school had trouble learning English: "If their *inherited observation* gives them remarkable facility in learning to [hand]write and perform other simple constructive exercises, *other inherited characteristics* make the acquisition of the En-

glish language a task of peculiar difficulty" (emphasis added). The article's emphasis on innate characteristics reflected a prevailing view that heredity was an important aspect of race. In major periodicals published from the mid–nineteenth century on, as Horsman has shown, the American public was informed repeatedly that mental and physical differences between the races could be proved scientifically. Those who subscribed to this view did not necessarily think that traits were transmitted genetically, which would mean that change could take place, if at all, only at a natural evolutionary pace. References to heredity instead usually denoted cultural transmission, which allowed for more rapid acculturation through education. Still, as Alexandra Harmon has argued, underlying this belief was a sense that racial identity was inherited, more a matter of ancestry than of culture. In the minds of many educational reformers of the time, ability to learn language was linked to racial identity.[25]

ENGLISH, NATIONALISM, AND IMPERIALISM

To the Indian service, the advantages to the country of Native people's acquiring English outweighed any benefit to Native people themselves. Superintendent of Indian Schools John B. Riley (1886–88) dropped the humanitarian rhetoric long enough to state explicitly that it was in the nation's best interest to foster the use of English among indigenous populations in order to prevent social degeneration: "More than twenty thousand of their children now of school age are without school privileges. They are growing up without knowledge of our language and consequently with an imperfect conception of our institutions, learning the vices rather than the virtues of our civilization. Our self interest, as well as the higher sentiments of justice and humanity, demand that the subject be considered in the light of its great importance." Riley's link between language and behavior demands special attention, for it suggests that to know English is to be virtuous and that to be ignorant of English is to be susceptible to vice. At the same time, Riley's words implicitly acknowledge that the human models of debauchery were those for whom English was a first language, a reality that Native leaders and enlightened reformers remarked on repeatedly in their criticism of government policies.[26]

During this period, the rhetoric surrounding English-only instruction reached a peak as it became more explicitly ethnocentric. And there was no

more patriotic spokesperson for this view than Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. D. C. Atkins, who declared: "There is not an Indian pupil whose tuition and maintenance is paid for by the United States Government who is permitted to study any other language than our own vernacular – the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities beneath the sun." Atkins's view of the superiority of English-speaking people was linked to the national sense of the country's "manifest destiny" to dominate territory. In a lecture titled "Manifest Destiny," published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1885, for example, historian John Fiske used what he called "the doctrine of evolution" to conclude that the "English race" would colonize every land that was not already controlled by a civilized body. He even predicted that a century hence the world's business would be "transacted by English-speaking people to so great an extent" that everyone in the world would "find it necessary sooner or later to learn to express his thoughts in English." Commissioner Atkins's rhetoric, then, reflected the late-nineteenth-century British and United States yearning to establish linguistic domination worldwide: "True Americans all feel that the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States, in their adaptation to the wants and requirements of man, are superior to those of any other country; and they should understand that by *the spread of the English language* will these laws and institutions be more firmly established and widely disseminated" (emphasis added).[27]

In the past most officials in the Indian service saw acquiring English as only one – albeit a crucial – component of the civilizing mission. But Atkins raised the stakes when he declared that it was the main purpose of education, linking this goal to the country's other colonizing projects: "Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language. So manifest and important is this that nations the world over, in both ancient and modern times, have ever imposed the strictest requirements upon their public schools as to the teaching of the *national tongue.* Only English has been allowed to be taught in the public schools in the territory acquired by this country from Spain, Mexico, and Russia, although the native populations spoke another tongue" (emphasis added). Native leaders might well have agreed with Atkins on the role (their) language played in forming a national character. But a major flaw in the logic of Atkins's argument was that the United States had no national tongue. As Shirley Brice Heath reminds us, the United States Constitution makes no men-

tion of an official language because early national leaders chose not to designate one. Recognizing the plurality of American society and reluctant to be coercive, they allowed for the maintenance of multiple languages in the United States. Thus bilingualism could flourish in private life and in more public spheres such as newspapers, religious societies, and social institutions. Although there were periodic and persistent efforts to impose English as the sole medium of instruction in public educational institutions, many states permitted instruction in languages other than English in the public schools even well into the twentieth century. English was not mandatory as the medium of instruction in most states until after World War I.[28]

Acceptance of particular languages was dependent on their political or social favorability, however. For example, the 1880s witnessed an anti-German fervor that was linked to the anti-Catholic movement. Most of the new immigrants to the United States were Catholic, and combined with the entrenched German-speaking population, they were considered a threat to the political balance in several states. Legislatures in Illinois and Wisconsin passed laws requiring that elementary subjects be taught in English in both public and private schools but later repealed these acts. Four cities – St. Louis, Louisville, St. Paul, and San Francisco – discontinued use of German as a medium of instruction in their public schools. Some German communities responded by creating their own private school systems.[29]

Language policy in the public schools could be made only on the local or state level, but the reservation schools were subject to the edicts and whims of the federal Indian Bureau. On December 14, 1886, Atkins ordered that "in all schools conducted by missionary organizations it is required that all instruction shall be given in the English language." On February 2, 1887, he followed up with a clarifying statement: "I have to advise you that the rule applies to all schools on Indian reservations, whether they be Government or mission schools. The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught." Not surprisingly, Atkins's dictum created an uproar among the missionaries. According to Thomas L. Riggs, although all instruction was in English at the Episcopal mission's boarding school at the Yankton Agency, Bishop William Hare protested vigorously, proclaiming that the government had gone "too far": "In its present shape [the English-only order] is tyrannical and officious; tyrannical

because it is a wanton measure, uncalled for and unjustifiable by precedents; officious because it is not within the province of anyone to dictate to me the methods I shall employ in disseminating knowledge." The July 1887 issue of the *Word Carrier,* the bilingual newspaper of the Dakota Mission, carried this front page opener: "*It has come!* The government has begun its work of breaking up missionary work among Indians" (emphasis in original). In the following issue, editor Alfred L. Riggs intensified his rhetoric: "NO MORE INDIAN SCHOOLS! NO MORE INDIAN BIBLES! NO MORE MISSIONS! These are the logical results of the present policy of the Indian Bureau, as shown in its astounding rules against the use of the Indian language."[30]

Some reservation agents had interpreted Atkins's order to mean that religious services in the vernacular would not be allowed, and in September Atkins addressed this misconception by explaining that he had no intention of preventing the preaching of the gospel in the churches or of hindering the efforts of the missionaries. But the *Word Carrier* was not satisfied. Atkins was guilty of what one writer called "imperial absolutism," and the Dakota Mission wanted to chastise him publicly. In November it drew on the power of the eastern establishment by publishing an editorial from the *New York Times,* which stated in part: "The truth is, it is outside the province of the United States Government to interfere in a matter like this. Even Indians have some rights, and among them is the right to the use of their own national tongue. For the Government to offer them the advantages of schools on condition that they give up their language, is not an act of kindness, but a piece of stupid tyranny." In December the *Word Carrier* resorted to outright mockery when it published a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs from a young Native teacher who himself had learned English as a second language and was now critical of the grammar used by a clerk in the Indian service: "[The] clerk wrote this sentence: 'I cannot *in no case determine* whether they continue or not, except they are taught exclusively in English.' Will you please tell us what he means? Mr. Riggs said he could not, it was such *bad* English. Even Mr. Cross, our new Missionary, could not tell us, and he says he played Third Base on the Yale nine which beat Harvard. And will you tell us if we must teach English which no one can understand? This is very bad" (emphasis in original).[31]

This chapter came to a close after the Reverend John P. Williamson, among others, went to Washington to present the missionary case to President Grover Cleveland, who favored Christian missions for Native commu-

nities. Although the order was never officially rescinded, the Indian Bureau published a pamphlet in 1888 titled *Correspondence on the Subject of Teaching the Vernacular in Indian Schools* to correct the impression that reading the Bible in the vernacular was forbidden. Because the issue had not yet faded away, the new commissioner of Indian affairs, John H. Oberly (1888–89), reiterated the clarification in December 1888: "It is not the intention of the Indian Bureau to prohibit the reading of the Bible by any Indian in any language, or by anybody to any Indian in any language or in any Indian vernacular, anywhere, at any time."[32]

The mixed effects of the exclusion order defy a neat analysis. From the Dakota missionaries' point of view, the order turned out to be beneficial. As a result of being told they could not study in their own language, the missionaries said, Dakotas gained a deeper appreciation for the Dakota Bible. The crisis also inadvertently contributed to a renewed pride in Dakota literacy: Dakotas increased their demand for books written in Dakota and resolved to perpetuate the language. Reports from the reservation documented continued resistance to speaking English, even when the population was known to be capable of using the language. According to the government agent at Yankton, whatever approach was tried in order to transform the residents into an English-speaking community before 1890 had met with failure: "Of those who can speak English, the majority of them don't care to use the language if they can avoid it. Even the school children will not speak it away from the school building without being forced to do it."[33]

This resistance to the commissioner's English-only order deepened the conviction of English-only proponents that Native languages must be eradicated, leading to some drastic approaches to forced language acquisition. The Yankton agent, for example, suggested that students caught speaking the vernacular "ought to be punished." This punitive view was not limited to the reservation agents. Disciplinary measures, including solitary confinement and beatings, were used at many off-reservation schools when students violated the rule forbidding use of Native languages. Anyone seeking support for such an approach could find it in Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan's insistence that "the Indians must conform to 'the white man's ways,' peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must."[34]

By the 1880s educational systems in cities across the United States were compelled to respond to the growing number of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe for whom English was not the first language. The strains produced by this linguistic and cultural diversity intensified the call for homogeneity, now identified as "Americanization." As early as 1882, Yankton agent William M. Ridpath linked this concept to the Native students who were learning English: "Besides teaching the rudimentary branches the children are taught to speak English; taught the manners and ways of the whites; in a word, *Americanized*" (emphasis added). By the 1890s the massive immigration had changed the public school system, and the apparent Americanization of immigrant children confirmed for Commissioner Morgan the necessity of pursuing this goal with Native children:

> The children of foreigners taken into our public schools, where they learn the English language and associate with our children, imbibe their ideas and grow up to be in all respects Americans in spirit, in habits, and in character.
>
> The process now going on by which nearly 20,000 Indian children are gathered into English-speaking schools, where they are taught by English-speaking people, where they learn the correct use of the English language, and come into relationship with American life and American thought, and have begotten within them new hopes and desires and changed ideas of life, is certain to work a revolution in the Indian character and to lift them on to a higher plane of civilization *if it can be allowed to operate long enough.* (Emphasis added)

For Morgan, Native peoples' acquisition of English was just a matter of time. In his mind, their lower stage on the civilization continuum could account for the differences between their slow progress and the more rapid progress of the "foreigners." But he neglected to take into consideration the crucial differences between immigrants, who made a choice to come to the United States, albeit under duress in many cases, and indigenous people, who were already here. Immigrants who arrived in the late nineteenth century perceived English to be America's birth language, and they accepted America as their new country. Native people knew that English was Ameri-

ca's adopted language, and they understood that America had imposed itself on their land.[35]

Underlying the Americanization movement was the assumption that Native languages could make no meaningful contribution to United States society. The annual reports of the secretary of the interior throughout this period reveal that almost none of the government officials, missionaries, or humanitarian reformers involved in American Indian education at the turn of the century could appreciate the inherently positive value of Native ways of expressing and communicating ideas and beliefs. Despite his detailed "Rules for Indian Schools," Commissioner Morgan was unable to create a successful English-language program, in part because he never understood what language signified to Native people. Likewise, his superintendent of Indian schools, Daniel Dorchester (1889–93), considered Native people's "strong prepossession in favor of their own language" to be only the result of their prejudice, "varying from mere suspicion and dislike up through all the grades to animosity and furious hatred against the white race." Not even missionary John P. Williamson, who had been bilingual in English and Dakota since childhood, could understand the significance of first language in the lives of the people he served. In a retrospective account of his twenty-five years at the Yankton Agency, Williamson reported that although the Yankton Sioux had acquired many of the outer trappings of European American society – for example, its clothing and lodging – they were slow to adopt its language. Williamson saw their persistence in speaking Dakota (or Nakota) primarily in negative terms, as an "innate determination *not to learn* the English language" (emphasis added).[36]

Americanization was not a neutral process. Given that the acquisition of English was predicated on the elimination of Native languages and cultures, Americanization was designed to stamp out tribal identity. Given that English functioned as a conduit of American institutions and laws, Americanization through English-language teaching was designed to end tribal sovereignty. Given that tribal sovereignty was tied to the land, Americanization signified loss of territory. Paradoxically, although the rhetoric of Americanization implied that students would be allowed into American society as Americans, the reality of the Americanization movement was that Native people were being asked to reject the ways of their ancestors and families without being offered the benefits of full participation in the European

American way of life. In the end, the concept of Americanization through English-language teaching served to reinforce the United States government's linguistic, cultural, political, and territorial control over Native people.

ENGLISH AND THE CHEROKEE NATION

The story of English-language instruction for Native people in the nineteenth century was not a simple matter of European Americans versus indigenous communities, or even of English-only education against the will of all Native people. The intersection of language, culture, race, class, and politics influenced every sphere of American Indian education in the late nineteenth century. A case in point is the school system of the Cherokee Nation.

Recognizing the threat to their survival, Cherokees accepted government and missionary assistance to educate their children in English as early as 1817. They developed their own written language early in the nineteenth century – at the time the only written Native language in the country – and subsequently achieved an extraordinarily high rate of first-language literacy, higher than that of the surrounding English-speaking population, in fact. They had their own constitution, elected officials, and legal system. They published the bilingual *Cherokee Phoenix* in 1828, the first Native newspaper, and supported bilingual and English-only mission schools. In spite of their willingness to accept many aspects of European American life, and against the will of the majority, Cherokees were forced to leave their homelands in the Southeast in 1838–39. Those who survived the Trail of Tears eventually established a new life in what is now northeastern Oklahoma. Supported largely by money received from the sale of lands to the federal government, the Cherokee Nation established a national school system in Indian Territory.[37]

Reports to the commissioner of Indian affairs in the 1870s reflect the tension in the Cherokee community between Cherokees who promoted English-only instruction, Cherokees who demanded Cherokee-only education, and missionaries who advocated bilingual education. The bilingual federal government agent, John B. Jones, a Baptist missionary, decried the English-only schools run by the Nation. With a few exceptions, he claimed, only the children from English-speaking families flourished in English-only

programs, while children of Cherokee-speaking families regularly dropped out of school. The situation was complicated by perceived racial differences, for the English bilingual speakers typically had intermarried with European Americans whereas Cherokee monolingual speakers had not. And it was further complicated by socioeconomic differences, for many in the bilingual English-speaking community were wealthy or at least economically secure, whereas the Cherokee-speaking community included many more poor families.[38]

Although Cherokee was used as a language of instruction in schools in Cherokee-speaking neighborhoods, according to scholars William McLoughlin and Devon Mihesuah the leaders of the nation were interested primarily in demonstrating their achievements in accordance with the standards of European American society. The main beneficiaries of the Cherokee Nation's elite educational system in which English was the language of instruction were the children of wealthy Cherokees who had intermarried with European Americans. However, this educational program was different from the system created by the United States government in two important ways. First, it grew out of the necessity for Cherokees to survive and to maintain sovereignty. Second, even though Cherokee culture typically was not taught in the English-only schools, pride in Cherokee identity was assumed and fostered, and bilingualism was encouraged.[39]

THROUGH PARENTS' EYES

In 1880 a Yankton parent wrote to the head of the Hampton Institute: "Perhaps you don't know that Indians think of their children a great deal, and don't know how to have them out of their sight one day."[40] Parents and guardians were reluctant to send their children to boarding schools because they wanted to keep their families together and maintain the primacy of their own forms of education. Without the children, the continuity of their cultures and traditions would be disrupted. Some Native communities engaged in organized resistance to enforced English education; others had little or no choice but to comply with formal schooling. Native responses to schools and experiences with them were so different across cultures that it is impossible to describe them all. A few examples, though, can give a sense of the diversity that complicated the educational movement.

On the Great Plains, some elders continued to resist any interaction with

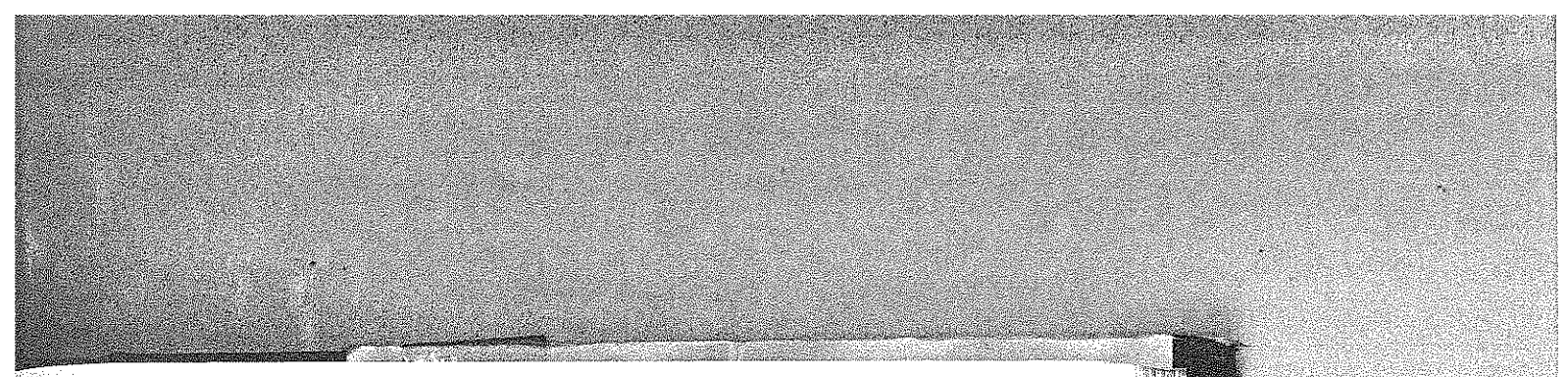
European Americans. However, in response to the growing European American population, parents increasingly sensed that the children would need to learn English to ensure survival and economic opportunity. As an Omaha parent expressed it: "Before many years have gone, our dealings will be mostly with the white people who are coming to mingle with us; and, to have relations with them of any kind, some of us must learn their language and familiarize ourselves with their customs." Letters written in 1880 from Dakota adults to students at the Hampton Institute – admittedly used for propaganda purposes – reveal that some families were enthusiastic about the prospect of the younger generation's learning a new language:

> My son, . . . I am glad that you are trying to learn. . . . Learn to talk English; don't be ashamed to talk it. (Crow Creek Agency).
>
> I want you to learn to talk English. . . . I hope some of the boys will learn to be a teacher, when they come back that they can teach the boys and girls. This is the only chance you have; get all the good you can. (Fort Pierre, Dakota)

Support for English as a second language was often linked to an appreciation of the value of knowing more than one language to communicate across cultures. Many adults were themselves bilingual, bidialectal, or multilingual in Native languages, including sign language.[41]

In response to Apaches' continued armed resistance to the encroachment of European Americans on their lands, the United States government broke a treaty agreement in 1876 by forcing all Apaches onto one reservation. The next few years were characterized by a series of conflicts that repeatedly ended in Apache surrender, followed by periods of peacefulness. After the last surrender, in 1886, the United States government sent Apaches to Florida as prisoners of war – including those who had not participated in the fighting and those who had served as scouts for the United States army. The next year Richard Henry Pratt arrived in Florida to recruit for the Carlisle Indian School. At first he had no volunteers, so he lined up potential candidates and made selections. Geronimo told at least one future leader, Daklugie, to go to Carlisle to learn European American ways and thus how to cope with the enemy.[42]

After a devastating four-year imprisonment at Fort Sumner (1864–68), Navajos (Diné) signed a treaty that required them to send their children to



school, a treaty that guaranteed their return to a portion of their ancestral homeland. Nevertheless, the United States government failed for many years to fill its classrooms with Navajo students. Parents told their children to hide whenever one of the school representatives appeared. In the 1880s, when the government agent sent police to pick up the children for the boarding school at Fort Defiance, miles away from home, the situation became violent. Parents were not persuaded to send their offspring to school until they were promised food and supplies for a ten-year period. Even then, according to Frank Mitchell, they resisted by sending children only selectively.[43]

In 1680 the Pueblo-Hopi revolt resulted in the temporary expulsion of Spanish colonizers and missionaries. Given this history of resistance to colonization, there was predictable opposition in the 1890s when the federal government ordered all the children at the Hopi Mesas to attend school. According to Albert Yava, the conservatives, known as "the Hostiles," feared that Hopi traditions would be undermined. The progressives, or "Friendlies," were willing to cooperate only because they believed survival depended on learning European American ways. The villages were also divided over whether the children should be sent to day schools or boarding schools. When the government boarding school at the Keams Canyon Agency was opened several miles from the mesas, the government agent attempted to lure families with clothes, tools, and other supplies. Parents who refused to cooperate had their children removed by force – sometimes right out of their arms – by policemen who arrived periodically to round up children and carry them off to school.[44]

By the end of the century, enough children had gone to government schools for all parents to have an understanding of the relative economic benefits and emotional costs of formal education. Parents could acknowledge the advantages of having a family member who could speak English and thus find employment, if any employment was available. But they also understood that they might be separated for years at a time. They had to struggle with the knowledge that their children might be subjected to corporal punishment, might have to struggle with a loss of identity and confidence, and might even forget their first language. Certainly parents knew that their traditional way of life was under siege in the schools, for it was clear that more than language was being taught.

Although some Native parents had themselves adopted or begun to

adopt the ways of European American society, most of those who finally agreed to send their children to school wanted them to learn English and *only English* – not *English only.* For the English-only policy as articulated by the United States government meant education in a new life and religion, with no vestiges of traditional ways, and virtually all the parents objected to that uncompromising stance. Whereas the government's immigration policy left room for newcomers to speak their home languages in their local communities, its Indian policy attempted to deny this right to indigenous people. As it turned out, it was the very attempt to impose English through eradication of Native languages – and then to limit its usefulness – that created the most resistance. Without coercion, as the creators of the United States Constitution understood, and as Heinz Kloss's research establishes, people are more willing to learn whatever language provides the greatest opportunities for personal and economic security and advantage.[45]

Influenced and even blinded by their preconceptions about language and culture, government officials remained insensitive to the desires of Native people themselves or the context in which they were seeking, or not seeking, education in English. The government's failure to achieve its goal of turning the entire Native population into speakers of English by the end of the nineteenth century was inevitable, in part because of government officials' own ignorance, indifference, and colonialist mentality. More significantly, the Indian Office underestimated the life-sustaining strength of linguistic and tribal identity. The United States government was able to wrest most of the land from the original inhabitants by the end of the century. It was even able to accelerate the annihilation of some Native languages and to compromise the existence of many others. But it did not succeed in removing Native people – or their ways of knowing – from the tribal or American landscape.