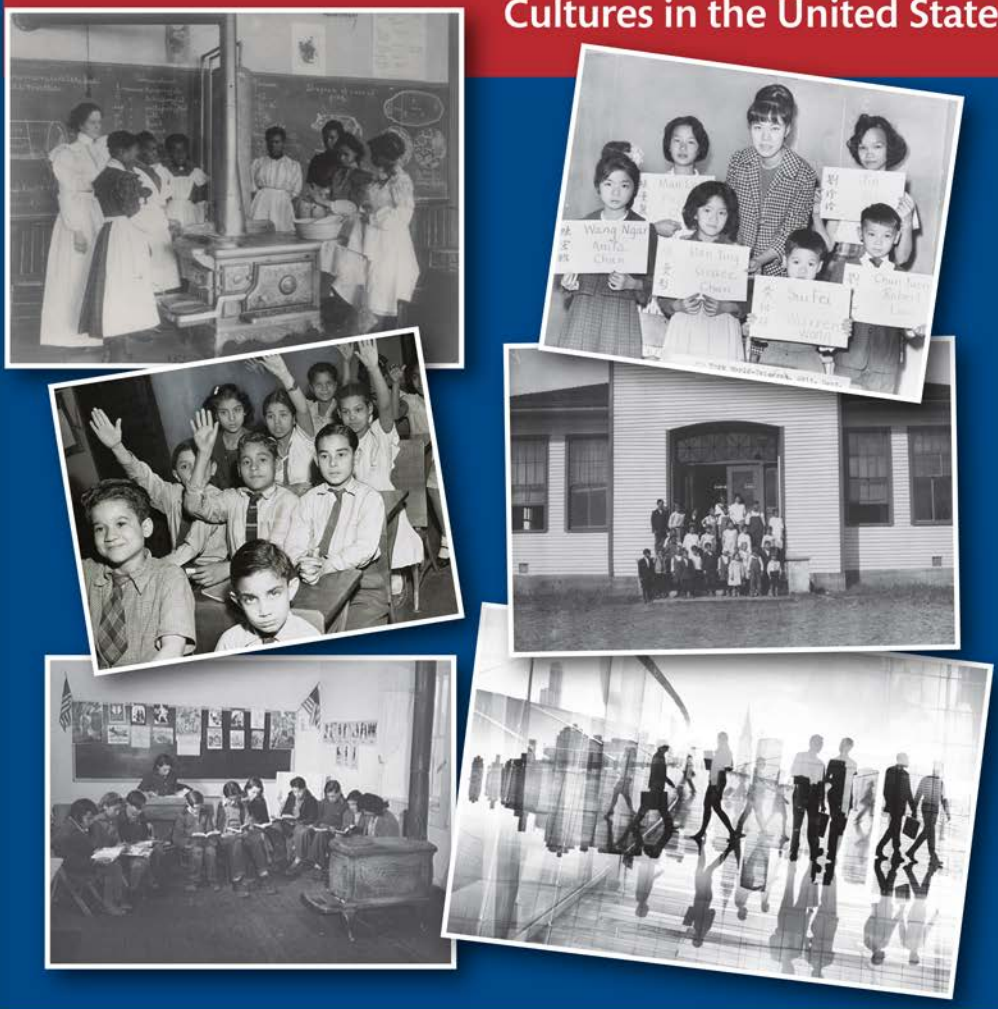
8TH EDITION

DECULTURALIZATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

A Brief History of the Education of Dominated Cultures in the United States



Joel Spring

ROUTLEDGE

"Spring does a masterful job of weaving the educational experiences of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans into a tapestry rich with detail about Education and Communities of Color in the United States and showcasing the agency that members of each group exerted in promoting and defending their interests, most often under adverse circumstances."

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"This book packs a powerful punch in terms of affecting students at both the emotional and cognitive levels. It prompts critical thinking about the role of teachers and the uses of schooling to either hinder or empower the educational aspirations of students from diverse backgrounds."

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DECULTURALIZATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

Joel Spring's history of school policies imposed on dominated groups in the United States examines the concept of deculturalization—the use of schools to strip away family languages and cultures and replace them with those of the dominant group. The focus is on the education of dominated groups forced to become citizens in territories conquered by the U.S., including Native Americans, enslaved Africans, Chinese, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Hawaiians.

In 7 concise, thought-provoking chapters, this analysis and documentation of how education is used to change or eliminate linguistic and cultural traditions in the U.S. looks at the educational, legal, and social construction of race and racism in the United States, emphasizing the various meanings of "equality" that have existed from colonial America to the present. Providing a broader perspective for understanding the denial of cultural and linguistic rights in the United States, issues of language, culture, and deculturalization are placed in a global context.

The major change in the 8th Edition is a new chapter, "Global Corporate Culture and Separate but Equal," describing how current efforts at deculturalization involve replacing family and personal cultures with a corporate culture to increase worker efficiency. Substantive updates and revisions have been made throughout all other chapters.

Joel Spring is a Professor at Queens College/City University of New York and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, USA.

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DECULTURALIZATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF DOMINATED CULTURES IN THE UNITED STATES

8th Edition

Joel Spring

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Joel Spring is a Professor at Queens College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York, whose scholarship focuses on educational globalization policies, the politics of education, and multicultural education. He is an enrolled member of the Choctaw Nation. His great-great-grandfather was the first Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory and his grandfather was local district chief.

Joel Spring lived for many years on an island off the coast of Sitka, Alaska. His novel, *Alaskan Visions*, reflects these Alaskan experiences. His recent novels are *An All-American Family*, about Native Americans, slavery, racism, gay marriage, and hippies; *Common Core: A Story of School Terrorism*, a satire about recent school reform; and *A Perfect Life,* about a world driven by big data and consumption and ruled by global corporations.

Spring has given invited lectures nationally and internationally, including Singapore, Turkey, China, Vietnam, New Zealand, Australia, and Taiwan. In the fall of 2012, he lectured on "Global Issues: Schooling Minority Cultures and Languages" to honor the opening of the multicultural center at Minzu University, Beijing, China. He has numerous educational awards and lectureships including the Society of Professors of Education Mary Anne Raywid Award for Distinguished Scholarship in the Field of Education; the University of Wisconsin Alumni Achievement Award; Gerald H. Read Distinguished Lecturer; Presidential Lectureship, University of Vermont; Mitstifer Lectureship; Green Honors Chair Lectures, Texas Christian University; R. Freeman Butts Lecture; and the John Dewey Memorial Lecture.

He has published over 20 books on American and global school policies. His most recent scholarly works with Routledge include *The Economization of Education*; *Globalization of Education: An Introduction, Second Edition*; *Political Agendas for Education: From Race to the Top to Saving the Planet*; *Corporatism, Social Control, and Cultural*

Domination in Education: From the Radical Right to Globalization; *The Great American Education-Industrial Complex: Ideology, Technology, and Profit* (with Anthony Picciano); and *Education Networks; Power, Wealth, Cyberspace, and the Digital Mind*. His most recent books are *The Economization of Education* and *American Education, Seventeenth Edition*.

PREFACE

A new Chapter 7, "Global Corporate Culture and Separate but Equal," is the major addition to this Eighth Edition of *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality*. This chapter describes how current efforts at deculturalization involve replacing family and personal cultures with a corporate culture to increase worker efficiency. In part, this is a result of education policies embedded in No Child Left Behind and the Common Core State Standards. The new mantra of education is teaching skills for work and college. But these skills, as discussed in Chapter 7, override many traditional family, religious, and ethical values.

U.S. schools are more economically and racially segregated as they adopt skills-based curricula to prepare students for corporate work. However, as I describe in Chapter 7, the soft skills wanted by corporations neglect values needed to engage in struggles for social justice, such as compassion, altruism, and empathy. Combined with increased school segregation, current deculturalization processes are preparing students to accept growing income inequality, 70-hour-plus work weeks and obedience to corporate authority.

The following topics are covered in the new Chapter 7:

- School Resegregation
- The Meaning Of Equality in the No Child Left Behind Act and the Common Core State Standards
- Equality: From Opportunity-to-Learn Standards to No Child Left Behind
- What's Missing in No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top?
- Segregation of Low-Income Students
- Segregation and Soft Skills
- Deculturalization of Low-Income Students
- Soft Skills for Global Corporations
- The Ideal Corporate Family Culture

- Corporate Cultural: Race to the Top and the Common Core State Standards
- Deculturalization for a Global Corporation
- Conclusion: What Is Lost or Changed in a Corporate Culture?

In addition to the new Chapter 7, I have carefully edited and updated all other chapters.

CHAPTER 1

Deculturalization and the Claim of Racial and Cultural Superiority by Anglo-Americans

Deculturalization is a conscious attempt to replace one culture and language with another that is considered "superior." Since the early days of European settlement, this has been a common practice in American schools. In this chapter, I will focus on efforts to deculturalize Native Americans. But first I will explain the belief by Europeans of their linguistic and cultural superiority, particularly by the British. These attitudes can be traced back to early Roman and Christian ideas about being civilized and pagan. The discussion of attempts to deculturalize Native Americans will serve as a background for later discussions in this chapter of the meaning of equality and equality of opportunity in American schools.

GLOBALIZATION: THE MEANING OF "UNCIVILIZED" AND "PAGAN"

As I am using the term, *globalization* begins when Columbus arrives in the Americas in 1492 and links the world trade routes. At the time of Columbus's trip, many Europeans saw the world as divided between the civilized and uncivilized and the Christian and the pagan. This worldview originated with the creation of the Roman Empire. For early Romans, the goal of *Imperium romanum*, the geographical authority of the Roman people, was the entire world. The ultimate destiny of the Roman Empire, its leaders believed, was "to civilize" the world's peoples. For Romans, those who lived by Roman law and within the limits of the Roman Empire were human. Those who lived outside Roman rule were less than human. The word "civil" meant a form of law and the verb "to civilize" meant to bring a people under the control of the law. In other words, to bring people under Roman law was to civilize them.

The Roman *Imperium* was viewed as both a political expression and a source of knowledge. The *Imperium* gave knowledge to the world.

The center of knowledge and culture was Rome. Rome contained the perfect *civitas* or civilized political order. The collective ethical life of Rome was *mores*. *Civitas* and *mores* could be exported to the empire. Thus, the city of Rome was the model for the culture and morals of the empire. In this context, those living outside the Roman Empire were without culture and morals. Those outside the empire were considered irrational barbarians or natural slaves. Cicero, as quoted by Anthony Pagden, wrote that Roman conquest of barbarians "is justified precisely because servitude in such men is established for their welfare."[1] This concept of barbarians and natural slaves appeared often in European justifications of empire. Similar to Cicero, Fox Morcillo, writing in the sixteenth century, conceptualized Native Americans as natural slaves who should be pressed into servitude for their own good. Justifying enslavement of Native Americans, Morcillo wrote, "They should be civilized by good customs and education and led to a more human way of life."[2]

Christianity expanded Roman concepts to include religious conversion of pagans. The combination of Roman ideals of civilization and a belief that Christians had the duty to convert the world's population convinced many Westerners that it was their responsibility to spread Western civilization and Christianity to the rest of the world. For early Christians, *barbarian* was synonymous with *paganus*. Pagans were both non-Christian and without civilization. *Imperium romanum* and Christianity were considered geographically the same. Consequently, pagans or non-Christians were considered less than human.[3] In this context, it was the duty of the Christian empire to convert and civilize all people and make them pious and virtuous. Among early Christians, *pietas* or pious meant compliance with religious laws and loyalty to the family. *Virtus* or virtuous meant a willingness to sacrifice oneself for the good of the Christian community.[4] Consequently, virtuous people were willing to sacrifice their lives to convert others to Christianity and to spread civilization. Virtuous people practiced what was later called "white love."

Under the banner of "saving" a population from "backward" or "savage" cultures and "pagan" and "heathen" religions, many Europeans, and later Americans, could feel they were doing good conquering and enslaving Native American and African nations. Edward Said argues, "There was a commitment which . . . allowed decent men and women to accept the notion that distant territories and their native peoples should be subjugated, and . . . these decent people could think of the *imperium* as a protracted, almost metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced people."[5]

In South America, the Spanish believed they were chosen by God to bring the "inhuman" into the realm of the human. Justified by a claim

of sovereignty over all the world, Pope Alexander VI in 1493 gave the Spanish crown the right to occupy all lands that they discovered.[6] Occupation of Central and South America was a joint venture of the Catholic Church and Spain. The political and religious were united in the Spanish empire. As they conquered nations, some of prodigious size such as the Aztec and Inca nations, the Spanish extracted gold and silver to send home and carried on a campaign to convert and civilize Native Americans.

ANGLO-SAXON CONCEPTS OF CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS SUPERIORITY

By the time English colonists settled in the Americas, Europeans were religiously divided. The 1517 Protestant Reformation divided Europe between Roman Catholic and Protestant forms of Christianity. A majority of English affiliated with some form of Protestantism with many English believing Catholics were religious heretics. In the minds of many Protestant English, countries that were Catholic were inferior to nations that were Protestant. So the English developed the opinion that English Protestant culture was superior to the culture of such countries as Ireland, Spain, and Italy. Consequently, during the nineteenth century, English Protestants who had settled in the Americas felt a level of hostility toward immigrants from Catholic cultures which they considered as inferior, such as the Irish, the Italian, and the Spanish. The nineteenth-century development of U.S. public schools sparked riots between Protestants and Catholics resulting in Catholics establishing their own schools.[7]

Spreading Anglo-Saxon civilization and Protestantism provided the justification for English imperialism into the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Technically, the term "Anglo-Saxon" refers to the Germanic peoples (Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) who invaded England in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Many English believed they could save the world by spreading Anglo-Saxon culture. In the U.S. colonial period, some English settlers believed they were chosen by God to protect and spread the Protestant version of Christianity and Anglo-Saxon civilization.[8]

English belief in their cultural superiority can be traced to the invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century, which initiated a long period of colonial expansion. From Ireland in the twelfth century to India in the nineteenth century, the English were convinced that colonial expansion was just because it spread Anglo-Saxon culture around the world. According to historian Ronald Takaki, the English considered the Irish inferior savages who could only be redeemed by adopting English culture. Eventually, English opinion was divided between the possibility of civilizing the Irish and a belief in the innate inferiority of the Irish. The latter position became part of a generalized English belief in their racial superiority.[9]

Therefore, English beliefs in their cultural and racial superiority over Native Americans and, later, enslaved Africans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Asians were not born on American soil. They were part of the cultural baggage English colonists brought to North America. English beliefs in their cultural and racial superiority were reinforced by the justifications given for taking over Native American lands. North America acted as a hot house for the growth of white racism and cultural chauvinism. Again, this phenomenon was not unique to North America, but it followed the British flag around the world.

The English colonizing North America compared their experiences with Indians to their experiences with the Irish. During colonial times the "wild Irish" were compared to "wild Indians." As with the Irish, English opinion was divided over the possibility of civilizing Native Americans.[10] Extreme racist opinions led to the conclusion that the only solution to the Indian problem was genocide. This attitude is captured in General Philip Sheridan's comment in 1867 after defeating the Cheyenne: "The only good Indians I ever saw were dead." This statement was refined by one of Sheridan's officers to the famous saying, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."[11]

Anglo-Americans envisioned North America as a land that would be primarily inhabited by whites. Benjamin Franklin worried that there were larger numbers of Africans and Asians in the world than European whites. Moreover, Franklin often expressed anti-German concerns and worried about their growing numbers in Pennsylvania. He considered expansion into North America an opportunity to increase the white race. Shortly before the American Revolution, as Takaki points out, Franklin argued that the English were the "principle body of white People" that should populate North America. The clearing of the forests, Franklin noted, would serve to make room for more whites. "Why," he asked, "increase the Sons of Africa, by planting them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding all Blacks and Tawnys, of increasing the lovely White?"[12]

Protestant colonists were strongly anti-Catholic—a pattern that existed until the 1960s when John F. Kennedy became the first elected and only Catholic president of the United States. Political freedom was intended only for Protestants. Virginia banned Catholics from public offices in the 1640s; Massachusetts expelled Catholic priests in 1647; and after 1689, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland refused to grant citizenship to immigrant Catholics. Maryland, where half the colonies' Catholics lived, eliminated legal protection of Catholics in 1654. According to Rogers Smith, "By the end of the [seventeenth] century, restrictions on Catholic worship were nearly universal in the colonies, remaining light only in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania."[13] Therefore,

during the colonial period, political equality and freedom were only intended for white, male Protestants. Excluded from citizenship were enslaved Africans, Native Americans, and women.

GLOBALIZATION AND CULTURE: CULTURAL GENOCIDE, DECULTURALIZATION, ASSIMILATION, CULTURAL PLURALISM, DENIAL OF EDUCATION, AND HYBRIDIZATION

Colonial powers developed a variety of methods for dealing with captured cultures. For instance, in Malaysia in the nineteenth century, the British tried to assimilate ethnic Chinese into Anglo-Saxon culture by providing them with an English education while attempting to control the indigenous Malay population by denying them an education so that they would remain hunters and gatherers and not threaten British rule.[14] Similarly in the United States, Southern states made it illegal to educate enslaved Africans so that they would be denied the knowledge that might lead them to revolt against the slave system. On the other hand, the Native Americans faced a combination of attempts to destroy their cultures while educating them into Anglo-American culture. The immigration patterns sparked by globalization resulted in immigrants either assimilating to the host culture or developing a hybrid culture combining immigrant with the host country's culture.

Faced with the world's migration of peoples, some countries, such as Singapore, have maintained cultural pluralism by providing public schools that use the child's home language and reflect the cultural values of the child's home. Through the use of educational methods that promote cultural pluralism, Singapore has been able to maintain Chinese, Malay, and Indian cultures and languages.[15]

Therefore, there have been different educational approaches to the intersection of cultures resulting from globalization. Below I have listed these differing educational methods. Minority cultures in the United States have primarily experienced cultural genocide, deculturalization, and denial of education. Immigrant groups have mostly experienced assimilation and hybridity.

Educational Methods of Colonization

- **Cultural genocide.** The controlling power uses education to attempt to destroy the culture of the dominated group. In the United States, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans have been the major target of attempts at cultural genocide.
- **Deculturalization.** Deculturalization is the educational process of destroying a people's culture (cultural genocide) and replacing it with a new culture. Language is an important part of culture. In the case of the United States, schools have used varying forms of this

method in attempts to eradicate the cultures of Native Americans; African Americans; Mexican Americans; Puerto Ricans; and immigrants from Ireland, Southern and Eastern Europe, and Asia. Believing that Anglo-American culture was the superior culture and the only culture that would support republican and democratic institutions, educators forbade the speaking of non-English languages, particularly Spanish and Native American tongues, and forced students to learn an Anglo-American-centered curriculum.

- **Assimilation.** Educational programs designed to absorb and integrate cultures into the dominant culture. American schools have primarily used assimilation programs to integrate immigrant groups into mainstream American culture.
- **Cultural pluralism.** Educational practices designed to maintain the languages and cultures of each cultural group. After World War II, many Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans wanted schools to maintain their languages and cultures. They envisioned a pluralistic society with each different culture existing harmoniously side by side.
- **Denial of education.** Attempt by a ruling group to control another culture by denying it an education. The assumption is that education will empower a group to throw off the shackles of its domination. This method was used in the United States to attempt to control enslaved Africans and sometimes used with other groups, such as Chinese Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans.
- **Hybridity.** *Hybridity* is the term often used to describe the cultural changes resulting from the intersection of two differing cultures. Social psychologists Daphna Oyerman, Izumi Sakamoto, and Armand Lauffer write, "Hybridization involves the melding of cultural lenses or frames such that values and goals that were focused on in one context are transposed to a new context . . . Cultural hybridization may be said to occur when an individual or group is exposed to and influenced by more than one cultural context."[16] For example, Oyerman, Sakamoto, and Lauffer found that some immigrant cultures in the United States *retained their parental culture in their private lives while taking on the values of the host culture in their public lives*. The process of hybridization has affected most cultures in the United States. Contact with students from differing cultures promotes cultural hybridization.

DECULTURALIZATION AND CULTURAL GENOCIDE OF NATIVE AMERICANS

In the above list of educational methods of colonization, English colonists used deculturalization and cultural genocide. Deculturalization of Native

Americans included family structures, gender roles, child-rearing practices, sexual attitudes, and economic relationships. For instance, child-rearing practices were very different between Anglo-Americans and Native Americans. New England colonists emphasized discipline, authority, and memorization. Many Anglo-Americans believed it was necessary to break the will of the child to assure obedience to, in ascending order, their mother, father, government, church, and God. Corporal punishment was considered a necessary and useful part of child rearing and an act of love.

English colonists were appalled at Native American indulgence and permissive attitudes toward their children. Even as late as the 1880s, Reverend John Edwards, superintendent of the Wheelock Academy (1851–1861) in the Choctaw Nation, complained that among Choctaws "there is very little order or discipline in the family. Each does what is pleasing in his own eyes. A parent may beat a child in anger, but seldom does he chastise him with coolness and in love."[17]

Many Europeans and white Americans equated permissiveness in child rearing with different levels of civilization. Indulgence of children indicated to whites a primitive or uncivilized state while strict discipline indicated a high level of civilization. Even as late as the 1920s, U.S. anthropologists were arguing, "There is almost a direct ratio between rudeness of culture and gentleness with children."[18]

The education of Native American children did not take place in the formal setting of a "school," but was integrated into the community life of the tribe. Children were educated for tribal life through storytelling by elders, working with adults, participating in tribal ceremonies and puberty rites, and learning the customs of the clan and tribe.

English colonists' use of discipline and authority in child rearing was one aspect of what is referred to as the "Protestant ethic." (I am using the phrase "Protestant ethic" to mean the following set of values that sharply divided white Anglo-Saxon Protestants from Native Americans.) The Protestant ethic emphasized the importance of hard work and the accumulation of property. Work, among many white Americans, was assumed to be a good activity that provided protection against sin. Time devoted to work kept the mind from wandering down the path of evil. Idle hands are considered the Devil's tools. The Protestant ethic also valued the accumulation of wealth as a sign of God's blessing. In other words, hard work and the accumulation of wealth were considered outward signs of a godly life.

In contrast, many tribes believed in sharing property. If another tribal member needed food or assistance, others gladly gave their food and time. Most North American tribes did not value the accumulation of property. In addition, there was no concept that work was good in and

of itself. Before the introduction of the fur trade, there was no reason for a hunter to kill more animals than needed by the clan. Time not spent hunting or in agricultural pursuits was considered important for celebrations and rituals that linked tribal members to nature and the cosmos. Indians appeared to many settlers as lazy because they did not rush to work to accumulate property as did most European Americans.

Reverend John Edwards reflected the belief of many whites that Native American attitudes about accumulating property and sharing wealth were a major obstacle to their being civilized. Edwards admitted in recounting his work with the Choctaws:

> One result of this [sharing wealth], is that they have no need of poorhouses. . . . In fact this unstinted hospitality on one side degenerates into spunging [*sic*] on the other, the lazy living upon the industrious.
>
> You perceive that this militates very strongly against accumulation of property. . . . To refuse it savors strongly of meanness. But people are learning that it is necessary to refuse, and there is danger that some may go to the opposite extreme.[19]

The Protestant ethic stressed sacrificing pleasure for work and wealth. What horrified New England Puritans was that not only did Native Americans seem unconcerned about avoiding personal pleasure, but they also enjoyed sexual pleasure. The Christian concept of sin was absent from traditional Indian cultures; therefore, tribal members were not driven by a fear of hell to replace personal pleasure with work and accumulation of property. Furthermore, the lack of a Christian concept of sin regarding sexuality was in sharp contrast to the sexual repression evident among many European Americans. James Axtell cites, as an example of differing attitudes regarding sexuality, the laughter by Hurons when Father Le Caron tried to explain the Sixth Commandment regarding adultery. The Hurons stated, "It was impossible to keep that one."[20]

English colonists often called Native Americans "filthy." Originally, I was perplexed by this comment because of the English abhorrence of bathing in contrast to the daily plunge by most Indians into a river or other body of water. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, Europeans labeled Indians as "filthy" because of their seemingly unrepressed sexuality and not for their inattention to bathing.[21]

Another important cultural difference was in family organization. Most Native American tribes were organized into extended clans. Europeans wanted to replace the clan system with a nuclear family structure that would give power to the father. In the clan system, gender roles were

divided by work. Women took care of domestic and agricultural work, and men did the hunting. The major responsibility for child rearing was not with the father, but with the mother and her relations within the clan.

European American men were sometimes offended by the power of women in the clan structure. On the other hand, James Axtell found that many colonial women captured by Indians preferred to remain with the tribe because of the higher status of women in Indian society in contrast to that in colonial society. Captured by Indians at the age of 15, Mary Jemison described female Indian work as being not so severe or hard as that done by white women. "In the summer season," she wrote, "we planted, tended and harvested our corn, and generally had all our children with us; but had no master to oversee or drive us, so that we could work as leisurely as we pleased." Axtell concludes, "Unless Jemison was correct, it would be virtually impossible to understand why so many women and girls chose to become Indians."[22]

Often, Native American women exercised political power. The Cherokees, in particular, were noted for having female leaders and frequently female warriors. White male settlers often spoke despairingly of the "petticoat" government of the Cherokees. Cherokee women decided the fate of captives; they made decisions in Women's Councils that were relayed to the general tribe by the War Woman or Pretty Woman. Clan-mothers had the right to wage war. War Women, among the Cherokees, were called Beloved Women and had the power to free victims from the punishment prescribed by the general council.[23]

Paula Gunn Allen forcefully describes the consequences for Native American women and children of a nuclear family and authoritarian child-rearing practices. Allen describes these changes as "the replacing of a peaceful, nonpunitive, nonauthoritarian social system wherein women wield power by making social life easy and gentle with one based on child terrorization, male dominance, and submission of women to male authority."[24]

For all these reasons, European American discussions of the education of Native Americans were focused on *total* cultural transformation. Whereas many Native Americans wanted to become literate, white educators wanted religious and cultural conversion. For European American educators, the "civilizing" of Native Americans included the instilling of a work ethic; the creation of a desire to accumulate property; the repression of pleasure, particularly sexual pleasure, for work; the establishment of a nuclear family structure with the father in control; the reduction of the power of women; the implementation of authoritarian child-rearing practices; and the conversion to Christianity. It should be

duly noted, however, that whites attracted to the values and lifestyle of Indians found becoming a "white Indian" a welcome relief from the sexual and economic oppression of white society.[25]

EARLY NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Contrary to the hopes of English colonists, Native Americans demonstrated little interest in being educated and converted by the colonists. And, contrary to many statements about "civilizing" and "saving" Native Americans, colonists put little effort or time into sharing their knowledge.

In the early seventeenth century, the meager efforts of the Virginia Company to educate Indians in colonial homes and to establish Henrico College for the education of Native Americans were doomed to failure because, as Margaret Szasz writes, "the powerful Powhatan Algonquian saw their culture as superior to the colonial culture. As a result, Virginians encountered overwhelming difficulty in attempting to . . . educate their children."[26]

In the 1640s, criticism from England about the failure to convert Indians forced colonists into action. Leading these missionary efforts was John Eliot, who is known as "the Apostle to the Indians." Eliot quickly discovered that Native Americans were not receptive to his preaching. Having learned to speak Native American languages, Eliot first preached to Native Americans on July 5, 1646. Eliot's account of the experience indicates Native American attitudes toward colonial culture. "They gave no heed unto it," he recorded, "but were weary, and rather despised what I said."[27]

Setting the tone of religious intolerance that would characterize some educational beliefs into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the Massachusetts General Court declared in 1646, after Eliot's sermon, that any "Christian or pagan [referring to Indians] . . . wittingly and willingly . . . deniing [*sic*] the true God, or his creation or government of the world . . . shalbe [*sic*] put to death." And, to assure compliance by Native Americans, the General Court enacted a law requiring that once a year Indians be informed of their possible execution for denying the validity of the Christian God.[28]

Eliot argued that Indians converted to Christianity should be separated from their villages and placed in small reservations called praying towns. Kept from contact with the "uncivilized" life of Native villages, praying Indians, according to Eliot, could become civilized. Eliot believed living a true Christian life required punishment for such things as long hair and the killing of lice with teeth.[29]

Dartmouth College and the work of Eleazar Wheelock and Samson Occom are the most famous colonial efforts at Native American

education. Similar to later U.S. government plans, Wheelock advocated removing Indian children from their families and tribes by placing them in boarding schools to undergo the process of deculturalization. Also, similar to later arguments, Wheelock claimed that education was cheaper than war. Educate Native Americans to live like the colonists, Wheelock believed, and there would be no more Indian wars.

Wheelock's first educational success in the 1740s was Samson Occom, a Mohegan, who would later go to England to raise money for the founding of Dartmouth. In 1754, Wheelock established Moor's Charity School to provide Indians with religious and classical training in Latin and Greek, with boys receiving instruction in farming and girls in household tasks. This vocational education was preparation for Native American students to live the farm life of a New Englander.[30]

With Wheelock's blessing, Samson Occom went to England in 1766, where he successfully raised money for the founding of Dartmouth College. The Dartmouth charter reads, "For the education and instruction of youth of the Indian Tribes . . . and christianizing Children of Pagans . . . and also of English youth and others." However, in the end, Wheelock primarily used the money for a college serving white youth.[31]

After the American Revolution, as I discuss, early efforts by colonists to "civilize" Native Americans were replaced by a major effort of the U.S. government to use deculturalization policies as a means of gaining Indian lands. In turn, Native Americans became aware that they would have to become literate if they were going to deal with this new government.

THE NATURALIZATION ACT OF 1790 AND WHAT IT MEANS TO BE WHITE

Concerns about cultural and linguistic differences continued after the American Revolution and the founding of the U.S. government. The Naturalization Act of 1790 highlights the racial and cultural attitudes of some early government leaders. The Naturalization Act excluded from citizenship all nonwhites, including Indians. Indians were considered domestic foreigners and, therefore, ineligible for citizenship. The legislation specifically stated that citizenship would be granted only to a "free white person."[32] As I will discuss later, U.S. Supreme Court rulings in the 1920s narrowed the definition of "free white person" to exclude Asians with pale skin and East Indians who claimed to share common ancestors with Europeans. Until the 1950s, Asian immigrants were denied citizenship, though their children born in the United States were automatically citizens. [33] All Native Americans were not granted citizenship until 1924.

In the minds of some early leaders, the term "white" was primarily reserved for those of British Protestant descent. By the early twentieth century, most Americans applied the term "white" to all Americans of European descent. However, it required a social struggle for the Irish and Southern and Eastern Europeans to gain acceptance as "whites." Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White* is a fascinating history of the struggle of Irish Americans to gain status in the "white" community.[34] For the Irish, Catholicism and English anti-Irish attitudes underpinned discriminatory actions by Anglo-Americans. Later, Jewish, Muslim, and Eastern Orthodox immigrants also encountered problems because of their differing religious beliefs.

The writers of the U.S. Constitution and leaders of the new republic were divided over the issue of immigration. However, there was almost universal agreement among this group that citizenship should be limited to free whites. This agreement was based on the opinion that a republican form of government could only survive with a homogenous white population. Of the two political factions, the Jeffersonian Republicans and the Federalists, the Jeffersonian Republicans favored immigration and, in the words of Rogers Smith, "sanctioned slavery and the conquest of the tribes [Native Americans], often alleging their racial inferiority."[35] Reflecting the conflicting strains in U.S. history up to the present, the Federalists preferred "native-born" citizenship as opposed to the naturalized citizenship of immigrants and "expressed hope for peaceful assimilation of the tribes and the eventual demise of slavery, though few championed racial equality."[36] The advocates of limiting citizenship to the native-born are referred to as "nativists." Therefore, current anti-immigrant attitudes can be traced back to the debates over citizenship that occurred among the Founding Fathers.

Deculturalization of Native Americans was a logical extension of European beliefs in their cultural and linguistic superiority. These attitudes were reflected in other American laws leading to the denial of citizenship to Native Americans and other groups. In *Civic Ideals*, Rogers Smith's massive and award-winning study of U.S. citizenship, he contends that most historians neglect the importance of cultural viewpoints in the forming of U.S. laws. As Smith demonstrates, U.S. history is characterized by a long tradition of discrimination and bigotry. After evaluating the combination of legal restrictions on voting rights and immigration and naturalization laws, Smith concludes that "for over 80 percent of U.S. history, American laws declared most people in the world legally ineligible to become U.S. citizens solely because of their race, original nationality, or gender. For at least two-thirds of American history, the majority of the domestic adult population was also ineligible for full citizenship for the same reasons."[37]

SCHOOLING AND THE COLONIZATION OF THE "FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES"

After the Revolution, the U.S. government wanted to acquire Native American lands in areas controlled by white settlers. Of particular concern were the tribes occupying what are now North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. President George Washington and Secretary of War Henry Knox warned the Senate in 1789, "To conciliate the powerful tribes of Indians in the southern District [which included the Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole tribes] amounting probably to fourteen thousand fighting Men, and to attach them firmly to the United States, may be regarded as highly worthy of the serious attention of government."[38]

Having fought a long and costly war with the British, the U.S. government did not have the resources to immediately embark upon a military campaign against the southern tribes. The easiest route to acquiring their lands was to purchase them through treaties. The U.S. government treated the purchase of Native American lands the same as bringing the land under the control of the laws of the American government. Purchase was tantamount to conquest and it was cheaper than a military campaign. Washington proposed this approach in a 1783 letter to James Duane, who served as head of a select committee on Indian Affairs in the Continental Congress. Washington urged the purchase of Indian lands instead of expropriation. "In a word," Washington wrote, "there is nothing to be obtained by an Indian War but the Soil they live on and this can be had by purchase at less expense, and without bloodshed."[39] The famous Northwest Ordinance of 1787 held out the same promise of peace and negotiation for Indian lands. The ordinance states: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed."[40]

U.S. government leaders decided that the best method of convincing the southern tribes to sell their lands was so-called civilization programs. Washington proposed the establishment of official U.S. government trading houses on tribal lands as a means of "render[ing] tranquility with the savages permanent by creating ties of interest."[41]

When Thomas Jefferson became president in 1801, he hoped trading houses would be the means for civilizing Native Americans and gaining their lands. The major flaw in these policies was the assumption that Indians would sell their lands. As Jefferson noted in a message to Congress in 1803, "The policy has long been gaining strength with them [Native Americans] of refusing absolutely all further sale on any conditions."[42]

Faced with this resistance, Jefferson developed a plan to motivate tribes to sell their lands.

Jefferson hoped Native Americans could be transformed into yeoman farmers not needing vast tracts of wilderness for hunting. In his first annual message to Congress in 1801, Jefferson stated, "efforts to introduce among them [Indians] the implements and practice of husbandry, and of the household arts" were successful. "They are becoming more and more sensible," he stated, "of the superiority of this dependence for clothing and subsistence over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing." He was pleased to report that as a result of learning European American methods of husbandry and agriculture, tribes "begin to experience an increase of population."[43]

Jefferson believed it was important to teach Indians to desire accumulating property and abandon the cultural practice of sharing. Similar to other arguments for the civilization of Native Americans, Jefferson linked the creation of the nuclear family with a desire for property. Writing to the chiefs of the Cherokee Nation in 1806, he congratulated the tribe for beginning a transition from hunting to husbandry and farming. The nuclear family structure resulting from farming, he argued, would create a desire to accumulate and pass on property. "When a man has enclosed and improved his farm, builds a good house on it and raises plentiful stocks of animals," Jefferson wrote, "he will wish when he dies that *these things shall go to his wife and children, who he loves more than he does his other relations, and for whom he will work with pleasure during his life* [emphasis added]."[44]

The accumulation of property, Jefferson warned the Cherokees, requires the establishment of laws and courts. "When a man has property," Jefferson wrote, "earned by his own labor, he will not like to see another come and take it from him because he happens to be stronger, or else to defend it by spilling blood. You will find it necessary then to appoint good men, as judges, to decide rules you shall establish."[45]

After acquiring a desire for the accumulation of wealth and the purchase of manufactured goods on display at government trading houses, Jefferson believed, Indians would be willing to sell their lands to gain cash. In this manner, Native Americans would become part of a cash economy and depend on manufactured goods.

In a special message to Congress urging the continuation of trading houses, Jefferson wrote that to counteract tribal resistance to selling land "and to provide an extension of territory which *the rapid increase of our numbers will call for* [emphasis added], two measures are deemed expedient." The first, he argued, was to encourage Indians to abandon hunting for agriculture and husbandry. "The extensive forests necessary

in the hunting life," he told Congress, "will then become useless, and they will see advantage in exchanging them for the means of improving their farms and of increasing their domestic comfort." Second, he argued, the trading houses will make them aware of what they can purchase with the money earned from the sale of lands. Consequently, Jefferson asked Congress, "To multiply trading houses among them, and place within their reach those things *which will contribute more to their domestic comfort than the possession of extensive but uncultivated wilds* [emphasis added]."[46]

Jefferson wanted to change Native American values regarding the economy, government, family relations, and property, and to create desires to buy manufactured goods. Civilizing Native Americans, in this case, meant completely wedding them to an economy of increasing production and demand for new goods. "In leading them thus to agriculture, to manufactures, and civilization," Jefferson told Congress, "in bringing together their and our sentiments, and in preparing them ultimately to participate in the benefits of our Government, I trust and believe we are acting for their greatest good."[47]

U.S. government agents were the principle means for instituting Jefferson's civilization policies. Among the Cherokees, government agents established schools to teach women to spin and sew and to teach men the use of farm implements and methods of husbandry. Agents acted as teachers and advertisers of manufactured goods. They were to begin a cultural transformation by changing Native American ideas about farming, families, government, and economic relations. At the end of his term, according to Francis Prucha, Jefferson felt vindicated by his policies of civilization. "The southern tribes, especially," Prucha writes, "were far ahead of the others in agriculture and the household arts and in proportion to this advancement identified their views with those of the United States."[48]

EDUCATION AND CREATION OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN CULTURE

Concurrently with these early efforts to deculturalize Native Americans, the Founding Fathers rejected the idea of a multicultural society and advocated the creation of a unified American culture. Noah Webster, the often-called Schoolmaster of America, led the efforts. A prolific writer, he tried to build nationalistic attitudes by creating an American English. He wrote a standardized American dictionary of the English language, an American version of the Bible, and his famous spelling book. The wide use of Webster's speller and dictionary standardized the American language.[49]

Noah Webster's dream of a unified national culture was threatened by freed and enslaved Africans, Native Americans, and a "new menace" that appeared in the form of immigrant Irish. The common-school movement of the 1830s and 1840s was in part an attempt to halt the drift toward a multicultural society. Self-proclaimed protectors of Anglo-American Protestant culture worried about the Irish immigrants streaming ashore, the growing numbers of enslaved Africans, and the racial violence occurring in northern cities between freed Africans and whites. Also during this period, President Andrew Jackson implemented his final solution for acquiring the lands of southern Indians by forcing them off their lands onto the infamous "Trail of Tears" leading to an area west of the Mississippi. Upon completion of this forced removal, the southern tribes were to be "civilized" through a system of segregated schools. Fearing contamination of "white" blood, some states passed laws forbidding interracial marriages.

SCHOOLS AND ANGLO-SAXON CULTURE

In *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860*, Carl Kaestle argues that nineteenth-century public schools protected the ideology of an Anglo-American Protestant culture. Most of the common-school reformers, he documents, were native-born Anglo-American Protestants, and their public philosophy "called for government action to provide schooling that would be more common, more equal, more dedicated to public policy, and therefore more effective in creating cultural and political values centering on Protestantism, republicanism, and capitalism."[50]

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Catholics often referred to the public schools as "Protestant schools" in contrast to Catholic schools. The Protestant orientation of the public school system caused the development of the private Catholic school system in the nineteenth century.[51]

THE MEANING OF EQUALITY AND RACE

Throughout this book, I will be discussing differing concepts of equality, including economic, political, culture, and language equality, that have appeared throughout American history. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the suggestion of human equality appeared in the 1776 American Declaration of Independence, declaring, "All men are created equal." In *The Pursuit of Equality in American History*, J. R. Pole argues that promoting equality of opportunity was America's way of balancing the ideal of equality with a society riddled with inequality. Since the American Revolution, the ideal of equality has been seriously

compromised by the denial of women's rights, slavery, legalized racial segregation, exploitation of Native Americans, and differences in wealth and status.[52] Even many of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, including Thomas Jefferson, owned enslaved Africans and later denied U.S. citizenship to Native Americans. Did the Declaration's statement of equality exclude women, since women did not gain the right to vote until the twentieth century? Apparently, given the historical circumstances, the phrase "All men are created equal" applied only to white men at the time of the signing of the Declaration.

Limiting full citizenship rights to white men was highlighted by the Naturalization Act of 1790. Passed by the U.S. Congress, this legislation, as I discuss later in this book, restricted the granting of citizenship to "free white persons" only. Under this law, Native Americans were excluded from citizenship because they were classified as domestic foreigners. Moreover, until the 1940s and 1950s, this 1790 law was used to deny citizenship to Asian immigrants.

An emphasis on equality of opportunity through schooling seemed to resolve the conflict between the use of the word "equality" and the existence of widespread inequality. Education would provide everyone with an equal chance to pursue wealth. Ideally, equality of opportunity through education would ensure that citizens occupied their particular social positions because of merit and not because of family wealth, heredity, or special cultural advantages. But the concept of equality of opportunity, as I will discuss, did not resolve the issue of racial, cultural, and language equality. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, equality of cultures and language has been and will continue to be important issues. In Chapter 7, I will explore the meaning of equality in American schools of the twenty-first century.

In U.S. history, "equality" has many meanings. The 1776 American Declaration of Independence declared: "All men are created equal." However, early European colonists believed their cultures and languages were superior to those of indigenous peoples of Africa and the Americas. After the American Revolution, these beliefs were used to justify U.S. laws allowing the enslavement of Africans and oppression of Native Americans. In addition, white women were denied the right to vote.

In the nineteenth century, U.S. policies and laws focused on "equality of opportunity" and "separate but equal." This changed during the twentieth century when the civil rights movement struggled to abolish discriminatory laws against the languages and cultures of Africans, Chinese, Mexicans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Hawaiians. However, in the twenty-first century, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 rejected the idea of equality between cultures and languages in

schools in favor of focusing on teaching English and promoting a single culture embodied in the state standards and the Common Core State Standards.

Underlying concerns about equality is the concept of race. Race is primarily a social construction. Consider, for example, southern states during the years of segregation. The "drop of blood" rule was usually applied in determining who should attend white or black segregated schools. For instance, if a child's father was African American and the mother was European American, then the child was classified as African American and was required to attend a segregated black school. Or consider, as I will discuss in Chapter 4, that Chinese were classified by California courts in the 1850s as Native Americans—based on the theory that Native Americans originally were Asians who crossed the Bering Straits and populated North America.

Given the changing meaning of race throughout U.S. history, I am relying on *legal definitions of race as expressed in U.S. laws and in court rulings.* Consequently, I have provided in Chapters 2 through 5 citizenship time lines. These time lines indicate when each group—Native American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic/Latino American—gained full citizenship rights. For instance, as I will discuss in Chapter 2, Native Americans were not granted U.S. citizenship until 1924, and they did not receive full citizenship rights until the 1960s and 1970s. These citizenship laws and court decisions provide a concrete understanding for the constantly changing meaning of race in the United States.

Also, without a clear definition of race, racism becomes difficult to define. I have often used the definition that racism is prejudice plus power. This means that when power can be used to serve feelings of prejudice, such as through the establishment of segregated schools for Mexican Americans in the Southwest, then it is a racist act. Therefore, throughout this book *I am defining racism in concrete terms as citizenship laws, education laws, and court rulings that are prejudicial toward a particular group of students.*

CONCLUSION

European invaders and early U.S. government leaders were able to rationalize their conquest and expropriation of Native American lands by thinking of Indians as culturally and racially inferior. These attitudes were woven into educational plans to deculturalize Native Americans so that they would willingly sell their lands to Anglo-American settlers. This pattern of linguistic and cultural genocide continued into the twentieth century. Despite the attempts at deculturalization, many European

Americans and Native Americans experienced cultural hybridity. Many Europeans adopted the cultural aspects of Native Americans while Native Americans adopted some aspects of European culture.

Rejecting the idea of multicultural society and supporting Anglo-American culture, the nineteenth century began with centers of controversy over race, culture, and religion. The result of this early history is that the nation and schools are plagued with cultural and racial conflicts, including:

- Almost 1 million dead from the U.S. Civil War.
- The Trail of Death covered by the bodies of European Americans and Native Americans from the Indian wars lasting from the time of the arrival of the first European settlers to the late nineteenth century.
- Urban riots between Protestants and Catholics in the 1840s over the religious content of public schooling.
- The punishment of enslaved Africans for learning to read.
- The lynching and beating of Chinese in nineteenth-century California.
- The killing and beating of enslaved Africans.
- The lynching and beating of African Americans during reconstruction and segregation periods in the South.
- Race riots in northern cities in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries.
- The murder and beating of Mexican Americans during the "Zoot Suit" riots in 1943.
- The murders, riots, and church bombings during the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.
- Racial clashes over the education of African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans.
- The riots and killings over integration of schools from the 1950s to the 1970s.
- The religious and racial conflicts of the twenty-first century.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 2

Native Americans

Deculturalization, Schooling, Globalization, and Inequality

Throughout the world from Australia to Africa to the Americas, indigenous peoples have been subjected to a variety of forces attempting to destroy their cultures. As discussed in Chapter 1, these destructive actions are based on a belief that some cultures and languages are superior to others. This often results in inequality of educational opportunity.

Also, as a result of globalization and imperialism, indigenous peoples are forced to undergo extreme cultural change, resulting in many becoming socially and psychologically dysfunctional. Native Americans are part of the world's indigenous peoples. The International Labor Office defines indigenous peoples as "populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization."[1] The United Nations provides the following description:

> Indigenous peoples are descendants of the original inhabitants of many lands, strikingly varied in their cultures, religions and patterns of social and economic organization. At least 5,000 indigenous groups can be distinguished by linguistic and cultural differences and by geographical separation. Some are hunters and gatherers, while others live in cities and participate fully in the culture of their national society. But all indigenous peoples retain a strong sense of their distinct cultures, the most salient feature of which is a special relationship to the land.[2]

Most indigenous peoples suffered at the hands of their conquerors, particularly in the Americas. Besides Native Americans in the United States

and the First Nations in Canada, many indigenous peoples throughout Central and South America experienced some form of deculturalization. To rectify the attempts at deculturalization of indigenous peoples, including the Native Americans described in this chapter, Article 27 of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 promises that education for indigenous peoples "shall be developed and implemented in cooperation with them to address their special needs, and shall incorporate their histories, their knowledge and technologies, their value systems and their further social, economic and cultural aspirations."[3]

Most of the world's indigenous peoples suffered some form of deculturalization. The brutality of these efforts was exemplified for me in 1999 when I was invited by the National Taiwan Normal University to visit local indigenous tribes who were attempting to salvage what was left of their cultural traditions. One photograph in a collection of the Taipei museum stands out in my mind as an example of cultural and linguistic genocide. It showed a Japanese soldier, during the period that Japan occupied Taiwan in the early twentieth century, beheading a member of a local tribe for refusing to abandon his indigenous language and learn Japanese. The photo showed the blood gushing from the neck as the head fell to the ground.

CITIZENSHIP IN THE NEW REPUBLIC[1]

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Naturalization Act of 1790 denied Native Americans U.S. citizenship. This was in keeping with the belief that the survival of the republic depended on a homogenous citizenry of "whites." At the time, Native Americans were classified as "domestic foreigners." Consequently, because of the 1790 legislation, they could not seek naturalized citizenship because they were not "white."[4] In 1867, Congress created the Indian Peace Commission, which effectively made the requirement for U.S. citizenship for Native Americans, in the words of historian Rogers Smith, the "repudiation of native religions and ways of life, and acceptance of middle-class American Christianity with its attendant customs."[5] By the end of the nineteenth century, attitudes began to change as some Native American nations were deculturalized and adopted European culture. As I will explain, the so-called Five Civilized Tribes were among the first Native Americans to be granted citizenship in 1901.[6]

The granting of citizenship to all Native Americans did not occur until 1924, when Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act. This legislation authorized "the Secretary of the Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to Indians."[7] After winning the Indian wars and confiscating most Native American lands, the U.S. Congress magnanimously declared, "That all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the

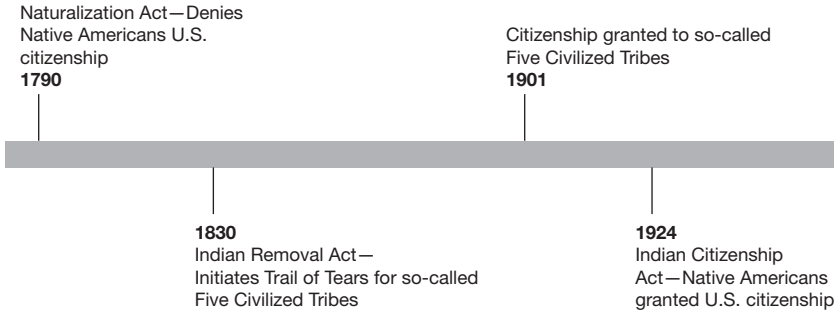

Figure 2.1 Native American Citizenship Time Line

United States be, and they are hereby declared to be, citizens of the United States."[8] Therefore, in 1924, Native Americans gained citizenship while immigrant Asians were still denied naturalized citizenship.

THOMAS L. MCKENNEY: THE CULTURAL POWER OF SCHOOLING

Thomas McKenney, the first head of the Office of Indian Affairs, targeted the Five Civilized Tribes for the process of deculturalization. He believed in the power of schooling to culturally transform Native Americans. His opinion reflected the growing conviction among many European Americans that education was the key to social control and improvement of society. Born into a Quaker family on March 21, 1785, Thomas L. McKenney's religious values were reflected in policies stressing peace and Christianity during the 14 years of his service as superintendent of Indian trade and, after that office was abolished in 1823, as head of the newly created Office of Indian Affairs from 1824 to 1830.[9]

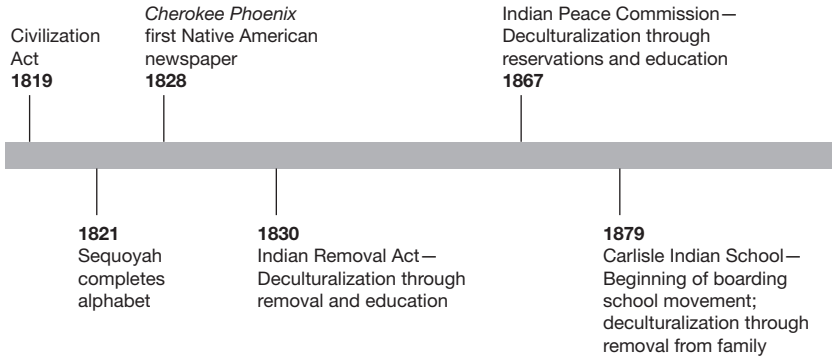

Figure 2.2 Native American Education Time Line (Prior to Civil Rights Movement)

A decade before the common-school movement, McKenney's ideas on the power of schooling were enacted by Congress in the Civilization Act of 1819. In the 1820s, McKenney advanced the argument that the creation of tribal school systems operated by white missionary teachers would culturally transform Native Americans in one generation. This extreme belief in the power of the school to change and control societies was later reflected in the thinking of common-school reformers in the 1830s and the rise of public schools.

Conceptualizing Indians as children, McKenney believed the key to civilizing them was schooling. Consequently, shortly after being appointed superintendent of Indian trade in 1816, McKenney's interests shifted from trade as a means of cultural transformation to the use of schools. By 1819, McKenney was able to convince Congress to pass the Civilization Act to provide money for the support of schools among Indian tribes. Reflecting on his effort to gain approval of the legislation, McKenney wrote, "I did not doubt then, nor do I now, the capacity of the Indian for the highest attainments in civilization, in the arts and religion, but I was satisfied that no adequate plan had ever been adopted for this great reformation."[10]

Just prior to the adoption of the Civilization Act, McKenney recounts, it appeared "to me to be propitious for the making of the experiment."[11] McKenney considered the introduction of schools into Indian tribes as an "experiment" in what I call ideological management. Could schools "civilize" Native Americans? Could schools bring about a cultural transformation? At the time, McKenney didn't consider the possibility that some tribal members might resist these attempts at cultural transformation. He believed it was the right time for the experiment because of relative peace with the tribes and, because, "there were now several missionary stations already in operation, though on a small scale, all of them furnishing proof that a plan commensurate to the object, would reform and save, and bless this long neglected, and downtrodden people."[12] The Civilization Act of 1819 authorized the president to "employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them [Indians] in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic." The legislation provided an annual sum of $10,000 to be used by the president to fund the establishment of schools. The legislation specifically indicated that the funds were to be used with tribes "adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States." In practice, a large percentage of the money funded missionaries to set up schools among the Choctaws and Cherokees.[13]

By the late 1820s, McKenney was advocating a final solution to the problem of the southern tribes that involved their removal to lands west of the Mississippi for their protection and "civilization." After negotiating

in 1827 with the Chickasaw Indians for their removal west of the Mississippi, McKenney wrote Secretary of War James Barbour that after removal the southern Indians should be guaranteed their lands in the west and "schools should be distributed over all their country. The children should be taken into these, and instructed . . . [in] reading, writing and arithmetic, in mechanics and the arts; and the girls in all the business of the domestic duties."[14]

Thinking of Indians as children who only needed to be protected from evil and sent to school, he concluded that under the conditions of isolation and education Indians could be civilized in one generation. "Now can anyone doubt," McKenney wrote, "that this system [schools in Indian Territory] would not lift them in a single generation to a level with ourselves?"[15]

THE MISSIONARY EDUCATORS

There was no objection to subsidizing Protestant missionary educators under the provisions of the Civilization Act. From the perspective of the early twenty-first century, government support of missionaries might be considered a violation of the First Amendment prohibition against government support of religion. But, for most European Americans in the early nineteenth century, public education and Protestantism went hand-in-hand. Throughout the nineteenth century, most educators thought it was normal to begin the public school day with a prayer and a reading from a Protestant Bible. In the minds of most white Protestants in the early nineteenth century, it probably appeared logical and correct to use missionary educators to "civilize" Native Americans, because "civilizing" included conversion to Christianity.

In the United States, Protestant churches organized to civilize and convert Native Americans. In the early nineteenth century, missionary educators took the message of Protestantism to Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. In 1810, the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches founded the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). The ABCFM had a global mission and began sending missionaries abroad and to Native American tribes in 1812. In the minds of missionaries, Native Americans were foreign "heathen."[16]

Presbyterian missionaries sponsored by the ABCFM, and later the Board of Foreign Missionaries, believed that missionary work involved the manifest destiny of Anglo-Saxon culture to be spread around the world. The concept of manifest destiny included a belief that it was God's will that the U.S. government extend its power across the continent and over all Native American tribes. The Board of Foreign Missions believed it was proper for the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to aid missionary efforts, because they believed Protestantism and Anglo-

Saxon culture was necessary for creating tribal forms of republican governments.[17]

According to Reverend James Ramsey's description of his speech at a Choctaw school in 1846: "I showed them [on a map] that the people who speak the English language, and who occupied so small a part of the world, and possessed the greatest part of its wisdom and knowledge; that knowledge they could thus see for themselves was power; and that power was to be obtained by Christianity alone."[18] Then he told them that the key to their success would be to continue the practice of establishing religious schools. In this way, they could share in the glory of Anglo-Saxon culture and Christianity.

The Presbyterian missionaries sent by the ABCFM attempted to influence the leadership of Native American tribes. Presbyterians believed that conversion of the tribal leadership would result in Christianity and civilization trickling down to other tribal members. In contrast, Baptists and Methodists believed their work should begin with conversion of the common full-blood Indian.[19]

All three religious denominations emphasized the importance of changing traditional customs of Native Americans while teaching reading and writing. For instance, the Presbyterian missionary Cyrus Kingsbury, called the Apostle to the Choctaws, wrote:

> It is our intention to embrace in their [Native American] education, that practical industry, and that literary, moral and religious instruction, which may qualify them for useful members of society; and for the exercise of those moral principles, and that genuine piety, which form the basis of true happiness.[20]

In the words of historian Michael Coleman, "These Presbyterians could accept nothing less than the total rejection of the tribal past, and the total transformation of each individual Indian, a cultural destruction and regeneration to be brought about by the Gospel of Jesus Christ."[21]

Similar to the Presbyterians, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Kentucky Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, and other Protestant missionary organizations defined as their goal the replacement of Native American culture with the culture of white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. While some Native Americans only asked for literacy, they received an education designed to bring about their cultural and religious conversion.

LANGUAGE AND NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES

The relationship between language and culture is evident in the differences between missionary efforts to develop written Native American languages

and the creation of a written Cherokee language by Sequoyah. Missionaries wanted written Native American languages not as a means of preserving Native American history and religions, but so they could translate religious tracts to teach Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture. Teaching of English was considered a means of cultural transformation. Moravian educator John Gambold wrote, "It is indispensably necessary for their preservation that they should learn our Language and adopt our Laws and Holy Religion."[22]

In contrast, Sequoyah developed a written Cherokee language to preserve Cherokee culture. Missionaries reacted negatively to Sequoyah's invention because it threatened their efforts. Reverend Gambold wrote, "The study of their language would in a great measure prove but time and labor lost. . . . It seems desirable that their Language, Customs, Manner of Thinking should be forgotten."[23]

In 1821, Sequoyah completed a Cherokee alphabet using 86 characters of his invention. Sequoyah was born in a small Cherokee village in Tennessee, served in the War of 1812, and joined a group of Cherokees in 1819 who immigrated to Arkansas. Sequoyah worked 12 years on the development of his alphabet. He was illiterate and did not speak English. Consequently, his approach to developing a written language was different from that of a literate missionary using English or another European language to render the Cherokee language into a written form. While he probably got the idea of having a written language from Europeans, Sequoyah's invention was based on his creation of characters to represent different sounds in the Cherokee language.[24]

The genius of Sequoyah's alphabet was that because each of the 86 characters matched a particular sound in the Cherokee language, it was possible for a Cherokee to quickly become literate in Cherokee. With diligence, a person speaking Cherokee could learn the alphabet in one day and learn to read Cherokee in one week. A Moravian missionary described the following changes resulting from Sequoyah's invention:

> The alphabet was soon recognized as an invaluable invention. . . . In little over a year, thousands of hitherto illiterate Cherokees were able to read and write their own language, teaching each other in cabins or by the roadside. The whole nation became an academy for the study of the system. Letters were written back and forth between the Cherokees in the east and those who had emigrated to the lands in Arkansas.[25]

The *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Native American newspaper, was published in 1828 in both English and Cherokee. The editor, Elias Boudinot, requested funds for its publication from the First Presbyterian

Church of Philadelphia. He pleaded for funds from the congregation for a printing press "with the types . . . to be composed of English letters and Cherokee characters. Those characters," he informed the congregation, "have now become extensively used in the nation; their religious songs are written in them; there is an astonishing eagerness in people of all classes and ages to acquire a knowledge of them."[26] After his plea in Philadelphia, Boudinot headed to Boston to collect the newly cast type of Sequoyah's symbols. He returned to the Cherokee Nation to publish the *Cherokee Phoenix* and Cherokee laws in both English and Cherokee.

Though missionaries had struggled for years to create a written Cherokee language, they were not receptive to Sequoyah's invention. One important reason for their reluctance to embrace the new alphabet was that it required a knowledge of spoken Cherokee. None of the missionary educators learned Cherokee, so Sequoyah's symbols were of little use to them.

In addition, many missionaries feared that if Cherokees learned to read and write in their own language, then they would never learn English. For most missionaries, learning English was essential for changing Cherokee culture. Therefore, while Sequoyah's invention united Cherokees, it did not become a language of the missionary schools established on Cherokee lands in the East.

INDIAN REMOVAL AND CIVILIZATION PROGRAMS

By the time of Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency and his first annual message to Congress in December 1829, he had concluded that civilization policies originating with presidents Washington and Jefferson, and extended by the Civilization Act of 1819, failed to educate southern tribes to the point where they would want to sell their lands. He worried schooling gave Indians tools to resist the policies of the U.S. government.

In his first annual message to Congress, Jackson devoted considerable space to outlining his arguments for Indian removal to lands west of the Mississippi.[27] One of the crucial parts of Jackson's argument was the right of white settlers to Indian lands. Previously, President Washington argued that Indian lands should be acquired by treaties and purchases. President Jackson proposed a combination of treaties and exchange of lands for land west of the Mississippi. In addition, Jackson maintained that white settlers had rights to Indian lands that were not cultivated. In other words, he only recognized as legitimate claims by Indians for land on which they had made improvements. Claims could not be made for land, in Jackson's words, "on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain or passed them in the chase."[28]

In proposing to set aside land west of the Mississippi for the relocation of Indians, Jackson promised to give each tribe control over the land and the right to establish any form of government. The only role of the U.S. government, Jackson argued, would be to preserve peace among the tribes and on the frontier. In this territory, Jackson declared, the "benevolent may endeavor to teach them the arts of civilization, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race and to attest the humanity and justice of this Government."[29] The key to fulfilling the humanitarian goals of removal would be education. In its final version, the Indian Removal Act of May 28, 1830 authorized the president to set aside lands west of the Mississippi for the exchange of Indian lands east of the Mississippi. Furthermore, the president was authorized to provide assistance for tribal removal and resettlement on new lands.

In one of the most infamous acts in human history, entire nations of people were forced from their lands. Called the Trail of Tears, Indians died of cholera, exposure, contaminated food, and the hazards of frontier travel. Witnessing the removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi, missionary William Goode wrote, "Melancholy and dejected with their compulsory removal, years elapsed without much effort for improvement." He told a story about a drunken Choctaw who threw himself into the last boat leaving for Indian Territory shouting, "Farewell white man! Steal my Land!"[30] Near his home in 1832, Horatio Cushman recalls the sounds from the encampment of Choctaws waiting for removal: ". . . there came, borne upon the morn and evening breeze from every point of the vast encampment, faintly, yet distinctly, the plaintive sound of weeping."[31]

After visiting the encampment, Cushman recorded this bleak portrait:

> The venerable old men . . . expressed the majesty of silent grief; yet there came now and then a sound that here and there swelled from a feeble moan to a deep, sustained groan—rising and falling till it died away just as it began . . . while the women and children, seated upon the ground, heads covered with shawls and blankets and bodies swinging forward and backward . . . sad tones of woe echoing far back from the surrounding but otherwise silent forests; while the young and middle-aged warriors, now subdued and standing around in silence profound, gazed into space . . . here and there was heard an inarticulate moan seeking expression in some snatch of song, which announced its leaving a broken heart.[32]

The Cherokees were forcefully rounded up by the U.S. Army. By 1838, only 2,000 of 17,000 Cherokees made the trip west. The remaining

15,000 did not seem to believe that they would be driven out of their country.[33]

In 1838, General Winfield Scott, with a combined military force of 7,000, took charge of the removal process. General Scott proclaimed that within a month every Cherokee man, woman, and child should be headed west. Scott's troops moved through the countryside surrounding houses, removing the occupants, looting and burning the houses, and forcing the families into stockades. Men and women were run down in the fields and forests as the troops viciously pursued their prey. Sometimes the troops found children at play by the side of the road and herded them into stockades without the knowledge of their parents. Besides stealing directly from the Cherokees, the troops and white outlaws drove off cattle and other livestock. The Cherokees placed in stockades were left destitute. A volunteer from Georgia, who later served as a colonel in the Confederate Army, said, "I fought through the Civil War and have seen men shot to pieces and slaughtered by thousands, but the Cherokee removal was the cruelest work I ever knew."[34]

Tribal removal to Indian Territory raised the issue of the legal status of tribal governments and, as part of the operation of government, tribal school systems. In 1831, the U.S. Supreme Court supported extension of Georgia state laws to the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees argued that this was illegal because they were a foreign nation. The question, as posed in the decision of the Court, was: "Is the Cherokee nation a foreign state in the sense in which that term is used in the Constitution?"[35] The Court argued that the section of the Constitution dealing with the regulation of commerce made a distinction between foreign nations, states, and Indian tribes. Consequently, Indian tribes were not foreign countries, but they were political entities distinct from states. In the words of the Court, Indian tribes were "domestic dependent nations. . . . they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian."[36]

Once settled in Indian Territory, the tribes quickly organized governments and school systems. In one of the many cultural and racial twists in history, because the tribes owned enslaved Africans, they created segregated schools for freed Africans after the Civil War. The Choctaws were an example of a successful Native American school system sending graduates east to attend college. In 1842, the ruling council of the Choctaw Nation provided for the establishment of a comprehensive system of schools. A compulsory attendance law was enacted by the Choctaw Nation in 1889.

The Choctaw schools were developed in cooperation with the missionaries. In this regard, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas McKenney's dream of establishing schools in Indian Territory became

a reality. The Spencer Academy was opened in 1844 (my uncle, Pat Spring, died in the fire that burned down the academy in 1896) and the Armstrong Academy in 1846. By 1848, the Choctaws had nine boarding schools paid for by tribal funds. Moreover, a system of day, or neighborhood, schools was organized, and by 1860 these schools enrolled 500 students.[37]

An adult literacy program was also developed by missionaries through a system of Saturday and Sunday schools. Families would camp near a school or church to receive instruction in arithmetic, reading, and writing. Instruction was bilingual in Choctaw and English. While there were not many texts in Choctaw, missionaries did translate many portions of the Bible, hymn books, moral lectures, and other religious tracts into Choctaw.[38]

Many teachers were Choctaws educated in tribal schools. The teachers were examined in the common-school subjects and the Choctaw constitution. Teachers followed a course of study modeled on that of neighboring states and taught in English, using the *Choctaw Definer* to help children translate from Choctaw into English.

The Spencer Academy for boys and the New Hope Academy for girls were the leading schools. The children who attended these schools were selected by district trustees until 1890 and after that by county judges. Selection was based on "promptness in attendance and their capacity to learn fast."[39] Only one student could be selected from a family.

In 1885, the tribal council removed the two academies from missionary management and placed them under the control of a board of trustees. In 1890, a school law was enacted that required male teachers at the Spencer Academy to be college graduates and to have the ability to teach Greek, Latin, French, and German; female teachers at the New Hope Academy were to have graduated from a college or normal school and be able to teach two modern languages besides English. The faculty of both schools included white and Choctaw instructors.

The success of the Choctaw educational system was paralleled by that of the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees were given land just north of the Choctaw Nation. In 1841, after removal, the Cherokee National Council organized a national system of schools with 11 schools in eight districts, and in 1851 it opened academies for males and females. By the 1850s, the majority of teachers in these schools were Cherokee. Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder write, "By 1852 the Cherokee Nation had a better common school system than the neighboring states of Arkansas and Missouri."[40]

The Choctaw and Cherokee school systems were praised in a 1969 congressional report, which noted: "In the 1800s, for example, the Choctaw Indians of Mississippi and Oklahoma [Indian Territory]

operated about 200 schools and academies and sent numerous graduates to eastern colleges."[41] The report went on to praise the Cherokee schools. In the words of the report, "Using bilingual teachers and Cherokee texts, the Cherokees, during the same period, controlled a school system which produced a tribe almost *100% literate* [emphasis added]."[42] The report concluded, "Anthropologists have determined that as a result of this school system, the literacy level in English of western Oklahoma Cherokees was higher than the white populations of either Texas or Arkansas."[43]

NATIVE AMERICANS: RESERVATIONS AND BOARDING SCHOOLS

As white settlers moved into western lands in the latter part of the nineteenth century, leaders in the U.S. government were forced to reconsider their relationships to tribes and their attempts to "civilize" Indians. First, there was the problem of designating land on which to settle displaced tribes. Unlike in the 1820s and 1830s, there was a realization that white settlement would eventually cover most of the continent. In 1858, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix, in his annual report, declared that the U.S. government made several serious errors in dealing with the southeastern tribes, including "the assignment to them of too great an extent of country, to be held in common."[44] Holding large tracts of land in common, according to Commissioner Mix, limited the attempts to civilize the Indian because it prevented Indians from learning the value of separate and independent property.

Reservations and allotment programs were the responses to the land issue. The reservation system combined with education was considered by the U.S. government as the best method of dealing with what Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea called the "wilder tribes."[45] In the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* in 1850, Commissioner Lea argued that certain Indian tribes, specifically the Sioux and Chippewas, had an "insatiable passion for war" and that it was "necessary that they be placed in positions where they can be controlled."[46] On reservations where they could be controlled, the tribes were compelled until they were "civilized." The federal government supplied agricultural implements to aid in this process of civilization.

Provisions for manual labor schools on reservations were specified in Commissioner Mix's 1858 report. Mix wanted reservation sites selected that would minimize contact with whites and provide opportunities for Indians to learn agricultural skills. To prepare Indians for agriculture, manual labor schools taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and agriculture. Of particular importance, according to Commissioner Mix, was the role of manual labor schools in molding the character of future generations

of Indians in what he called "habits of industry." To carry out this enterprise, Commissioner Mix recommended that a military force should remain in the vicinity of the reservations "to aid in controlling the Indians."[47]

Western Indians resisted white incursions on their lands. The result was Indian wars across the Western plains during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1867, Congress created an Indian Peace Commission to deal with the warring tribes. The Indian Peace Commission advocated different methods for the education and civilization of Indians. Nathaniel Taylor, chairman of the Peace Commission, told Crow Indians at Fort Laramie: "Upon the reservations you select, we . . . will send you teachers for your children."[48] According to Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, this promise was embodied in the Treaty of Fort Laramie with the Sioux and their allies.[49]

Peace Commission members were not satisfied with previous attempts to educate Indians, particularly with regard to language. The Indian Peace Commission report of 1868 states that differences in language were a major source of the continuing friction between whites and Indians. Therefore, according to the report, an emphasis on the teaching of English would be a major step in reducing hostilities and civilizing Native Americans. In the words of the report: "Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment and thought; customs and habits are moulded [*sic*] and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated."[50]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the major U.S. Indian educational policies were replacing the use of native languages with English, destroying Indian customs, and teaching allegiance to the U.S. government. Important to these policies were boarding schools designed to remove young children from their families and isolate them from the language and customs of their parents and tribes. These boarding schools were different from those operated by the Choctaws in Indian Territory, which were elite institutions and were not specifically designed to destroy Indian customs and languages—though this might result from attendance.

In *A History of Indian Education*, Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder demonstrate the connections between the establishment of boarding schools for Indians and the history of black education in the South. The first off-reservation boarding school was the Carlisle Indian School, established in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1879. The founder of the school, Richard Pratt, had commanded an African American cavalry in Indian Territory between 1867 and 1875. According to Reyhner and Eder, Pratt's interest in boarding schools occurred when he took 17 adult Indian prisoners of war to the Hampton Institute.[51] The Hampton Institute

played a major role in African American education in the South. Booker T. Washington was educated at Hampton and used it as a model when he established Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1881. The primary purpose of Hampton was to prepare freed slaves to be teachers who could instill work values in other freed slaves. In the words of historian James Anderson, "The primary aim [of Hampton] was to work the prospective teachers long and hard so that they would embody, accept, and preach an ethic of hard toil or the 'dignity of labor.'"[52]

Pratt not only wanted to instill the work ethic in Indian children but also, as he told a Baptist group, immerse "Indians in our civilization and when we get them under [hold] them there until they are thoroughly soaked."[53] The slogan for the Carlisle Indian School reflected the emphasis on changing the cultural patterns of Indians: "To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay."[54]

Pratt's educational philosophy embodied the principles behind the allotment movement of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The allotment program, applied to the Five Civilized Tribes with the breakup of Indian Territory, was designed to distribute commonly held tribal property to individual Indians. It was assumed that individual ownership would instill the capitalistic values of white civilization. Tribal ownership of land was considered a form of socialism that was antithetical to the values of white American society. Also, the allotment program was another method of dealing with the Indian land problem. In the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* in 1881, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price criticized previous attempts to civilize Indians because they did not teach the necessity of labor. This could be accomplished, Price argued, only when individual Indians were made responsible for their own economic welfare. He contended that this could be done by allotting Indians "a certain number of acres of land which they may call their own."[55]

Pratt attacked the tribal way of life as socialistic and contrary to the values of "civilization." Emphasizing economic individualism, Pratt complained about missionary groups who did not "advocate the disintegration of the tribes and the giving to individual Indians rights and opportunities among civilized people."[56] He wrote to the commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1890, "Pandering to the tribe and its socialism as most of our Government and mission plans do is the principal reason why the Indians have not advanced more and are not advancing as rapidly as they ought."[57]

Between the founding of the Carlisle Indian School in 1879 and 1905, 25 nonreservation boarding schools were opened throughout the country.[58] The nonreservation location of the boarding schools kept Indian children from family and tribal influences. It is also important to

note that both nonreservation boarding schools and schools on reservations were required to teach English. In the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* in 1887, Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins ordered the exclusive use of English at all Indian schools. Atkins pointed out that this policy was consistent with the requirement that only English be taught in public schools in territories acquired by the United States from Mexico, Spain, and Russia. Comparing the conquest of Indians to the German occupation of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, where it was required that German rather than French be used in the schools, Atkins declared, "No unity or community of feeling can be established among different peoples unless they are brought to speak the same languages, and thus become imbued with like ideas of duty."[59]

It was hoped Indian children would transfer their allegiance from tribal governments to the federal government, thereby building a sense of community with the white population. In 1889, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan issued "Instructions to Indian Agents in Regard to Inculcation of Patriotism in Indian Schools," which required that an American flag be flown in front of every Indian school. The instructions stated, "The 'Stars and Stripes' should be a familiar object, and students should be taught to reverence the flag as a symbol of their nation's power and protection."[60] In addition, the instructions required the teaching of American history and the principles of the U.S. government. There was no suggestion in the instructions that the history of Native Americans and their governments be taught in the schools. Also, the instructions called for the teaching of patriotic songs and the public recitation of "patriotic selections."[61]

Celebrating national holidays built support for U.S. policies while the U.S. government took over Indian lands. After a sentence requiring the celebration of Washington's birthday, Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, Commissioner Morgan wrote: "It will also be well to observe the anniversary of the day upon which the 'Dawes bill' for giving to Indians allotments of land in severalty become a law, viz, February 8, 1887, and to use that occasion to impress upon Indian youth the enlarged scope and opportunity given them by this law and the new obligations which it imposes."[62]

In 1889, Commissioner Morgan's bulletin on "Indian Education" outlined goals and policies for Indian schools. The bulletin was distributed by the U.S. Bureau of Education with an introduction written by the commissioner of education, William T. Harris. In the introduction, Harris praised what he called "the new education for our American Indians," particularly the effort "to obtain control of the Indian at an early age, and to seclude him as much as possible from the tribal influences."[63] Harris singled out the boarding school as an important step in changing