The “Outing Programs” Human Trafficking at California’s Native American Boarding Schools

Supportive Testimony H.R. 5444 / S. 2907 the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies in the US

by

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“Leticia Nichols will not work out this year. For some reason she objects very strongly to being sent out.” Harwood Hall[i]

Frances Morongo, a tribal elder, remembers that when she was a young girl she was taken from her family on the San Manuel Indian Reservation to the Sherman Institute, a boarding school for Indian children in Riverside, California. Morongo did not know where she was or how to find her way home. Homesick and ill, she was admitted to the school’s hospital. From her second-floor window she saw a large arrowhead carved into the south side of the San Bernardino Mountains, and she believed that it pointed her way home. In the night, Frances Morongo escaped from the Sherman Institute. She walked twenty miles across the desert to return to her home at the reservation, tucked into the base of the mountain range. Perhaps, she thought, the large arrowhead marked the way for young fugitives fleeing from captivity at the school.[ii]

A CURRICULUM FOR CAPTIVITY

The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) that abolished slavery in the United States did not free the 4,000 Native children in California who were still held in human bondage, legally trapped until their “indentures” expired.[iii] In 1867, two years later, Congress passed the Anti-Peonage Act that banned “the holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage” and “any attempt” to demand “the voluntary or involuntary” labor of anyone as payment for a debt.[iv]

Nonetheless, a decade later, 1,463 Indian children were still in the possession of white ranchers and farmers who kept the children as unfree workers until their bonds expired.[v] About 6,000 to 8,000 Indian women were also held as concubines to white “heads of household” who owned their “contracts.” From San Diego to Los Angeles to Eureka, Native American children were trapped for another fifteen years.[vi]

In the first decades of the twentieth century, California’s new farmers, ranchers, and rural households wanted low-paid workers. Indian boarding schools became the next broker to deliver Indian captives--children who were living with their kin on reservations. In a system called “outing” programs, the California boarding schools taught Indian children menial tasks and tried to instill habits of obedience to whites. Then they sent the children on long assignments to perform menial work at ranches, farms, households, and hotels==unpaid. The racial ideology that had evolved from the Franciscan missions to the state prisons reached into the schools and reservations. These young students, initiates in the carceral state, would involuntarily serve in jobs that would not threaten the emerging white working class.[vii]

In 1868 President Ulysses S. Grant announced an “Indian Peace Policy” designed to end the massacres and remove corrupt Indian agents from the reservations. He declared that the federal government had the right to seize tribal lands and move Indians to reservations where they would learn “civilizing” skills. In place of Indian Agents, he would hire missionaries to teach California Natives to farm, to read and write, to wear “American” clothes, and to become “moral Christians.”[viii] The Peace Plan became the template for a new system of displacement, forced assimilation, and unpaid Indian labor; its racial shadow fell over education and economics, parenting and private property.

Across the country, the Jim Crow era of the 1880s spawned new ways to “segregate and confine” Indians, distribute their lands to white settlers and deliver a controlled workforce. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 was a mass giveaway of tribal territories, delivered under the pretense of promoting private Indian land ownership. Its purpose was to bring an end to the communal life of Indians’ extended families and villages; the Dawes Act subdivided tribal lands into separate “allotments” and gave these plots to Indian individuals or “heads of families,” leaving the rest of the country for homesteaders.[ix] As white settlers in California took advantage of the bargain distribution of Indian land, their demand for labor grew. Like sedimented rock, Indian boarding schools would separate tribal families, sustain a white land grab, and provide unpaid workers to the new owners.

With easy symmetry, the economic and educational blueprint of the Peace Plan perpetuated Indian relocation and bondage. In 1902 Indian Affairs Commissioner William Atkinson Jones wrote that the Dawes Act had initially been the “outgrowth of the policy of the Government in dealing with wild bands of marauding savages who… roamed over large sections of the United States. It was a matter of segregating and confining them ... upon limited areas… where they could either be under definite surveillance or exterminated as a race.”[x]

The industrial Indian Boarding School emerged as a new type of reservation. They would transform Indian children into a pool of unpaid laborers.[xi] In the last decades of the nineteenth-century, mandatory boarding schools began to supply California settlers with controlled and involuntary Indian field and domestic child workers. For sixty years, twelve “off-reservation” regimented schools would instruct California Indian children in the values of Christianity, teach them to submit to hard labor, and train a rural workforce.[xii] Congress only required that the schools be economically self-sufficient and teach Indian children “Christian” values of hard labor.[xiii] J. D. C. Atkins, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, believed that Indian education and private property went hand-in-hand: “The Government has entered upon the great work of educating and *citizenizing* the Indians and establishing them upon homesteads.”[xiv] *Citizenizing*--a word wrapped in a camouflage of care, indoctrination, and human bondage.

Captain Richard Pratt was a member of the 10th U.S. Cavalry and served in the Great Plains during the Indian Wars. He participated in the military campaign at the massacre of the Cheyenne on the Washita River in Oklahoma and fought in the Red River War of 1874 against the last free-roaming tribes on the southern Great Plains.

Pratt’s evolved a tactic to assure Indian erasure: “All the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian… and save the man,” declared Capt. Pratt. Better than a loaded musket, an Indian boarding school would teach his Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, and Arapahoe prisoners the blessings of “acquisitive Capitalism” and “lift up the race.”[xv] Toward that end, in 1879 he opened the first “off-reservation” boarding school in an abandoned military barracks in Pennsylvania.[xvi]

As the influential director and founder of the United States Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Captain Pratt proselytized about the merits of his solution to the “Indian Problem.”[xvii] The Indian, said Pratt, is “born a blank, like the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life.” “Natives,” promised Pratt, had the capacity to learn and boarding schools could erase “Indian savagery.” He sent scouts to round up children from the reservations for Indians are “the original inhabitants, from whom we were wresting so much, should be admitted to the very best opportunities to prove their worth."[xviii]

Richard Pratt refined these "best opportunities" in 1883 at the posh Mohonk Mountain House, a 259-bedroom resort in the Catskill Mountains in upstate New York. Here he gathered missionaries, military officers, philanthropists, Congressional committees, and representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the first annual meeting of the influential "Friends of the Indian." Guided by the tenets of evangelical Protestantism, they designed policies to upgrade Indians from "savagism" to civilization and from paganism to Christianity. George Manypenny, former Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, announced an allied attack on tribal identity: the Indian needed to learn to say "I" instead of "we," "me" instead of us," and "mine" instead of "ours." Compulsory residential education would teach the doctrines of "possessive individualism" so that an Indian child would never want to return to the reservation.[xix] But it was hard for lonely and impoverished children to learn the rewards of ownership and self-sufficiency at boarding schools that undermined their Native American traditions of communal trust and shared land ownership.[xx]

Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz believed that by converting the day schools on the reservations to boarding schools in remote areas, they would help to erase Indian identity: "Boarding schools are required [because] it is just as necessary to teach Indian children how to live as how to read and write." In 1886 the federal Indian School Superintendent went further: "Only by complete isolation of the Indian child from his antecedents can he be satisfactorily educated."[xxi] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William A. Jones, joined in, accusing the day schools of deluding Indian children with wrong-headed ideas about their likely futures, "The fallacious idea of ‘bringing the Indian into civilization and keeping him there,’” had become “too prominent” he wrote in 1904.[xxii]

With these racial directives in mind, a dozen Indian Boarding Schools were built across California early in the twentieth century with the mandate to “rescue” Indian children and educate them far from home. Congress had made education compulsory for all Native American children in 1891. With few public or church schools on reservations, the law ensured that many Indian children would have to enter boarding schools. With that, a coalition of missionaries, private entrepreneurs, and the federal government opened over 300 Indian boarding schools across the country.

INDIAN REMOVAL “TAKING CHILDREN BY FORCE”

In the early years, the California Indian boarding schools hunted for children who were descendants of “Mission Indians,” presuming that the Catholic priests had trained them in a life of routine, confinement, and hard work, and had efficiently eradicated tribal identity. The core of the new plan was to assimilate Indian children through unpaid labor.[xxiii] With pittance wages paid to the boarding school, the scheme would fulfill a Congressional mandate that Indian Boarding Schools be economically self-sufficient.[xxiv] White female teachers, often missionaries from the cities, joined the front line in this compulsory “civilizing” of Indian children.

In 1892 the Commission of Indian Affairs opened the Perris Indian School in the desert south-east of Los Angeles, the first “off-reservation” Indian Boarding School in California. Here founder Harwood Hall offered ranchers, farmers, and homesteaders a ready pool of unpaid Indian child laborers. In exchange for room and board, the Perris “outing students” attended classes during the week, learned English, and were taught rudimentary industrial skills; on weekends they worked full-time at nearby farms and households. The cost of their meals was deducted from their meager paychecks. It was a year-long curriculum.[xxv]

A decade later, in 1902, booster Frank Miller, owner of the Glenwood Hotel in the citrus town of Riverside, approached Hall; he was seeking female students from Perris School to work as maids at his hotel. At first Riverside residents and farmers in the heart of the orange and lemon groves had despaired at the loss of lucrative land for a vast Indian school with hundreds of students. But Hall promised the new town a steady stream of child workers – unpaid and compliant -and Riverside allowed the school to be built.[xxvi]

In 1902 Harwood Hall opened the Sherman Institute with students as tiny as four and as old as twenty. A Sherman education, boasted Hall, would prepare Indian children for a life of marginalized labor, "civilizing" them as they baled hay, harvested beets, and scrubbed floors. To attract tourists to the town of Riverside, he designed the school to resemble a Franciscan mission.[xxvii]

As in all the Indian boarding schools in California, the children at the Sherman Institute had been seized from their families and from their tribes. In 1907 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs allowed local police officers to use force if parents refused to surrender their children.[xxviii] There were precedents. At the Fort Hall Agency School in northern Idaho, the school supervisor reported that he had been compelled "to choke a so-called Chief into subjection" in order to take his children, and he acknowledged that he had "taken a number of school children by force."[xxix] In California, Indian Agents or boarding school officers often arrived on the reservations without alerting tribal parents that they would be coming to take their children. Warned by other parents, frantic mothers and fathers hid their sons and daughters in bushes, rolled them into rugs, or buried them in the sand with breathing straws or tubular weeds.[xxx]

Removing Indian children from their parents had the full force of the federal government, which ordered local Indian Offices in 1893 to “withhold rations, clothing, and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refused or neglected to send and keep their children in school a reasonable amount of the year.”[xxxi] Federal funding depended on school enrollment and children at the boarding schools became legal wards of the state, to be deployed as it wished, because. When eager Indian Agents came to the reservations to round up children, their parents often slipped into the woods, hiding with their children until “recruiting” season was over. At times, entire villages refused to send their children to the schools. When Joseppa, a Pomo mother, refused to let her son Billie go away to school, government agents took him while she was at work.[xxxii]

School segregation in California worked in support of the boarding schools. At the time, many towns in California, like Covelo near the Round Valley Reservation, banned Indian children from public schools. In 1915, only Indians who owned their land allotments and paid property taxes could send their children to the public school. Meanwhile, the state deliberately situated the Indian boarding schools far from Native American population centers. Children from Humboldt County were sent to Chemawa Indian School near Salem, Oregon.

To get to Sherman from Round Valley, for example, Nomlaki Eugene Jamison rode sixty miles in a wagon from his home to the town of Ukiah, boarded a train to Sausalito, and from there he got on a ferry to San Francisco; upon arrival in the city, he found another train to deliver him to Riverside—six hundred miles from the reservation.[xxxiii]

Once young conscripts arrived at the boarding schools, they were sorted by degrees of "Indianness" and their intake documents identify them as "digger," "half-breed," or "full-blood, half-degree-, ¼ degree." From a student's first day Sherman, like the other California boarding schools, launched its attack on signs of Indian identity. Upon arrival, new children were made to strip off their own clothes; then the girls were dressed in cotton shifts and the boys in scratchy military uniforms. The school gave the children new "white" first names and surnames, because, as Pratt mockingly asserted, doing so would help identify them when they inherited property. Equally painful, students at the schools had to ignore their siblings or face confinement.[xxxiv]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Atkinson Jones insisted that "in keeping with the advancement they are making in civilization" the boarding schools must cut Indian children's long hair. Indian men from many California tribes only cut their hair at a funeral to signify loss and to accept that the hair growing in its place reflected a new beginning. School commenced with a shameful initiation, signaling the loss that was to come. Indian foods were also banned, and students learned to use knives, forks, and spoons.[xxxv]

Harwood Hall hoped that a cold dormitory and cropped hair would Americanize Sherman students. More crushing was the rule that forbade the children from speaking their Indian languages. In 1887, J. D. C. Atkins, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, forced all the schools on Indian reservations to teach only in English. Former boarding school students across the country told of being whipped, swatted with a ruler, or having their mouth washed with lye when caught speaking their Native language. Most of the Indian Boarding schools had some sort of jail, and speaking their own language landed the children in lock up. Resourceful students nonetheless took the risk and found secret places in the school or nearby fields to talk to each other in their own tongue.[xxxvi] Viola Martinez (Paiute), sent to Sherman Boarding School from

Arizona, recalled “I made up my mind I was not going to forget my language…I remember they had tall palm trees at Sherman…My cousin and I would climb up where we couldn’t be…heard.” When the teachers heard Martinez speaking Paiute, they forced her to scrub the showers and toilet bowls; to her lifelong regret, she lost her language.[xxxvii]

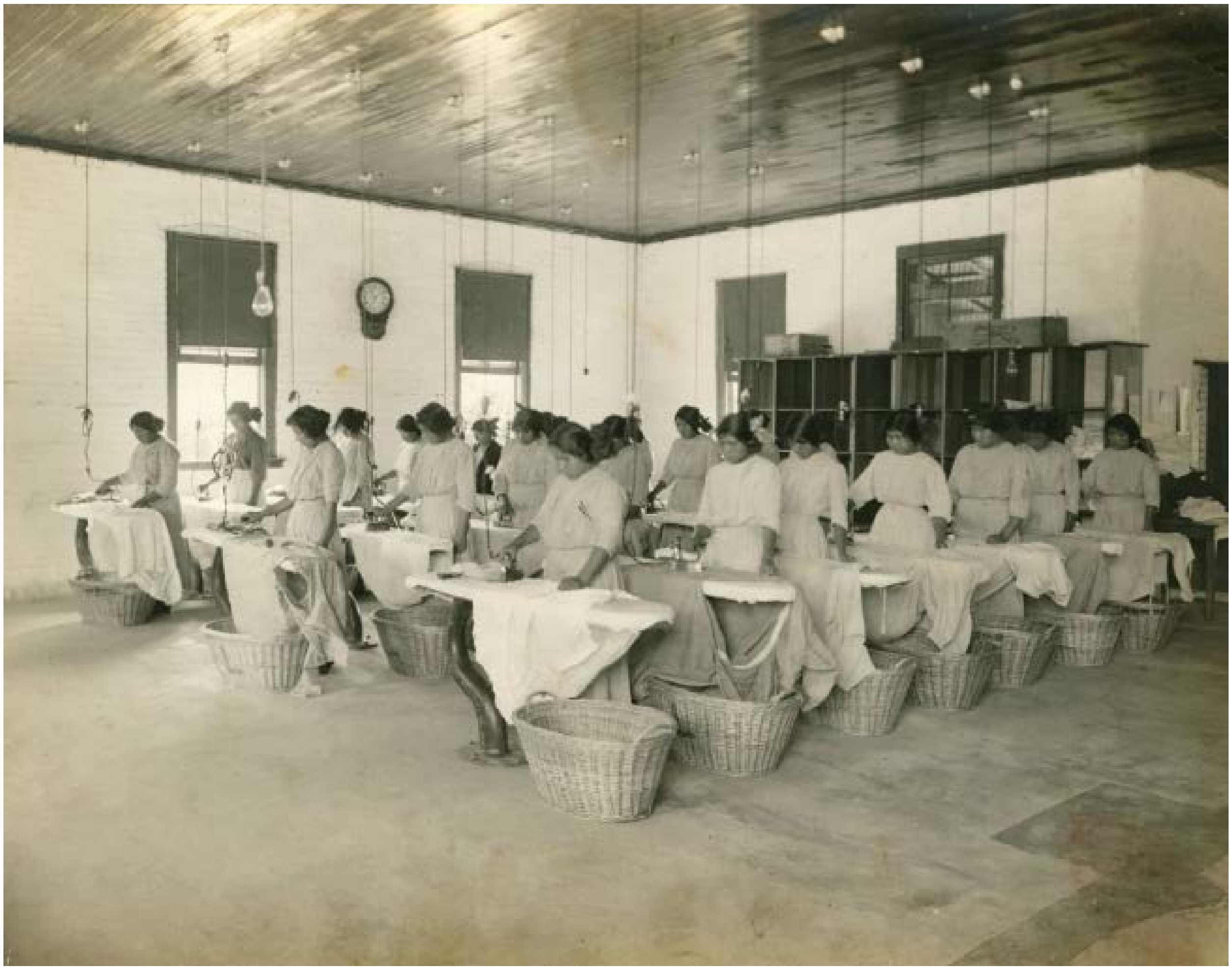
The boarding school classroom itself defiled Indian ways of knowing. Rather than learn by gathering knowledge from the elders and from their dreams, the children memorized texts written in English. Nationally, about one-third of the 357 known Indian boarding schools were run by Christian denominations; many were Catholic, and a rudimentary ability to read and write marked a child as civilized and on the path to Christianity.[xxxviii]

Often the schools barred Native children from returning to their homes where they might be drawn back into the spiritual and communal experience of the tribes, where they might forget Christianity and the white ways of agriculture and industry. When children at the Greenville School in the Sierra Mountains returned after the summer break, they were ordered to quit the Indian dances they enjoyed during their visits home. Greenville denounced the dances as “subterfuges to cover degrading acts and disguise immoral purpose.”

If a child refused to put on their white “citizens’ clothing,” when they returned to school, Greenville withheld their food, and if they became “obstreperous” the teachers locked them in the guardhouse “at hard labor with shorn locks.” The school insisted that it had the right to scrub off Maidu children’s body paint because the tradition retarded the school’s civilizing effect and, it claimed, led to eye infections.[xxxix] In fact, wrote William Jones to the Superintendent at the Round Valley Reservation, body paint “causes the majority of the cases of blindness among the Indians of the United States”; adding that “students who do not comply should not be fed” and employees who did not enforce the rules should be fired.[xl]

Greenville Indian Industrial School had a history of runaway female students. On December 5, 1916, several girls had been “strapped” with a leather paddle for not getting up and dressed on time. All were homesick. That winter night, after dinner, Molly Lowry (11), Elweza Stonecoal (13), Edith Buckskin (14), Rosa James (15), and Katharine Dick (15) fled into the woods with just sweaters for warmth. Molly was found frozen on the ground; Edith died from exposure, frostbite, and infections from the subsequent amputations of her feet and lower legs. The school doctor reported that the girls were “of defective mind” and they often appeared “demented”—conclusions not supported by the girls’ academic records or the testimony of the other children. The investigators never explored the school’s history of captivity, malnutrition, and abuse but turned the girls on each other, finally deciding that the only true culprit was one of the dead girls who organized the escape. In this early instance of missing Indian girls, the Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs found the school blameless of abuse and negligence.[xli]

OUTING



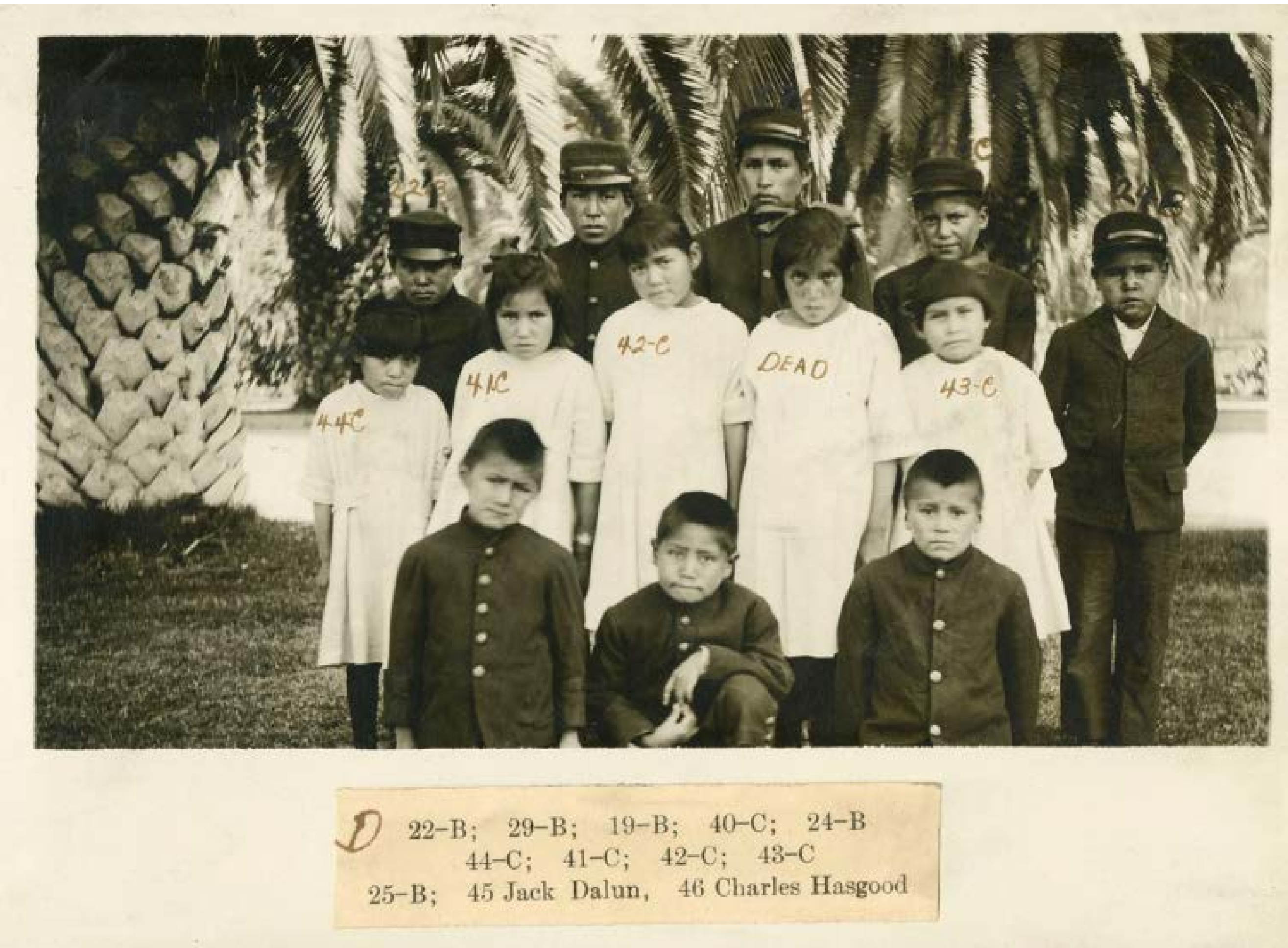
“Corner School Laundry, Sherman Indian Boarding School, circa 1910, training teenage girls for involuntary domestic servitude in households and hotels.” *Courtesy of Sherman California Indian Museum via Calisphere, University of California. Box 114, Folder 2*

In 1907 Harwood Hall began to send unpaid child workers from the Sherman Institute “out” to farm, inaugurating the infamous “outing system” in California. In the shatter zone of bondage, the boarding schools copied the genteelly named program designed by Richard Pratt for the Carlisle School. Under this bogus intern scheme, Indian boarding schools sent their students to live and work “out” from the campus. At white farms, hotels, and households the children would study how to harvest a field of beets or scrub a kitchen floor.[xlii]

The outing programs were intended to impose middle-class ways of learning. They turned to military models to supervise, segregate, and discipline the students, teach them 180 English words a year, and compel the ones who remained on campus to attend weekly Christian Sunday services.[xliii] Sherman students were to learn basic industrial skills, forget their traditional hunting and fishing practices, and abandon their spirits and gods. At the same time, the outing program itself would profit from their labor. Rather than assimilate Indian children into some vague destination in mainstream America, the outing programs inducted them into the lowest tier of the emerging working class.[xliv]

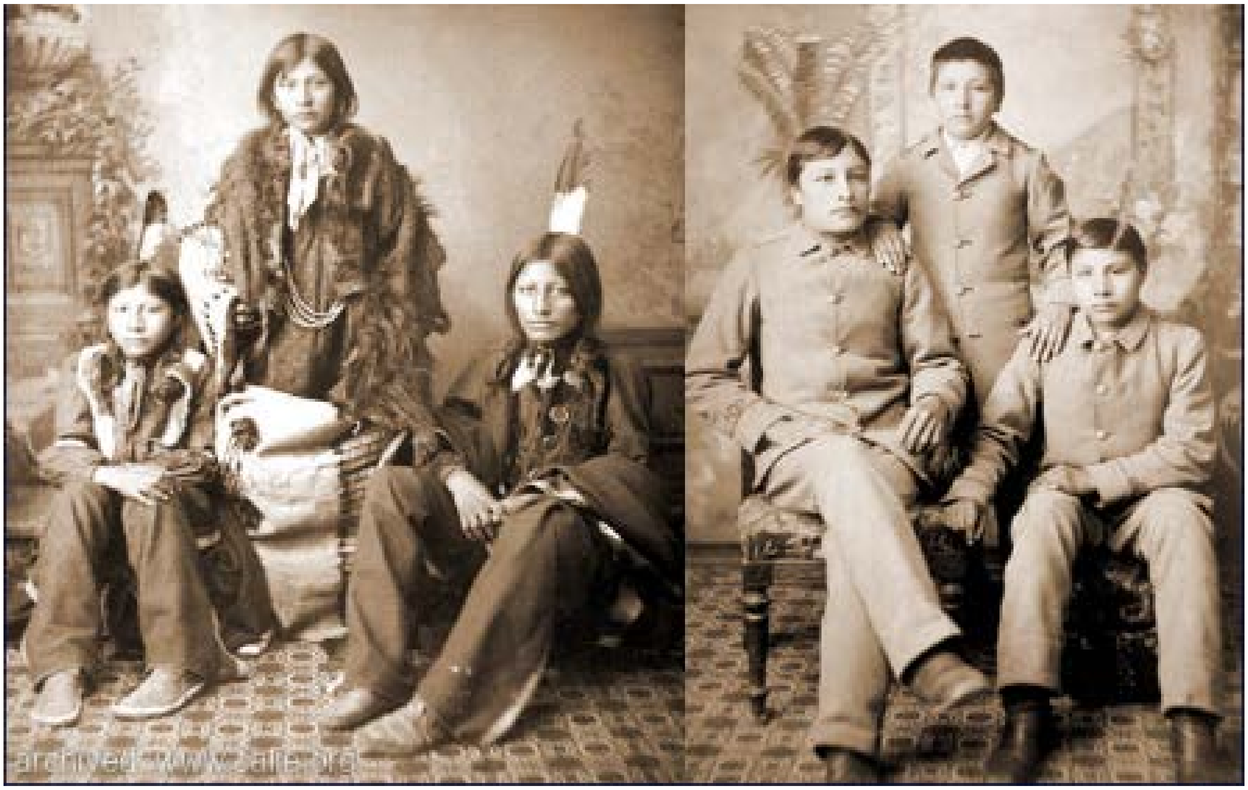
To arrange the lease of Indian children for these unpaid jobs, the schools hired “outing matrons” to match students with “patrons” and make sure that the children dutifully embraced white systems of labor and behavior.[xlv] By 1909 Harwood Hall was conscripting Native American teenagers whose indentures expired. He plucked children from forts and reservations in Pennsylvania and the Southwest. Within a few years, Indian children were being shuttled between boarding schools and job postings across the country, at times thousands of miles from home.

Deliberately isolated, California’s Indian boarding schools were often located on old military forts that had been built during the wars of genocide and the Civil War. The Hoopa Indian Boarding School was built in barracks at Fort Gaston, along the western bank of the Trinity River in northwestern California. The school was at the site of a bloody defeat of the Hupa on Christmas night, 1863 when the tribe tried to take several log buildings at the fort. Hoopa Indian School was built on the ruins of the night of 1863.[xlvi] Fort Bidwell Boarding School opened in the remote northeast corner of the state in 1898 at a military base that was built to thwart joint attacks on the U.S. Army by tribes from northeastern California, southern Oregon, and western Nevada who were trying to protect their lands from ranchers, settlers, and soldiers.


22-B
44C
41C
42-C
DEAD
43-C
D 22–B; 29–B; 19–B; 40–C; 24–B
44–C; 41–C; 42–C; 43–C
25–B; 45 Jack Dalun, 46 Charles Hasgood

“Sober and uniformed students at the Sherman Institute. Not all of this class lived to grow up. 1905.” Sherman Indian School Museum via Calisphere, University of California.

Some Native Americans still refer to the schools as “Death by Civilization.”[xlvii] Like the Franciscan Missions and the Indian reservations, the California boarding schools were spaces of incarceration and forced labor. Wrote Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools from 1898 to 1910, “The Indian child must be placed in school before the habits of barbarous life have become fixed and there he must be kept until contact with our life has taught him to abandon his savage ways and walk in the path of Christian civilization."[xlviii] A Chemehuevi elder from the Mohave Desert remembered how priests and nuns at the St. Boniface Indian Boarding School built into the rugged San Gorgonio Pass, north of Los Angeles, "stole" his language by forbidding him to speak in his Chemehuevi tongue.[xlix]



"At many Indian boarding schools, photographers took before-and-after pictures, first when the children were admitted wearing tribal garments and long hair, and then when their braids were cut and they were dressed in uniforms. Photographers used tinted lenses to suggest that these children now had a whiter complexion, suggesting a successful racial as well as cultural assimilation." *Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives.*

Separated from their kin and culture, children at the California boarding schools learned to plow and mow, cook and sew and launder, and enter the lowest tier of an industrializing state.[l]

Enforcing what historian Beth Piatote (Ni:mi:pu: (Nez Perce)) calls “disciplinary paternalism” and historian Laura Wexler calls “tender violence,” the schools sought to assimilate the children by disrupting spiritual relationships with land and labor that they had learned from their tribe and from their elders.[li] In a Darwinian vision, director Pratt believed that removal and education would “render Indians indistinguishable from whites” and then their homelands and families would “fade and disappear.” Pratt declared, “In Indian civilization I am a Baptist because I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under, holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked.”[lii]

With the advent of outing programs, the California boarding schools, like the reservations, became at best employment agencies or more likely, slave marts that matched white settlers with unpaid child workers who were “accustomed to taking orders,” promised Hall.[liii] Such labor would inculcate young Indians with the qualities needed for racial “uplift”--thrift and a willingness to work long days while they lived in tents or shoddy quarters. The Sherman Institute’s version of Indian “uplift” quickly took shape as a new iteration of human bondage.[liv] Within a year from opening their doors, most of the Indian boarding schools in California were offering up a reliable stream of “compliant” young workers who could be ordered to dig ditches, pick fruit, or scrub kitchens.[lv]

In 1890, over twelve thousand children--half the Indian children in California--were enrolled in schools of some sort where an army of Christian school teachers tried to win the final battle against the Indians.[lvi] What the schools did not anticipate was that once the students were literate, they would use their skills to post letters home, albeit in English, and let their parents know that they were sick, tired, miserable, and always hungry. From these letters many Indian parents learned of the schools’ contempt for their children, the horrors of physical and sexual abuse, and the forced conversion to Christianity; they struggled to get their children back.[lvii] Yet it was the Indian Agents who decided if a family home was suitable for a child's return, even for the summer months.

America's commitment to the schools appears in dollars. Congressional monies for Indian education swiftly rose: 1877, $20,000; 1880, $75,000; 1890, $1,364,568, and 1900, $2,936,080 (or ninety-one million dollars in modern currency).[lviii] On a per-student basis, however, the larger California boarding schools received little federal funding. In 1908, for example, 550 students were enrolled at Sherman and occupied 34 buildings, yet the school received $157 from the federal government per year for each student.[lix] By the first decade of the twentieth century, "student laborers" at Sherman began to receive some token wages—in 1907 young domestic workers earned $12 per month, but their "wages" were sent directly to the school, usually after expenses for housing and food were deducted. By adding the students' paltry pay to the government's funding, Sherman was double-dipping; but the students went unpaid. Some worked a staggering number of long days and nights, some for weekends only, some for a straight month at a time. Often, the students had to fight to receive their slim pay.[lx]

For students who worked fifty-two hours a week in the fields or lived full-time in remote households, education was not the point of their forced stay at Sherman. The superintendents of Sherman required students to be in school only eighty days a year.[lxi] The school "assigned" hundreds of its boys, at times under threat, to work on ranches all across Southern California. Student Hugh Bell's work records show that he typically put in eighty-four hours a week as a migrant farmworker.[lxii]

Don Talayesva was a teenager working at the Hopi Boarding School in Keams Canyon, Arizona in 1906 when the principal transferred him to Sherman, along with his other "brightest"

Hopi children. Talayesva boarded a train, riding six hundred miles from his village on a high mesa on the Hopi Reservation in Arizona. He rode across the lands conquered by Spain, Mexico, and the United States—the home of the Hualapai, Mohave, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, Tongva, and Kumeyaay--to the citrus town of Riverside. After only a few months at Sherman, Talayesva got his first outing assignment and trekked fifteen miles in the high desert to work at Fontana Farms, one of the largest agricultural operations in North America. Fontana Farms was owned by the same developer who had pushed Harwood Hall to move the Sherman school to Riverside.

The Sherman students built Fontana into a company town. Between 1908 and 1929, three hundred and forty-seven boys from Sherman raised hogs at Fontana Farms—heaping trash into the feeding pits, shoveling pig manure, and herding pigs onto train cars. In the winter they set smudge pots to warm the citrus groves and then picked, sorted, and packed lemons and oranges. Don Talayesva and the other Sherman outing students slept with the Mexican migrant workers in shacks, divided by race; they received the same wages as the lowest-paid Mexican migrant workers, but their pay was sent directly to the school. When not tending to the hogs or harvesting oranges, Sherman students wrote letters to the school pleading for their earnings. Those monies, however, were often applied against the boys' medical bills for tuberculosis that they caught in packed migrant workers' camps.[lxiii] After Don Talevesa completed a season at Fontana, Sherman moved him to harvest cantaloupes in California's Imperial Valley. The next season the school sent him to work at a dairy farm in San Bernardino, fifteen miles northwest of Riverside, and then back to Fontana Farms for the rest of the summer. During his two years as a Sherman Institute student, Talayesva journeyed over 1,500 miles for work.

Don Talevesa returned to Hopi deeply conflicted: "I could talk like a gentleman, read, write, and cipher. I could name all the states in the Union with their capitals, repeat the names of all the books in the Bible, quote a hundred verses of Scripture, sing more than two dozen Christian hymns and patriotic songs, debate, shout football yells, swing my partners in square dances, bake bread, sew well enough to make a pair of trousers and tell 'dirty' Dutchman stories by the hour. It was important that I had learned how to get along with white men and earn money by helping them."

Yet his assimilation troubled him: "My death experience [from pneumonia] had taught me that I had a Hopi Spirit Guide whom I must follow if I wished to live. I wanted to become a real Hopi again, to sing the good old *Katcina* songs, and to feel free to make love without fear of sin or a rawhide."[lxiv]

In 1915, two hundred and five male Sherman students were sent "out" to cut and bale hay, dig potatoes and irrigation ditches and pick fruit. Others went to work as janitors and housekeepers at a hotel. Some earned less than $1.00 per day and then saw the cost of their "board" or meals deducted. Most were still paid only in room and board.[lxv] Harwood Hall did not negotiate on behalf of his students and told one rancher to just "take the young man and pay him whatever he is worth."[lxvi] Sherman easily found jobs for its students in the service of a rapidly industrializing state. The Salt Lake Rail Road Company, the Riverside Power Company, the Trust Company, and the San Jacinto Land Company would take child workers from Sherman's Outing Program.

From daybreak to sunset, Sherman boys also worked at nearby farms, harvesting oranges in the hot sun. At night they slept out near the orchards, in barns or tents maintained by the Riverside Orange Company. Sherman's reach grew, and children arrived from all over the Southwest to crisscross the country for outing jobs. Navaho boys from Sherman were driven across the plains to Kansas to harvest beets and top the stalks in the high plains, in ten unpaid hours a day of broiling hot stooped labor.[lxvii] From Riverside to Kansas, Native American students learned “sedentary farming”-- where the same crops are planted on the same piece of land—considered a more “civilized” agricultural system than their traditional practices of following the migration of deer, salmon, grouse, and ducks, the bursting seeds and ripe berries—food customs that required mobility.[lxviii]

Under the supervision of Methodist missionaries and the Y.W.C.A, Sherman required all tribal children to obey their “patron” and attend his church.[lxix] In 1924, the school took their wages, deducted the costs of their transportation and meals, then delivered three-fourths of their remaining pay to the school superintendent who only allowed them to draw from their thin accounts on the third Friday of each month-- after providing a written document justifying how they planned to spend their money.[lxx] A group of male students, some of whom were orphans, pressed hay for two months on a ranch in the hot dry fields of Brawley. Their “employer” refused to pay the boys, claiming that he had health issues and had fallen into debt. The California State Division of Labor Statistics and Law Enforcement allowed the rancher to defer paying the boys who wrote letter after letter to Sherman demanding that the school retrieve their pay. One year later the California Labor Commission sent each boy $20, their sum total.[lxxi]

LIVING FOR AND BETWEEN OTHERS: NATIVE AMERICAN FEMALE STUDENTS

The California boarding schools sought to train tribal boys to tend orchards and dig trenches and aimed to transform Native girls into “civilized women.”[lxxii] Harwood Hall believed that Native American girls were more pliable than Native American boys; learning to do domestic work in white households or hotels would make them valuable assets. He sent girls who were between ten and twelve years of age out to serve as “nurses” or nannies to small children. Older girls cleaned, did laundry, and washed dishes, and the oldest cooked for the “outing families,” all effectively unpaid.[lxxiii] Most lived and worked at their “employers’” houses year-round.[lxxiv]

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Sherman Institute rented girls, ages ten to thirteen, for a dollar a month, to sew, iron, cook, and learn “what home means.”[lxxv] White families were allowed to loan the Indian girls to other households for weeks or months. Young Mary Barker reported that she was shipped from family to family, but the Sherman School failed to supervise any of her “assignments.”[lxxvi]

In fact, Harwood Hall gave families and farmers license to treat the children as they wished. He sent two boys to a rancher with a note assuring him that the boys “are accustomed to taking orders and will come to you with that understanding—not only in work, but in general conduct as well.” Hall made the rancher’s power quite clear: “I am sure that such cannot be objectionable, as it will only make their services more valuable to you.”[lxxvii] Hall was more concerned with pleasing the homeowners than caring for the Native American girls and he switched them from house to house to mollify angry employers.[lxxviii]

“FOR SOME REASON SHE OBJECTS VERY STRONGLY TO BEING SENT OUT” RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE.

Outing matrons knowingly sent girls into households where they were sexually vulnerable. At the Round Valley Boarding School, Superintendent George Patrick reported that it was impossible to protect “young and half-grown girls” when they worked as domestic servants.[lxxix] Many Kwatsáan (Quechen) girls were sent from Sherman to work in urban Los Angeles. Like other girls from the reservation at Fort Yuma (where California, Arizona, and Mexico meet near the Colorado River), when Eve Arvaez wanted to visit her family, she paid her own $10-$20 fare and traveled for ten hours. A man in her outing household made Eve pregnant and her family demanded that the father of the baby pay her $25 per month until the child was one year old. [lxxx]

Outing matrons at Sherman put the responsibility on the girls to control their sexual urges and beware of "insults" by young "bucks"—male Indian students who lived in the fields. [lxxxi] Sherman's school newspaper published articles aimed at Indian girls, with headlines like, "Living for Others" and the portentous "Things We Should Remember and Things We Should Forget." Nonetheless, teenage girls from the boarding schools, isolated and overworked, sought less restrictive lives. The girls sent to households in Los Angeles slipped out to make friends and find romance. One matron at Sherman Institute reported in 1917 that Emma Willis "got out and ran away from outing several times" and "visited a Mexican dive in Corona."[lxxxii]

REFUSAL

Lorenzia Nicholas from Sherman refused to return to an abusive outing household. "Lorenzia Nicholas will not work out this year," Harwood Hall had to diplomatically inform the Bakewell family, but clearly let them know: "for some reason she objects very strongly to being sent out."[lxxxiii]

Other outing girls just refused to obey their bosses or fulfill their daunting tasks. Mrs. Charles Martin wrote from Glendora, a small town forty miles from the school, to complain about a Sherman outing girl who had recently begun working for her as a full-time domestic servant: "When she first came I took considerable pains in showing her the things I expected of her," Martin wrote, "but after two weeks it is necessary for me to do over almost everything she does." Among other daily tasks, Mrs. Martin had ordered her to clean tables, sweep the floors, wash dishes, launder and organize clothes, and care for her infant. "The lack of progress in her understanding discourages me and I find I cannot even depend on her to keep an eye on my year-old baby and therefore she is no benefit to me whatsoever.” [lxxxiv]

When Director Harwood Hall interviewed a potential employer, he sought no information about corporal punishment or sexual safety. Boarding school girls also faced physical abuse at the schools. Martha Manuel Chacon Serrano washed underwear at St. Boniface Indian School; once, when she decided to wash a load of dirty blue jeans instead, a matron whipped her with a leather belt.[lxxxv]

Although the children were hundreds of miles from their homelands, many fled.[lxxxvi] While the girls in the schools’ outing programs slept indoors, the boys who worked in citrus groves or open fields baling hay would typically sleep in the fields and many found it easy to just run away. When Indian students managed to flee from fields or kitchens, the schools often turned to the local police. In 1918 Horace Anderson (Concow) fled from Sherman and was returned. He ran away again the next year and was found a month later hundreds of miles to the north in Stockton, arrested on charges of burglary—stealing a coat. He was released on the condition he return to the school.[lxxxvii] Often the police did not bring the children back.

In 1929, however, student Martin Fisher walked away from a job as a ranch hand near Corona, just south of Riverside. The Sherman Institute notified the police who found Martin hiding at a nearby ranch and held the boy behind bars at the Riverside County Jail until the school’s superintendent retrieved him and took him back to the school. Desperately unhappy and abused, boys ran away time and time again.[lxxxviii]

Parents tried to reclaim or protect their children and wrote to the distant schools demanding they return their children. Occasionally parents came to the schools, often from hundreds of miles away, to try to retrieve their kidnapped child or object to their hungry child’s meager diet or and their reports of malnutrition. Parents were concerned about the overwork and the thin uniforms issued to their children.[lxxxix] When parents tried to rescue their children from the Round Valley Boarding School, the director refused to let them go; without the boys, the school would have no firewood or fresh vegetables, and without the girls, the teachers' clothes would remain unwashed, un-ironed, and un-mended. Some students who did make their way home wrote to Sherman demanding wages for their work.[xc] Others who remained at the schools managed to hold onto indigenous food and spiritual practices; they fished or went into the fields to hunt for their food and cook it in outdoor fire pits.

At times, frustration and rage blazed among boarding school students, especially in their teenage years. In 1883 and again in 1910, students torched the Round Valley Boarding School. In 1914 the Indians at the Round Valley reservation were angry that they were forced to build a school with lumber that had been set aside for their families' houses; that year the school burnt to the ground.[xci] A grand jury was convened to investigate the fire and thirty children submitted affidavits, stating that for minor acts of naughtiness or disobedience, boys were stripped and whipped with heavy straps and held in a "dark, dismal, and dirty dungeon."[xcii] The boys who set the 1914 fire at Round Valley School were banished from the reservations. Some were sent to Sherman School, hundreds of miles to the south, and others were shipped across the country, to the Carlisle School Pennsylvania.[xciii] The Round Valley residential school was never rebuilt. Other boarding schools were also set ablaze; Paiute and Modoc children torched the Fort Bidwell Indian School in the early 1900s and again in 1930.

RESILIENCE

By the 1920s, visions of that the schools would deliver Indian assimilation withered. The federal government tired of the expenses of training and housing Indian children. Many of the schools were unfunded and crumbling. In 1928, the Meriam Report sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation (officially *The Problem of Indian Administration*) exposed the abuses, the starvation and overcrowding, and the racial segregation at boarding schools across the country. It exposed the fact that only the outing programs and student labor kept the schools open. At the cusp of the Great Depression, compelled by law to educated Native American children, public schools finally began to appear on the reservations in California, closer to home.[xciv]

The carceral nature of the California boarding schools and their military style of control and punishments lasted until 1929 when Indian Commissioner Charles Burke banned "flogging", but he granted school principals full authority to punish the children in all other ways and abuse endured. During the Great Depression, most of the Indian boarding schools were unfunded and by 1935 they subsisted only on student labor; the children were compelled to work longer and harder. A Bureau of Indian Affairs employee reported that the Indian schools had become "penal institutions—where little children [are] sentenced to hard labor for a term of years for the crime of being born to their mothers."[xcv] Wrote historian David Adams, "they were coming for the children."[xcvi]

Those who believed in assimilation thought that if California Natives adapted well to bondage, they would be welcomed into white American society. Instead, the California boarding schools absorbed the nation's low expectations for Indian children, tried to train them to submit. They readied to children to enter a racially segregated world of low-paid labor, doomed to remain at the bottom. Parents at the Hoopa Reservation had "a strong feeling that the Indian school is not as efficient as the local public schools. They want to study the same as the white children and they feel that because the Indian school does not pattern after the local white school, they are not being educated."[xcvii] For the most part, the effects of servitude, camouflaged as education, were disastrous. Historian K. Tsianina Lomawaima explains that federal boarding schools never intended to train Indian youth "to assimilate into the American melting pot." Instead, forced labor was meant to teach Native children to adopt the work discipline of the Protestant ethic and learn to accept their place in society as a marginal class.[xcviii]

Alumnae, descendants, and scholars dispute the impact of the Indian boarding schools. The very rudimentary and out-of-date industrial skills the boys learned were usually roads to economic futility. Those few who were taught true mechanical skills had the best hope of economic security. When Joe Blackwater (Pima) entered Sherman at age thirteen, he refused to join the summer outing program until the school sent him to work in the printing office of the local newspaper, the *Riverside Enterprise*; as an adult, he returned to Sherman to work in the school's print shop. Other graduates also found jobs as part of Sherman's workforce. Galen Townsend (Paiute) from Fort Bidwell returned as an assistant carpenter. Sherman alumna Laura Premo (Shoshone) came back as an outing matron.

Some Indian children who grew up in the California outing system learned to find their way in the white world of employment and migration, traveling thousands of miles for jobs.[xcix] And although Indigenous children were introduced into the cold realities of wage labor and the capitalist marketplace, their jobs made it possible for their kin in Northern California to keep their land allotments. [c] For some, the Indian Boarding Schools became singular spaces of inter-tribal knowledge, friendship, and at times, romance.

On balance, some Native American parents believed that the boarding schools united survivors of many tribes, and like the missions, forged new bases of community, spirituality, and survival. Forced contact between people of different tribes gave rise to a pan-Indian collective voice that honored the food, ritual, language, clothing, spiritual, and family traditions of diverse tribes. The schools gave Indian children a chance at literacy. Many outing girls sent into domestic service in the sprawling new Los Angeles found their way and often found one another and became the vanguard of communities of urban Indians who were, as historian Phil Deloria has observed, both modern and Indigenous.[ci] Yet the assaults upon Indigenous children's bodies and minds seep into issues that California tribes face today as they work to preserve Native identities, land, and water rights, and argue for Native American human rights. They hold California and the federal government accountable for past misdeeds and current assaults.[cii]

Some boarding school alumni, like renowned author *Zitkála-Šá* (Lakota for Red Bird) used their skills honed at a boarding school to promote Indian rights. Some became prosperous professionals, attorneys, physicians, and musicians and advocated for Native Americans through organizations like the Society of American Indians that thrived from 1911 to 1923, during the peak of the outing programs. In the 1950s and 1960s, activists who came of age at the Bureau of Indian Affairs' boarding schools formed the National Indian Youth Conference and organized for financial support for tribes, Indians' "inherent sovereign rights,", including rights to "full participation and consent" on the domestic, land, and legal matters of indigenous people. Some boarding school alumnae became advocates for Indian education, including survival courses, tribally controlled schools and school boards, and tribal colleges.[ciii]

The outing system in the California boarding schools endured for over seventy years. In 1909-10, Sherman Institute first sent eighty-six children out to work. Between 1910 and 1918, its first outing matron placed 1,500 Sherman students and found slots for students from remote reservations, in hopeless and effectively unpaid jobs in the boom towns of Riverside and Los Angeles.[civ] The outing programs' role of supplying unpaid workers shifted after the exposés of neglect in the 1928 Meriam Report. Six years later, the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act led to the closing of most California Indian Boarding schools. Nonetheless, sinking under the costs of teachers' salaries and crumbling schoolhouses and dormitories, reports from alumnae and exposés in newspapers and radio about abuse and escapes, the boarding schools closed. Schools like the Round Valley Reservation School that had lasted for forty years eventually competed with the public schools, where the state, not students' "wages," paid the nine cents per day tuition.

It was not until 1978 that "autonomous" Indian adults had the legal right to make decisions about their children. Influenced by the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) and the Red Power and Indian Rights movements, Congress passed the Indian Child Welfare Act. With that, Indian families finally had the right to reject involuntary foster care, forced adoption, and the coercion to send their children to Indian boarding schools. That law also gave tribal governments authority over children who lived on reservations.[cv] The tribal people of California understood that the struggle for their labor and their minds was a struggle for their homelands; education coiled the state's demands for conversion and assimilation.

The Indian Boarding Schools were the next chapter in the serial theft of Native children for slave labor. The last "Great Indian War" was waged against the children.

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[i] Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 47.

[ii] Clifford E. Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Lorene Sisquoc, "Introduction: The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue," in *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute*, ed. Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2012), 8.

[iii] It is impossible to determine how many Indian children were kidnapped. Michael F. Magliari, "Masters, Apprentices, and Kidnappers: Indian Servitude and Slave Trafficking in Humboldt County, California, 1860–1863," *California History* 97, no. 2 (2020): 3.

[iv] *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 39th Cong. Sess. II, Ch. 187 (1867): 546.

[v] For reliable demographic data see Benjamin Madley, "'Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls': Systems of California Indian Servitude under U.S. Rule," *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (November 2014): 626-667. Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 61. Magliari, "Masters, Apprentices, and Kidnappers," 3. See also Robert F. Heizer, "Indian Servitude in California," in *Handbook of North American Indians, IV, History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. William C. Sturtevant and Wilcomb E. Washburn (Washington, DC, 1988), 415-416. Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 53. Brendan Lindsay drew upon the Annual and biennial reports of the superintendent of public instruction of the State of California, *Journals of the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, 1864-1880* to compile these statistics, noting that based on incomplete and sporadic data from school districts, these number should be considered conservative. Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 267. Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013),190-191; William J. Bauer, Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory, on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 68-69.

[vi] "Indentures as apprentice carpenter to F. H. Mellus," May 9, 1876, BANC C-Y 299, Box V, 1800-1899.

[vii] George Tinker, "Tracing a Contour of Colonialism: American Indians and the Trajectory of Educational Imperialism," in *Kill the Indian Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools*, Ward Churchill (CA: City Lights Book, 2004), xiii-xlii.

[viii] Clifford Trafzer, ed., *American Indians/ American Presidents: A History* (National Museum of the American Indian: Smithsonian Museum, 2009). "In reality the [peace] policy rested on the belief that Americans had the right to dispossess Native peoples of their lands, take away freedoms, and send them to reservations, where missionaries would teach them how to farm, read and write, wear Euro-American clothing, and embrace Christianity. If Indians refused to move to reservations, they would be forced off their homelands by soldiers." n.p. https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/342.html.

[ix] "The Lake Mohonk Conference," Native American Roots, April 26, 2011, http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/937. Jeffrey D. Schultz, Kerry L. Haynie, Anne M. McCulloch, and Andrew L. Aoki, eds., *Encyclopedia of Minorities in American Politics: Volume 2 Hispanic Americans and Native Americans* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), 608. Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 120.

[x] Report of the Commissioner, Indian Affairs, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 9-10. See Jana R. Noel, "Education toward Cultural Shame: A Century of Native American Education," *Educational Foundations* (Winter 2002).

[xi] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points: Current State of Research on History, Impacts, and Healing Related to the United States' Indian Industrial/Boarding School Policy," Boulder, Colorado, 2019, 12.

[xii] These include Fort Bidwell Indian School, fort Yuma Indian School, Greenville Indian Industrial School, Hoopa Valley School, Perris Indian School, Round Valley Indian School,

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Sherman Institute, St. Anthony's Industrial School, St. Boniface Indian Industrial School and St. Turibius Industrial School. https://secureservercdn.net/198.71.233.187/ee8.a33.myftpupload.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/NABS-Boarding-school-list-2021-acc.pdf

[xiii] Tinker, "Tracing a Contour of Colonialism," xiii-xlii, xv.

[xiv] "1887: Indian Affairs Commissioner bans Native languages in schools," Native Voices, https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/369.html.

[xv] Richard H. Pratt, *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction* (1892), 46.

Kevin Whalen, "Beyond School Walls: Race, Labor, and Indian Education in Southern California, 1902-1940" (PhD diss., University of California Riverside, 2014), 21.

[xvi] K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Jeffrey Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt: Cultural Genocide and Native Liberation in an Era of Racial Oppression," *Journal of American Indian Education* 57, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 80-83.

[xvii] Generally called the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, or Carlisle School. Pratt, *Official Report* (1892), 46.

[xviii] Lomawaima and Ostler, "Reconsidering Richard Henry Pratt," 80-83.

[xix] Tinker, "Tracing a Contour of Colonialism," xvi; 17. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 11-15. Corey Dolgon, *Kill It to Save It: An Autopsy of Capitalism's Triumph Over Democracy* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2018), 65.

[xx] "Boarding Schools," Northern Plains Reservation Aid, http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_boardingschools.

[xxi] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 9 and notes 45 and 46.

[xxii] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 13, note 66.

[xxiii] Mary Annette Pember, "Death by Civilization," *The Atlantic*, March 8, 2019.

[xxiv] Tinker, "Tracing a Contour of Colonialism," xiii-xlii, xv.

[xxv] Whalen, "Beyond School Walls," 43.

[xxvi] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 29.

[xxvii] Whalen, 29-59.

[xxviii] Brenda J. Child (Ojibwe), *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 13.

[xxix] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 216.

[xxx] Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 79.

[xxxi] 25 USC 283: Regulations for Withholding Rations for Nonattendance at Schools. (Mar. 3, 1893, ch. 209, §1, 27 Stat. 628, 635.)

[xxxii] Helen Carpenter, *Ukiah Republican Press*, April 2, 1897. Linda Pitelka, "Mendocino: Race Relations in a Northern California County, 1850-1949" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1994), 296-297.

[xxxiii] William J. Bauer, Jr., "Family Matters: Round Valley Indian Families at the Sherman Indian Institute, 1900-1945," *Southern California Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (2010): 404-406.

[xxxiv] Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School: Education and Native Identity Since 1892* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 58-59. See also Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez, California Paiute: Living in Two Worlds* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003). Note that the description of Sherman Institute has radically changed, from standing

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at the forefront of the federal government's efforts to erase Indigenous cultures while providing an unpaid work force, to the modern Sherman Indian High School, where Indigenous languages and history, as well as sports and college prep are at the core of the curriculum. See Whalen, "Beyond School Walls."

[xxxv] "Boarding Schools," Northern Plains Reservation Aid, http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_boardingschools.

[xxxvi] Brenda J. Child (Ojibwe), *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 28. See also "1887: Indian Affairs Commissioner bans Native languages in schools," Native Voices, https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/369.html.

[xxxvii] Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School*, 58-59. See also Bahr, *Viola Martinez, California Paiute*.

[xxxviii] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 21.

[xxxix] "Dept. of the Interior Office of Indian Affairs, Washington January 13, 1902," cited in NorCal Blog, Lynette Mullen.

[xl] William Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Superintendent, Round Valley, California. January 11, 1902. National Archives, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Cited in Rebecca Onion, "The Infamous Government Order Mandating Forced Haircuts for Native Americans," The Vault, August 20, 2013, https://slate.com/human-interest/2013/08/haircut-order-commissioner-jones-letter-demanding-that-supervisors-force-native-americans-to-cut-their-hair.html.

[xli] Kate Mook, "The Greenville Investigation: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Boarding School Runaways Women and Boarding School Runaways" (Master of Arts, California State University, San Bernardino, 2020), 48-76.

[xlii] Alexandria L. Gough, "A Way Out: The History of the Outing Program from the Haskell Institute to the Phoenix Indian School" (MA Thesis, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, 2012). Retrieved from https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd/545.

[xliii] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 10.

[xliv] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 13, note 65.

[xlv] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 92-93. Robbie Ethridge, "Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, ed. Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 2.

[xlvi] See Herbert M. Hart, *Old Forts of the Far West* (Superior Publishing, 1965); Justin Rughe, "Fort Gaston," http://www.militarymuseum.org/FtGaston.html.

[xlvii] Pember, *The Atlantic*, March 8, 2019.

[xlviii] Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 112.

[xlix] Gough, "A Way Out." "Dept. of the Interior Office of Indian Affairs, Washington January 13, 1902," cited in NorCal Blog, Mullen.

[l] Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School*, 4-5; Pratt, *Official Report* (1892), 46.

[li] See Beth Piatote, "Disciplinary Paternalism," Lecture, Indigenous Enslavement and Incarceration in North America International Conference, Gilder Lehrman Center, Yale University, November 15-16, 2013, and Piatote, *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), and Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), and for discussions of the ways invasion, imperialism, aesthetic representations and the law created, defined, and then sought to impose "disciplinary paternalism" through imposing visions of family and subjectivity which never existed outside the worlds of the law and the imagination. See also Trafzer, ed., *American Indians/ American Presidents*.

[lii] Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction: 1892,* ed. Isabel C. Barrows (Boston: Press of Geo. H. Ellis, 1892), 45.

[liii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work,* 35.

[liv] In 1963 Sherman was revived and rebuilt, and in 1971 re-accredited as the Sherman Indian High School, recruiting indigenous children from across the country who seek its Native orientation, competitive athletic program, and scholarships and links to California universities.

[lv] Leleua Loupe, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2012), 5. [EBOOKREQUEST.ILL]

[lvi] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 26-27.

[lvii] Adams, 5-21; 23; 57; 62-63; 210-213, and passim. Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, "Introduction: The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue," 6-7. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, eds., *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School*, 21.

[lviii] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 26-27.

[lix] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 44.

[lx] Whalen, 32-34.

[lxi] Whalen, 49-50; 52.

[lxii] Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 127. Katrina Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute: 1907-1925," in *Boarding School Blues*, 174-186.

[lxiii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 61-62; 66.

[lxiv] Don C. Talayesva, *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, ed. Leo. W. Simmons (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 141.

[lxv] Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 112.

[lxvi] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 33.

[lxvii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 44.

[lxviii] Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, "Introduction: The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue," 6-7; 107.

[lxix] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 159; 163. See also Talayesva, *Sun Chief*, 109, 129. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*, 181-183. Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School,* 21.

[lxx] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 49.

[lxxi] Whalen, 49-50; 52.

[lxxii] Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*, 79-80.

[lxxiii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 33.
[lxxiv] Whalen, 38.
[lxxv] Paxton, "Learning Gender," 174-186.
[lxxvi] Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 113, 114, 117, 118. Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 35.
[lxxvii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 35.
[lxxviii] Whalen, 44.
[lxxix] *Superintendent Ledger*, *Outing System*, February 20, 1900, 50-51. Qtd. in Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues*.
[lxxx] Whalen, "Beyond School Walls," 150-151.
[lxxxi] Qtd. Pitelka, "Mendocino," 297.
[lxxxii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 49-50.
[lxxxiii] Whalen, 47.
[lxxxiv] Whalen, 48.
[lxxxv] Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 127. Paxton, "Learning Gender," 174-186.
[lxxxvi] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 48.
[lxxxvii] Bauer, "Family Matters," 411.
[lxxxviii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 49, 81.
[lxxxix] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 42.
[xc] Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoc, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 124-127.
[xci] Pitelka, "Mendocino," 299. Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 125.
[xcii] Pitelka, "Mendocino," 303.
[xciii] Pitelka, 294, 302.
[xciv] Lewis Meriam. *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 21, 1928/Survey Staff: Lewis Meriam...[et al.]* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928); Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 15.
[xcv] Andrea A. Curcio, "Civil Claims for Uncivilized Acts: Filing Suit against the Government for American Indian Boarding School Abuses," *Hastings Race and Poverty Law Journal* 4, no. 1 (Fall 2006): 63.
[xcvi] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 336-337.
[xcvii] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 320.
[xcviii] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 236-237. Quoted in Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 13.
[xcix] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 14.
[c] See for example Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, xii; 11. Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), and Colleen O'Neill and Brian Hosmer's Introduction in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Hosmer and O'Neill (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004).
[ci] See Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).
[cii] John E. Echohawk, "Letter," in "Trigger Points," iv.
[ciii] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 36.

[civ] Whalen, *Native Students at Work*, 40.

[cv] Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978. 25 U.S.C. ch. 21 § 1901. 25 U.S.C. §§ 1901–1963.