History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Written by Stan Juneau
Revised and Updated by Walter Fleming and Lance Foster

Indian Education for All Division
2001/rev. 2012-2013

opi.mt.gov Indian Education
Montana Office of Public Instruction

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Introduction

> *The whole education process must be recognized as fundamentally different when one passes from white society to Indian society. Education in white society appears to be a creator of communities. It is oriented toward the production of income-producing skills, and the housing, business, entertainment, and recreation sections of white communities reflect this fact.*
>
> *But in the tribal setting, communities are the producers of education. At least they were in the past, and we can make them so today. When communities produce education, the groupings of the community reflect the charisma, wisdom, and activities of the various parts of the community. The respective activities can be viewed in relation to their importance to the community. In that way, the sacredness of the community can be protected and developed.*
> *-Vine Deloria, Jr.*[1]

This publication is not meant to be a chronology of all that has happened in education in Montana and its Indian nations. Instead, it covers the larger historical trends in federal Indian policy and how those policies have affected Indian education, including Montana. It is arranged in a general developmental and historical sequence which is grouped into thematic chapters. There are overlaps in the years those policies and trends took effect. A chronology of important dates in Indian education is listed in Appendix One.

The primary purpose of this publication is really to spark an interest in the reader to do further research to find out for oneself more about what that history is and what it says. It is the hope of the writers that this publication will inspire the community of educators to create curriculum that helps to answer the question: "What influences on Indian people and their education has Montana had over time, first as a territory, and then as a state?"

The story of American Indian education in the U.S. and in Montana is both simple and complex. It was simple when Indian people were left to educate themselves using a time-proven model developed over thousands of years. It became complex because of the education process imposed over the past five hundred years from the dominant, non-Indian society which has tried to force American Indians to adopt the dominant culture. It is complex when the American model determines the outcomes of teaching and instruction; it is complex when a government system determines the curriculum and standards for learning. It was, and still is, simple when Indian people were taught from an oral tradition of history, culture and survival as a group; it is simple when teaching involves the family and the community.

This document relies on many published articles written by American Indian scholars. Going back and reviewing the many writings of Indian scholars, one begins to remember other events that have taken place over the last half of the twentieth century that involved family and friends. More importantly, such a review is an opportunity to begin to understand the wisdom of outstanding Indian leaders during the past five hundred years. It was quite an honor to read the words articulated by Indian people pertaining to specific events and times as America developed into a nation. When reading those words, one begins to wonder what America would be like today if what Indian tribes proposed had been actually been heard and carried out.

In conversations with Indian people involved in education today, the discussion eventually focuses on what can be done to advance the education of today's children. One must return to the speeches and writings of the past one hundred and fifty years to find the answer. As a person reads the quotations in this document, the discussions and speeches made today often have the same content as in the past. So, what does this mean for Indian education today? These speeches promote the idea that the education model on Indian reservations has to involve Indian parents, tribal government officials, and the Indian community. The leadership in school administration, school board policies, and in the classrooms must promote American Indian perspectives. History supports this idea.

One answer to what can be done to promote success for Indian children in reservation education institutions may be found in the writing of Vine Deloria, Jr., and it suggests a first step:

> *The best way that we can initiate this change is to begin to work on the content of education, and not on the techniques and procedures of education. We must initiate the study of tribal customs on a grand scale and they must be taught at school on an equal basis with any other academic subject. But they must not be confined to the school or classroom. They must be under the constant discussion with the community itself and subject to continual and disciplined use by the people. Perhaps the first feature of revival would be to begin comprehensive studies of the old clan and kinship patterns, and establish social rules for the reinstitution of some of the old patterns of kinship responsibility. There is no good reason why we cannot expect every Indian to accept the old social responsibilities for his extended family, and why we cannot enforce social responsibilities for relatives on a deliberate and measurable scale of behavior.* [2]

Deloria continues on the importance of teaching about the history and culture of one's own people, so that the future has real promise for Indian people on their own terms:

> *We need not, in Indian education, concern ourselves with much subject matter previously considered important. Instead, we must have basic courses of reading, writing and arithmetic, which serve as tools for the real educational experience of learning the traditions, customs and beliefs of the tribal community. We have no use for the knowledge of the names of the Presidents of the United States, and the sequence in which they held office is certainly abstract to us. We must substitute for them the listing of the great chiefs, headsmen and leaders of our communities. We must know about their lives as accurately and intimately as we know about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. We must understand that we stand in the tradition and have a responsibility to carry it forward. If we can change our concept of education to include the specifically Indian things of life, we have only to wait and soon we shall see that we are in many ways far ahead of the rest of society.*[3]

In 1999, as one century ended, the Montana Legislature passed into law House Bill (HB) 528 as 20-1-501, now referred to as Indian Education for All. In March 2000, the Montana Board of Public Education established the goals for implementation of this law. Let the wisdom of past and present Indian leadership guide the process so all students will find success in each education institution in Montana. Perhaps the goals of this law will present an opportunity for Montana education leaders and those involved in the education process to create a meaningful curriculum and dialogue as articulated by Vine Deloria, Jr.

NOTES

1. Vine Deloria, Jr., "The Indian Student Amid American Inconsistencies," *The Schooling of Native America*, Thomas Thompson, ed. Washington D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1978, 25.

2. Deloria, "The Indian Student," 25.

3. Deloria, "The Indian Student," 26.

Chapter One:

Traditional Indian Education and European Intrusion (1492-1787)

Catalog #981-077
"Cheyenne Boy." [no date] Photograph by L.A. Huffman.Photograph used with permission of the Montana Historical Society Research Center Archives, Helena, MT. Photos may not be re-used without written permission of the MHS Photograph Archives.

History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Chapter One: Traditional Indian Education and European Intrusion (1492-1787)

Indian people have educated their youth using traditional forms of education, from time immemorial. With the conquest of the Americas by Europeans, the imposition of non-Indian forms of education on Indian people has resulted in much pain, sorrow, and cultural destruction, and the success of this process remains problematic. Raymond Cross, Professor of Law at the University of Montana, notes:

> *American Indian education, like the dismal state of the weather in Mark Twain's famous aphorism, is much discussed, but no one does anything to improve it! Doing something about the dismal state of Indian education requires that we confront deeply embedded historic, cultural, and legal biases. These biases have long frustrated attempts to reform Indian education.* [1]

Traditional Indian Education

Indian tribes had their own education systems already in place prior to the landing of Columbus in 1492. Indian education consisted of specific roles played by each member of the tribe that centered on survival as a group of people. The transfer of knowledge from elders to the young, from men to boys, from women to girls, encompassing the history, culture and religion of each tribe, created an education curriculum that was passed on through oral tradition and practical, hands-on training.

Professor Cross explains:

> *Traditional Indian education emphasized learning by application and imitation, not by memorization of basic information. It also emphasized learning by sharing and cooperation, as compared with an American education that emphasized competition and individualism. Tribal histories told and re-told an Indian people's origin myths and how they spurred that people to great deeds. They located the Indian children within a loving and caring natural environment. Etiquette, including an abiding respect for his elders, was also a central part of an Indian child's traditional education.* [2]

A more inclusive history of American Indian policy in education includes the belief that a process for the transmission of knowledge and a communication system always existed amongst the many diverse tribal peoples that lived on the North American continent from the beginning. This process overcame language and religious differences, culminating in a society that adapted to the surrounding environment in the ways that benefited the majority of the people. Transmission of knowledge is accomplished through the education system of any social group, such as an Indian tribe. This traditional educational system assures that the tribe's culture, history and way of life are not forgotten and that the tribe continues to exist.

Dr. Henrietta Whiteman (Mann) states:

> *Contrary to popular belief, education – the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and skills – did not come to the North American continent on the Nina, Pinta and Santa Maria.... We Native Americans have educated our youth through a rich and oral tradition, which was – and is today – transmitted by the elders of the tribe.*[3]

One must remember that Indian people survived on this continent thousands of years before the arrival of the Europeans. Like all people in the world, to survive as a group there has to be an existing educational system to pass down the knowledge of the group from one generation to the next, and traditional systems can pass on knowledge preserved for decades, and even centuries.

One should also try to remember that the process of acculturation and assimilation did not happen all at once and in the same way all across North America. Contact with Europeans and tribal destruction through disease and warfare on the coasts and in the Southwest was occurring in the 1500s-1600s, while it would not be until 200 years later that Indians in Montana first encountered the explorers Lewis and Clark. The Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeastern U.S. had developed American style systems of dress, education, landholding and economics, and were subsequently expelled from their original homelands in the east during the period of Indian Removal in the1830s when white settlers swarmed their traditional lands. At the very same time, in the 1830s, the tribes of Montana were still hunting buffalo from horseback, and living much as they had for thousands of years, with only the occasional appearance of white trappers and traders to hint at the changes to come.

Indians in Montana

The Montana Office of Public Instruction explains those traditional lifestyles further:

> *Most of the Indian people [tribes currently having reservation lands in Montana] came to what we know as Montana in search of better hunting grounds [probably in late prehistoric times]…. The boundaries of Indian tribes were not fixed. No one tribe owned land as we know it, but each claimed its use and a specific hunting territory. Stronger tribes often dominated their neighbors. With the acquisition of the horse, the Plains Indians (as they are categorized by historians) became more mobile and more efficient hunters.*
>
> *The Plains Indians moved around in fairly regular patterns, most often following the buffalo, which was the mainstay of their existence. The buffalo provided them with most of their meat, clothing, shelter, and utensils. In the warm weather, they moved freely hunting the buffalo. In the winter, they selected well-protected areas for extended encampment. This pattern of life existed as long as there were abundant buffalo and the freedom to move across the plains.*
>
> *The coming of the white man threatened the Indian's way of life. The main reason for Indian-white conflict was the total disruption of the Indians' use of land, not his ownership of it. If we wonder why the Indian people fought so fiercely, perhaps we can understand it better if we recognize that they were trying to protect and maintain their culture.* [4]

Although early traders and trappers had contact with Indians, it was not until the Lewis and Clark expedition followed the ancient Indian routes to the Pacific Ocean did white people begin to populate the West in large numbers. The discovery of gold and other minerals, the building of the railroad, and the end of the Civil War, further contributed to the settlement of the West in the 1800s.

As other groups of people entered and settled in Montana Territory, conflicts between Indian tribes and white people intensified. These conflicts continued in part because white people created

and relied on strict boundaries on their land, and Indians did not recognize these kinds of strict boundaries imposed by outsiders on the hunting territories they had used for hundreds if not thousands of years. [5]

With the imposition of strict boundaries between Indian and non-Indian lands and ways of life, the stage was set for the exclusion of Indian tribes from their ancestral lands through treaties. Along with the introduction of trade goods, the carving up of Indian lands marked the initial stage of colonization and the assertion of EuroAmerican power over Indian ways of life and education.

An Intrusion Process: Involuntary Minorities

Dr. Willard Bill coined the term "intrusion process" for this change:

> *American Indian and Alaskan Native educational systems were broken as a result of an intrusion process. Traditional oral modes of education consisted of training youth by prayer, storytelling, memory skills, and listening. As the intrusion process swept across North America, the traditional educational format of the Native American was interrupted. Tribal education systems were being broken from time of contact (early 1500s) to at least 1871, which marked the end of the treaty-making process between the United States government and Indian tribes.*[6]

Raymond Cross states:

> *American Indians are classified by sociologists as among those 'involuntary minorities' who were coercively incorporated into American society.*[7]

Many American Indians have sought to retain their traditional cultures and ways even in the overwhelming presence of an antagonistic and alien American society. When the "ethnic succession" model was extended so as to facilitate their assimilation into American society, the experiment of assimilation proved to be a dismal failure.

Cross believes that this dismal failure evidences the need for a new American promise. This new promise would reaffirm the ancient inherent right of the American Indian people to educate their children. The realization of this new American promise will require the shared and concerted efforts of federal, state, and tribal educational leaders. The three elements of this new American promise, according to Cross, are as follows:

1. Sovereignty guaranteed by the "domestic, dependent nation" status of American Indian tribes allows tribal communities to reconstruct American Indian education consistent with their values, needs and traditions.

2. Traditional American Indian education may provide the "yardstick" for the reconstruction of the social and economic life of those tribal communities that may choose to assume control of their educational institutions.

3. The trust duty that compels the federal and state governments to respect the unique cultural and education status of American Indians also insulates American Indian educational programs from strict judicial scrutiny.[8]

NOTES

1. Raymond Cross, "American Indian Education: The Terror of History and the Nation's Debt to the Indian Peoples," *University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law Review* 21:4, (Summer 1999), 941.

2. Cross, "American Indian Education," 947-948.

3. Henrietta V. Whiteman, "Native American Studies, the University, and the Indian Student," in *The Schooling of Native America*, ed. Thomas Thompson, (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1978), 105.

4. Denise Juneau and Julie Cajune, ed., *Montana Indians: Their History and Location* (Helena: Montana Office of Public Instruction, 2004), 4.

5. Michael P. Malone, Richard B. Roeder, and William L. Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries, Revised Edition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 19.

6. Willard Bill, *From Boarding Schools to Self-Determination*. Olympia, WA: State of Washington, Office of Public Instruction, 1987, 1.

7. Cross, "American Indian Education," 941.

8. Cross, "American Indian Education," 941-948.

Chapter Two:

Federalism and the Indian Treaty Period (1787-1871)

Catalog #981-231
"Treaty Commission 1879." [1880] Nine men: four standing, five seated. The standing men are identified as A. M. Quivey, Two Belly, A. R. Keller, and Tom Stewart. The seated men are identified as Old Crow, Medicine Crow, Long Elk, Plenticus [Plenty Coups], and Pretty Eagle. L. A. Huffman incorrectly dated this photo as 1879. Bell, C. M. (Charles Milton), photographer
Photograph used with permission of the Montana Historical Society Research Center Archives, Helena, MT. Photos may not be re-used without written permission of the MHS Photograph Archives.

History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Chapter Two: Federalism and the Indian Treaty Period (1787-1871)

> *What the citizens of the United States wanted from the Indians was the same thing their European predecessors had desired: to secure possession of Indian land and natural resources for personal use, and to establish trade relations that would allow a mutual exchange of surplus products. The role of the central government would be to work out in treaties with the Indian tribes, a system by which this could take place in as orderly a way as possible. -S. Lyman Tyler, 1973*[1]

Legal Foundations

The European colonists had numerous misunderstandings, myths and misconceptions about Indian people. The U.S. Declaration of Independence includes this clause, referring to the King of Great Britain: "He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."[2]

In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the United States pledged to provide a suitable education for the American Indian peoples. Article III of the Ordinance states, in part, "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education, shall be forever encouraged..." [3]

The Constitution was established in the same year (1787), with much of the Northwest Ordinance provisions incorporated into it. The Northwest Ordinance and the Constitution became the foundations for the U.S. Congress to enter into treaties with Indian nations in exchange for land held in common by Indian people and to open those parcels of land to non-Indians willing to move west to populate the nation.

The Constitution and the Commerce Clause

At this juncture, it is important for the reader to understand that the relationship between tribes and the federal government has evolved over time. Tribes are quasi-sovereign nations, or "domestic dependent nations" as described by Chief Justice John Marshall.[4] This government-to-government relationship was established in the United States Constitution.

The supreme law of the United States, the Constitution (1787), clearly recognizes the governmental status of Indian tribes and creates the basis for the unique federal relationship with tribal governments. The Supreme Court, the President and the Congress have repeatedly affirmed that Indian tribes retain their inherent powers of self-government. [5]

Article 1, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution reads, "The Congress shall have power to … regulate commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with Indian Tribes." The Commerce Clause thus establishes the hierarchy of relationships from the beginning to the present, that authority over Indians is asserted and established by the federal government rather than by the states.[6]

As reported by Montana's Committee on Indian Affairs in 1995, the Indian Commerce Clause of the

U.S. Constitution gave "Congress, not the states, plenary or absolute authority over Indian tribes. Only Congress can repeal treaties, eliminate reservations, or grant the states jurisdiction over Indians on reservations. … [Montana] only has the power over Indian affairs within Indian country that Congress specifically grants. … [The state of Montana] only has power in Indian country if Congress has delegated power to it or if the exercise of state authority is not preempted. "The state of Montana has, however, passed legislation that allows the state to enter into compacts and agreements with tribal governments for specific services, programs and citizens' rights.[7]

Indian Treaties and Education

Although the founding documents established the relationship between tribes and the U.S. government, federal Indian education policy really began during President Washington's term in office. During this period, treaties were made with the Seneca Nation (1792) and with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians (1794), as part of the government's historical policy of trying to "civilize" the American Indian. The United States included education provisions in most treaties they negotiated with Indian tribes, all the way to the end of the treaty-making period in 1871.

Susan Johnson, in *Government to Government*, explains:

> *When European settlers came to America, they dealt with the tribes as sovereigns and often negotiated treaties with them. Hundreds of treaties between Indian nations and the United States have been negotiated by the president and ratified by two-thirds of the Senate. Indian treaties have the same status as treaties with foreign nations. Because such treaties are made under the U.S. Constitution, they take precedence over any conflicting state law. Terms of the treaties are upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, although the Court has ruled that treaties may be unilaterally abrogated by Congress. Treaties vary widely in their terms and provisions. They commonly included a guarantee of peace, a provision of land boundaries, a guarantee of hunting and fishing rights, education of Tribal members, and a statement that the tribe recognized the authority of the United States and, in return, received a promise from the United States of protection.*[8]

The boundaries established for Indian tribes in these negotiated treaties became commonly known as "reservations." Dr. Willard Bill states, "American Indian tribes ceded over a billion acres of land, and tribes were assured that the federal government would deliver educational services, medical care, and technical and agricultural training."[9]

The Indian Civilization Fund Act of March 3, 1819, encouraged the formation of benevolent societies to educate Native American children, and led to the formation of Indian boarding schools. Its stated purpose was:

> *...For the purpose of providing against further decline and extinction of the Indian Tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in every case where he shall judge improvement in the habits and conditions of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as*

may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct, in the discharge of their duties.[10]

Indian Treaties in Montana

The Federal Government has, at one time or another, negotiated treaties with all the tribes in Montana. The Crow Indians signed a treaty of friendship as early as 1825 and many tribes of Montana were a part of the First Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, which was basically a peace treaty. Treaties that provided for the cession of land, however, began in 1855.

Conflicts between Indian tribes and white people continued to escalate in Montana Territory, so the U.S. government continued to negotiate treaties with Indian tribes. Each of the treaties and agreements signed in Montana Territory between the U.S. government and Indian tribes (1851, 1855, 1896, etc.) contained a provision that education would be provided to tribal members. The First Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 Article 7, provides that treaty annuities were to be used for "the improvement of their moral and social customs," an implied reference to Indian education.[11]

Montana changed its status from a territory to a state in 1889 when it ratified its Constitution. The 1889 Constitution carried a provision from the Enabling Act which explicitly acknowledged Congress' absolute control and jurisdiction over all Indian land, including state authority to tax the land, and forever disclaiming title to lands owned or held by or reserved for an Indian or for Indian tribes.

In some cases treaties in Montana outlined very specific actions for education, such as hiring practices. Article III, of the 1896 Agreement between the Blackfeet Tribe and the United States (which ceded land that would eventually become Glacier National Park when the Park was created in 1910) states, "It is agreed that in the employment of all agency and school employees, preference in all cases be given to Indians residing on the reservation, who are well qualified for such positions…"[12]

In a conversation with one of the writers (Juneau) in about 2001, Darrell Kipp, a Blackfeet historian and language specialist, stated:

The effect of the treaty period to tribes in Montana was the huge loss of millions of acres. As an example, when the Blackfeet Tribe signed the Treaty of 1855, they remained in control of about 28,000,000 acres; however, because of Presidential proclamations, treaties and agreements after 1855, the Blackfeet Tribe's land base was reduced to its current 1.5 million acres. Viewing the loss of this land base from a different perspective, the locations of the Ft. Peck Indian Reservation, Ft. Belknap Indian Reservation and Rocky Boy Reservation, and all the land surrounding these reservations today, are located in what was the original Blackfeet Territory in 1855.[13]

End of Treaty Period

Treaties between the U.S. Government and Indian tribes officially ended in 1871 when Congress passed a legislative rider that attempted to limit the power of the president to enter into treaties with Indian nations. However other kinds of agreements continued to be made. Once the treaty

period between the Congress and Indian tribes ended, and as more people moved west, available land became more limited for many of the newcomers.

Newcomers to the West began to notice that Indian tribes still retained large masses of land that could be used for their benefit should the U.S. Government approve. Life in the early reservation period (1880-1900) was challenging, as the federal government failed to deliver treaty annuities promised, including agricultural equipment and livestock. Elimination of the buffalo, government rations of beef and food stuffs created a dependency upon the federal government that replaced the self-sufficiency of the hunting days. As a result, reservation lands were perceived to be not utilized by Indian landholders but were leased to non-Indian settlers.[14]

Between 1778 and 1871, the U.S. Senate ratified 370 Indian treaties. At least an additional forty-five treaties were negotiated with tribes but not ratified by the U.S. Senate. Since 1871 the president has recognized and given federal status to other Indian tribes and established new reservation boundaries through Presidential Executive Orders. Indian tribes in Montana would again lose large areas of their land bases because of Presidential Executive Orders. Today there are seven Indian reservations and eleven federally recognized Indian Nations in Montana. The Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana received state recognition in 2000. They are still seeking federal recognition.

The 1889 Montana Constitution had carried a provision from the Enabling Act which explicitly acknowledged Congress' absolute control and jurisdiction over all Indian land, including state authority to tax the land, and forever disclaiming title to lands owned or held by or reserved for an Indian or for Indian tribes. The 1972 Montana Constitution carried forward the 1889 Constitutional provision from the Enabling Act, but also included new language, specifically Article X, section 1(2) which recognizes "the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indians" and commits the state in its educational goals to "the preservation of their cultural integrity."[15]

Effects of Treaties on Indian Lands and Education

The incorporation of the Indian lands into the American property system was essential for the realization of 19th-century visions of America's destiny. Thomas Jefferson, as champion of the social agrarian movement, promoted the commercialization and appropriation of western Indian lands as the basis for founding an independent-minded yeoman class of freehold farmers.

This sentiment of expansion and progress was foundational to what it meant to be an American. William Gilpin (a newspaper editor and lawyer who helped stir up "Oregon fever" leading to the popularity of the Oregon Trail) focused in 1846 on the idea of progress and manifest destiny when he wrote: "The untransacted destiny of the American people is to subdue the Continent – to rush over this vast field to the Pacific Ocean … to establish a new order in human affairs."[16]

But that dream held by the immigrant Europeans led to an irrevocable loss of Indian land and destruction of Indian culture, including education. Vine Deloria, Jr., in "The American Indian Student Amid American Inconsistencies," states:

Indian Education has been built upon the premise that the Indian had a great deal to learn from the white man; the white man representing the highest level of achievement reached in the evolutionary process. The white man's religion was the best, his economics superior, his sense of justice the keenest, his knowledge of history the greatest. The Indian's task was to consume bits and pieces of the white man's world in the expectation that someday he would become as smart. The totality of the white man's knowledge was supposed to encompass the wisdom of the ages, painfully accumulated by a series of brilliant men.

In the old treaty-signing days, many Indians came to feel this superior knowledge gave the white man his right to do what he did. Bows and arrows were useless against guns. Ponies could not outrun trains. Iron kettles were superior to earthen pots and hides. So education provisions were written into the treaties, and from tribe to tribe people began to slowly change their ways to conform to the white man's way of doing things. The expectation that one day the fuzzy picture would clear and the Indian would stand as equal to the white man grew over the generations. Today, when we are asked what our problems are, we continue to reflect this ancient belief. "Give us more education," we cry, "and we can become self-sufficient."[17]

NOTES

1. S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 32.

2. U.S. Declaration of Independence (1776), National Archives and Records Administration website, *http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html.*

3. "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States North West of the River Ohio" (1787), *http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/northwesthtml.*

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5. Susan Johnson, et al. *Government to Government: Understanding State and Tribal Governments* (Denver, CO/Washington, D.C.: National Conference of State Legislatures and the National Congress of American Indians, 2000), 7.

6. U.S. Constitution (1787), *http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution.html.*

7. The Committee on Indian Affairs, *The Tribal Nations of Montana: A Handbook for Legislators* (Helena, Montana: Montana Legislative Council, 1995), *https://leg.mt.gov/content/committees/interim/2001_2002/st_trib_rel/handbook.pdf.*

8. Johnson, *Government to Government,* 7.

9. Bill, *Boarding Schools*, 4-5.

10. Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy*, 45-46.

11. Charles J. Kappler, ed. "Treaty Of Fort Laramie With Sioux, Etc., 1851," Sept. 17, 1851, 11 Stats., p. 749. *Indian Affairs: Laws And Treaties, Vol. II, Treaties* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), *https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/25853.*

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Chapter Three:

The Indian Boarding School (1617-Present)

Catalog #981-055
"St. Labre Indian School." [Ashland, Montana] [no date] L.A. Huffman photographer. Photograph used with permission of the Montana Historical Society Research Center Archives, Helena, MT. Photos may not be re-used without written permission of the MHS Photograph Archives.

History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Chapter Three: The Indian Boarding School (1617-Present)

The last chapter explained educational opportunity that was included as one of the terms in treaties that Indian tribes signed with the United States from the very beginning. Education, however, was defined not by the traditional system used by tribes that helped them survive for thousands of years, but by the institutionalized experience of the white American system.

Tom Thompson, a past NIEA National Indian Educator of the Year, observes:

> *How did the schooling of Native America get into this deplorable state? To understand this fully we must check further into the historical record. ...From the arrival of the white man up until the last two decades, Indian education has rested in the hands of church and state. Through their combined influence, the Native American has been systematically denied his Native identity. Two eras emerge: the period of missionary domination from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and the period of federal government domination from the late nineteenth until the mid-twentieth century.*[1]

Missionary Period (1500s-1800s)

In 1611 the predominantly French Society of Jesus, the Jesuits of the Roman Catholic Church, brought European education as part of their missions among the Native Americans in the Great Lakes region and along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Rivers. Spanish Franciscans who accompanied the conquistadors into New Mexico, Texas, Arizona and California, between 1540 and 1617, created mission communities and schools for the Indian populations they subjugated as part of their *encomienda* system of colonization.

Protestants began establishing schools and colleges for the education of Indian and English youth in New England in 1617. American-style education was offered to Indians as early as 1617 at Moor's Charity School (later Dartmouth College), Hampton Institute and Harvard. In 1723, William and Mary College opened a special house for Indian students. In 1774, two years before there was a United States, William and Mary College invited Indian neighbors to attend. Canassatego (Onondaga) declined the William and Mary College offer, stating:

> *We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced that you mean to do to us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are wise must know that different nations have different conceptions of things, and you will, therefore, not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours.*
>
> *We have had experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the College of the Northern provinces. They were instructed in all your sciences. But when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods… Neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing.*
>
> *We are however not the less obliged for your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take*

great care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.[2]

While the Spanish pressed the Indians into servitude, the English generally drove them off their lands or exterminated them. The first official provision for Indian education under the English was in 1794 under a Treaty with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge. From about 1794 to 1874, federal educational responsibilities were established in ninety-five other treaties with Indian tribes.

Throughout the 1800s, the Midwest and Pacific Northwest were partitioned among competing Christian denominations for the twin purposes of Christianizing and civilizing the "savage," "unsaved" Indian population."[3] Linda Witmer notes: "If the mission schools started the process of alienation, the federal government completed it with the policy of assimilation in the late nineteenth century. Its goal was the absorption of Indian youth into the mainstream of American life. Its fruits were a further loss of unique Indian qualities and cultural identity."[4]

Federal Period (1800s-Present)

Although private and religious boarding schools were a part of many eastern tribes' experience very early on, it is the federal boarding school which has made the largest impact on Indian education and history across the nation, including Montana.

Raymond Cross opines:

> *The federal Indian boarding school system grew out of the Indian peoples' changed status in the late 19th century. They legally devolved from their historic status as semi-independent sovereigns to a governmental wardship status. As federal wards, Indian children were to be federally educated so as to "give the Indian a white man's chance" in life. Manifest Destiny had doomed the American Indian peoples to extinction, or so thought the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1888. Indian education policy had to reflect the reality of the disappearance of the Indian way of life within twenty years.*
>
> *If anything in the world is certain, it is that the red man's civilization will disappear before the white man's civilization, because of the two, it is inferior. The Indian problem, in its fundamental aspects, is then, must the red man disappear with this civilization? Is it possible that in Christian times the Indians themselves have got to disappear with their inferior civilization? I think we can say certainly that unless we can incorporate the red man into the white man's civilization, he will disappear. Therefore, the one question behind the land question, behind the education question and the law question, is, How can we fit the red man for our civilization?*[5]

The Federal Boarding School System

The boarding school system was established by the Indian Service and in operation from approximately 1880 through the present. As noted on the U.S. Department of Indian Affairs website:

> *In school year 2007-2008, the 183 Bureau of Indian Affairs-funded elementary and secondary schools, located on sixty-four reservations in twenty-three states, served approximately 42,000 Indian students. Of these, fifty-eight were BIA-operated and 125 were tribally operated under*

BIA contracts or grants. The Bureau also funds or operates off-reservation boarding schools and peripheral dormitories near reservations for students attending public schools.[6]

The first federal Indian boarding school was established on the Yakima Reservation (Washington) in 1860. These early schools were located on reservations. However educational policy later required that boarding schools were to be located far away from Indian communities.

In 1874, General Sheridan submitted to President Grant a plan which he thought would compel the Indians to remain on their reservations. He suggested relentlessly pursuing the worst offenders, then "selecting" the worst of the masses and sending them to some remote eastern military fort until they had learned it was hopeless for them to continue further hostilities.

In 1879, Carlisle Industrial School was opened on an abandoned Army base in Carlisle, Pennsylvania and Colonel Pratt was selected as the administrator of the school. Pratt was ordered to begin recruiting among the Sioux of the Dakotas, and then continue recruiting from other Indian tribes. Over the next few decades, schools were established all over the U.S., including places like Chemawa Indian School (Oregon), Haskell Institute (Kansas) and Chilocco Indian School (Oklahoma). Over the next few decades, the boarding schools system became the quintessential educational institution for Native peoples for the next several generations.[7]

Carlisle Indian School

Luther Standing Bear, Oglala Lakota, remembered his educational experience at Carlisle, a federal boarding school that operated from 1879-1918 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania:

Although we were yet wearing our Indian clothes ... one day when we came to school there was a lot of writing on one of the blackboards. We did not know what it meant, but our interpreter came into the room and said "Do you see all these marks on the blackboards? Well, each word is a white man's name. They are going to give each one of you one of these names by which you will hereafter be known." None of the names were read or explained to us, so of course we did not know the sound or meaning of any of them. Each child in turn walked to the blackboard with a pointer and selected his future Anglo name.[8]

The Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania can be used as an example to demonstrate the education provided to Indian people in off-reservation boarding schools operated by the federal government. Carlisle opened its doors in 1879 and closed its doors in 1918.

George Horse Capture states in Witmer's *The Indian Industrial School*:

The stories of this transitional period involve pain, cruelty, loss, survival and pride. The Carlisle Indian School of Pennsylvania played an important part and fills a unique spectrum in the Indian story. For reasons that history can now view as both good and bad, Colonel Pratt took it upon himself to do what he could foresee as vanquished Indian warriors. His influence over these people tells the story of what might be the first serious attempt to bring "formal" education to them.[9]

After the Civil War, Richard Henry Pratt was sent west to keep tribes from blocking the way of white

settlement, and to fulfill the government's obligation to protect white settlers while upholding recent treaties with the Indians. Pratt was in charge of the Tenth Regiment Cavalry units, popularly known as the "Buffalo Soldiers," composed of primarily recently-freed slaves and Indian scouts. It was at this time that Pratt became sympathetic to the injustices being done to both Indians and blacks. Pratt later wrote: "…Talking with the Indians, I learned that most had received English education in home schools conducted by their tribal government. Their intelligence, civilization and common sense were a revelation, because I had concluded that as an Army officer I was here to deal with atrocious aborigines."[10]

In 1879, Richard Henry Pratt explained the purpose of taking Indians to boarding schools to Spotted Tail of the Sioux Nation:

There is no more chance for your people to keep themselves away from the whites. You are compelled to meet them. Your children will have to live with them. They will be all about and among you in spite of anything you can do, or that can be done for you by those interested in keeping you apart from our people. Your own welfare while you live and the welfare of your children after you, and all your interests in every way, demand that your children should have the same education that the white man has, that they should speak his language and know just how the white man lives, be able to meet him face to face without the help of either an interpreter or an Indian agent.[11]

Pratt continued:

I propose not only to take your children to the school at Carlisle, but I shall send them out to work and to live among the white people, and into the white man's home and schools so that as boys and girls they will be coming into the same classes with white boys and girls and will so learn to know each other, and this will take away their prejudice against the whites and take away the prejudice of the whites against your people and it is the only way to remove such prejudice.[12]

After a lengthy discussion with the other leaders, Spotted Tail finally consented to send five sons and the other leaders supported his decision by agreeing to send their children. In spite of the fact that the local missionaries were not in favor of Pratt's plan, he finally persuaded and convinced Red Cloud and others it was in their children's and grandchildren's best interest to be educated at Carlisle.

Witmer gives one of the young Indian students' perspectives on their trip from Dakota Territory to Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania:

After a tearful departure the children experienced their first trip on a steamboat. The noise of the huge paddle wheel kept the children awake as they huddled together in a large room under the deck. Some of the older boys talked about jumping overboard while others sang brave Indian songs. Before the children had time to overcome their fears, they arrived at their first destination where Pratt had secured two railroad cars to take them to Chicago. This part of the trip was even more frightful. One of the children later wrote: "we expected every minute that the house would tip over ... we held our blankets between our teeth, because our hands were both busy holding to the seats."

At a station in Sioux City, white onlookers crowded the platforms yelling war whoops and throwing money at the Indian children. Confused by these tactics, the children threw the money back. Later, crowds of laughing spectators interrupted the children's meal until the young Indians finally hid their food in their blankets so they could eat it later. Exhausted and often hungry, the children endured frightening experiences throughout the long trip.

Eighty-two boys and girls in native dress, tired and excited, arrived on the eastern edge of Carlisle at midnight October 6, 1879.[13]

Before leaving for Dakota Territory to recruit students, Colonel Pratt had requisitioned the Indian Bureau to have food, clothing and other supplies sent to Carlisle Indian School of Pennsylvania for the arrival of children. When he arrived, he discovered nothing had been sent. Ota Kte, or Plenty Kill, a Sioux Indian, described his disappointment: "The first room we entered was empty. A cast-iron stove stood in the middle of the room, on which was placed a coal-oil lamp. There was no fire in the stove. We ran through all the rooms, but they were the same - no fire, no beds. All the covering we had was the blanket which each had brought. We went to sleep on the hard floor, and it was so cold!"[14]

Pratt, with the assistance of others in the community, eventually received rations and equipment to maintain the school.

The curriculum at Carlisle Indian School of Pennsylvania was flexible, training each student according to his or her own ability. The training was both vocational and academic, and eventually carried students through the 10th-grade level. Instruction included English, chemistry, physics, government, geography, history, advanced mathematics and biology. The Indians were expected to participate in various extracurricular activities at the school. In addition to the Y.M.C.A. and King Daughter's Circle, the girls could choose between the Mercer Literary Society and the Susan Longstreth Literary Society. The boys had a choice of the Standard Literary Society or the Invincible Debating Society. It would be ten years before students graduated with a 10th grade education, but because of the deaths of some students and many others returning home, none of the first group of students were among the graduates.

Carlisle would become famous for its student marching bands, artists and athletic successes against the best colleges in the East and in the Olympics. George Horse Capture states:

My Indian friends always say that they are proud that their relatives went to Carlisle. In a sense it is something like Yale, or Princeton, or Cambridge, almost mythical, far away from the isolated reservations. They were the chosen. We all realize that most of the myth of Carlisle was generated not by Pratt but by the people there, the Indian people. Foremost among the heroes was Jim Thorpe. When you hear his name one immediately thinks of Carlisle; they are intimately bound together and because Jim Thorpe is our hero, the school that he attended must also be good. And our association with the man and his school honors us. So it can be truthfully said that the memories among reservation people of Carlisle students are good ones. They are proud of their ancestors who went to this faraway place and did well.[15]

And yet, for all the good things, there was a shadow side to the experience as well. Horse Capture concludes:

> *This quest for a military style strict discipline undoubtedly had a destructive, traumatic effect on all of the children and must have caused tears of shame and anguish. Boarding school memories agree that the Indian students were forbidden to speak their native language, lest they be severely punished. Such unnecessary punishments were instrumental in killing much of our culture.*
>
> *From a warrior/hunter tradition they were expected to work twelve hours a day, seven days a week, doing laundry, milking cows, plowing the garden and all of these other embarrassing tasks. Now many years later only the pleasure and honor remain, the scars all but forgotten.*[16]

Pressure to close the school was applied from the Indian Bureau because of a further reduction of enrollment due to World War I. In the end, it was not the Indian Bureau but the War Department which finally closed the doors of Carlisle Industrial School. The patriotic necessity of caring for wounded World War I American soldiers had taken precedence over the school's failing programs. The War Department, which had controlled the grounds originally, exercised a right, written into the transfer of the property to the Department of Interior, to revoke the transfer. The original part of the "Old Barracks" once more came under military control.

All was chaos during the summer of 1918. The remaining Indian students were sent home or to other non-reservation schools throughout the United States. On the morning of September 1, 1918 the final transfer ceremony took place.[17]

Boarding Schools in Montana

Until the 1930s, American Indian children were not accepted into public schools because their parents did not pay property taxes, the source for school funding. American Indian land is held in trust by the Federal Government and thus is tax exempt. Montana Indian children, during the early reservation period, were educated either in schools administered by the Indian Service or in schools administered by religious organizations.

In Montana, the St. Labre Mission was founded in 1884 for Northern Cheyenne and Crow students. Blackfeet children attended St. Peter's Mission and the Holy Family Mission. St. Ignatius Mission educated children on the Flathead Reservation between 1856 and 1972. St. Paul's Mission School in Hays has served Indian students since 1887. On other reservations, churches, mainly Roman Catholic, had established other mission schools. There are still few published histories of parochial education among Indian people in Montana.[18]

The boarding school experience, for many Indian children, was painful. Many members of Montana's Indian tribes were "rounded up" and sent to boarding schools to receive their formal education. Colonel Pratt arrived in Montana in 1890 to collect the young people slated to attend Carlisle. The push was to augment the enrollment at Carlisle, and Pratt wanted to increase the participants from each of Montana's reservations from 40 students to about 175 from each agency.[19]

Federal boarding schools continued to be created in other states into the 1900s, and Indian students

from Montana continued to attend schools located in Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, California, Oregon, South Dakota and other states. The Bureau of Indian Affairs began to create schools in Montana after 1900 to allow Indian students to attend an education institution closer to their family. These schools were of two types. One was a complete boarding dormitory with education facilities, and the other was a day school where students attended during the daytime but lived at home.

Lone Wolf (Blackfeet) was taken from his family in 1890 and placed in the Fort Shaw boarding school near Great Falls, Montana. He describes his experience:

> *School wasn't for me when I was a kid. I tried three of them and they were all bad. The first time was when I was about 8 years old. The soldiers came and rounded up as many of the Blackfeet children as they could. The government had decided we were to get White Man's education by force.*
>
> *It was very cold that day when we were loaded into the wagons. None of us wanted to go and our parents didn't want to let us go. Oh, we cried for this was the first time we were to be separated from our parents. I remember looking back at Na-tah-ki and she was crying too. Nobody waved as the wagons, escorted by the soldiers, took us toward the school at Fort Shaw. Once there our belongings were taken from us, even the little medicine bags our mothers had given us to protect us from harm. Everything was placed in a heap and set afire.*
>
> *Next was the long hair, the pride of all the Indians. The boys, one by one, would break down and cry when they saw their braids thrown on the floor. All of the buckskin clothes had to go and we had to put on the clothes of the White Man.*
>
> *If we thought that the days were bad, the nights were much worse. This was the time when real loneliness set in, for it was then that we were all alone. Many boys ran away from the school because the treatment was so bad but most of them were caught and brought back by the police. We were told never to talk Indian and if we were caught, we got a strapping with a leather belt.*
>
> *I remember one evening when we were all lined up in a room and one of the boys said something in Indian to another boy. The man in charge of us pounced on the boy, caught him by the shirt, and threw him across the room. Later we found out that his collar-bone was broken. The boy's father, an old warrior, came to the school. He told the instructor that among his people, children were never punished by striking them. That was no way to teach children; kind words and good examples were much better. Then he added, "Had I been there when that fellow hit my son, I would have killed him." Before the instructor could stop the old warrior he took his boy and left. The family then beat it to Canada and never came back.*[20]

While the stories of boarding schools are often horrific, one story of hope captured international attention in 1904, and then again one hundred years later. In 1904, at the Fort Shaw Government Indian Boarding School, located in Montana's Sun River Valley, young Indian girls picked up the game of basketball and played their way to the 1904 World's Fair where they were crowned World's Fair champions and later were known as the World's Champion Girls Basketball Team. The girls from Montana were among the one hundred and fifty Indian children who were a part of the Fair's model Indian school exhibit. One hundred years later, scholars discovered this feat and once again, the Fort

Shaw girls brought honor to Indian Country.[21]

Indian Boarding Schools Today

Today, some Montana Indian students still attend federal boarding schools, primarily in South Dakota, Kansas and Oregon, but most attend public education systems in their home communities. The BIA continues to operate a live-in boarding dormitory on the Blackfeet Reservation in Browning. Tribal governments now operate the Two Eagle River School at Pablo and Northern Cheyenne Tribal School under contract agreements with the Bureau of Indian Education (B.I.E.).[22]

George Horse Capture reflects on the transition from the boarding school experience:

> *One 4th of July, while visiting at Lame Deer, Montana, on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, I enjoyed the powwow. It was a hot Saturday afternoon and the families sponsored a series of specials, one called a giveaway. A giveaway identifies an activity when a family gets together and saves money and materials all year and gives them away in honor of some member of their family. They give these materials as a point of pride and so people will always remember this important event. The thing that I'll always remember at this give away is after many speeches one family member said that they wanted to have this giveaway in honor of their young daughter, who just accomplished a wonderful goal; she had just earned her Master's degree! Culminating the event was the honor dance with this bright young woman wearing a colorful shawl, leading her family and friends in an ancient tribal ceremony. It was a wonderful time for me, because I knew right then that we would survive. We had made the transition, from the old to the new. Because education is so instrumental to our survival we had just made it a traditional honor to be educated. That was quite a day.*
>
> *So we continue with our education, and no one knows where the future will take us, but it is a part of our tradition now and we need it for survival. We must remember these old Buffalo Indians who went to Carlisle, for they are our ancestors. We will continue the job they began as our history continues.*[23]

NOTES

1. Thomas Thompson, "Preface," in *The Schooling of Native America*, Thomas Thompson, editor (Washington, DC: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1978), 3.

2. Vine Deloria, Jr., and Junaluska, Arthur (Speakers), *Great American Indian Speeches, Vol. 1* (Phonographic Disc), (New York: Caedmon, 1976), *http:// www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ nativeamericans/chiefcanasatego.htm.*

3. Stephen E. Cornell, *Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 1990), 114.

4. Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2000), xiv.

5. Raymond Cross, "American Indian Education: The Terror of History and the Nation's Debt to the Indian Peoples," *University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law Review* 21:4, Summer 1999), 952-953.

6. Bureau of Indian Education, U.S. Department of the Interior, "The Bureau of Indian Education," *https://www.bie.edu.*

7. Cornell, *Return of the Native*, 114.

8. Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 138-139.

9. George Horse Capture, in Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School*, p. xiv.

10. Witmer, 2-3.

11. Ibid., 14.

12. Ibid., 15.

13. Ibid., 17.

14. Ibid., 21.

15. Horse Capture, in Witmer, xvi-xvii.

16. Horse Capture in Witmer, xvi.

17. Witmer, 89-90.

18. For more on mission education among Native Americans, see Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder's *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

19. Witmer, xiv. 20. Paul Dyck, "Lone Wolf returns to that long ago time," *Montana: The Magazine of*

Western History (Vol. 22, No. 1, 1972), 24.

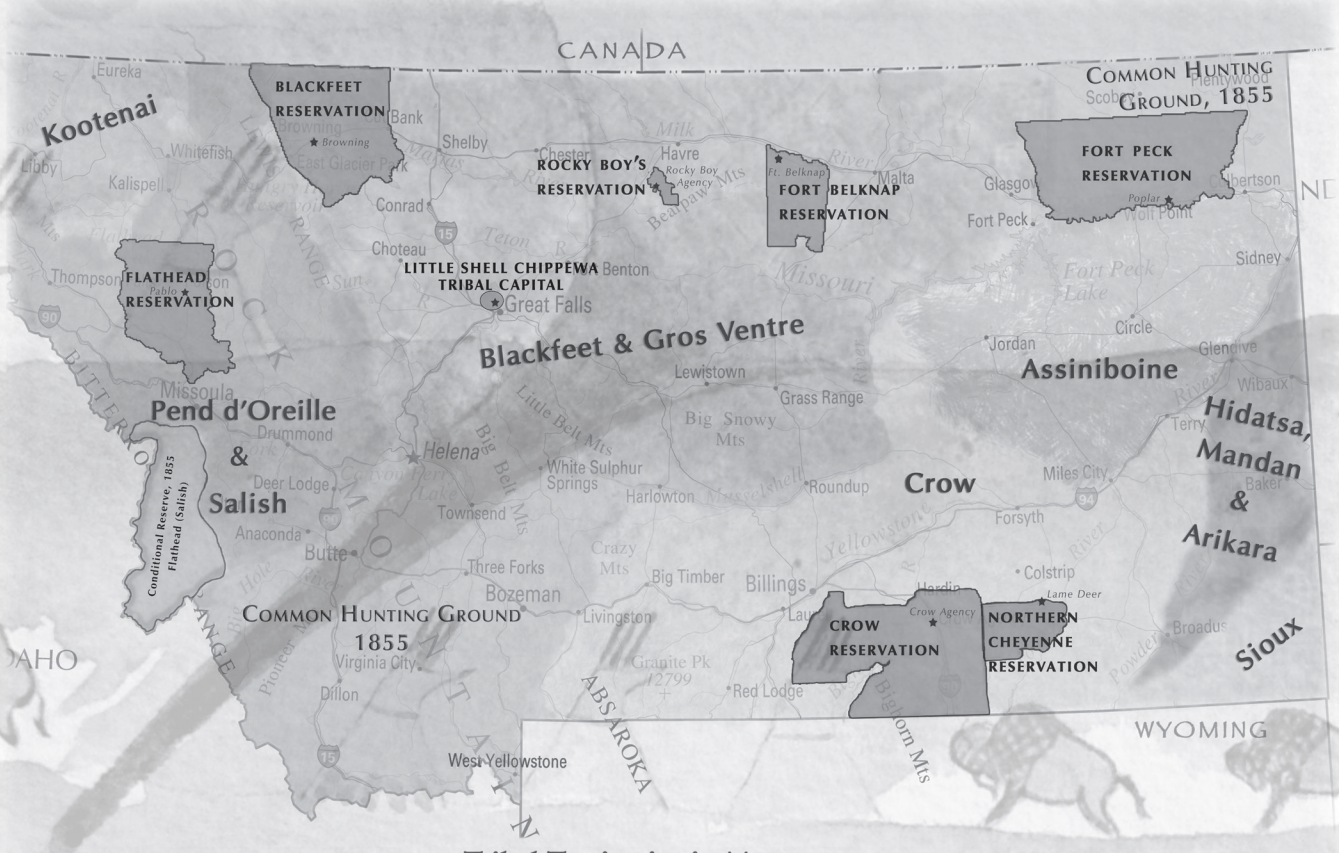
21. See the bibliography/resources section at the end of this document for books and videos about the team and its story.

22. Bureau of Indian Education, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Bureau of Indian Education National Directory (updated December 2011)*, *http://www.bie.edu/cs/groups/xbie/ documents/text/ idc-008039.pdf.*

23. Witmer, xvii.

Chapter Four:

The Allotment Period (1887-1934)



Tribal Territories in Montana

Boundaries shown on this map show the demarcation of territories by non-Indian officials at treaty time and do not necessarily accurately represent tribal territories occupied in the 1850s. Map used with permission of the University of Montana.

Chapter Four: The Allotment Period (1887-1934)

Indians had been removed from their aboriginal lands and placed in special settlements or on reservations long before the passage of the Allotment Act, but with the end of treaty making, the focus was on how to break up tribal identity further and get even more land for white settlers. The Congress was under pressure from the western territories and from settlers for more expansion of the land base for their personal use and ownership. Responding to this pressure, Congress enacted the General Allotment Act of 1887, known as the Dawes Act. The ultimate purpose of the Dawes Act was to break up tribal governments, abolish the reservations, and assimilate Indians into non-Indian society as farmers. To accomplish this goal, Congress decided to divide up tribal lands into individual parcels, give each tribal member a parcel, and sell the "surplus" to non-Indian farmers.

Property as a Basis of Western Societies

According to Fay and McNickle:

> *The Indian people, without a written language, were rated by early settlers as little better than the beasts of the forest. Europeans of impeccable moral behavior counted it no blotch upon their record to use their skill in writing to double-deal and over-reach the Indians. There were notable exceptions, in men like William Penn, Roger Williams, and the Calverts of Maryland.*
>
> *The prime source of misunderstanding between these representatives of two traditions resulted from their quite different attitudes toward land. To the European, land was merchantable. Law and usage had developed a complicated system of privileges and obligations, all deriving from the notion of a transferable fee title in land. Land that was not encompassed within some form of recorded title was outside of law itself- something as anomalous as a person beyond the pale of any country. When these Europeans found that Indians had no proceedings for recording title, indeed had no titles, they readily assumed that there was no ownership. They were beasts that ranged the land rather than occupied it.*
>
> *Property is a function of any society. If the European settlers had been able to get at the facts, and had been interested in the facts, they would have found that surface areas were recognized, boundaries were respected, use rights were sustained. But nothing in Indian practices required that land be divided up and parceled out under any system of titles.*[1]

The impact of this cultural difference, and all of the Indian removals, depopulation, and treaties, capped off by Allotment, had resulted in Indian loss of almost all of their lands.

> *Between 1778 and 1871 Indian tribes lost the majority of their original territories and land between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River. Between 1887 and 1934, the U.S. government took more than 90 million acres - nearly two-thirds of reservation lands – from tribes and gave it to settlers, most often without compensation to tribes. Today, Indian tribes hold more than 50 million acres, or approximately 2 percent of the United States.*[2]

Dawes Act of 1887 (General Allotment Act)

The General Allotment Act (commonly known as the Dawes Act) was introduced on February 8, 1887 by U.S. Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, Chairman of Indian Affairs and passed by Congress. The major provisions of the Act authorized:

1. The President of the United States shall allot tribal lands in designated quantities - 160 acres to each family head, 80 acres to each single person over 18 years and each orphan under 18, and 40 acres to each other single person under 18;

2. Each Indian would make his own selection; but if he failed or refused, a government agent would make the selection for him;

3. Titles were continued in trust for 25 years, or longer, at the president's discretion;

4. Citizenship was conferred upon all allottees and upon other Indians who abandoned their tribes and adopted the habits of civilized life; and

5. Surplus tribal lands remaining after allotment might be sold to the United States.[3]

In 1890, based upon the Allotment Act, the U.S. Government took away 17,400,000 acres which the government defined as "surplus", approximately one-seventh of all Indian lands. At the time, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morgan rationalized this terrible injustice:

> *The settled policy of the government (is) to break up reservations, destroy tribal relations, settle Indians upon their own homesteads, incorporate them into the national life, and deal with them not as nations or tribes or bands, but as individual citizens. ...This might seem like a somewhat rapid reduction of the landed estate of the Indians, but when it is considered that for the most part the land relinquished was not being used for any purpose whatever, that scarcely any of it was in cultivation, that the Indians did not need it and would not be likely to need it at any future time, and that they were, as is believed, reasonably well paid for it, the matter assumes quite a different aspect. The sooner the tribal relations are broken up and the reservation system done away with the better it will be for all concerned. If there were no other reason for this change, the fact that individual ownership of property is the universal custom among civilized people of this country would be sufficient reason for urging the handful of Indians to adopt it.*[4]

The Allotment Period in Montana

Indian nations located in Montana Territory prior to the passage of the Montana Constitution in 1889 held large land bases as negotiated through their treaties with the United States.[5] The treaties assigned tribes to certain areas and obligated them to respect the land of their neighbors:

> *However, the mining invasions of the 1860s disrupted these areas as miners and others rushed into the prime gold fields that often lay along or within the designated tribal lands. The new inhabitants demanded federal protection, thus beginning the garrisoning of Montana and the eventual relocation of the tribes to smaller and smaller reserves.*[6]

This era also saw federal intervention against the Indian people in Montana Territory, and the final acceptance of reservation life. Among these events and trends were:

- The Bear River Massacre of the Blackfeet Indians, 1870;
- Battle of the Little Big Horn, 1876;
- Starvation among tribes because the treaty rations did not arrive;
- Range wars for more land and livestock expansion;
- Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce acceptance of peace at the Bear Paw Mountains, 1877;
- Mining interests on Indian lands;
- Expansion of the railroad across Indian land;
- The relocation of Indian tribes to smaller reservation land bases because of presidential proclamations and agreements;
- Whiskey runners and other lawless groups invading Indian tribal lands;
- Development of small towns adjacent to Indian reservations; and;
- Other complex situations involving cultural misunderstanding that negatively affected relationships with Indian tribes.

Indian Citizenship Act of 1924

It is strange to realize that the original inhabitants of America were not considered citizens or granted the rights of American citizens until the twentieth century. Allotment had made a provision for allottees who gave up their tribal identities to gain citizenship, and some Indian veterans were given citizenship as a result of their military service, but as a whole, Indians were still considered aliens in their own homelands. Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act on June 2, 1924 (35 years after Montana became a state), which states:

> *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all noncitizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States: Provided, That the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property.*[7]

This Act came largely in response to American Indians being drafted into service during World War I after Congress realized that Indian treaties had a provision that forbids Indians from raising arms against their enemies. This Act completed a process for Indian citizenship that was already in place through treaty provisions, through statutes granting citizenship to the individuals of specified tribes, land allotments and other special legislation.

Meriam Report of 1928

The next big impact on Indian country came about as a result of the Meriam Report of 1928. Disputes over land ownership, squatter's rights, patent-in-fee status, federal trusteeship over different lands, trespass, right-of-ways and many other issues had continued to be brought before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as a result of the Allotment Act.

These kinds of disputes and the resulting troubles with public opinion required action on the part of the Secretary of the Interior, Hubert Work. In 1926 he asked Lewis Meriam of the Institute for Government Research (better known as the Brookings Institution) to research the problem. Meriam gathered a panel of experts in law, economics, health, sociology, education, and agriculture and began a study of economic and social conditions in Indian country. Data was gathered from the official records as well as original field research. These were the findings of the study:

- *Most of the Indians were poor, many extremely poor.*
- *The general health of the Indians was bad and their living, housing, and sanitary conditions were conducive to the development and spread of disease.*
- *Tuberculosis and trachoma were prevalent to a distressing degree; the death rate and infant mortality rate were high.*
- *In an economic sense, the Indians were backward; insufficient incomes, low standards of living, and an apathetic attitude toward progress were general.*
- *The Indians were not yet adjusted to the new economic and social conditions confronting them.*
- *They had little knowledge of the value of money and land.*
- *The intermittent and generally small incomes from land sales, leases, and per capita payments from tribal funds encouraged idleness and retarded progress.*
- *And it found too much evidence of suffering and discontent to subscribe to the belief that the Indians were satisfied with their conditions.*[8]

Although there were many contributing factors, the main cause was the allotment policy:

> *Not accompanied by adequate instruction in the use of property, it has largely failed in the accomplishment of what was expected of it. It has resulted in much loss of land and an enormous increase in the details of administration without a compensating advance in the economic ability of the Indians. It almost seemed as if the government assumed that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational civilizing factor, but unfortunately this policy had for the most part operated in the opposite direction. Individual ownership in many instances permitted Indians to sell their allotment and to live for a time on the unearned income resulting from the sale.*[9]

The ultimate failure of allotment and the findings of the Meriam Report would shift U.S. Policy once again in 1934 with the Indian Reorganization Act, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

NOTES

1. Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959), 26, accessed August 29, 2013, *https://archive.org/details/indiansandothera012850mbp.*

2. Susan Johnson, et al. *Government to Government: Understanding State and Tribal Governments* (Denver, CO/Washington, D.C.: National Conference of State Legislatures and the National Congress of American Indians, 2000), 15.

3. General Allotment Act, Act of Feb. 8, 1887 (24 Stat. 388, ch. 119, 25 USCA 331).

4. Fey and McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans*, 67-68.

5. Lands held by Indian tribes were also established by Acts of Congress and Executive Orders.

6. The Committee on Indian Affairs, *The Tribal Nations of Montana: A Handbook for Legislators* (Helena, Montana: Montana Legislative Council, 1995), 5, *https://leg.mt.gov/content/committees/interim/2001_2002/st_trib_rel/handbook.pdf.*

7. *Indian Affairs: Laws And Treaties*, Vol. IV, Laws (Compiled to March 4, 1927)
Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929, 1165, *https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/24163.*

8. Fey and McNickle, *Indians and other Americans*, 83-84.

9. Ibid., 84.

Chapter Five:

Leaders of the tribes on the Flathead Indian Reservation of Western Montana take a look at the White House as they visit Washington to be the first tribe to submit a constitution under the terms of the Wheeler-Howard Act. Credit: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, [LC-H2-B-8426].

History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Chapter Five: Tribal Reorganization Period (1934-1953)

The definition of federal trust responsibility, one of the most important doctrines in federal Indian law, is derived from the treaties and the European law of nations. It is the obligation of the federal government "to direct, supervise, and expend such moneys as Congress may from time to time appropriate, for the benefit, care and assistance of Indians throughout the United States," for several purposes, including education.[1]

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934

The Indian Allotment Act, the Indian Citizenship Act and the Meriam Report prompted Congress to review and assess its approach to its treatment of American Indians. On June 18, 1934, the Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The Indian Reorganization Act was introduced in the House by Senator Wheeler of Montana and Congressman Howard of Nebraska, and is also referred to as the Wheeler-Howard Act. The Act's provisions stated that:

1. No lands still in tribal ownership shall be allotted in [the] future. ...

2. An annual authorization of $2,000,000 for the purchase of lands, such purchases to be held under trust and exempt from taxation.

3. Lands that had been withdrawn from tribal ownership for homestead settlement but not entered might be returned to the tribe, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior.

4. That conservation practices be adopted with respect to timber, grass, and other natural resources.

5. Authority for a revolving credit fund of $10,000,000 from which loans might be made to tribes incorporated for credit and other purposes.

6. That the Secretary of the Interior assist Indian tribes in adopting written forms of government, to exercise "the inherent powers of Indian Tribes" and certain additional specified powers.

7. For loans to Indians for the payment of tuition and other expenses in recognized vocational and trade schools, high schools, and colleges.

8. That the Secretary of the Interior establish standards for employment, "without regard to civil service laws, to the various positions maintained, now or hereafter, by the Indian office," and that Indians meeting such non-civil service standards "shall hereafter have the preference to the appointment to vacancies in any such positions."[2]

Describing the Wheeler-Howard Act as the most important piece of Indian legislation since the 1880s, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, in 1934, commented:

It not only ends the long, painful, futile effort to speed up the normal rate of Indian assimilation by individualizing tribal land and other capital assets, but it also endeavors to provide the means,

statutory and financial, to repair as far as possible, the incalculable damage done by the allotment policy and its corollaries. ...The repair work authorized by Congress under the terms of the Act aims at both the economic and spiritual rehabilitation of the Indian race. Congress and the President recognized that the cumulative loss of land brought about by the allotment system had robbed the Indians in large part of the necessary bases for self-support. They clearly saw that this loss and the companion effort to break up all Indian tribal relations had condemned large numbers of Indians to become chronic recipients of charity; that the system of leasing individualized holdings had created many thousands of petty landlords unfitted to support themselves when their rightful income vanished; that a major proportion of the Red race was, therefore, ruined economically and pauperized spiritually.[3]

Tribal Constitutions

It had always been understood, and reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court, that Congress has plenary power to legislate Indian affairs, and may exercise this power to restrict or eliminate tribal powers. An 1871 study by Felix Cohen to determine what powers of the Indian tribes had been specifically limited or terminated, affirmed the tribes possessed the following rights:

(1) to determine their form of government, which might follow customary law, or might take written form; (2) to administer justice, the tribal jurisdiction being limited by acts of Congress which had placed ten specified major crimes under the jurisdiction of the federal courts --otherwise, crimes or misdemeanors and civil actions involving one Indian against another in so-called Indian country remained within the jurisdiction of the tribe; (3) to determine tribal membership --in this field, also, Congress had intervened and caused final rolls of membership [sic] to be made for some tribes [sic], but in the absence of congressional action the general power remains; with the tribe; (4) to regulate inheritance, except that the power has been limited on those reservations where the tribal land was allotted; (5) to levy taxes on tribal members and to levy fees on nonmembers doing business on tribal property; (6) to exercise the usual authority of a landlord, including the right to exclude persons not members of the tribe; (7) to regulate domestic relations, provide for the adoption of children, etc.[4]

Based on these affirmed rights, tribes began to work on writing tribal constitutions. "The Indian Reorganization Act also provided that tribes, after adopting a form of government, might apply to the Secretary of the Interior for a charter of incorporation. Such a charter conveyed the power to own, manage and dispose of property, within legal limitations. A charter, once issued, might not be revoked except by Act of Congress."[5]

The basic design of the tribal constitutions were similar to those used by corporations, which is why we often see the titles of chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, etc. One hundred thirty five constitutions were written in the years following 1934, and eventually adopted through popular vote by the membership of each tribe.[6]

Yet there were also significant departures in some cases: "Some tribes provided a voice for their traditional chiefs or headmen; ...[others] held elections for a kind of business committee to deal with current affairs."[7] Most tribes give legislative authority to a tribal council. In some tribes, the tribal council members are elected by district; in others, they are elected at-large. The council generally has

authority to write tribal laws, and in some tribes the council members have administrative duties. Most tribal constitutions also provide for an executive officer, called a tribal chairman, president, governor or chief.[8]

Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934

The same year as the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), Congress authorized the Johnson-O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934, which greatly facilitated the policy of cooperation with other agencies and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with states or territories for "the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare, including relief of distress, of Indians in such state or territory."[9] By later amendments the authority was enlarged to permit contracts with "any state university, college, or school or any appropriate state or private corporation, agency or institution."[10]

Many states proved eager to take the available federal subsidies for Indian education, but they were not as eager to provide the required cultural support services that would allow Indian children to succeed in public school settings. Although the Johnson-O'Malley program resulted in the transfer of thousands of Indian children into the public school system, it did not successfully meet the education needs of the American Indian students.

> *Bureau educators were very dubious about the motives of the state public school systems. Principally they feared that public schools were more interested in the money that Indian enrollment would add to their school budgets than in the Indian pupils themselves. They knew that many schools were in serious financial difficulty and were eager to receive additional funds. The challenges for Bureau educators were twofold: Could they retain sufficient control over the funding and administration of public school programs to ensure that the type of education needed by Indian pupils would be provided? Given the trend of increasing the state control of JOM programs, could they teach state administrators the unique approach necessary for Indian students before the states took over?...*
>
> *By the 1960s then, it had become apparent that the concern of Bureau leaders in the 1930s over public school funding for Indian education had been justified. Their predictions that the state school systems would be more interested in the additional money than in the Indian students had proven correct. This situation continued to exist for so many years largely because those who are directly affected by the aid - Indian pupils, parents and communities - had never been consulted. Throughout most of this period the question of Indian involvement was not even raised.*[11]

Two federal studies concluded that the Johnson O'Malley program had never resulted in its intended educational benefits to Indian students. Cross continues:

> *The failure of federal aid between 1928 and 1973 is illustrated dramatically by the tragic effect it had on Indian children in public school. Throughout these four decades, one of the most persistent problems was that of poor attendance and high dropouts. Lack of motivation, general defeatism, and a semi-nomadic pattern of existence - all these combined to make the Indian child feel there was no reason for attending or continuing school. Consequently, the Indian level of achievement remained well below the national average.*[12]

The Reorganization Period in Montana

The Tribal Nations of Montana, a Handbook for Legislators, explains the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) as it pertains to Montana tribes:

> *One result of the IRA was the creation of a single tribal government for more than one Indian tribe. This occurred because in some instances, the federal government had placed more than one tribe on a single reservation. In Montana, an example is the placement of the Assiniboine and the Sioux together on the Fort Peck Reservation. The IRA did not allow for separate governments for each tribe. In order to retain some cultural identity, some tribal governments have made constitutional provisions for elected representatives of each tribe to serve on the tribal council.*
>
> *Approximately 30 percent of the tribes in the United States chose not to come under the IRA… In Montana, the Crow Tribe rejected the IRA in favor of a general council form of government, in which each enrolled tribal member has a vote if the member attends the general council meeting. The general council elects the tribal officers who are responsible for the day-to-day operation of the tribal government.*[13]

The Crow Tribal Council elects its executive committee, which then becomes responsible for the executive and judicial functions of the tribe. The people are responsible for the legislative functions of the government, and they meet at quarterly meetings to vote on the agenda items. On the other hand, the Blackfeet Tribal Business council elects its nine-member council. The nine members elect their executive committee. The Blackfeet Tribal Council is responsible for the executive, legislative and judicial functions governing the tribe and they make all the decisions.

Tribal governments in Montana today still have their own particular processes for electing their leaders, and most still operate based on IRA-style constitutions, although somewhat modified, in conducting the business of the tribes.

NOTES

1. Susan Johnson, et al. *Government to Government: Understanding State and Tribal Governments* (Denver, CO/Washington, D.C.: National Conference of State Legislatures and the National Congress of American Indians, 2000), 13.

2. Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959), 96-97, accessed August 29, 2013 *https://archive.org/details/indiansandothera012850mbp*

3. Fey and McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans*, 99.

4. Ibid., 97-98.

5. Ibid., 98.

6. Ibid., 98.

7. Ibid., 98.

8. Johnson, *Government to Government*, 13.

9. *Johnson-O'Malley Act, 1934*. Facts on File History Database Center, accessed on August 30, 2013.

10. Raymond Cross, "American Indian Education: The Terror of History and the Nation's Debt to the Indian Peoples," *University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law Review* 21, No. 4 (1999), 960-961.

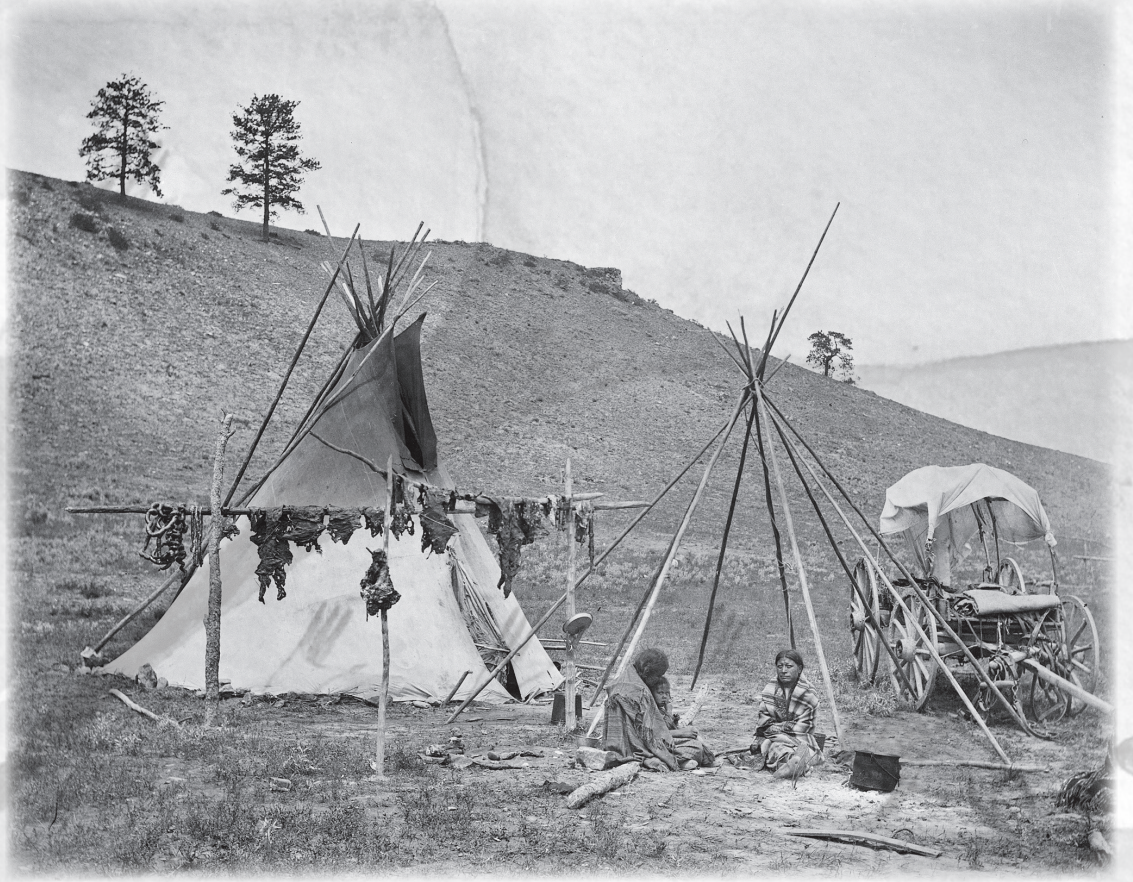
11. Ibid., 962-963.

12. Ibid., 963.

13. Committee on Indian Affairs, *The Tribal Nations of Montana: A Handbook for Legislators*, 60-61 (March 1995), *https://leg.mt.gov/content/committees/interim/2001_2002/st_trib_rel/handbook.pdf.*

Chapter Six:

Termination of Indian Tribes (1953-1975)



Catalog # 981-032
"Two Moons Teepee. Lame Deer [Montana]. 1896 [Northern Cheyenne teepee] L. A. Huffman, photographer.
Photograph used with permission of the Montana Historical Society Research Center Archives, Helena, MT. Photos may not be re-used without written permission of the MHS Photograph Archives.

History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Chapter Six: Termination of Indian Tribes (1953-1975)

In 1953, Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108, which implemented a new direction in federal policy toward Indians: Termination of tribal status. Sen. Arthur Watkins (R-Utah), the major proponent for Resolution 108, expressed the philosophy of the termination policy:

> *Philosophically speaking, the Indian wardship problem brings up basically the questionable merit of treating the Indian of today as an Indian, rather than a fellow American citizen … 'As rapidly as possible' we should end the status of Indians as wards of the government and grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship.*[1]

Termination Act of 1953

Dr. Willard Bill (Muckleshoot), in his paper *From Boarding School to Self-Determination*, discusses the termination period's effect on American Indians:

> *At the close of World War II there was a movement to revert Bureau policies to a prior era. The U.S. Congress began to use specific language in their deliberations regarding termination. In 1944 a house select committee on Indian Affairs offered recommendations for achieving "the final solution of the Indian problem." . . . The Committee Report stated, "The goal of Indian education should be to make the Indian child a better American, rather than to equip him simply to be a better Indian." By 1948 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was setting up criteria for determining a tribe's readiness for withdrawing from Federal Services. . . . The termination goal was to have tribes rid themselves of Indian trust land and to terminate federal recognition and services. Indians would leave the reservation and relocate in cities.*
>
> *The government continued to withdraw services during the 1950s. In 1952 the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed all of its federal schools in Idaho, Michigan, Washington, and Wisconsin.*[2]

House Concurrent Resolution (HCR) 108 which was passed in 1953, listed 109 specific tribes and bands that were to be terminated, almost all of them in Oregon and California.[3] HCR 108 also named certain states where all the tribes were to be "freed from Federal supervision." All offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the named states were to be closed "upon the release of such tribes and individual members thereof from such disabilities and limitations…"[4] However, the Bureau was only closed in Texas, which had already removed most of its tribes to reservations in Oklahoma during the 1800s.[5] Among the reservations listed for termination in Montana were the Blackfeet, Flathead, Fort Belknap and Fort Peck.[6]

The first tribe terminated under the new policy was the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, on June 17, 1954. "Menominees had an advanced economic development program in the areas of forest land investment and a sawmill operation. ... Other tribes terminated during this period included the Klamaths … [of Oregon, and tribes in Utah, Texas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma] Now these functions were given to the states, which used state court systems. This transfer of law enforcement was another indication that termination was vitally affecting American Indian tribes."[7]

Resistance to HCR 108

By 1954, resistance to the new termination policy was strong among Indian groups and their allies. A Washington Post article at the time stated:

> *Congress has run into a storm of protest against some of the Indian bills it has under consideration. When hearings on the so-called termination bills were held recently, tribes from twenty-one states and Alaska are said to have sent to Washington the largest gathering of Indians ever to appear here. Complaints are continuing to flow in by mail and telephone and personal visits. Some of the tribes appear to be almost frantic over the suggestion that they be freed from Indian Bureau supervision – and aid.*[8]

Rev. Harold E. Fey, former editor of the *Christian Century*, in his argument against the Termination Bill, HCR 108, stated:

> *The bills deriving from H.R. 108 do more than withdraw federal trust from Indian properties placed on tax rolls. They also terminate the application of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, abolish tribal constitutions and corporations based on that law, abrogate federal-Indian treaties, and impose the breakup of tribal properties into individual parcels. But the basis of the Indian's apprehension is that these bills threaten his land. He remembers what happened as a result of the Indian Allotment Act of 1887; Indian landholdings shrank from 139 million to 48 million…*[9]

Relocation Act of 1956

As part of this directed cultural assimilation, another destructive policy was implemented in the Indian Relocation Act of 1956, a sort of forced resettlement to urban areas like Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco through vocational training, which scattered tribal members far away from their home reservations and community.[10] The beginning of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in part was a result of the turmoil caused by termination and relocation.[11] By 1960, sixty-one tribes had been terminated nationally.[12]

An End to Termination

In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson's message to Congress on Indian affairs called for federal support of Indian involvement in Indian affairs and an end to the termination policy: "A goal that ends the debate about 'termination' of Indian programs and stresses self-determination; a goal that erases old attitudes and paternalism, promotes partnership and self-help."[13]

President Nixon also criticized the policy in 1970: "Forced termination is wrong, in my judgment, for a number of reasons. First, the premises on which it rests are wrong.... The second reason for rejecting forced termination is that the practical results have been clearly harmful in the few instances in which termination actually has been tried.... The third argument I would make against forced termination concerns the effect it has had upon the overwhelming majority of tribes which still enjoy a special relationship with the Federal government.... The recommendations of this administration represent an historic step forward in Indian policy. We are proposing to break sharply with past approaches to Indian problems."[14]

Stopping termination took numerous civil lawsuits, such as the 1974 Boldt Decision, which continued until 1980. With the passage of the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, Congress implicitly rejected termination policy, and so 1975 may be considered by all accounts as the year ending the period of termination and the beginning of tribal self-determination. But there was no explicit repudiation of termination until Reagan issued a policy statement rejecting it in 1983.

The suffering of tribal peoples created in the language of House Concurrent Resolution 108 was effectively ended. No tribes in Montana were terminated after all.

NOTES

1. Ardy Bowker, *Sisters in the Blood* (Washington, D.C.: WEEA Publishing Center, 1993), 20-21.

2. Willard Bill, *From Boarding School to Self-Determination*. Olympia, WA: State of Washington, Office of Public Instruction, 1987, 21-22.

3. *AAA Native Arts.Com: Native American Indian Tribes of the U.S.*, *https://www.aaanativearts.com/ustribes-a-z.*

4. *Indian Affairs: Laws And Treaties, Vol. VI, Laws* (Compiled from February 10, 1939 to January 13, 1971), Washington: Government Printing Office, https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/kapplers/id/24163.

5. S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy*. Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2001, 172-173.

6. Tyler, *History*, 169-171.

7. Bill, *Boarding School*, 21-22.

8. *The Washington Post*, April 12, 1954, Cited in Tyler, *History*, 174-175.

9. Tyler, *History*, 177.

10. National Archives at Chicago. *American Indian Urban Relocation*, accessed August 30, 2013.

11. Mid-Continent Comprehensive Center, *Knowledge Bases: Termination and Relocation,* accessed August 30, 2013.

12. Stan Juneau, *A History and Foundation of American Indian Education Policy*. Helena, MT: Montana Office of Public Instruction, 2001.

13. Tyler, *History*, 176.

14. U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. *President Nixon, Special Message on Indian Affairs, https://www.epa.gov/tribal/president-nixon-special-meaage-indian-affairs-july-8-1970.*

Chapter Seven:

Indian Self-Determination and Beyond (1975-Present)

President Gerald Ford with Fort Peck Tribal Councilman Caleb Shields at the White House, at the end of the Trail of Self Determination Caravan to Washington, D.C., July 16, 1976. The President later sent Mr. Shields a copy of the picture with a letter. Photo used with permission from Caleb Shields.

Chapter Seven: Indian Self-Determination and Beyond (1975-Present)

> *After 400 years of experience as the oppressed native peoples of our country, it is time we implemented the concept of self-determination as Native Americans and assert control over our lives. By controlling the education of our young through Native American Studies, we are molding the Native American of tomorrow, with the attributes of warrior, scholar, and community activist. But this total Red Man, the finished product, can only result through us as Native American educators taking the initiative to incorporate time-tried perspectives into the new academic sphere of Native American Studies. -Dr. Henrietta Whiteman (Mann)*[1]

The Era of Tribal Self-Determination

In 1970, President Richard Nixon presented his "Indian message" to Congress where he called for a new federal policy of self-determination for the American Indian people. Congress responded to this message by enacting into law several new Indian statutes that confirmed the inherent sovereign powers of the Indian people. The intent of these new laws was to establish a meaningful "government-to-government" relationship between federal agencies and the various Indian tribes.

Two outcomes from the president's message that impacted education were the eventual passage of the self-determination statutes in Public Law (PL) 93-638, *The Indian Self Determination and Education Act of 1975*, and PL 100-297, *The Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978*.[2]

When reviewing the effects of these two pieces of legislation on Indian education, one finds insight in the following dialogue from the "Indian Control of Education" section of the Washington State Office of Public Instruction publication, by Dr. Willard E. Bill (Muckelshoot), *From Boarding School to Self-Determination*:

> *Education innovations which had their impetus in the 1960s found their fruition in the 1970s. Indian communities and Alaskan villages began to develop their own educational programs open to enrollment by Native American youth…*
>
> *American Indian and Alaskan Native leaders perceived that schools controlled by their community would have a built-in cultural relevance which would strengthen the self-concept of students. After years of struggling to inform elected officials and educators of the unique status of the American Indians, they realized that an Indian-controlled school was necessary to provide validity to native culture. The Indian-controlled school, by its very nature of organization, is held accountable to the local Indian leadership.*
>
> *The teachers and administrators understand their role in enhancing the culture, self-concept, and confidence of Indian youths entrusted to their teaching. With the tribal council or village council in control there is an incentive for the teacher to promote cultural relevance.*
>
> *…The fact that these Indian-controlled schools increased enrollment ... was evidence that tribal schools were meeting an important need of which Indian tribes had been deprived for the prior one hundred years.*

Post-secondary education was included in the educational plans of Indian communities, beginning in 1968 with the creation of Navajo Community College. Tribally Controlled Colleges are controlled by the Indian community and provide valuable training to meet the demand for skilled workers in industry, tribal development, social/welfare services, and education. The American Indian Higher Education Consortium emerged as a national organization to facilitate communication between these tribal colleges, develop legislation to provide resources for program operation, and to provide technical assistance to regions of the United States that want to develop Indian-controlled institutions of higher education.[3]

Indian Education: A Three-Legged Stool

Raymond Cross states that President Nixon's Indian message in 1970 set the stage for what Cross refers to as the new "three legged stool" of American Indian Education. The three legs represent the accurate representation of Indians in public education, the trust duty of the U.S. for Indian people, and tribal self-determination as applied to tribal education.

Restructuring Indian education in the 21st Century requires the fulfillment of an old covenant between the Indian peoples and the federal government. The potential revitalization of this covenant is based on three educational "shoulds":

1. The state governments "should" view public school education as requiring the fair and accurate representation of the American Indian people within their history and social studies curricula for the benefit of Indian and non-Indian students alike. Existing public school curricula restrict the discussion of contemporary American Indian issues to a brief mention within history, social studies, and literature classes. Rarely is contemporary Indian life or the major contributions of Indians to American life discussed or taken seriously.

2. The federal government "should" view the education of the American Indian as its continuing trust duty that extends from the K-12 grades through higher education for qualified Indian students. The unique legal and political relationship of the Federal Government with the tribal governments and the unique educational and culturally related academic needs of American Indian and Alaskan Native students are recognized.

3. The tribal governments "should" view the education of their tribal members as a fundamental goal of tribal self-determination, co-equal with their responsibility to protect and preserve their natural and cultural resources. Tribal governments have, of course, the primary responsibility for ensuring the appropriate education of their tribal children.

...Creating this new "three legged stool" of American Indian education need not be an arduous or expensive undertaking. Substantial legal and treaty authority would sustain these undertakings by federal, state and tribal education authorities.[4]

Raymond Cross concludes that planning only goes so far; action is also required:

We need to do more than talk about reforming American Indian education, we need to do something about it! Reconstructing American Indian education in the 21st Century will be a

slow and painful process. It will require long-term effort, as well as legal, economic, and ethical initiatives on behalf of American educational leadership. But this effort, if forthcoming, will be worth it and America's Indian peoples will finally gain a share in the education of their children.[5]

The Little Shell Tribe of Montana and its Struggle for Recognition

For those tribes who had reservations, the old threat of termination had been real, but not all tribes in Montana had land to lose. For the landless Chippewa-Cree Indians of Montana, possessing a land base still seems to be a distant dream.

The Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa of Montana received state recognition as an Indian tribe in 2000. Their petition for federal recognition, however, was denied by the Department of Interior in 2009. In its review of all of the evidence in the record, the Department concluded that the Little Shell did not satisfy three of the seven mandatory criteria for acknowledgment, specifically the three requirements that a tribe:

1. "...has been identified as an Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis at least since 1900."
2. "...comprises a distinct community since historical times and maintain significant social relationships and interaction as part of a distinct community."
3. "...maintains political influence over a community of its members, or over communities that have combined into the petitioning tribe."[6]

Self-Determination and Indian Education in Montana

Indian education in Montana's public school systems on Indian reservations became a significant issue during the thirty year period between 1970 and 2000. At the state level, self-determination in Indian education surfaced to the top of the agenda under the leadership of Earl Barlow and Dwight Billedeaux. Under their leadership, the Johnson-O'Malley Program began to establish Indian parent committees that determined which programs would be funded at the local school level on each Indian reservation in Montana. The first conference of many statewide Indian education organizations became an annual event and continues to provide an opportunity for educators and parents to become familiar with successful programs and activities throughout the state of Montana.

Montana wrote its new constitution in 1972. Two Native American students from Fort Peck, Diana Leuppe and Mavis Scott, testified before the members of the Constitutional Convention that the state needs to remember the tribal culture, history, languages and Indian education as specifically promoted in the state constitution. The 100 non-Indian delegates included several American Indian references in the new constitution. The Montana constitution continued to recognize the Enabling Act which explicitly acknowledges federal authority, control and jurisdiction over Indian land, rather than that of the state government. Montana went further than any other state in the union when it included Article X, Section 1(2): "The state recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indians, and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity."[7]

The significance of Indian Education For All and its legacy will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

In the introduction of her 1993 book, *Sisters In the Blood*, Dr. Ardy Bowker discusses one of the most urgent issues in Indian education today, student drop-out rate:

> *Among the most serious problems confronting Indian educators and tribal groups is that American Indian children have the highest drop-out rate among all ethnic minority groups in the nation. Current statistics suggest that 50 percent of all American Indian students now enrolled in school will not graduate. Research further indicates that American Indian females are more likely to drop out than Indian males. …The question becomes, are we as American Indian people willing to continue to accept this notion of success for some and failure for others? We need to ask ourselves, is there a way we can guarantee success for all children? Can we in good conscience accept that 50 percent of our children will continue to fail in our schools? Is the middle-class Anglo culture the only yardstick we can use to measure success and failure in schools? Further, we need to ask ourselves, is it always the purpose of American Indian schools to transmit the Anglo culture? Is it our responsibility to educate our children to give up their 'Indianness' in order to be successful in school and in today's society? And finally, are we willing to accept the deficit model as a sufficient explanation for the success or failure of American Indian children in school?* [8]

The dropout rate for Montana American Indian students in 2011-12 was 7.1% versus 2.2% for White students.[9]

NOTES

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Chapter Eight:

Indian Education in Montana (1972-Present)

New high school on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation nearing completion, 2009. Photo used with permission from John McGill, Browning, Montana.

Chapter Eight: Indian Education in Montana (1972-Present)

Montana's Indian Education for All (IEFA) movement has had a far reaching impact. At Indian education conferences across the nation, sessions describing IEFA are always well attended. The major question from the attendees is always the same: "How did you manage to get such an innovative act passed by your legislature?" The answer, however facetious is: "It's simple. First, you change your state's constitution…"

As Indian education moves beyond self-determination, there are three elements that may help answer the questions posed by Dr. Bowker at the end of the last chapter, and hopefully reduce the high drop-out rate that still exists among Indian students in Montana's public school system:

- Passage of a state law (MCA-20-1-501), known as Indian Education For All
- Current Montana Indian education policy that resulted from that law
- Culturally responsive curriculum and instruction, including native language teaching and learning

Indian Education For All (MCA-20-1-501)

The 56th Montana Legislature (1999) passed into law, House Bill 528 (HB 528), codified as MCA 20-1-501, also popularly known as "Indian Education for All," which implemented Article X, Section 1(2), of the 1972 Montana Constitution.

Representative Carol Juneau, a resident on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation and an enrolled member of the Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota, introduced HB 528 to ensure that certified teaching personnel have an understanding of the history, culture and contemporary contributions of Montana's Indian people. In the bill, every Montanan, whether Indian or non-Indian, is encouraged to learn about the distinct and unique heritage of American Indians in a culturally responsive manner.[1]

The Montana Code Annotated 2013 reads:

> ***20-1-501. Recognition of American Indian cultural heritage -- legislative intent.*** *(1) It is the constitutionally declared policy of this state to recognize the distinct and unique cultural heritage of American Indians and to be committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural heritage.*
> *(2) It is the intent of the legislature that in accordance with Article X, section 1(2), of the Montana constitution:*
> *(a) every Montanan, whether Indian or non-Indian, be encouraged to learn about the distinct and unique heritage of American Indians in a culturally responsive manner; and*
> *(b) every educational agency and all educational personnel will work cooperatively with Montana tribes or those tribes that are in close proximity, when providing instruction or when implementing an educational goal or adopting a rule related to the education of each Montana citizen, to include information specific to the cultural heritage and contemporary contributions of American Indians, with particular emphasis on Montana Indian tribal groups and governments.*
> *(3) It is also the intent of this part, predicated on the belief that all school personnel should have an understanding and awareness of Indian tribes to help them relate effectively with Indian students*

and parents, that educational personnel provide means by which school personnel will gain an understanding of and appreciation for the American Indian people.[2]

Montana Indian Education Policy

Montana's State Constitution provides the basis for the state's education institutions, including guidance for the direction of their services in order to develop policies to implement laws that are passed. Support is also given to strengthen the understanding and relations among the affected state programs. Thus, Montana's tribal nations and the state of Montana, including the Board of Public Education, the Office of Public Instruction, and the Office of Higher Education, jointly developed action plans to implement MCA 20-1-501, the Public Education Policy in Article X, 1(2) . These plans were subsequently approved by the Board of Education, which includes the K-12 Board of Public Education and the Board of Regents, and included the following commitments:

- Provide opportunities in its schools for all Montana's students to gain an awareness and understanding of the unique culture, heritage, and contemporary issues of American and Montana Indians;

- Provide the educational personnel and its leadership with opportunities through training and supportive service to be better prepared to teach American/Montana Indian students in the state's classrooms;

- Support strategies to promote recruitment and retention of American Indian teachers in Montana's public schools.

- Provide a model curriculum and recommended supportive resources of Montana Indian history, culture and contemporary issues approved by the Montana Advisory Council on Indian Education (MACIE) and make this curriculum available to all its public schools K-12 along with assessment strategies to be utilized for accountability guidance for these schools and OPI; and

- Provide guidance in professional development to ensure that the state's educational personnel have available appropriate opportunities to learn about American/Montana Indians to better prepare them to provide leadership and instructional support to students in meeting this policy's commitment.

These provisions established a model for the Office of Public Instruction, together with educators, under which Indian Education for All is being implemented.

Tribal Languages Preservation

Research suggests that knowing two languages can change brain function. In the December 2009 issue of Psychological Science in the Public Interest, a journal of the Association for Psychological Science, a panel of distinguished psychological scientists examined the ways in which knowing two languages can change the way people think, affecting cognitive processes involved in more than just communication.[3]

Throughout the history of America, educational institutions had a role in deliberately utilizing policies and processes for the elimination of Indian languages in order to totally destroy every aspect of Indian culture and identity. If one considers the state of native languages today in America, this goal has almost been achieved.

When Darrell Robes Kipp (Blackfeet) became concerned that the Blackfeet language was endangered, he founded the Piegan Institute to revive the Blackfeet language in Montana. The Piegan Institute developed several immersion schools, which were created as formal educational institutions staffed by fluent Blackfoot teachers to develop curriculum teaching materials in the Blackfeet language and provide instruction entirely in Blackfeet. The schools are well supported by the students' families with a high level of participation by parents and elders.

When asked how immersion schools first developed, Darrell Kipp stated "…after years of frustration attempting to bring the Blackfoot Language into the public school systems and consistently being denied, I decided one day why do I need to ask permission? If the Blackfoot Language is to survive, and I am to be a part of that survival, then I just need to build my own schools." His school promotes respect for each other and for others, pride in being an Indian, and includes the community as special contributors to the school.

Among the most recent Native language retention efforts in Montana is the White Clay Immersion School. The school was founded in 2003 under the guidance and direction of Dr. Lynette Chandler. It is located in the Aaniiih Nakoda (formally Fort Belknap) College Cultural Center in Harlem, Montana. The school's mission is to revitalize the White Clay language. Dr. Chandler is an enrolled member of the A´aninin tribe. She has helped to raise the amount of White Clay speakers significantly, bringing the language back from the edge of extinction. In 2012, Dr. Chandler was selected as the Indian Educator of the Year by the Montana Indian Education Association, largely in recognition for her efforts to restore the White Clay language.

At present, there are three immersion schools in Montana:

- Cuts Wood School, Piegan Institute (Blackfeet Reservation)
- Nkwsum Salish Language Institute (Flathead Reservation)
- White Clay Language Institute (Fort Belknap Reservation)

As non-public (private) schools, these institutions have a degree of freedom to be innovative while maintaining high academic standards. Hopefully, their success will encourage other tribes to follow.

Class 7 American Indian Language Teaching License

In November 1995, the Board of Public Education (supported unanimously by Montana tribes) approved a certification titled "Class 7 American Indian Language and Culture Specialist" to teach Native American language. The Class 7 certificate was put in place to ensure quality Native language instruction for Montana's children. Rule 10.56.436 (American Indian Language and Cultural Specialist), Administrative Rules of Montana (ARM), states:

> *The Superintendent of Public Instruction shall issue a Class 7 license based upon verification by the American Indian tribe for which the language and culture licensure is desired that the individual*

has met tribal standards for competency and fluency as a requisite for teaching that language and culture. Candidates for Class 7 licensure must meet all nonacademic requirements for licensure in Montana.

The board will accept and place on file the criteria developed by each tribe for qualifying an individual as competent to be a specialist in its language and culture.

A school district may assign an individual licensed under this rule to only specialist services within the field of American Indian language and culture under such supervision as the district may deem appropriate. No teaching license or endorsement is required for duties within this prescribed field.[4]

Hundreds of native language teachers have been certified with Class 7 licenses since the license was created.

Indian Education Models

There are many models for teaching Indian students available today, and more are being developed each year. The three models of education discussed in this section, if fully implemented, bring Indian nations and the state of Montana beyond self-determination well into the 21st century. The future success of Indian students in academic institutions will depend on the cooperation of educational institutions, decision makers, parents and tribal governments.

As the education systems for Indian students develop within public education institutions in Montana, Indian language and culture need to be seen as essential parts of the solution, rather than seen as impediments to achieving educational goals. Indian people would strongly agree with Darrell Robes Kipp's assertion that Indians do not need to ask permission to be part of the solution.

IEFA Really Does Mean "Indian Education for All"

Indian Education for All applies to all educational endeavors in the state, inclusive of teachers and students, Indian and non-Indian. In order to meet the legal mandate of Indian Education for All, the Montana Office of Public Instruction (OPI) established a number of initiatives on several fronts for all of Montana's students, whatever their background.

Essential Understandings Regarding American Indians

The foundation for guiding Indian Education for All began in 1999 when Indian educators met in Helena to discuss the most important issues regarding Montana tribes that teachers and others need to understand. The product of those discussions is the publication, "Essential Understandings Regarding Montana's American Indians." These seven elements are included below, as they are the guiding principles behind IEFA and the development of curriculum and professional development that support it.

Tribal histories and contemporary tribal members, governments and nations have shaped and are shaping the social and political face of Montana. An educated and contemporary Montana citizen

has basic knowledge of these histories and Montana tribes.

1. There is great diversity among the twelve sovereign tribes of Montana in their languages, cultures, histories, and governments. Each tribe has a distinct and unique cultural heritage that contributes to modern Montana.

2. Just as there is a great diversity among tribal nations, there is great diversity among individual American Indians as identity is developed, defined, and redefined by many entities, organizations and people. There is no generic Indian.

3. The ideologies of Native traditional beliefs and spirituality persist into modern day life as tribal cultures, traditions and languages are still practiced by many American Indian people and are incorporated into how tribes govern and manage their affairs. Additionally, each tribe has its own oral histories beginning with its origin that are as valid as written histories. These histories predate the "discovery" of North America.

4. . . . reservations are lands that have been reserved by or for tribes for their exclusive use as permanent homelands. Some were created through treaties, while others were created by statutes and executive orders. The principle that land should be acquired from tribes only through their consent by treaty making involved three assumptions:

I. Both parties to treaties were sovereign powers;
II. Indian tribes had some form of transferable title to the land;
III. Acquisition of Indian lands was solely a government matter not to be left to individual colonists or states.

5. There were many federal policies put into place throughout American history that have impacted Indian people and continue to shape who they are today. . . . Much of Indian history can be related through several major federal policy periods. These are:

Colonization Period 1492 – 1800s
Treaty-Making and Removal Period 1778 – 1871
Reservation Period - Allotment and Assimilation 1887 – 1934
Tribal Reorganization Period 1934 – 1953
Termination Period 1953 – 1968
Self-determination Period 1975 – current

6. History is a story most often related through the subjective experience of the teller. With the inclusion of more and varied voices, histories are being rediscovered and revised. History told from American Indian perspectives frequently conflicts with stories mainstream historians tell.

7. American Indian tribal nations are inherent sovereign nations and they possess sovereign powers, separate and independent from the federal and state governments. However, under the American legal system, the extent and breadth of self-governing powers are not the same for each tribe.[5]

Not only do these "Essential Understandings" guide Montana's education by and about Indian people, they have served as a guiding document for similar educational efforts in other states. On July 25, 2011, the South Dakota Board of Education adopted the "*Oceti Sakowin* (Seven Council Fires) Essential Understandings and Standards."[6] Other states have similar documents under development.[7]

Mike Jetty, Indian Education Specialist with the Division of Indian Education Programs and Services in the Montana Office of Public Instruction, reported that Maine, South Dakota and Colorado have developed their own Essential Understandings to promote similar IEFA-focused efforts in their respective states. The Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) has been collaborating with Montana's OPI Indian Education staff to develop a national set of Essential Understandings in order to promote national efforts to educate all Americans about American Indian history and contemporary issues.[8]

Montana Content Standards

Indian Education for All has been integrated in Montana social studies, science, reading and math standards. On November 4, 2011, Montana adopted the Common Core State Standards in English Language Arts, Literacy, and Mathematics. These standards were developed through a state-led initiative sponsored by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and the National Governor's Association (NGA). Montana's success in implementing IEFA is being supported, in part, by incorporating concepts from the Essential Understandings into the Common Core State Standards.

Montana educators joined together to examine the Common Core Standards. They determined that the standards emphasize what students should know and be able to accomplish at every grade level, as well as prepare students to be college and career ready upon graduation from high school. In addition, Montana's Common Core Standards reflect the state's values and priorities and include Indian Education For All content.[9]

An example of how these Standards recognize Native content is illustrated by the "Montana Common Core Standards for Mathematics and Mathematical Practice Grade-Band K-12," as in this exercise:

> *6.SP.2: Understand that a set of data collected (including Montana American Indian demographic data) to answer a statistical question has a distribution which can be described by its center, spread, and overall shape.*[10]

IEFA and Educational Resources

Laws, guidelines and standards are only a starting point for the creation of useful and appropriate content. Therefore, the development of educational resources has been a major priority for the Office of Public Instruction's IEFA implementation strategy. One of the challenges with integrating Native perspectives into curriculum is that there have been limited accessible or credible resources available to educators.

In 2005, the Montana Legislature appropriated funds and OPI awarded "Ready To Go" grants (and Implementation Grants) to school districts and educational organizations to develop accurate and appropriate resource materials and to design and deliver relevant professional development. These best practices and resources were then offered to other schools to be replicated throughout the state for ongoing implementation of Indian Education for All.

Since 2006, to ensure that appropriate material reached teachers and schools, OPI has provided model lessons, books, videos, and instructional materials that were vetted for cultural and historical accuracy.[11] Model lessons have been created in multiple content areas, including mathematics, language arts, health enhancement, science and social studies at various grade levels. Among the most innovative are model lessons and units for traditional American Indian games, a curriculum guide for teaching about Native poetry and two science lessons that focus on traditional ethno-astronomy (*Montana Skies: Blackfeet and Crow Astronomy)*.[12]

Tribal Histories Project

While each tribe has a history that goes back to the beginning of time, the written record is generally from a non-Indian perspective and often does not reflect deep tribal knowledge. The reasons for this are many. Some historians relied only on previously published material while others were incapable of understanding the cultural nuances that sometimes accompany the research.

In Montana, Indian Education For All provided a mechanism for tribes to undertake the telling of their own histories, in their own ways and with their own voices. Montana Governor Brian Schweitzer proposed an initiative that provided funding to the seven Montana tribal colleges in order to develop and publish tribal histories that were to be disseminated to schools for the development of IEFA curriculum and instruction. The Montana Legislature allocated two million dollars, to be divided equally among tribes, to develop tribal histories. The two-year project yielded a wealth of information and resources in the form of publications and videos. Copies of the Blackfeet, Crow, Fort Peck, Northern Cheyenne, and Salish and Kootenai histories have been sent to all K-12 libraries (See Appendix 2).

To assist Montana teachers in using the tribal histories, OPI contracted with Indian educator Julie Cajune (Salish) to develop *Montana Tribal Histories: Educators Resource Guide and Companion DVD* in 2011. The resource chronologically follows federal Indian policy periods through their impact on tribes and includes sample lesson plans.[13]

New Montana History Textbook

Until recently, Montana history textbooks that had been used in classrooms often offered limited perspectives of underrepresented citizens of the state, including Native Americans.

In 2009, a team led by Krys Holmes and historian Dave Walter published a new Montana history text, *Montana: Stories of the Land*. The text begins by featuring the first Montanans, the Native people who called this region home, over 12,000 years before there was such a thing as the state of Montana. The book features Indian perspectives on the age of exploration, fur trade, gold rush, and the Homestead Era, and continues on into the present.

There is also an accompanying website, maintained by the Montana Historical Society, and teaching material that provides further information for educators: lesson plans, resources and videos for classroom use.[14]

Additional Resources

OPI has partnered with numerous other organizations to create educational materials for IEFA use. One of the most useful is the website, montanatribes.org, that includes information about individual tribes and reservations together with videos from tribal members reflecting on the Essential Understandings. This resource has been developed for use in implementing Indian Education for All, through a collaboration between Montana's Office of Public Instruction and the University of Montana's Regional Learning Project (now inactive) in the Center for Continuing Education.

The Montana Historical Society also produced a twelve episode video series, *Montana Mosaic: 20th-Century People and Events*,[15] to introduce new primary source material, and twentieth-century topics to facilitate rigorous intellectual inquiry and discussion. The series features interviews with such notable Montana Indian people as Stan and Carol Juneau and Blackfeet artist Ernie Pepion. *Montana Mosaic*, has been sent to all K-12 libraries, and aligns with the Montana State social studies standards, with concepts from the "Essential Understandings Regarding Montana Indians."

To provide direction to schools about implementation of Indian Education For All, the Office of Public Instruction published *The Framework: A Practical Guide for Montana Teachers and Administrators Implementing Indian Education for All* (developed by Dr. Tammy Elser and published in 2010). Among the topics considered are methods for refining policy and developing implementation plans as well as ways to evaluate IEFA curriculum.

Fulfillment of the promise of Article X of the Montana Constitution and the Indian Education for All Act is an ongoing process that will result in students graduating from Montana schools having an understanding of Montana tribes that has been lacking in the past. The interface between Indian Education for All and Indian student achievement creates motivating opportunities for Indian students to make academic connections to the cultures and histories that have not been strongly present in Indian education.

American Indian Heritage Day

In Montana, the fourth Friday in September has been established as "American Indian Heritage Day" with the passage of Senate Bill 117, signed into law in April of 1997 by Governor Marc Racicot. Its roots actually go back to 1975, when the Montana Legislature enacted House Joint Resolution No. 57, designating the fourth Friday in September of each year as "Native American Day." Senate Bill 117 requires schools to commemorate the event with appropriate activities.

Although American Indian Heritage Day predates Indian Education For All, this commemoration has taken on new life since the bill's passage. To further ensure that Native American perspectives are included in instructional opportunities in Montana's public educational institutions, special observances are carried out in communities across the state each year. In addition, by resolution, the Montana University System, governing the state's institutions of higher education, "are charged with conducting appropriate exercises commemorating the role of Indians in Montana's past, present, and future."[16]

Additional Influences of IEFA

The concepts of IEFA are also applicable to other groups within Montana's educational systems, as well as Indian education. In 2010, following the IEFA model, the Office of Public Instruction published "Essential Understandings for Montana Hutterites: A Resource for Educators and Students."[17]

Dr. Jioanna Carjuzaa, multicultural education scholar at Montana State University, states that IEFA *"may now be considered the most comprehensive and progressive approach to Single-Group Studies that any U. S. state has ever attempted."*[18] While other states cannot necessarily replicate the circumstances that created IEFA, i.e. a state Constitutional Convention, there is great interest in replicating the results and their benefits.

Phi Delta Kappa, the journal of the Phi Delta Kappa Fraternity, International, a U.S. professional organization for educators, devoted the November 2006 issue to Indian Education for All. This is another example of how significant Indian Education for All has been as an innovation in public education. Article authors included the Governor of Montana at the time, Brian Schweitzer, and Carol Juneau, then a Montana State Senator.[19]

Conclusion

Indian Education For All (IEFA) has proven itself over the past decade to be a watershed of opportunities for improved cultural understanding and meaningful dialogue among Montana's Indian communities and the mainstream society within the state.

It is hoped that this publication will be similarly useful to various stakeholders working in the field of education. The reader has been provided a thematic framework for understanding our history and its effects on Indian education, including the traditional educational systems of the indigenous Native nations, changing federal policy, the new forms of education imposed on Indian students (notably the federal boarding school system), and finally the changes of the last few decades under the federal policy of Indian Self-Determination and the state of Montana's groundbreaking law, Indian Education For All (IEFA). One can see for oneself, it has been a process of ongoing change and challenge.

Yet one can also see the many new opportunities and tools that now exist for the improved education for all of the students of Montana, non-Indian as well as Indian. To repeat part of an earlier quotation by Vine Deloria, Jr.: "If we can change our concept of education to include the specifically Indian things of life, we have only to wait and soon we shall see that we are in many ways far ahead of the rest of society."[20]

NOTES

1. MontanaTribes.Org, "Indian Education For All," accessed September 2, 2013.

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11. Montana Office of Public Instruction, "Indian Education For All," *http://opi.mt.gov/Educators/Teaching-Learning/Indian-Education-for-All*

12. Lesson plans can be found at: Montana Office of Public Instruction, "Indian Education Classroom Resources, *http://opi.mt.gov/Educators/Teaching-Learning/Indian-Education-for-All/Indian-Education-Classroom-Resources.*

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19. Several articles on IEFA can be found in *Phi Delta Kappan* 88, No. 3 (November 2006), *https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/pdka/88/3.*

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Observations

History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Observations by Stan Juneau (2001)

New Direction for Public Education on Indian Reservations

As Montana's public education institutions move into the 21st century, educators must begin the process of building upon the success of the past in order for change in systems that will be institutionalized to educate all Montana students.

Public schools began to operate on Indian reservations in Montana in the early 1900s. Although public schools were originally opened to meet the educational needs of non-Indian children residing on Indian reservations, Indian students began to enroll almost from the beginning. The public schools provided an opportunity for Indian people to receive an education in their local communities. The curriculum and instruction in public schools was, and continues to be, designed to meet the standards of the state education system. The curriculum offered limited information on the local Indian culture, history and traditions of the local tribal groups and it did not encourage participation from local tribal government officials in its decision-making policies.

Indians Given Access to Public Schools

As more Indian students enrolled in local public schools it created a smaller enrollment at the federal on-reservation boarding schools, the local BIA day schools and the mission schools. As the enrollment decreased in federal and mission schools and the costs of educating fewer students increased, many of the BIA day schools and mission schools closed. As more Indian students enrolled in public schools, the state of Montana became concerned with the cost of educating Indian students. The states brought their concerns to the attention of the Congress. The federal government began to provide funding sources to public schools on reservations to assist with the increased education costs of Indian students. Congress responded by the passage of legislation and appropriations, including the Johnson-O'Malley Act.

Has Montana Succeeded in Educating Indian Students?

How well the state of Montana has responded to the education of Indian students can be judged by recent reports provided from public schools located on Indian reservations to the Office of Public Instruction. Many of these reports indicate that the current system is not working for a large majority of its Indian students. The drop-out rates continue to be extremely high, the scores on standardized tests are mostly below the benchmark for the state, curriculum and instruction is not oriented toward promoting Indian culture and history, and the local Board of Trustee system still does not promote involvement of tribal governments and their officials.

The question then becomes, is there a better system that recognizes "the unique cultural heritage of the American Indian," the constitutionally declared policy of this state? This publication does not attempt to answer that question, but, rather, provides insight into some of the history of educating Indian students, including here in Montana, and leaves it to the imagination of the reader to create that other system that can provide a more successful model.

As the education community creates new policies and curriculum standards that its institutions are

encouraged to meet, it is important to include the Indian community and tribal governments in its decision making process at the local level. Montana currently does a good job of educating most of its students, but it is important to remember that it is not meeting the educational needs of many of its Indian students. Perhaps this publication will bring a better understanding of what has happened in the past and what will need to be accomplished in the 21st century to bring Indian students into the education model designed by the state of Montana.

Observations by Walter C. Fleming regarding American Indian Student Achievement (2012)

Originally written in 2001, Stan Juneau's frank assessment of the future of Indian Education in Montana remains applicable in 2012. Since 2001, much has happened. Some of the positive changes have been the result of evolving Indian education policies. Others have been a result of tireless efforts by Montana's public school teachers and administrators. And, at one level, improvements have been the result of increased resources in support of improved instruction. In a recent report on American Indian Student Achievement, the Office of Public Instruction declares:

> *In 2007, the Montana State Legislature passed Montana Code Annotated 20-9-330, appropriating $200 per American Indian child, totaling over $3 million dollars per year, to provide funding to school districts for the purpose of closing the educational achievement gap that exists between American Indian students and non-Indian students.*[1]

There are signs of improvement, whether or not the product of innovative thinking embraced by Indian Education for All policies or changing times is not yet known. A review of the Montana American Indian Student Achievement Data Report (Fall 2010) shows true progress. According to the data, "the number of American Indian/Alaskan Native students scoring 'At or Above Proficient' levels has improved in Reading, Mathematics, and Science since testing began."[2] The gap between American Indian and non-Indian students in reading and mathematics has decreased between 2006 and 2010 and the percentage of American Indian students scoring "At or Above Proficient" levels in science has increased.[3]

On the other hand, Under No Child Left Behind, Montana school districts with the highest enrollment of Indian students have been identified as having the greatest need for school improvement.

History, however, is in our favor. As Superintendent of Public Instruction, Denise Juneau reminds us, "the well-being and accomplishments of all Montana students is vital to the future success of our state …This is what the business of education is all about and this is the reason that administrators, teachers, support staff, school trustees, families and communities work so hard in Montana."[4]

As Chief Plenty Coups (Crow) said, "Get a white man's education. Without it you are the white man's victim – with an education, you are his equal."[5]

NOTES

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4. Montana Office of Public Instruction, *Montana American Indian Student Achievement Data Report*, Fall 2010, 1.

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Appendices and Bibliography

History and Foundation of American Indian Education

Appendix 1: Chronology of Important Dates in Indian Education

The following are lists of dates and events that illustrate the history of major Congressional Acts and other systems for controlling Indian tribes through an education institution that was geared toward the creation of changes to their lifestyles. In the beginning, these events involved the religious organizations of America and early contact with European settlers but were eventually sanctioned by the U.S. Congress and, later, the states. This chronology will demonstrate that the involvement of Indian tribes in formal educational processes throughout the history of the United States is older than the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

1539 Lectures of Francisco de Victoria at the University of Salamanca, Spain, advocating that Indians were free men and were exempt from slavery. They were to be dealt with through treaties and fair trade.

1568 Society of Jesus established a school in Havana, Cuba for Indians of Florida.

1617 Moor's Charity School founded as a training school for the education of youth of Indian tribes of English youth and others at Lebanon, Connecticut (later becomes Dartmouth College).

1619 Virginia Company started the first mission schools. Abandoned in 1622.

1723 William and Mary College opened special house for Indian students.

1775 Continental Congress approved $500 to educate Indians at Dartmouth College.

1778 On September 17, 1778, the first treaty between the United States and an Indian Nation was signed with the Delaware.

1802 Congress approved appropriations , not to exceed $15,000 annually, to "promote civilization among the savages." Cherokees and Choctaws soon develop their own systems of schools and academies.

1803 $3,000 was appropriated to "civilize and educate the heathens …"

1819 Early Civilization Fund authorized by Congress was given to the Indian agencies for the purpose of having Christian missionaries "civilize" and "Christianize" the American Indian population in the amount of $10,000. Missionaries continued to receive the "civilization funds" until the 1870s.

1824 Indian Service Department (BIA) created in the War Department.

1831 The Cherokee were forcefully removed from Georgia to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. This removal began the destruction of the sophisticated education systems developed by the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles.

1832 Post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs established in the War Department.

1834 Department of Indian Affairs organized under the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834.

1842 Number of federal Indian schools reached thirty-seven.

1849 Department of Indian Affairs placed in the Department of the Interior because of the nature of the Indian lands.

1849 Gold discovered in California. Indian people lost most of their possessions, tribal members and land base. The Mission Schools in California survived with one-tenth of their former members.

1860 First federal boarding school established on the Yakima Indian Reservation in Washington State.

1865 Congressional committee recommended creation of boarding schools away from Indian communities, with emphasis on agricultural training for students.

1870 Federal appropriations of $100,000 authorized to operate federal industrial schools for Indians.

1871 Treaty making period with Indian nations ended.

1873 Congressional appeal of missionary society subsidies.

1877 The Board of Indian Commissioners included educational statistics in their annual report creating a baseline for measuring progress of Indian education.

1878 First 17 young Indians released as prisoners of war from Fort Marion, Florida, began to attend Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute at Hampton, Virginia. Special "Wigwam" building constructed in the same year for Indian students, who would continue to attend the school until 1923.

1879 Carlisle Indian School established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, by Colonel R. H. Pratt at an abandoned Army barracks, constituting the first off-reservation Indian school enrolling children from the West and Midwest. Many Indian students from Montana attended.

1880 Chemawa Boarding School for Indian children opened in Salem, Oregon. Many Indian students from Montana still attend.

1881 Number of federal Indian schools reached 106. By 1892, twelve boarding schools would be established which would suppress use of Indian languages and practice of Indian religions.

1882 Congress provided that abandoned military posts be turned into Indian schools. Haskell Institute established at Lawrence, Kansas. Many Indian students from Montana still attend Haskell Institute.

1884 Congress prohibited the sending of Indian children to schools outside the state or territory of their residence without the consent of their parents or natural guardians, and forbade the withholding of rations as a technique of securing parental consent in an act of August 15.

1885 Congress provided that Indians could not be taken from a school in any state or territory to a school in another state against their will or written consent of parents.

1885 Moravian mission school established at Bethel, Alaska.

1885 Lumbees established their own school system in North Carolina.

1887 Lumbees established Old Main Indian College, Pembroke, North Carolina.

1889 Montana Territory received statehood status. The Enabling Act was included in the state of Montana Constitution.

1890 Federal tuition offered to public schools to educate a few Indian children.

1890 Thomas J. Morgan published a code of "Rules for Indian Schools" which indicated that government schools were only intended to be a temporary provision to serve Indian students until they could attend white schools. It marked the beginning of the practice of sending certain Indian children to public schools.

1892 Commissioner of Indian Affairs authorized to make and enforce regulations pertaining to attendance of Indian children at schools established and maintained for them.

1892 Federal teachers and physicians placed under U.S. Civil Service.

1904 The Fort Shaw (Montana) Government Indian Boarding School girls' basketball team was proclaimed "World's Champions" at the St. Louis World's Fair.

1906 Congress abolished Oklahoma Cherokee school system.

1916 Uniform course of study introduced into all federal Indian schools.

1918 Federal educational services limited to children of one-quarter or more Indian blood under the terms of the Appropriation Act of May 25, 1918.

1920 Indian students in public schools outnumbered students in federal schools for the first time.

1921 Snyder Act is passed by Congress. This act authorized program services to Indian people

through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, still a primary legislative authority for the financial resources of the BIA schools today.

1924 Congress declared Indians as citizens of the United States.

1928 Meriam Report. This report was critical of the BIA school system and altered the federal approach to Indian education.

1933 Indian Emergency Conservation Works Program (IECWP) which provided vocational training to Indians. There were 85,000 Indians who served in the IECWP between 1933 and 1942.

1933 The Board of Indian Commissioners was disbanded by executive order.

1934 Johnson O'Malley Act. This act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make contracts with any state territory, political subdivision and other non-profit agency for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance and welfare of Indians. The impact of the act was to get states to take an interest in the education of Indians by providing federal aid to states to ease the impact of tax-free Indian lands on a state's willingness to provide a variety of services to Indians.

1950 Impact Aid and Public School Construction Amendments. Grants provided through these acts afforded general operating resources to public school districts enrolling Indian children whose parents either lived or worked on federal property. By amendments to these two pieces of legislation many eligible school districts became those which enrolled Indian children living on Indian reservations.

1952 Congress passed a program to relocate Indians away from the reservations in line with the impending policy of termination of United States - Indian relations with some tribes.

1953 House Concurrent Resolution 108 inaugurated Termination Era. The BIA ended operation of all federal schools in Washington, Idaho, Michigan and Wisconsin. The BIA boarding schools, however, were expanded.

1956 Congress expanded vocational educational program of adult Indians residing on or near reservations on August 3, designed to strengthen the relocation program of Indians.

1960 President Dwight D. Eisenhower instructed the Secretary of the Interior to accelerate efforts to provide schools for all Indian children.

1960 Rocky Boy School opened in Montana under an Indian Board of Education.

1962 Institute of American Indian Arts created in Santa Fe, New Mexico, using remodeled facilities of an older boarding school to provide high school arts programs and post-high school vocational arts program. Many Indian students from Montana still attend.

1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This act was designed to benefit all disadvantaged youth in America. In 1966, Title I of this act was amended to include the BIA. Title III was also to include the BIA. Title IV provided for regional education laboratories for development of new and more effective programs for Indian students, both public and federal.

1966 First Indian Teacher Corps project begun at Niobrara, Macy and Winnebago, Nebraska, in Indian Country. Montana participated in 1968.

1967 The BIA established National Indian Education Advisory Committee.

1968 Number of federal Indian schools reached 226.

1968 Sen. Robert Kennedy began Senate probe into Indian education.

1968 Navajo Community College (now Diné College), the first tribally controlled college in the nation, founded in Tsaile, Arizona.

1968 President Johnson directed BIA to establish advisory boards at all its schools.

1969 "Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge," Special Senate Subcommittee Report on Indian Education released recommending increased Indian control of education, creation of an exemplary federal school system, and establishment of a national Indian Board of Education.

1970 National Indian Education Association, a union of Indian teachers, educators and scholars, formed in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

1970 President Richard Nixon announced an era of Indian control over decisions affecting Indians, including the field of education.

1970 Haskell Institute became Haskell Indian Junior College at Lawrence, Kansas.

1971 Began the formation of Tribally Controlled Community Colleges throughout the United States. Montana began their involvement with Tribally Controlled Community Colleges from 1975 to present. Currently, there is a Tribally Controlled College on every reservation in Montana.

1972 Montana ratified its new Constitution. The Constitution carried forward the 1889 provision from the Enabling Act. Article X, section 1(2) "The state recognizes the unique and distinct cultural heritage of the American Indians and is committed in its education goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity." Montana is the only state among the 50 in having an explicit constitutional commitment to its Indian citizens.

1972 Indian Education Act of 1972. The U.S. Department of Education provided direct funds for the special needs of all Indian students in public schools with ten or more Indian

students (now known as Title IX Indian Education). Priority funding was given to Indian tribes and organizations in use of discretionary program money. The National Advisory Council on Indian Education was established to oversee provisions of the law, set program priorities and assess Indian education throughout the federal establishment. The Act enabled the U.S. Department of Education to begin active work with Indian community colleges. Set-asides were authorized for training of teachers of Indian children.

1972 American Indian Higher Education Consortium formed in Boulder, Colorado, by members of the Boards of Regents of the new Indian community colleges.

1972 First members of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education appointed by President Richard Nixon, under terms of the Indian Education Act of 1972.

1972 First annual statewide Johnson O'Malley Conference in Billings, Montana.

1973 The Indian Studies Law (House Bill 343) was passed by the Montana Legislature which required all public schools teaching personnel employed on or in the vicinity of Indian reservations have a background in American Indian Studies by July 1, 1979. The act was modified in 1981, making compliance permissive. Only three school districts in Montana complied.

1975 Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. Montana's Indian Culture Master Plan was developed and presented to the state in an effort to remedy underachievement of Indian students in the public school system.

1975 Montana enacted House Joint Resolution No. 57, designating the fourth Friday in September of each year as "Native American Day." Despite good intentions, this Day was largely unobserved.

1978 S. 1215, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter, providing stable funding for emerging tribal colleges.

1982 Johnson O'Malley Conference changed to Montana Indian Education Association.

1984 The Board of Public Education established the Montana Advisory Council on Indian Education.

1989 Montana School Accreditation Standards and Procedures Manual referred specifically to the needs of American Indian children in directing that schools shall "nurture an understanding of the values and contributions of Montana's Native Americans and the unique needs and abilities of Native American students and other minority groups."

1989 Office of the Commissioner of Higher Education, Montana, began the TRACKS Project which eventually created the Office of Minority Achievement.

1989 The American Indian College Fund was created to raise money for scholarships and tribal college support.

1990 The Plan for American Indian Education in Montana: Recommended Goals was completed by Montana Advisory Council on Indian Education (MACIE).

1990 The "Opening of the Pipeline" Conference on Higher Education and Native American Studies was hosted by Montana State University.

1990 The Native American Language Act of 1990 (Executive Law 101-477) declared that, as policy, Native Americans were entitled to use their own languages.

1990 Public Law 100-292, authorized the White House Conference on Indian Education.

1990 "Indian Nations at Risk" was reported by the White House Conference on Indian Education.

1992 The National Haskell Board of Regents recommended a new name to reflect its vision for Haskell as a national center for Indian education, research, and cultural preservation. In 1993, the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of the Interior, approved the change, and Haskell became Haskell Indian Nations University.

1992 The White House Conference on Indian Education was held.

1994 Congress provided Land Grand status for tribal colleges and universities in U.S. agricultural legislation.

1995 The Board of Public Education (supported unanimously by Montana tribes) approved a certification titled "Class 7 American Indian Language and Culture specialist" to teach Native American language. The Class 7 certificate was put in place to ensure quality Native language instruction for Montana's children.

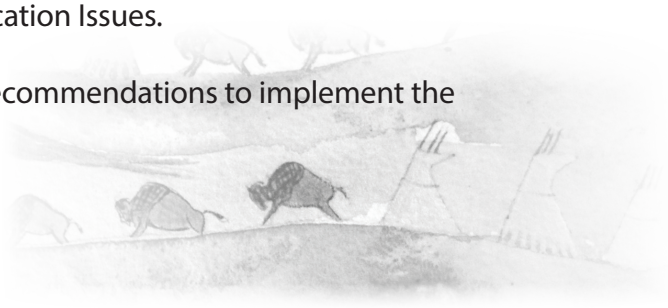
1997 Montana Governor Marc Racicot signed into law legislation requiring schools in Montana to "conduct exercises during the school day" on the fourth Friday in September commemorating American Indian Heritage Day.

1999 The Montana Legislature passed into law HB 528 to implement Article X, section 1(2) of the Constitution, MCA 20-1-501 Recognition of American Indian cultural heritage.

1999 First statewide Indian parent conference organized by Indian Education Specialist, Office of Public Instruction. Organization named Voices of Indian Communities for Education (VOICE) created.

1999 First statewide Legislative Forum on Indian Education Issues.

2000 Montana Board of Public Education approved recommendations to implement the legislative intent of HB 528.



2000 Montana Indian Education Association changed name to Montana-Wyoming Indian Education Association.

2000 Montana hosted its first Conference on Race with special emphasis on education of Indians and other minority students.

2001 PL 107-110 Indian Education was reauthorized as Title VII, Part A of the No Child Left Behind Act.

2006 Montana Governor Brian Schweitzer appointed Dr. Janine Pease (Crow) to the Board of Regents for Montana's University System. She is believed to be the first American Indian on the Board of Regents.

2008 Denise Juneau (Mandan/Hidatsa) was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction, Montana. She is the first American Indian woman to be elected to a statewide executive office in Montana.

2009 The federal government denied the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana's petition for recognition, arguing the tribe does not meet the legal requirements of federal recognition, including a failure by the tribe to display political influence over its scattered and landless membership.

2011 Fort Belknap College is renamed Aaniiih Nakoda College recognizing the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine tribes' own names for themselves. Aaniiih is the name of the White Clay People and Nakoda are the Assiniboine.

2011 Montana adopted the Common Core State Standards in English, Language Arts, Literacy and Mathematics. These standards include Indian Education for All content.

2011 William Mendoza (Oglala/Sicangu Lakota) was appointed Director of the White House Initiative on American Indian and Alaska Native Education. Mendoza was the principal of Monforton School, Bozeman, Montana and earned his doctorate from Montana State University.

2011 Joyce Silverthorne (Salish) was selected as the Director of the Office of Indian Education, U.S. Department of Education.

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In the completion of this document, the writings and publications of many people were reviewed, as well as many tribal, state and federal government documents published over the past thirty years. The writings and publications of these historians and scholars made the writing of this document a personal pleasure. A special thank you to the contributors of the written articles used in this document. Not all the following sources were cited in this publication, but all were valuable to the writers of this document and should provide useful sources for readers who want to do further research.

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Stan is a graduate of Browning High School. In his senior year of high school he visited with his guidance counselor and teachers about his desire to attend and graduate from college and return to Browning High School as a teacher. He was informed that it would be better for him to attend vocational school in Kansas because he did not have the academic preparation to be successful in college. After high school, he attended Haskell Institute in Kansas, but later returned to Montana and enrolled in college. Today, Stan has bachelor's degrees in vocational rehabilitation and related services, and in business education from the former Eastern Montana College. He received his Master of Education Degree in School Administration from the University of Montana. Stan returned to Browning Public Schools where he was employed and certified as both a teacher and administrator for twenty years, and later retired from Heart Butte Schools as superintendent.

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Mr. Juneau's original report was updated and new sections added by Walter C. Fleming. Mr. Fleming was born at Crow Agency, Montana and raised on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in southeastern Montana. He is a "BIA brat," the son of Cline Fleming (Cherokee) and Clarice Fleming (Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas). Fleming is an enrolled member of the Kickapoo tribe. He graduated from Lame Deer Elementary and Colstrip High School.

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Copies of this public document were published at an estimated cost of $. per copy, for a total cost of $ .00, which includes $ .00 for printing and $0.00 for distribution

Design: Ellen Leidl

History and Foundation of American Indian Education