

The Impact of Historical Boarding Schools on Native American Families and Parenting Roles

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Abstract

The Native American boarding schools of the 1800's and early 1900's left a crater in Native American societies. Under the pretense of helping devastated Indian Nations, boarding schools created places of assimilation, forcing children to attend and sometimes resorting to what would now be called kidnapping. Many of these children died from homesickness, working accidents, uncontrolled diseases and ill-planned escape attempts. The schools were abolished in the 1940's, but the damage had been done. Language, culture, and religion were among the absent when the children returned home. One of the most important of the missing was the parenting skills that were honed over the years by the Native American elders, leaving these children lost because they were raised by complete strangers in historical boarding schools.

In the Lakota language, the word for child is “Wikanyeja,” composed from two words, “wakanyan” or sacred and “najin” to stand. “For us a child stands sacred in this world, a special gift from the Creator.”¹ The Apache tribe believed that children were a gift from the spirit world to prolong and give new growth to this world²; they were considered intelligent beings from the day they were born and were treated as such. Many Native American children were taught in the oral tradition with stories and reenactments, they were taught how to work by watching others and picking up the skills when they were ready. When Boarding Schools took the children away it was often at the age where this stories and lessons would begin to have an impact on their lives. Without these life lessons and the community teachers that taught them, a huge loss of knowledge was accumulated such as the loss of religion, language, storytelling, and culturally unique lessons.

The Ojibwe, according to studies from the 1930's by sociologist Inez Hilger, considered a fetus as an intelligent being after the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, or when the mother would begin to show through her dress,³ and if a miscarriage or abortion occurred after this period, the fetus would be buried with the same ceremonies as child already born or a young adult. Abortion was very uncommon in the Anishinaabe tribe, but some women would resort to it if they became pregnant too quickly after their last child or if they were unable to care for another. They would abort the fetus by inhaling the smoke of burning plants or drinking a broth made from herbs. The selection of herbs was usually known by only one woman in the tribe and to gain her knowledge, the woman seeking the abortion would have to give her gifts to procure it⁴. During pregnancy women were given a strict diet of what to eat and what not to eat. This was to keep the baby from being deformed, marked, or subject to some other disability. A mother who ate a raspberry would give birth to a child with a red mark, a child born with freckles had a mother who had eaten sea gull eggs, a mother who ate a turtle would give birth to a child who was slow of foot, a rabbit head would cause a slow mind, and so forth. The father was not set to such strict

¹ Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 19.

² *Ibid.*, 17.

³ M. Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life and It's Cultural Background* (St. Paul MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

restrictions, but he was required to make sure he prayed to the spirit of the deer when he brought food home and to be sure not to anger the spirits who might take it out on his child⁵.

As a child grew into maturity his path was decided by several crossroads: his/her first dream, first fast, and puberty rituals. The dreams would come first; after a certain age the father would begin to ask the child every morning if he had any special dreams. These dreams could be of almost anything, though there were many bad omens. The Lac du Flambeau tribe in Wisconsin put a lot of significance in anything related to thunderbirds or nature. But dreaming of a dog would mean a short life, dreaming of a black horse would signify a death in the family, and dreaming of water was a very bad omen – saying that a child would soon die⁶.

Once a child had dreamed, he would then fast. His father would paint his face with charcoal and remind him not to eat. Some fasts would only last a day or so and the only thing banned would be food, but a power fast, a fast for someone searching for great power, would last between 4-8 days and would be performed without food or drink. The younger the child was the less time it would spend fasting. Every year the fasting would be repeated and the children would be sent again and again out into the woods to search for their dreams. The boys would build ‘nests’ for them to sleep in up in the trees, while the girls would fast walking through the woods and sleeping on the ground. Most women did not fast for longer than 4 days while men would usually fast for somewhere around 10. Fasting was done before puberty as she was considered impure after she started bleeding and it would be considered improper; men would not fast after his voice began to change as he too would be considered impure, though in some extreme cases a helper would tell the individual to fast after puberty for even greater power. What the children saw and heard in their dreams while fasting would predict how they would grow. His or her guardian spirit would show himself to the children and give them advice, knowledge, or power⁷. If a child saw a goose, or a thunderbird, he would have control over the storms. If a child heard someone singing to him he or she would be able to sing in the most beautiful voice. A boy who was visited by the Great Spirit was given the powers of the hunter, to never go hungry while the deer still roamed in the woods. After a child fasted he or she was given a unique medicine bag that contained his or her “medicine” or the things the Great Spirit had shown him in his dreams, like feathers, claws, or a piece of cloth.

When a girl in the Lac du Flambeau tribe first had her first menstrual cycle it was significant. Her mother would feed her, as she was not allowed to touch herself, then take her out to a wigwam where she was to wait out her menstrual cycle. She could only eat dried meats and roots. When her cycle was done, she would wash her clothes in a nearby stream, then walk back to her mother’s home on a walkway of bark or sticks for if a man walked across her path he would be paralyzed. Once she had reached her mother’s home she would be fed a bite of every food at a great feast and then she would be able to feed herself and was considered a woman. From then on she was free to do her duties to an extent during her menstrual cycle except she was not allowed to attend a dance, bathe herself in a stream, or attend with the elders⁸ during that time. When a boy’s voice began to change, his sign of puberty, he was simply taken out to the woods again as he would before to fast and would wait ten days in his nest before he came home. While in his nest he would make his final encounter with his helper. If he did not see his helper or any helper while he fasted he would fast again in a month. While it would often take many times for a boy to become a man by seeing his helper again, he would very rarely fail in his last fast and not see anything.⁹ Coming of age was important to the education of these children because it started the age where they would begin to learn from their parents and community. The dreams and their spirits guides figuratively gave these children the intelligence to ask questions and pursue their life goals in a literal sense. Puberty was also important as it marked the age where the children would begin to live more like their parents and less like children, the ‘graduation’ so to speak.

⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁶ Ibid., 40.

⁷ Ibid., 44.

⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁹ Ibid., 49.

Ojibwe children were taught in an informal fashion, most of their teaching before puberty and they would have a full education before they were married. Education was drastically different than what is considered education today. Children would sit in on others working and watch and listen. Elders would tell children stories that taught them moral lessons, and watching their mother would teach girls how to cook. Boys would go hunting with their fathers and learn how to shoot and skin a deer by observation.¹⁰ If a specific woman had a talent in tanning hides, or an elder a particular gift at storytelling, the parents would send their children to learn, but for the most time it was the child's job to hunt out education and to yearn to learn more. Very unique tasks, such as beading or tipping of arrows, would happen at a certain time of the year where all the children would come together and listen as the teacher would teach all of them to do the required task. The next year the teacher would come back and see how the pupils were coming along. While the parents expected the child to hunt for their learning, many grandparents with time on their hands grew impatient and would take the child aside to teach him or her for the day. When a child reached puberty it was highly common for a grandparent to come and take him away with him for a week or so to teach him things that he had not already learned.¹¹

As the age of Boarding Schools came into effect a lot of children were collected from reservations and homesteads by priests or 'men in black'. Many Native American parents were so accustomed to simply obeying what they were told as to not face the consequences that they did not realize they had an option in keeping their children and many were sent away in fear that they would be punished if they were not. A woman remembers when she was a child and a "black suited man", or a man who collected the children for the schools, came to her mother's home and tried to convince the woman that her daughter needed to get an education. The woman listened politely and when the man was finished she told him what she thought in return. "We do not deny our children knowledge. You say that you have teachers who will show my children how to live. Can you not see? Behind me sits my daughter, who is neither blind nor deaf nor imprisoned. She is free to seek knowledge among whomever she chooses to learn from. Her presence among adults indicates her desire to know. Hence, are we not obligated to give her our knowledge whenever she walks among us? ... What need, then, has she of this place called 'school.'"¹² The start of these children being sent to the government funded boarding schools started a generation of children who had been educated to be servants and blue collared workers instead of a people who lived and worked with the earth.

Richard Henry Pratt was the founder of government funded boarding schools. An officer in the army, Pratt was convinced that the reservations were "islands of savagery scattered in a sea of civilization"¹³ and that the only way to civilize these dangerous "islands" were to remove Native Americans from their homes and force them to assimilate at a young age¹⁴. In 1879 Pratt started the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle Pennsylvania and convinced the government to fund the Chemawa school in Oregon¹⁵, kickstarting the assimilation of young Native Americans in boarding schools around the U.S.A. His passion for teaching the savagery out of the Indian inspired others to build more off-reservation Boarding Schools and circulated the saying "Kill the Indian in him and save the man."¹⁶ Pratt was convinced that the inferiority of the Native Americans was not in their race, but instead in their culture and thus easily extinguished when handled correctly¹⁷. But his beliefs had a habit

¹⁰ Ibid., 58.

¹¹ Ibid., 57.

¹² Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 72.

¹³ Edwin L. Chalcraft, *Assimilation's Agent: my life as a superintendent in the Indian boarding school system* (NE, University of Nebraska Press, 2004) xxii.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006) 52.

¹⁷ Ibid., 51.

of irritating his superiors¹⁸, eventually rankling them enough that they removed him from his position¹⁹ despite his departure the concept of off reservation Boarding School had taken off and the next seventy years would be devastating to the Native American culture, religion, and language.

After Native American parents realized they had a choice in where and when their children were sent to school they started to refuse to send them at all. At a loss, the government created a law called The Browning Ruling. The Browning Ruling stated that Native American parents, technically children themselves²⁰ and intellectually inferior, had no right or say as to when, where, and whether or not their children would go to school. “And if Indians are reduced to children, then their parental role is debased, and their children will be raised by some agency of the parent-state.”²¹ This right was taken from the legal guardians and given to the Indian Agent in charge of the tribe, nation, and reservation, and was in affect from 1896 to 1903.²² In 1892 the government first said that it was not “desirable to raise another generation of savages,” and that “the government is justified, as a last resort, in using power to compel attendance” when “parents, without good reason, refuse to educate their children.”²³ The Browning Ruling allowed the government to move children wherever they chose, most often to school on the other side of the country from their parents to decrease runaways and to keep children from learning “untraditional” lessons from their tribal elders. The Browning Ruling also stopped schools that were overflowing with children from dismissing students to make them more manageable. Some schools simply kept adding to their numbers, increasing health risks and decreasing the nutritional value and size of meals, but others began to take from the reservation funds to pay for the children they could no longer afford²⁴. After the Browning Ruling was initiated enrollment in these schools actually lessened, as parents were hiding their children away and denying they ever existed to keep them out of school the ruling was changed in 1903 to state that while Indian parents had no right to stop their children from going to school, they could choose what school they were going to – giving Native American parents the right to keep their children close by instead of seeing them get sent thousands of miles away²⁵.

Boarding Schools, due to Pratt’s careful planning, were designed to “steal” traditional styles. Once a child reached a boarding school, sometimes thousands of miles away so the children could not walk back to their families, they were stripped of their traditional wear, their hair was cut, their language banned, and even their names were replaced with a new English name bestowed upon them²⁶. Personal accounts tell of the terror these children faced, being severely beaten²⁷, being unable to see their families for many years²⁸, and being unwelcome in their own tribes when they were finally able to return home²⁹ – not

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *To remain an Indian: lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education* (2006. New York and London, Teachers College, Columbia University) 47.

²¹ Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 8.

²² Sara Shillinger, *A Case Study of the American Indian Boarding School Movement: An Oral History of Saint Joseph’s Indian Industrial School* (2008, Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edward Mellen Press), 25.

²³ Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 8.

²⁴ Sara Shillinger, *A Case Study of the American Indian Boarding School Movement: An Oral History of Saint Joseph’s Indian Industrial School* (2008, Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edward Mellen Press), 26.

²⁵ K. Tsianina Lomawaima *To remain an Indian: lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. (2006. New York and London, Teachers College, Columbia University). 47.

²⁶ Ibid. 216.

²⁷ Ibid. 220.

²⁸ K. Tsianina Lomawaima *To remain an Indian: lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. (2006. New York and London, Teachers College, Columbia University) 221.

²⁹ Ibid. 223.

accepted in either world. A victim of these schools claimed: “It was part of a bigger plan of assimilation, a way of getting out of a debt. If you take the culture, religion, customs, and language from the children, then when they could no longer be considered Indian, no longer grow up and have Indian children, and they could no longer claim the debt owed them.³⁰” Children were subject to assimilation and brainwashing and were taught to quote things like:

“ [*Boarding Schools*] Did all they
could to teach, and save us,
From idle habits and bad ways.
And carry us safely through the maze
Of reading, writing, and of talking...³¹

Life in boarding schools was set by a strict schedule. The children would normally live by the sun, the moon, and the seasons, never following a strict schedule. In the boarding school there were bells rung for every activity and every hour, one for the rising, one for lunch, one for school, one for work, etc. One such school had as much as 23 bells during the day from 6 in the morning to 8 at night.³² These schools posed many dangers on their students, and many ran away. In 1909, two runaways lost their lower legs to frostbite, while in 1920, 38 boys and 12 girls accomplished a massive breakout³³. The schools were often swamped with diseases like trachoma, measles, tuberculosis, and others. Some schools became so infected that they closed their doors to students and simply became hospitals³⁴. Students were forced to operate heavy machinery and would often lose their limbs or their lives.

Punishment was a big part of these boarding schools. Most common was the whip, or ruler, but in some cases the teachers and owners of the school would go to extremes. A Navajo child, was warned never to run away because runaways were spanked, locked up in a room, and made to walk back and forth in front of the girls and boys dormitory. If a boy, he was dressed in girl’s clothing, and if a girl was dressed in boys clothing . This kind of punishment was made to make one belittle his or her self and become less of a person and more of a machine. Some students were punished by being given a diet of bread and water, or being locked up in cell like rooms . In extreme cases, students would stand in what was called a belt line, and the misbehaving student would have to run down the gauntlet while they beat at him with whips. If a student refused to join in the beating he would be made to run it himself . When three eighth-grade girls ran away to avoid being put through the belt line, they were brought back, roped to the back of a car and dragged along the road . Children at these schools were regularly abused, both mentally and physically. Sexual abuse was common, both boys and girls were traumatized by late night visits from teachers, faculty, and other students.

Used to fresh foods at home such as homegrown vegetables and grass raised meats, the sudden change in diets at the schools were equally devastating. Breakfast might have been watery oatmeal, and lunch the same, but with a piece of bread³⁵. Meat was few and far between and students would often go to bed hungry³⁶. Children were locked up in rooms at night, not even allowed to go out to use the bathroom, and the floors were covered in feces – the smells of which would often sicken the children³⁷. Forced from the warm environment they had at home to the cold and calculated version of the boarding

³⁰Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 177.

³¹David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006) 50.

³² *American Indian Education*, Jon Rehneyer, 163

³³ *Ibid.* 154.

³⁴ Rehneyer, 154

³⁵ *Ibid.* 190.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 190.

³⁷ Rehneyer, 189

schools was devastating to their mental health. Suicides were rampant, children as young as ten years of age would hang themselves to be free of the unwelcoming atmosphere at these schools³⁸.

For some Native American families the Boarding Schools were a life saver, to Native American families who could not afford to feed their children and sent them to boarding schools where they would be fed for free. The “American Indian Education Board” describes it as “boarding schools had become welfare providers of last resort for Indian families.”³⁹ Hilger notes that several families in the White Earth Reservation survived the depression by sending their children to boarding schools, allowing them to be well fed and saving money at home⁴⁰. In 1933 many Ojibwe children were starving and an elder made the observation “When [we] were children an Indian family was never without fruit and meat as is now the case.”⁴¹ Many other children had no other choice, having lost their parents and guardians and were no longer able to raise their siblings by themselves⁴².

Graduation was highly looked forward too. Children would press forward to the day they could leave the school and go back home to what they remembered home being, loving parents and neighbors, good food, and freedom from the oppressing teachers that ruled these schools. According to observations made by Hilger they were often sorely disappointed in what actually occurred after graduation. These children had been raised to do menial work, cleaning, sorting paper work, underclass jobs that most people considered “beneath” them and left to minorities, such as African-Americans and Native Americans. Many became missionaries after finding no other work⁴³ or tasks such as teachers⁴⁴, agency employees, or maids⁴⁵. Students were considered a “bad” or “poor” graduate if you “went back to the blanket” or returned to Native American tradition⁴⁶. After being gone for so many years, many felt unwelcome when they returned home and would have to remake their lives⁴⁷. This would usually be the main reason why students never truly returned to life on the reservation⁴⁸. These students were brainwashed into thinking that their parents were just as cultured and worldly as they were, and their happy reunions usually ended in tears when they⁴⁹, especially the girls, saw what their family was truly like. Everything they had been taught to loathe and hate while in the boarding school was everything their families were and many would turn right around then and there and return to the boarding school to be teachers or otherwise employed⁵⁰. A student of Carlisle remembers her first experience back home: “I had forgotten that home Indians had such grimy faces. I could not help it and [...] I ran back to my school-mother who had taken me home and [...] begged of her to let me back on the train.”⁵¹ All of this led to the biggest urbanization of Native Americans that they had seen so far.

In the 1920’s John Collier Sr. made boarding school history with his Indian Reorganization Act that gave back Native Americans tribes the right to their culture and tradition. Even though it was these “White men” that had made the Native American children who they were, even they wouldn’t truly accept them as working equal members of society. “[For] you can never tell what lurks in a *caged animal*

³⁸ Ibid. 190.

³⁹ Ibid. 154.

⁴⁰ M. Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life and It’s Cultural Background* (St. Paul MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), x.

⁴¹ Ibid. xi.

⁴² Ibid. x.

⁴³ Rehneyer, 194

⁴⁴ Ibid. 195.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 194.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 195.

⁴⁷ Nabokov, 221

⁴⁸ Rehneyer, 197

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 51.

*that has once been wild.*⁵² As the 1930's began many children who had attended some version of a boarding school were becoming parents. A 1930's Sociologist, M. Inez Hilger, stated that it was "shocking"⁵³ that there was such a high illiteracy rate among Indian children when not only was there a "wonderful" opportunity to affordable school, but also when so many parents knew the "wonderful knowledge that could be found at such schools"⁵⁴. Most of these parents who had gone to school and come back were not interested in continuing their education. The men claimed they were not interested when they already had a trade⁵⁵ while most women were said to be interested, but had too deep a connection with their tribe (through family, relationships, or children) and could not be convinced enough to leave⁵⁶. Many complained that the jobs they were taught in boarding school could not be applied to the life they led now, milking cows and making beds was all fine and dandy, until they returned to the reservation and "no W.P.A. (Works Progress Administration) jobs call for that type of skill!"⁵⁷

A woman in the 1980's reminisces on her childhood. Her father, the son of a woman who had attended boarding schools, had always been on the move. He had grown up in foster care when his mother was deemed unable to care for him and once he had come of age he had kept moving – kept searching for who he was. When his daughter was 8 years old he moved to the reservation, still searching. He ultimately failed, having no basis with which to search, but his daughter was able to find herself and mourn what her father would never find. "Why didn't my grandmother raise my father? [I realize] She was just doing what she was taught in the boarding schools."⁵⁸ Stories like hers abound in Native American history. Almost every family has a story to tell about their grandparents, or great grandparents, who went away and came back forever changed. Many compare it to a cycle: The White men took the children from their parents, taught how to work and how to fear their real parents, then set them free. These children grew up and had children of their own and two situations could happen; unsure of how to parent they would ignore their children and work instead, giving the government reason to take their children away and put them in cold unloving foster homes where they would be constantly cycled through due to their rebellion and hatred of others⁵⁹. Another common example is when the parents, still unsure of how to parent, would do the opposite. They would smother their children by always trying to do what was best for them. Sometimes, out of frustration, this would lead to anger, or constant nomadic moving, never sure where was the best place for their precious children. Then their children would grow up knowing only what their parents, or in some cases foster homes, had shown. If they just accept these things as facts of life, these children would grow up doing the same things for their children. Many Native Americans today though have recognized this cycle and are working to break it by returning to the reservations and relearning what their parents had lost. "If I do my job right, the cycle is broken, another cycle begun." States one such child who had returned with his father to the reservation in the 1990's, "I wish it were true for the rest of the stolen ones."⁶⁰

When Columbus first came to America he was the first trigger in centuries of grief for Native American people all over North America. Wars, treaties, allotment, forced assimilation, the attack on their language and culture, and everything else that happened to these people, boarding schools were the accumulation of all that grief. Who took their children as far away from home as they possibly could and

⁵² Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 67.

⁵³ M. Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life and It's Cultural Background* (St. Paul MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 77.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 78.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 79

⁵⁸ Robert Bensen, *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001),186.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 174.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 186.

taught them to fear and hate their ancestry, their parents, and their homes. They often abused them, beat them, and taught them to hate the color of their skin. And when the damage was done they released them back from whence they came, never to be the same again. But now their children are standing up and fighting back – they are putting their foot down and saying, how dare you do these things to us? They are taking back what was theirs and teaching it to their children and learning it from their elders. They are crying outloud to the skies “There is still hope for us!”

Works Cited

Bensen, Robert. *Children of the Dragonfly: Native American Voices on Child Custody and Education*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001.

A collection of stories and recollections about traditional lives, boarding schools, child welfare, and more all told by Native American elders. These stories are direct tales about the impact the Europeans had on Native Americans by enforcing schools and regulations on the easy going Natives. This book will be helpful to me by adding an 'insider' look to the cold hard facts I collect in other books.

Child, Brenda J.. *Boarding school seasons: American Indian families, 1900-1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

A direct account of life at boarding schools with many interjections by others who went through similar accounts. An excellent source for my paper as it will bring the accounts to life.

Danziger, Edmund Jefferson. *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.

A book that includes some of the earliest known practices of Chippewa parents and their children, showing the family traditions, men's' and women's' rites, and a basic history outlining the way they have advanced and the way they used to live before the white man came into their land. A good overlying history behind the Chippewa that I can use to further my comparisons in my paper.

Hilger, M. Inez. *Chippewa Child Life and It's Cultural Background*. St. Paul MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992.

A in depth description of Chippewa family practices and child rearing with cultural explanations concerning the why and how, includes statistics and illustrations. Covers; birth, pregnancy, puberty, training, religion, health, moral training, vocational training, and marriage. Hilger, an anthropologist, stays true to her findings, recording only bare facts with no obvious opinions in the actual writing. Will be crucial in my research paper to show parenting knowledge and child life on the reservations before the introduction of boarding schools and to compare Native American child rearing with European/American child rearing and how they would react differently to boarding schooling.

Hilger, Inez. *Chippewa Families: A Social Study of White Earth Reservation, 1938*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1998.

A good look at the way of life in the White Earth Reservation including stats and primary sources. A excellent source for the before and after look my paper will be giving on the Native American Family life.

Lewis, Phyllis Trujillo, Virginia C. Shipman, and Phillip A. May. "Socioeconomic Status, Psychological Distress, and Other Maternal Risk Factors for Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders among American Indians of the Northern Plains." *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research: The Journal of the National Center* 17, no. 2 (2011): 1 - 21.
<http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/EJ921033.pdf> (accessed April 1, 2012).

A article outlining the correlation between the Socioeconomic status and children born with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders. Good backup argument.

Momper, Sandra L., and Aurora P. Jackson. "Maternal Gambling, Parenting, and Child Behavioral Functioning in Native American Families." *National Association of Social Workers* 31, no. 4 (2007): 199 - 209.
<http://titania.naswpressonline.org/vl=1745533/cl=23/nw=1/rpsv/cw/nasw/10705309/v31n4/s2/p199> (accessed March 5, 2012).

A article describing the correlation between the gambling habits of mothers and the behavioral issues in children specifically in Native American families, through stats, charts, and solid facts, raising belief that there is a direct link between the two. This article is useful for showing the link between parents and actions of their children in my paper and to show that popular beliefs about Native Americans can induce behaviors among them.

Pavel, D. Michael, and Thomas R. Curtin. *Characteristics of American Indian and Alaska native education: results from the 1990-91 and 1993-94 schools and staffing surveys*. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics :, 1997.

Logistical data for Native schools today wth logistics from both the students and the teachers.

Shillinger, Sarah. *A Case Study of the American Indian Boarding School Movement: An Oral History of Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School*. Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edward Mellen Press, 2008

An Oral History of St. Joseph's Indian Industrial School is an excellent description of life at the Menominee Boarding School. In a paper like format, Shillinger covers: Organizational History, the Teacher's perspective, everyday life in boarding schools, conformation, the ultimate failure of Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial Boarding School, and an overall view of boarding schools. Her book more importantly discusses forced assimilation and the impact it had on Native American families and beliefs, how it separated the children from the love of their parents and gave them Europeanized teachers to follow and learn from, mostly catholic nuns and priests, and less Native sources. This book will be hugely important to my paper because it will outline the happenings inside the school and how it might or might not impact the after effects.

Slivka, Kevin . "Art, Craft, and Assimilation: Curriculum for Native Students during the Boarding School Era." *Studies in Art Education* 52, no. 3 (2011): 225 - 242.

An article showing how Richard Henry Pratt specifically used arts and crafts to assimilate the Native Americans by showing them dressed in the European fashion and style to make them think they looked more European than Native American. Slivka also uses before and after drawings to show how their mindset changed after being in Boarding school, before pictures were usually of Native Americans, after pictures were of white soldiers or of ‘civilized’ pictures, like houses and cars. I can use this in my paper to show a direct assimilation in many different forms.

Churchill, Ward. *Kill the Indian, save the man: the genocidal impact of American Indian residential schools* 2004, San Francisco, City Lights Books.

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. *To remain an Indian: lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. 2006. New York and London, Teachers College, Columbia University.