HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHICS, STUDENT ORIGINS, AND RECRUITMENT AT OFF-RESERVATION INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1900

BY

Joshua Jerome Meisel

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Geography and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Jay T. Johnson, Chairperson

James R. Shortridge

Stephen Egbert

Date Defended: 05/06/2014

The Thesis Committee for Joshua Jerome Meisel
certifies that this is the approved version of the following
thesis:

HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHICS, STUDENT ORIGINS,

AND RECRUITMENT AT OFF-RESERVATION INDIAN

BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1900

Committee:

Jay T. Johnson, Chairperson

Date approved: 07/03/2014

ABSTRACT

Beginning in 1878, the United States government funded the establishment of off-reservation industrial training schools for Native American youth. Much has been written about the histories of the schools, but information is limited about the students recruited to them. This research examines enrollment and recruitment policies established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and people like Richard Henry Pratt, the man responsible for creating and developing the off-reservation boarding school system. The 1900 United States Census is used to create maps of student distributions, graphs, and tables detailing the student population demographics, and to compare these data to expected values based on recruitment/enrollment criteria. Although there is wide variation in student demographics among the individual schools, the results indicate that a large number of students enrolled at these schools did not meet the attendance requirements with regard to age limits, gender proportions, the degree of Indian ancestry and the tribal region from where the students came.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would have not been made possible without the support and encouragement from my advisor, Dr. Jay T. Johnson. I would also like to thank Dr. James Shortridge and Dr. Stephen Egbert for their continued support of this research. It has been a long journey for me as a graduate student and I could not have chosen a better graduate committee to guide me along the way. I would also like to thank Dr. David Braaten and Dr. Prasad Gogineni at the Center for the Remote Sensing of Ice Sheets (CReSIS) for giving me the opportunity to attend graduate school and for funding and supporting me in my first years at the University of Kansas. And I would also like to thank Dr. Joane Nagel and Dr. Dan Wildcat for their support in the last years of my education.

I would also like to thank my family, especially my partner, PEmecewan Wesosa Fleuker, whom I met while attending Haskell Indian Nations University as an undergraduate student. She is the greatest mother to our children, my best friend, and inspiration to be the best person I can be. My parents, Lewis and Carla, and my grandfather Martin have all encouraged me in my academic pursuits and it is the desire to make them proud which has driven me to succeed. This thesis is dedicated to my two children, Curtis and Frances, the next generation of "Haskell Rascals."

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The Indian Problem and Education

The European discovery of the New World created a major dilemma for colonial administrators, how best to deal with the Indigenous people of this land and the issue of what would become of them in the midst of European settlement. Civilization was touted as the European gift to the Indians, and that "the Indian race would be lifted out of darkness and superstition into the light of Christian civilization."[1] Many members of the United States government shared the belief that education was the answer to the Indian problem and not military force, because "the cost of education is immeasurably less than the cost of war."[2] Government-subsidized education programs became emphasized in an effort to "teach the Indian the ways of civilized life"[3] and "preserve him from extinction, not as an Indian, but as a human being."[4] This philosophy led to the establishment of Indian schools across the country as part of the government's assimilation policy.

Education and assimilation were one set of policies within a broader framework of colonization. The colonization of the Americas can be viewed in three stages. War and the extermination of the Indigenous people dominated the early American history. The next stage was treaty-making and the removal of Indians from their homelands and onto reservations. The last stage was the attempt at assimilating the Indians into American society through education

---

[1] U.S. Department of the Interior, "School Buildings" by John H. Oberly. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), xix.
[2] U.S. Department of the Interior, "The Platform of the Mohonk Conference" by John H. Oberly. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), xvi.
[3] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Education" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 2.
[4] Ibid.

programs funded by the United States government and by various religious and secular organizations.

This research focuses on examining the United States government's role in assimilating the Native American population through the use of off-reservation boarding schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the individual people responsible for the creation of the off-reservation school program had general goals in mind while developing the Indian school system. Over time recruitment and enrollment policies for the schools were established that school superintendents were to abide by when enrolling and recruiting pupils.

The focus of this thesis is an analysis of the recruitment goals developed by the government and a comparison of this ideal vision to historical demographic data for each of the off-reservation boarding schools. The goal is to see whether or not the schools recruited students of proper age, gender, degree of Indian blood and tribal affiliation by examining the 1900 United States Census. Distribution maps, graphs and tables of descriptive statistics are used to illustrate the population dynamics at each school and to test whether or not the individual schools met the recruitment requirements established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Statistical analysis is performed on the demographic data to quantify the similarities and differences between the observed Census data and the expected demographic values.

Colonial Period

Indian education has taken on many forms in the last 500 years. The first European explorers brought Christian missionaries with them to convert the Indians and teach them European languages. Spanish missions were the first to establish churches and schools: in Florida in 1573 and in New Mexico in 1598. The early English colonies of America also made efforts to educate and "civilize" the Indian people. In 1609, a relief vessel led by Sir Thomas Gates was

sent to the Jamestown colony to bring food and supplies. In addition, Gates was given the explicit order to "procure from the local tribes a convenient number of children to be brought up in your language and your manners."[5] This order establishes the earliest recorded English engagements with Indian education.

A number of Indian schools were created at America's earliest colleges and universities. Harvard established an Indian College in 1640 that functioned for over 50 years. In 1692, the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, began educating Native American students as part of the conditions of one of its donors.[6] Later in 1775, Dartmouth College received a $500 appropriation from the Continental Congress to fund its first Indian pupils.[7] These early attempts paved the way for future governmental efforts in Indian education.

U.S. Government Funded Indian Education

In 1819, the United States government earmarked $10,000 for Indian education, called the "Civilization Fund." It was an "act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements."[8] The money was intended for various churches and religious organizations to establish schools, but Congressional investigations found that the money had been largely squandered.[9] In 1870, this bill was repealed and Congress began directly appropriating Indian education at both government and contract schools.[10]

---

[5] Margaret Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2008), 53-54.
[6] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Indian School Superintendent" by John H. Oberly. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1885), lxxvii.
[7] Ibid.
[8] U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 3 pp. 516-517.
[9] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Indian School Superintendent" by John H. Oberly. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1885), lxxix.
[9] Ibid.

The United States government played a major role in Indian education by funding schools in four main educational divisions: reservation day schools, reservation boarding schools, contract schools, and nonreservation boarding schools. These schools formed the foundation of governmental Indian education in the United States, beginning with the first reservation boarding school in 1859, the first government-funded day schools in 1870, and the first off-reservation boarding school in 1879.

Day schools were typically a single-room schoolhouse where students would attend classes during the day and return home in the evenings. Most of the day schools were established and supported by the U.S. government on the reservations. Others were funded through government contracts made with religious societies for the purpose of establishing and maintaining the schools. Funding of reservation day schools officially began with the Indian appropriation bill of 1870, and by 1880 there were 110 government-funded reservation day schools across Indian country.[11]

The reservation boarding schools housed and educated Indian children throughout the school year, and during holidays and summer they had the option to go home or stay at school to work. The first reservation boarding school was established in 1859 with a treaty between the U.S. government and the Yakima Nation by converting Fort Simcoe into a school. In 1879, twenty years after the first reservation boarding school was established, there were 64 boarding schools across the various reservations and Indian Territory.[12] The majority of these schools were established west of the Mississippi River. Only four were established to the east—the

[10] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian Education" by Edgar M. Marble. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1880* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1880), v.
[11] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics showing population, schools, churches and general conditions of Indians" by Ezra A. Hayt. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879* (Washington, D. C.: GPO 1879), 245.

Menominee school in Wisconsin, two schools in New York, and a school in North Carolina created in 1880 for the Eastern Band Cherokee.

Contract schools were established by religious and secular groups and were funded either fully or partially by federal government appropriations. These include mission day and mission boarding schools. They also included special schools such as the Lincoln Institution in Philadelphia, Pa., and the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va., both of which received partial government funding for the education of Indian youth. Government contracts with religious sects ended in 1890, but funding continued for secular schools like Hampton and Lincoln due to additional appropriations for these schools that were obtained from state and private funds.

The final class of Indian school was the off-reservation boarding school and the focus of this thesis. These were the last of all Indian schools to be created, and were thought to be the beacons of progress in Indian education. The first off-reservation school established was the Carlisle Indian School in 1879, and the last to be opened was the school in Bismarck, North Dakota, in 1908. During the existence of this experiment in Indian education, there were 27 different off-reservation federally funded boarding schools in the United States (Table 1). Many of the schools were established at abandoned military forts built on or near the reservations, such as the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, the school in Fort Shaw, Montana and the Fort Lewis Indian School in Colorado. Others were built from the ground up, often several miles from the nearest community.

The off-reservation school program's student attendance peaked in 1907 at 8,601[13] and the program soon began to decline in both public and financial support. Smaller schools were

[13] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics of Indian Schools" by Francis E. Leupp. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1907* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1907), 176.

starting to close and students transferred home to a reservation school or were sent to one of the larger off-reservation schools. Although drastic overhauls were made to the off-reservation school program in the late 1920s, the consequences of this tool of assimilation were irreversible. Thousands of young Indian children were taken from their homes and families to be sent off to a distant boarding school away from everything familiar and comforting. At these schools they were forced to learn English and to perform manual labor half of the school day. This was all done under the guise of "progress," using the argument of assimilation versus extinction to justify their actions.

Location	**Opened/Closed**	**Annual Report 1900**	**Census total 1900**	**Census (m)**	**Census (f)**
Carlisle, PA	1879-1918	**981**	**991**	574	417
Salem, OR	1880 -	**402**	**432**	238	194
Chilocco, OK	1884-1980	**334**	**367**	215	152
Genoa, NE	1884-1934	**272**	**264**	150	114
Albuquerque, NM	1884-1982	**315**	**298**	177	121
Lawrence, KS	1884-	**562**	**469**	262	207
Grand Junction, CO	1886-1911	**134**	**174**	125	49
Santa Fe, NM	1890-	**298**	**295**	214	81
Fort Mojave, AZ	1890-1930	**156**	**153**	96	57
Carson, NV	1890-1980	**147**	**160**	103	57
Pierre, SD	1891-	**113**	**-**	-	-
Phoenix, AZ	1891-1935	**640**	**638**	303	335
Fort Lewis, CO	1891-1910	**307**	**180**	99	81
Fort Shaw, MT	1891-1910	**264**	**301**	175	126
Perris, CA	1892-1902	**202**	**203**	108	95
Flandreau, SD	1893-	**184**	**265**	162	103
Pipestone, MN	1893-1953	**106**	**110**	46	64
Mt. Pleasant, MI	1893-1933	**165**	**183**	88	95
Tomah, WI	1893-1935	**155**	**-**	-	-
Wittenberg, WI	1895-1917	**100**	**105**	56	49
Greenville, CA	1895-1920	**59**	**75**	28	47
Morris, MN	1897-1909	**129**	**159**	61	98
Chamberlain, SD	1898-1909	**92**	**104**	53	51
Fort Bidwell, CA	1898-1930	**44**	**51**	28	23
Rapid City, SD	1898-1933	**80**	**80**	44	36
Hampton, VA	1878-1923	**125**	**108**	58	50
Philadelphia, PA	1882-1908	**204**	**98**	33	65

Table 1. Locations of the schools, the dates established and closed and school population in 1900.

R. H. Pratt and the Development of the Off-Reservation Boarding School

In 1867, Richard Henry Pratt began his career as the commander of the 10th Cavalry unit based out of Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory. This particular unit consisted entirely of African Americans soldiers and American Indian scouts. Pratt served many years in the United States Army, fighting in the Indians Wars throughout the American West with his "Buffalo Soldiers." During this time he realized the answer to the "Indian problem" was to assimilate the American Indian into the wider American culture via education. He felt the need to "kill the Indian in him, and save the man."[14]

On May 12th, 1875, Pratt received Special Orders No. 88, which stated, "1st Lieutenant R.H. Pratt, 10th Calvary, is detailed to take charge of and accompany the Indian prisoners to be sent from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for confinement in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida."[15] As the Indian Wars were subsiding, Pratt saw this as an opportunity to civilize and educate those POWs.

During his time at Fort Marion, Pratt began molding his prisoners. He started first with haircuts and issued the prisoners military surplus clothing. Next came military drills and training, leading to the prisoners guarding themselves after only a few months. Pratt also emphasized that the prisoners be taught useful trades and skills. Sea beans were gathered and polished for sale to tourists, and the prison bread was baked in an oven built by the inmates. Soon, Pratt had teachers and educators come to the Fort to provide lessons in speaking and reading English. Over the next three years, Pratt judged the mix of military training and education to be working well at "Americanizing" these formerly "wild Indians," and in the spring of 1878, he ordered their

[14] Francis Paul Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 261.
[15] Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904 (*Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 109.

release. Most returned to their reservations, while 22 were sent away to continue their education. Five found homes in New York and Pratt got the opportunity to bring 17 of the former inmates to the Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia, a school established after the Civil War for freed slaves and their families.[16]

After three months at Hampton the students were showing significant progress toward civilization; Pratt felt "participation in the best things of our civilization through being environed by them was the essential factor for transforming the Indian."[17] Pratt began petitioning the government for the creation of a school specifically for industrial training and educating Native Americans. Eventually, the Carlisle Barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, were identified as an option and Pratt worked to get the land transferred from the War Department to the Interior Department. These barracks had not been in use since 1872 but were in fair shape and required little maintenance to have them ready for the students. Pratt received control of Carlisle with permission from Judge Advocate General William M. Dunn and from Commanding General Winfield S. Hancock.[18]

In 1879, Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, which served as the model for the many other off-reservation schools that would follow. At Carlisle, Pratt emphasized a military lifestyle, which included waking the students with *Reveille*, marching them to class and meals, and running military drills. Pratt complemented the order and obedience gained from the military exercises with academic and vocational training. The boys were taught trades such as carpentry, animal husbandry and blacksmithing, while the girls were taught domestic skills such as cooking, cleaning, and sewing.

---

[16] Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904 (*Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 191.
[17] Ibid. 213.
[18] Ibid. 218.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs adopted and standardized many of Pratt's educational techniques. However, as the years went by, the Bureau and Pratt began to drift apart ideologically. Every few years a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs was appointed and with the change came different opinions on how to properly run the Indian schools. In 1882, the position of Superintendent of Indian Schools was established, and it was his job to survey the Indian schools and enforce Bureau policies. This led to a further separation in philosophies between Pratt and the BIA. Pratt felt that more off-reservation schools should be created to bring students "in contact with civilized life."[19] Over time the Bureau began to feel differently. They concluded that:

> "Bringing the children into civilization" is largely responsible for the multiplication of non-reservation schools. It is a waste of public money to bring the average Indian to an eastern school, educate him for years upon the theory that his reservation home is a hell on earth, when inevitably he must and does return to his home. Is it, therefore, any wonder that such an Indian should relapse into barbarism after a few years? Home education of the average Indian, not out of his environment, but near his own people, will and does produce lasting results. Civilization is around him in his western home.[20]

Pratt was also a vocal critic of the Dawes Act, which was the Congressional mandate that allotted Indian families a parcel of land and opened up the rest of their reservation to white homesteaders. Pratt felt that schools like Carlisle "can be made the most powerful instruments to

[19] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Carlisle School" by Richard Henry Pratt. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1882* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1882), 181.
[20] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs " by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1904* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1904), 32.

speedily break up tribal slavery"[21] and he felt that they should be used "to encourage the liberating of them from tribal and reservation idleness and the using of them as factors in our civilized industrial life."[22] Pratt's opinion was:

> [The reservation schools] emphasize the false line of races. We can just as easily and more cheaply give the broader and really American training by a general use of schools remote from the tribe, and from them forward the children into the public schools, which will lead out from and disintegrate the tribe and bring individual usefulness as industrious American citizens. If Catholic schools foster and perpetuate Catholicism, what else can we expect than that the Sioux schools will foster and perpetuate the Sioux as a separate people?[23]

Pratt thought that isolating American Indians on reservations and educating them near home was counterproductive to his vision, and believed that assimilation by dispersal into American society was best for the Indian people.

In 1898, a Congressional investigation of Carlisle occurred over Pratt's continued refusal to hire Civil Service staff at the school. Theodore Roosevelt served on the Civil Service Commission from 1888 to 1895 and clashed with Pratt over this. Pratt slowly lost favor within the Bureau and was forced into retirement in 1904 after publicly criticizing President Roosevelt's new Indian plan.[24]

---

[21] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Carlisle School" by Richard Henry Pratt. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1890* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1890), 313.
[22] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Carlisle School" by Richard Henry Pratt. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1896), 394.
[23] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Carlisle School" by Richard Henry Pratt.In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D. C. : GPO, 1898), 389.
[24] Genevieve Bell, "Telling Stories out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998) 73.

The last decade at Carlisle was met with a series of scandals and a number of superintendent changes. Reports were coming out that school funds were being misappropriated and a 1914 Congressional investigation found gross negligence on the part of the Carlisle administration, necessitating a reorganization of the school. The reforms were short-lived, and in 1918 the Carlisle barracks were transferred back to the War Department to be used as a hospital and rehabilitation center for World War I soldiers.

Student Recruitment for Off-Reservation Boarding Schools

One the most important aspects of the off-reservation school system that has yet to be fully discussed is the recruitment of pupils for these schools. Off-reservation schools were funded approximately $167.00 per student for each fiscal year, and superintendents needed to keep up attendance in order for the schools to be financially viable. Superintendents would send recruiting agents to the reservations to obtain students for their respective schools. There were often conflicts between the different agents trying to compete for the same students, as was noted in one report:

> The practice at present is for the various non-reservation schools to send agents to the different reservations for the purpose of collecting pupils to bring their attendance up to the required number. It is not an unusual occurrence to find representatives from several schools on the same reservation vieing [sic] with one another in their efforts to secure children for their respective institutions, and in the eagerness to reach the required attendance the fitness of the pupil for work and student is frequently overlooked. The result is that in many cases there are a number of children at non-reservation schools ranging in years from the

> kindergarten age to young men and women, some of whom are fitted neither physically nor mentally for the prescribed work.[25]

The first off-reservation boarding schools had few rules in place when obtaining students. At Hampton and Carlisle, Pratt was ordered to recruit students from tribes that were engaged in the various Indian Wars across the American West. In 1878, he was asked to take the children of Chief Joseph who was imprisoned in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, but the Chief refused. He was next ordered to the Dakota Territory to seek students from the warring Sioux tribes. He managed to recruit 49 students for the first class at Hampton, 40 boys and 9 girls. It was thought by Pratt that "the children at school are hostages for good behavior of parents."[26] As late at 1901 there were still reports from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs about the forced removal of students, with him stating: "Pupils are gathered from the cabin, the wickiup, and the tepee. Partly by cajolery and partly by threats; partly by bribery and partly by fraud; partly by persuasion and partly by force."[27]

Consent from the parents, the students, and the local tribal agent was supposed to be obtained, but as early as 1885 there were calls within the BIA for a compulsory education law for native youth: "If, by a law of this kind, at least a majority of Indian children are not placed in the schools provided for them, the efforts now being made to civilize the Indian by educating him

---

[25] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools" by Estelle Reel. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1902* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1902), 397.
[26] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Lieut. R. H. Pratt, Special Agent to Collect Indian Youth to be Educated at Hampton Institute, VA." by Richard Henry Pratt. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1878* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1878), 174.
[27] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs " by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1901* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1901), 1-2.

will be futile."[28] Again the compulsory education issue was raised by Pratt and others at the 1888 Lake Mohonk Conference, citing treaty clauses as legal reason for compulsory school attendance for Native Americans. Eventually, in 1892, Congress passed a compulsory education law, but by then the school system had developed to the point where recruitment and attendance rates were no longer the biggest problem in the school system.

Recruiting agents would often visit far-away reservations in hopes of finding students that were not yet secured by other schools' recruiters. This led to complaints from the Bureau about the rising transportation costs from these distant reservations. As a result, districts were created for the schools, giving each a localized area from which to recruit. Exceptions, however, were made for the larger schools: "The majority of these schools have a definite territory assigned to each, from which pupils are to be drawn, while others, by virtue of their more extended facilities, are given the full scope of the Indian country."[29] Again in 1900 this statement of an unlimited recruitment area was reiterated:

> The largest of these schools is situated at Carlisle, Pa., where there are accommodations for 1,000 pupils; the next largest is at Phoenix, Ariz., with a capacity of 700; the third, at Lawrence, Kans., and known as Haskell Institute, accommodating 600 pupils. These three large schools are types of their class, and are not restricted in territory as to collection of pupils.[30]

As the Indian school system developed, there became less need for recruitment. Enrollment applications often exceeded capacity at the schools and full classrooms were

---

[28] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by John D. C. Atkins. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1885), cxii.

[29] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1897), 8.

[30] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D. C.: GPO 1900), 16.

"accomplished by little or no solicitation on the part of superintendents, many reporting that they made no efforts to procure pupils and were forced at times to refuse admission to eligible children."[31]

Student Demographics

The type of students recruited for the off-reservation school was always an issue, and school agents had difficulty obtaining students of appropriate gender, age, health and character. A large part of this research is an examination of the student demographics at each off-reservation boarding school. School administrators and BIA officials had certain expectations when developing this new class of Indian school. Student demographic information is a way to measure how successful these schools were in the eyes of the administration.

Gender-

Gender ratios were rarely equal, as recruiters consistently had trouble obtaining female pupils for the schools. When Pratt recruited students for the first class at Carlisle, he had difficulty obtaining consent from parents at Pine Ridge because "girls were property,"[32] and they were expected by the family to work at home. The other schools found similar problems, such as at Hampton, in 1880: "there has been some difficulty in getting girls but none as to boys, and in spite of our efforts there is not yet the right proportion of girls."[33] Pratt and others emphasized the importance of educating Indian girls and found a need to expand the girls' curriculum. It was thought that the woman was the foundation of a good home, and it was at home where the work

---

[31] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" Robert G. Valentine. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1912* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1912), 38.

[32] Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904 (*Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 226.

[33] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Hampton" by Samuel C. Armstrong. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1880* (Washington, D. C.: 1880), 182.

of civilization must ultimately occur: “The home conditions of the Indians is one of the most unsatisfactory features of the Indian problem. To affect this directly the character and efficiency of the training given the Indian girls must be improved.”[34] To this end, Pratt and other school superintendents worked hard to enroll female students for their respective schools.

Age-

The age of students at off-reservation schools was another major issue that school administration and the Bureau had to contend with. These schools were designed for older students whom an education in industrial training would benefit, but many superintendents filled their classrooms with students too young and not ready to leave home. There seemed to be a conflict between orders from the BIA and the realities of recruitment. The school age was defined several times by the government. The 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie stated it as being between 6 and 16 years of age.[35] These ages were reiterated in 1890 but with the caveat: “there can be no question but that many children under six years of age could be advantageously admitted to the Indian schools.”[36] There were many documented instances of children younger than the school age admitted to schools such as Haskell and Carlisle. In 1885, Haskell recruited “24 girls and 6 small boys, transferred from the Territory to Haskell Institute by Superintendent Haworth, to test the feasibility of training younger pupils, especially girls, away from all camp

[34] U.S. Department of the Interior, “Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs “ by Robert G. Valentine. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1912* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1912), 40.
[35] U.S. Department of the Interior, “Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs” by Hiram Price. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1881* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1881), xxviii.
[36] U.S. Department of the Interior, “Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools” by Daniel Dorchester. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1890* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1890), 264.

association."[37] Included in this group was Chief White Wolf's infant son who died at Haskell at the age of 6 months. Again, in 1899, Commissioner Jones stated: "The hope of the Indian race lies in taking the child at the tender age of four or five years, before the trend of his mind has become fixed in ancient molds or bent by the whims of his parents, and guiding it into the proper channel.[38] However, some school superintendents had a different opinion and thought that "instead of relying upon infants and camp children for recruits to the training and industrial schools, only advanced pupils from the reservation schools should be selected."[39] By 1904 the problem of young students at Haskell was still a major problem: "Almost half of the pupils in this school during the last years were under 14 years of age. This school should not enroll any pupil under 12 years of age, and it would be better not to have any less than 14 years of age.[40] Student age was an obvious issue at the off-reservation schools, but superintendents enrolled young children in order to keep up the required attendance rates and to keep their budgets high.

Indian ancestry-

Many of the schools also reported Indians of questionable heritage at their schools, and questions were raised about what to do with them. An early observation from the Superintendent of Indian Schools, in 1895, noted:

> Our non-reservation schools are filled in a growing ratio by half-breed Indians, and that the full-blood Indians are proportionately less and less numerous in these

---

[37] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute" by James Marvin. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1885), 229-230.

[38] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1899* (Washington, D. C.: 1899), 5.

[39] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute" by Charles L. Robinson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1888), 260.

[40] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute" by Hervey B. Peairs. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1904* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1904), 442.

> schools. The explanation for this I find in the fact that the white fathers and mothers of half-breed children are more ready to appreciate the advantages of education than is the case with full-blood Indians.[41]

This issue was again discussed in 1897, with the Superintendent of Indian Schools pleading with Congress to enact a law forbidding these students from the schools.[42] In 1902, an order was issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that:

> A child with one-eighth or less Indian blood whose parents have broken away from tribal institutions should not be enrolled in a Government school, on the other hand, a child of one-sixteenth Indian blood whose parents are living Indian fashion on an Indian reservation can be admitted to the Government schools.[43]

The next year it was reported that "several hundred so-called 'white Indians' have been returned to their homes, and it is now believed that the schools are practically freed from this class,"[44] but the problem still continued as late as 1917 with complaints from Commissioner Sells.[45]

Research Questions

Research is lacking that utilizes the United States Census to analyze Native American populations, especially the off-reservation boarding school's population dynamics. Previous scholars have examined the Census at the boarding schools but have been highly specific to either one school or to one tribe's representation at a certain school. My research here fills a void

---

[41] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools" by William N. Hailmann. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1895* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1895), 343.
[42] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools" by William N. Hailmann. In A*nnual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 339.
[43] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1902* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), 28.
[44] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 6.
[45] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by Cato Sells. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1917* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1917), 12.

in the literature about historical student demographics at the off-reservation boarding schools. Many questions have been left unanswered about the students who attended these schools.

- What were the requirements for attendance at the off-reservation boarding schools?
- How do these requirements compare to the actual student population demographics at each school?
- And, did school administration follow recruitment protocol when obtaining students?

Answering these questions is essential to understanding the roles of these schools within the greater context of American Indian and American history.

As I have argued, the answer to the "Indian problem" changed over time, and education was one of the cornerstones of the government's attempts at subduing the so-called "wild Indians." The off-reservation boarding schools were the foundation of this effort.

Native American education, 1900	
Government Schools	*Attendance*
Off-reservation boarding	6,241
Reservation Boarding	8,094
Day Schools	3,525
Contract Boarding	2,098
Contract Day School	24
Hampton and Lincoln Inst.	329
Public Schools	118
Mission Boarding	946
Mission Day	193
New York Indians	406
Five Civilized Tribes	9,281
Total	31,255

Table 2. Data obtained from Annual Report for 1900, Vol. 1, pages 302 and 635 and Vol. 2, pages 92, 113 and 138.

One-in-five Native Americans going to school in 1900 were attending one of the off-reservation schools (Table 2). It was a common experience that many Native Americans shared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a group of people that Dr. Brenda Child deemed the "lost generation."[46]

[46] Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 99.

The Student Recruitment Model

I developed a model (Table 3) of what the ideal student would have been for attendance at an off-reservation boarding school. It is a hypothetical situation based on the various recruitment policies established by government officials and by the different school superintendents. Official guidelines for such recruitment are vague. In 1900, there were no laws in place for enrolling students at the off-reservation boarding schools, only general suggestions and recommendations. The enrollment/recruitment criteria used in this research was pieced together from treaty clauses, correspondence between school superintendents and the BIA administration, and from the schools' annual reports.

Table 3. Model-based enrollment criteria

Variable	Requirement	Expected outliers
Gender	Equal gender ratio	0%
Age	12 to 21 years	5%
Ancestry	Half-blooded or more	5%
Tribe/Birth Place	Within designated region	*n/a*

Gender is the simplest criterion to define because the BIA wanted an equal proportion of male and female students. It was stated numerous times by school superintendents and BIA officials that equal gender ratios was desired and extra effort was put into recruiting female students for these schools. My model, consequently, predicts equal proportions of male and female students at the schools.

Age is a complex issue for the early off-reservation boarding school system. The schools had a day schedule split between academics and manual labor training, with each student responsible to work half of each day. The school age defined by the Bureau was between 6 and 16, but this range was for all Indian schools and not specifically the off-reservation institutions. In addition, students were only allowed to attend an off-reservation school for either three or five

years and were sent home at the end of their term. A number of school superintendents felt that students under twelve should not be enrolled in the off-reservation schools because of the restriction on how long a student could be in attendance. Students enrolled too young would not be old enough to find employment after their three or five-year term and were highly discouraged from transferring to a different school after their term was up. I decided that an appropriate minimum and maximum age range is twelve to twenty-one years old. The model also allows for a five percent expected frequency of students outside of this age range.

Indian ancestry, also called degree of Indian blood, is the government's method of deciding who is legally considered an Indian. Most tribes have a minimum requirement of one-quarter Indian ancestry in order to be a tribal member. Some tribes maintain a minimum of one-eighth or even less, while others have as much as one-half; it all depends on the specific tribe's protocol.[47] In 1900 the Indian population still had not assimilated into American culture as was expected by people like Pratt, and tribal members were still often full-blood or half. It was said by Pratt and others that the goal of these schools should be to enroll full-bloods and "the sons of chiefs" so that they can go back to the tribes to lead them away from their old customs and into the modern American society. Combining this information I decided that one-half should be the minimum standard for school attendance, and again estimating a five percent expected frequency of outliers.

The final criteria are the student's place of birth and tribal affiliation. These two criteria are different for each school as the Bureau defined regions where they were allowed to canvass for students. The three largest schools, Carlisle, Haskell, and Phoenix, had the option of recruiting anywhere they wished. The Lincoln Institution and the Hampton Institute were also

[47] Russell Thornton, "Tribal membership requirements and the demography of "old" and "new" Native Americans" *Population Research and Policy Review*, 16(1997): 37.

allowed to recruit from far away because there were few Indians in the vicinity. The other smaller schools located nearer to tribal areas were encouraged to recruit from the local population. These smaller schools should only recruit from within their home states. An exception was if the school is situated near the border of another state, in which case the bordering state would be included in the school's recruitment area.

Chapter II - Literature Review

Indian Education

The history of Indian education in the United States has been covered extensively by historians Francis Paul Prucha[48] and T. J. Morgan.[49] Francis Paul Prucha was a Catholic Jesuit priest who wrote extensively on various Native American topics. While Thomas Jefferson Morgan was a politician and Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1889 until his death in 1902. These authors were considered authoritative in their time, but their views and opinions are now seen as heavily biased in favor of the government and religious denominations' attempts at Indian education.

The social revolutions of the 1960s influenced academics to take a new look at the Indian education system. Studies from Adams,[50] McDade,[51] Szasz,[52] and Reyhner and Oyawin[53] have stressed the negative consequences of the government's intrusion into the lives of Indian families and the violation of their basic human rights. Adams' 1975 dissertation was one of the first serious looks at the Indian education program. More recent studies include Margaret Szasz's *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607 – 1783* and Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Oyawin's book *American Indian Education: A History*. In addition, McDade wrote an extensive history of the development of the manual labor schools for American Indians, which includes information on what gave rise to the school program and the ideology behind it. Researchers from the Indian

---

[48] Francis Paul Prucha, *The great father: the United States government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
[49] Thomas J. Morgan, *Indian Education* (Washington D. C.: GPO, 1890).
[50] Douglas W. Adams, "The Federal Indian Boarding School a Study of Environment and Response, 1879-1918" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1975).
[51] Jeffrey R. McDade, *The Birth of the American Indian Manual Labor Boarding School: Social Control through Culture Destruction, 1820-1850* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2008).
[52] Margaret Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).
[53] Jon A. Reyhner and J. M. Oyawin Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2006).

communities have also written on the topic adding additional depth to the discussion from the Native perspective, including Churchill[54] and Lomawaima.[55]

Indian Boarding Schools

The formation and development of the off-reservation boarding school system was detailed in Richard Henry Pratt's autobiography, *Battlefield & Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*. Pratt discussed his time fighting in the Indian Wars and how he came to the realization that the answer to the "Indian problem" was not war but assimilation. He also revealed the beginning of his experiment in education with the prisoners of war held in Fort Marion, Florida, and recalled the events that led to the formation of the Indian schools in Hampton and Carlisle. Pratt's autobiography sometimes contradicts itself and other histories, but it is an important text because it contains demographic data on the Florida prisoners, and on the first groups of students at Hampton and Carlisle.

Since Pratt's time there have been a number of historians and researchers who have studied the Indian boarding school phenomenon and many of the individual schools. General studies on off-reservation boarding schools include Adams,[56] Hamley,[57] and Voyer.[58] Literature on the individual schools is also quite extensive. Pratt and his school at Carlisle were studied by Bell,[59] Hagenbuch,[60] and Music.[61] The history of the school in Hampton has been written by

---

[54] Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2004).
[55] K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York City: Teachers College, 2006).
[56] Douglas W. Adams, *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995).
[57] John L. Hamley, "Cultural Genocide in the Classroom: A History of the Federal Boarding School Movement in American Indian Education, 1875-1920" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1994).
[58] Charlene Voyer, "Assimilation of the American Indian the Meaning of the Boarding School Experience" (PhD diss., Chestnut Hill College, 2006).
[59] Genevieve Bell, "Telling Stories out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998).

Armstrong,[62] Brudvig,[63] Lindsey,[64] and Robinson.[65] Haskell has been studied by Child,[66] Granzer,[67] Milk,[68] O'Brien,[69] Robinson[70] and Vuckovic.[71] In addition, the histories of a number of other schools, such as Chemawa, Chillocco, Genoa, Rapid City, Phoenix, Sherman/Perris, Flandreau, and Pipestone also have been well documented.

Previous Research

These before-mentioned studies provide a background to the off-reservation boarding school system. Establishment, administration, and student experiences have all been examined previously, but there is a void in the literature on student demographics and student origins. There are two previous investigations that were sources of inspiration for this research. First is Genevieve Bell's 1998 dissertation, "Telling Stories out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918." This dissertation contains the most demographic information about the students at Carlisle, including tables of the male and female counts by tribe for all students, as well as the average student age, number of deaths, the number of deserters,

---

[60] Mark O. Hagenbuch, "Richard Henry Pratt, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and U.S. policies related to American Indian education, 1879 to 1904" (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1999).
[61] Amy B. Music, "Spatial Theory in the Native American Boarding School Program Cultural Influence through Landscape" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 2006).
[62] Samuel C. Armstrong, *Twenty-two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agriultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia* (Hampton: Hampton Normal School Press, 1931).
[63] Jon L. Brudvig, "Bridging the cultural divide: American Indians at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923" (PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 1996).
[64] Donal F. Lindsey, "Indian Education at the Hampton Institute, 1877-1923" (PhD diss., Kent State University, 1989).
[65] William H. Robinson, "The History of Hampton Institute 1868-1949" (PhD diss., New York University, 1953).
[66] Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln, Nebraska, University of Nebraska, 2000).
[67] Loretta M. Granzer, "Indian Education at Haskell Institute, 1884-1937" (master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1937).
[68] Theresa Milk, *Haskell Institute: 19th Century Stories of Sacrifice and Survival, with a Haskell Cemetery Walking Tour* (Lawrence: Mammoth Publications, 2007).
[69] Charles A. O'Brien, The Evolution of Haskell Indian Junior College, 1884-1974. (master's thesis, University of Oklahoma 1975).
[70] Martha K. Robinson, "Assimilation, Ambivalence, and Resistance: Students at Haskell Institute, 1920-1930" (master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1996).
[71] Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2008).

and the number of expelled students per year. However, no analogous study exists for students at Haskell or for the two dozen other off-reservation boarding schools. The second key study is Amy Byrd Music's 2006 dissertation, "Spatial Theory in the Native American Boarding School Program Cultural Influence through Landscape." Music studied the effects of sending children to Carlisle from the White Earth Indian Reservation in Minnesota, in part by analyzing data obtained from the United States Census from 1900 and 1910 for Carlisle, and from tribal censuses from 1888 and 1922. Music's dissertation was largely based on social theory with a minor emphasis on demographics.

The overall literature lacks studies on student population dynamics at the off-reservation boarding schools during the height of the school program in the early 20th century, leaving a large part of the story of Indian education untold. My research attempts to fill this need by providing information about student demographics and student origins, as well as a statistical comparison of each school to a hypothetical model of the ideal student population based on BIA recruitment recommendations.

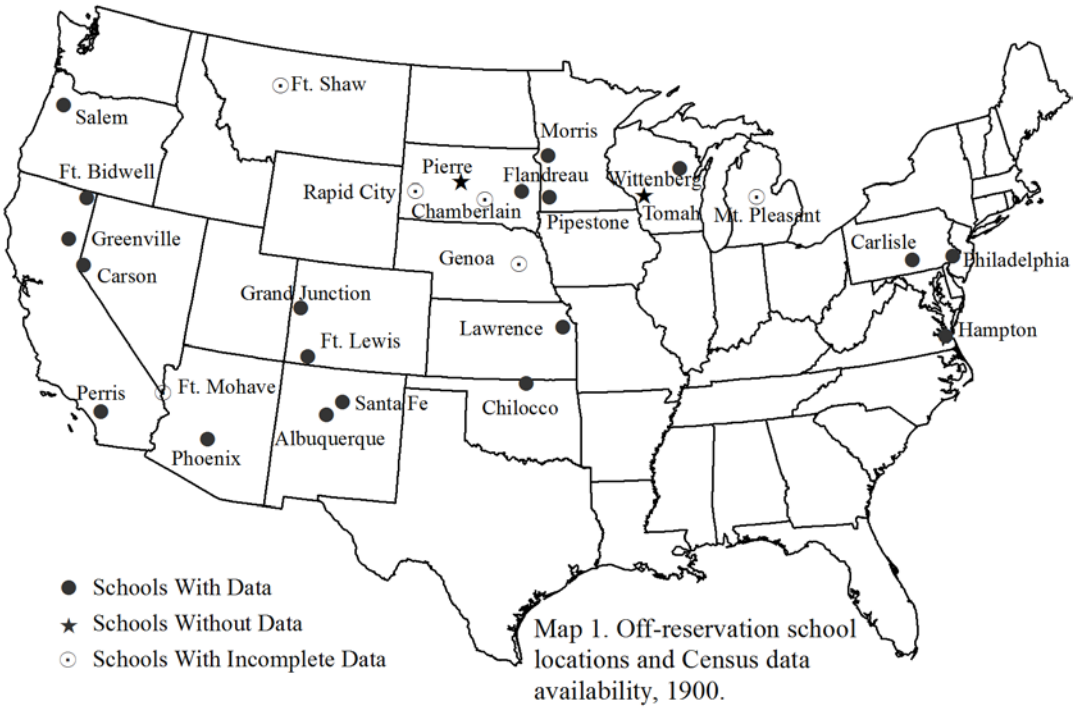
Chapter III - Data and Methods

The Twelfth United States Census, 1900

Article 1, Section 2 of the United States Constitution establishes a decennial census to apportion political representation and taxation among the states. Hence, surveys on Indian lands served no purpose under this definition, and consequently from 1790 to 1880, "Indians not taxed" were excluded from the federal census. This practice changed with the passing of the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887, which opened Indian reservations to white homesteaders and increased the federal government's presence on the reservations. In 1890 enumerators were asked to survey the entire Indian population, but unfortunately the original census schedule sheets from this year were completely destroyed in a 1921 fire in Washington, D.C. The 1900 U. S. census included a separate schedule sheet for the Indian population. This form contained the same information as the general population forms, such as "Name," "Gender," "Age," and "Place of Birth," but it also included additional data columns such as "Other Name", "Tribe of this Indian", Tribe of Father", "Tribe of Mother," and "Has this Indian any white blood, if so, how much?"

In 1900, there were 27 off-reservation schools across the country (Map 1), including the two partially government-funded schools in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and in Hampton, Virginia. Census data exist for all these schools except for the ones in Pierre, South Dakota, and Tomah, Wisconsin. Most enumerators were good about obtaining the required information from the students, with only a few exceptions. The schools in Chamberlain and Rapid City did not record birth place, Fort Mohave did not record age, and the school in Fort Shaw did not use the Indian population form or record birth place. The schools in Genoa and in Mount Pleasant also

did not use the Indian population form. The 19 other schools all used the standard form and recorded all necessary information about the students.



Map 1. Off-reservation school locations and Census data availability, 1900.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875 - 1920

The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior has been published each year since 1826 and is typically several hundred pages in length and occasionally multiple volumes. Within these reports are narratives and reports from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the head Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington, D.C., the superintendents of each school, and the agents in charge of each reservation district. The *Annual Reports* contain a vast amount of historical information about the off-reservation boarding school system, as well as statistical tables on tribal populations and school attendance rates and demographics. Consequently, many researchers have used these *Reports* in their research as a source of qualitative and quantitative data.

Data Acquisition and Retrieval

My first research step was locating and retrieving the necessary demographic data. The main source of census schedules was the Allen County Public Library Genealogy Center, in Fort Wayne, Indiana. This center provides free public access to digitally scanned microfilm copies of the original schedules, available on their website www.genealogycenter.org and at www.archive.org/details/allen_county. The Census sheets are large PDF volumes organized by year, state and county. I crosschecked this information with two other sources in order to verify missing data and to clarify illegible or hard to read handwriting: *Ancestry.com* and HeritageQuest Online through the University of Kansas library system.

The *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* are available from a number of different sources. The University of Kansas's Wheat Law Library has the reports on microform from 1837-1968. Google Books has several years available for free online, but not nearly a complete set. The University of Wisconsin has digital copies from 1826-1932 available free for viewing online or as downloadable PDF files at http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.CommRep. The source used most often was from the Department of the Interior's Tribal Document Archive http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/index.cfm, but secondary sources were necessary if the digital image was difficult to read because of low scanning resolution.

Database Transcription

There are 339 individual census schedule pages containing data for 6,263 off-reservation boarding school students. I manually transcribed this demographic information from each digital image, recording age, gender, birthplace, tribe, and degree of Indian ancestry into an electronic database. Optical character recognition (OCR) software could not be used because the

enumerator's handwriting makes it extremely difficult for a computer algorithm to interpret accurately.

The *Annual Report* data were handled similarly. The reports from 1875 to 1900 were analyzed for information pertaining to Indian education and sorted by topic, year, and school. The demographic data on Indian student population was also manually transcribed into a separate electronic database. I recorded school attendance, capacity, and enrollment for each off-reservation boarding school for the years 1879 to 1920. Individual school reports sometimes contained demographic information about the students, including the population counts separated by tribal affiliation and gender. When available, these individual statistical tables were also transcribed into a database.

Data Analysis

My analysis compares the recruiting policies and school attendance requirements made by Pratt and the BIA, to the actual student populations at the off-reservation boarding schools recorded by the 1900 census. Who were the students attending these schools? Did superintendents follow the proper protocol when recruiting and did they simply enroll the students the closest at hand? The answers to these questions are in the data. Frequency counts of the student populations, distribution maps and demographic data tables are utilized to visualize and report the results.

I used the Pearson's chi-squared test to compare the schools' actual demographics to the student recruitment model (Figure 1). Chi-squared analysis tests the null hypothesis that the census data are consistent with the student recruitment model. The school's results are reported in tables that list the expected and observed frequencies, the calculated test result, as well as the probability value associated with each calculation. Chi-squared results are easily interpreted.

Large chi-squared results have a low probability (p-value) that the two tested populations are different by chance alone, and therefore lead to a rejection of the null hypothesis. Small chi-squared results have a high probability (p-value) that any difference between the two populations is merely chance and that the two populations can be considered statistically equivalent, thus accepting the null hypothesis. For this study a p-value of .05 is used to reject or accept the null hypothesis.

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

O_i = observed frequency
E_i = expected frequency
i = index variable/starting point of summation
n = number of cells in data table/end point of summation

Figure 1. Chi-squared equation

Criticisms and Limitations

Every research study has limitations and potential for errors, especially an exploratory study such as this thesis. One constraint of this study is that it is limited to a single year. It is a snapshot in time looking at the off-reservation school system as it was in 1900. This limitation is because of a lack of off-reservation school census data for 1890, 1910 and 1920. The only year that the census surveyed all of the schools was 1900. However, the larger schools such as Haskell and Carlisle were surveyed in 1910 and 1920, making it possible to measure the population change at certain schools but not for others.

Another issue encountered was that the 1900 census data set is not complete. Two schools, Pierre and Tomah, have no records. Six schools have missing data in the surveys, caused by poor enumeration. The schools at Ft. Shaw, Genoa, and Mt. Pleasant did not use the proper Indian Schedule sheet, so there is no record of tribal affiliation or degree of Indian blood for their students. Chamberlain and Rapid City did not record the birth place of students, and the school at Ft. Mohave recorded student ages as "Unknown." However, 21 out of 27 schools have

a complete census record. In addition to incompleteness, the demographic information recorded by the Census is finite and limited by both the survey questions asked and the thoroughness and accuracy of the enumerator. When one uses such a data source, it is not possible to create a research project around creatively designed variables that the researcher wishes to test. Instead, the researcher must accept what data are available.

The *Annual Reports* have long been criticized as being sympathetic to the government's attempts at assimilating the Indian people, and thereby selective in what is reported. The reports are separated into two sections, one being individual narratives discussing issues within a particular tribal region or reservation and the other statistical information and data tables for the tribes in each region. The narratives are often filled with internal praise of the BIA, highlighting the progress being made in the civilization of the Indian. Researchers have questioned the veracity of those sections since the reports were written from a biased perspective, especially when looking at the reports as historical documents. The statistical sections have other issues. Their tables, provided by the individual school Superintendents, are not presented in a standardized way and do not record the same statistical information at each school. Consistency and availability are the major problems with the *Annual Report* statistical data, even though several of the larger schools did report good statistical data for each year.

There are also a number of limitations inherent to the student recruitment model. The model is based on and restricted to the available demographic data. It also is limited by a lack of official recruitment policies established by the government. As a result, it is largely theoretical.

In general, there is a large amount of untapped statistical and demographic data available about the students who attended an off-reservation boarding school in 1900. Census enumeration sheets exists for all but two schools, and twenty-one of these schools have a complete dataset

with all demographic variables properly recorded. The *Annual Reports* provide yearly attendance statistics for each school along with supplemental texts and descriptions from the superintendents. This research utilizes this demographic information to create a better understanding of who the students at these off-reservation boarding schools really were, where they came from, and if they meet the enrollment criteria defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Chapter IV - Results

The following maps, graphs and tables were created using the 1900 U.S. Census to analyze the student origins and spatial distribution of each school. Also provided is demographic information about each student population, including population pyramids visualizing age and gender, bar charts showing school population over time, and frequency tables of the student's degree of Indian ancestry and tribal affiliation. The schools are presented in the chronological order of their establishment, from Hampton in 1878 to Rapid City in 1898. The chi-squared test result for each demographic variable is reported in tables that accompany a textual analysis of each demographic variable.

The choropleth maps show the spatial distribution of where students at each school originated. ESRI ArcMap 10.1 was used to create the maps utilizing their proprietary algorithm for a Fisher-Jenks natural breaks classification scheme, established by Fisher[72] and Jenks[73]. The ESRI natural breaks algorithm is a custom script that identifies break points by defining arbitrary class groupings and then calculating the variance within and between groups. The calculation is iterative and runs until "no value can be moved from one class to another without raising the total variance."[74] The resulting classification groups have a low variance within the classes and has a high variance between classes.

---

[72] Walter. D. Fisher, "On Grouping for Maximum Homogeneity," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 53(1958): 789-798.
[73] George F. Jenks, *Optimal Data Classification for Choropleth Maps*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1977), 1-24.
[74] Michael D. Kennedy, *Introducing Geographic Information Systems with ArcGIS: A Workbook Approach to Learning GIS*. (Hoboken: Wiley, 2013), 380.

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was established 1868 in Hampton, Virginia, as an agricultural and industrial training school for freed slaves. At Hampton, Pratt found the industrial training and education he long sought for his prisoners in Florida. Pratt received additional orders to personally recruit another fifty Indian children for placement at Hampton. In the fall of 1878, Pratt gathered 49 students from Dakota Territory and brought them to Virginia for education.[75] In 1912, the US government decided to end its funding of American Indians students at Hampton. Several members of Congress, including Mr. Stephens of Texas raised concerns about the cost of the school, the steady drop in attendance, and the problem of mixing the black and Indian races at Hampton:

> Why humiliate the Indian boys and girls, our wards and dependents, by educating them in the same schools with negro children? It seemed to your committee that we should use our own schools, our own teachers, and separate these two races, and thus elevate the red race to the level of the white race and not degrade and humiliate him by sinking him to the low plane of the negro race. [76]

It was then decided that the federal government would no longer financially support the education of Native Americans at Hampton, and a last-ditch effort by Commissioner Jones to continue funding Hampton was rejected with a vote of 33 to 65.[77]

In the early years at Hampton the majority of students came from Dakota Territory. At the time of the school's establishment, the Great Sioux War of 1876 had just subsided and the various bands of Sioux had been placed on reservations. It was important to the government to

---

[75] Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904 (*Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 197.
[76] *Indian Appropriation Act of 1912*, 62nd Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 48, pt. 5: 4457.
[77] Ibid., 4459.

recruit students from these warring tribes as leverage for good behavior back home. In 1900, Sioux were the second most numerous tribe at Hampton, behind the Oneida from Wisconsin, but still the Sioux were the number one represented tribe overall at Hampton from 1878 to 1923.

Even though Hampton was a smaller school with an average of 112 students from 1878 to 1923, it was seemingly allowed to recruit students from all over the country (Map 2). This is partially a result of Hampton being the first off-reservation boarding school and also because the school's location in the East, far away from any reservations. It was only slightly more expensive to recruit students from Oklahoma as it was from the nearest tribes in the Great Lakes region or New York. Hampton had to recruit from far away because there were no nearby tribes.

The gender ratio obtained for the Hampton Institute during the 1900 Census was surprisingly equal, with a proportion of males to females of 53.7% and 46.3% respectively. The chi-squared calculation (Table 5) confirms the null hypothesis that there is not a significant difference between the observed census data and the expected enrollment values. This is a large improvement from the early days of the school when General Armstrong stated that the school was having "some difficulty in getting girls."[78] However, by 1900 Hampton was one of only a few schools with nearly equal numbers of male and female students.

Gender at Hampton, 1900

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	58	54.0	4.0
Female	50	54.0	-4.0
Total	108		

Table 4. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	.593
df	1
P-value	.441

Table 5. Chi-squared statistics for gender proportions at Hampton.

[78] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Hampton" by Samuel C. Armstrong. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1880* (Washington, D. C: GPO, 1880), 182.

In 1900, the ages of students were vastly different than at the other Indian schools. The two youngest students at Hampton in 1900 were 14, and the average age was 19. The students at Hampton were considerably older than at any other off-reservation Indian school at the time. The large number of old students caused the chi-square calculation (Table 7) to reject the null hypothesis and suggest that there is a significant difference in the student recruitment model and the census data.

Age at Hampton, 1900

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	89	103.0	-14.0
Ages outside of range	19	5.0	14.0
Total	108		

Table 6. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment at off-reservation school. An expected frequency of 5% outliers outside of range.

Test Statistics

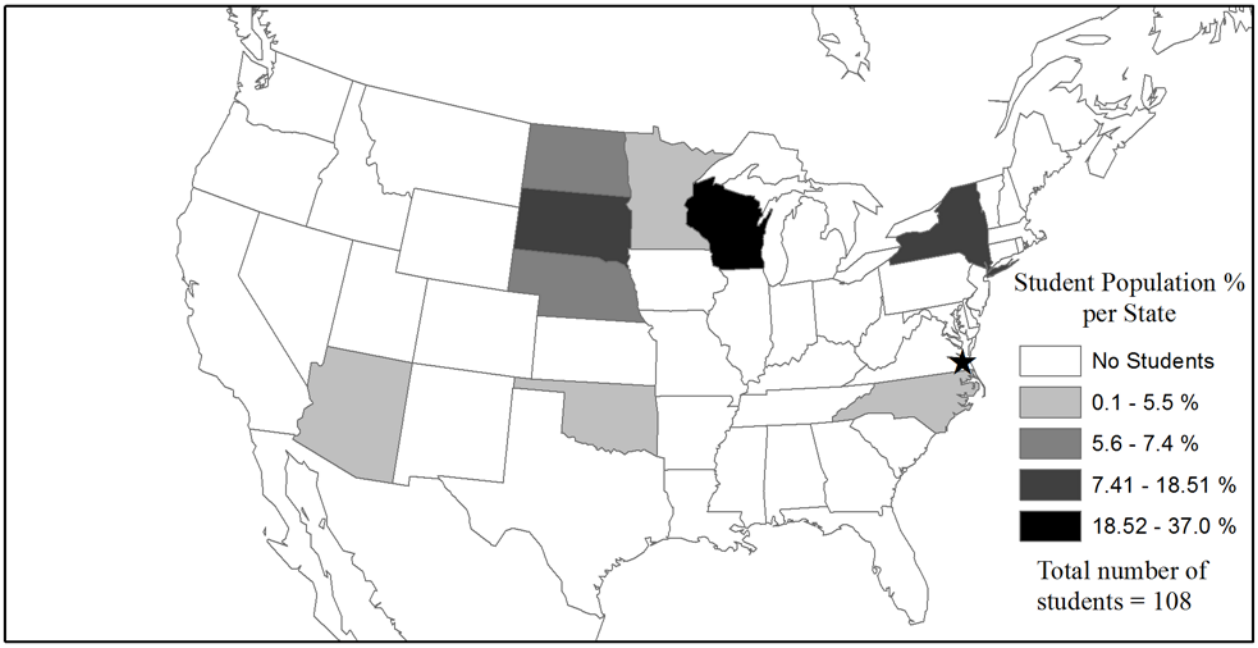
	Age
Chi-Square	41.103
df	1
P-value	.000

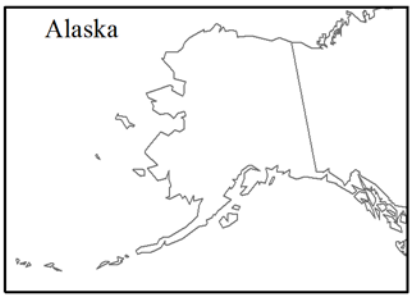
Table 7. Chi-squared statistics for student age at Hampton.

The majority of students at Hampton were full-bloods, representing over 74% of the school's population. The *Annual Reports* of the school and General Armstrong's writings never mention issues with students of low Indian ancestry and never discussed there ever being such a problem. Only one student was less than half-blooded at Hampton in 1900, an 18 year-old Ponca man from Nebraska. The chi-squared test was unnecessary because 99.1% of the student population at Hampton were half-blooded or more, with only one student less than half-blooded.

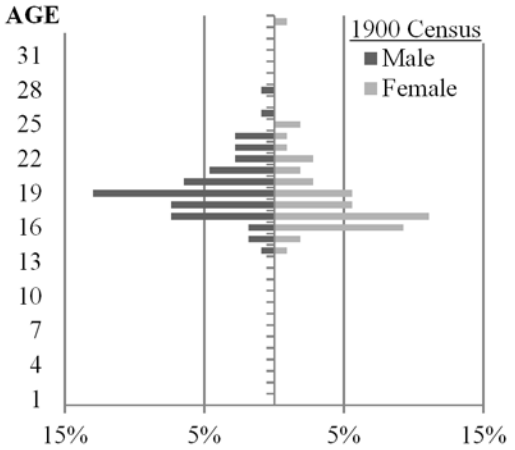
The students at Hampton compare quite well to the recruitment requirements for the off-reservation boarding school. The school matches the model for recruiting students of the proper gender, blood quantum and from appropriate geographic regions. The only variable it failed to match is age; however, it is important to note that Hampton failed to meet the age criteria because of older students and not young students.

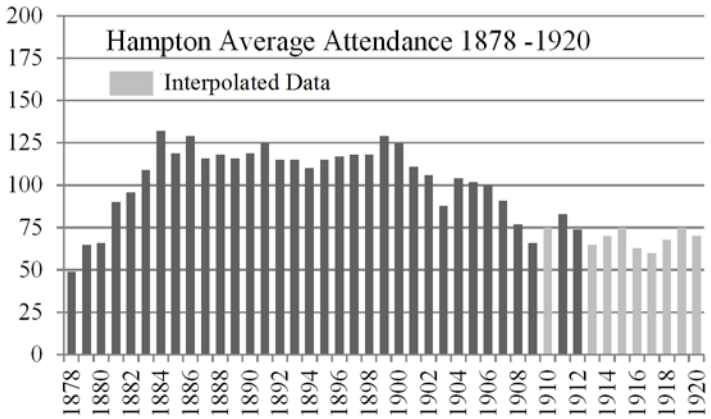
Map 2. Hampton Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Hampton student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/2	3	4	**7**	6.5
3/4	8	2	**10**	9.3
7/8	4	5	**9**	8.3
1	41	39	**80**	74.1
Others	2	0	**2**	1.9
Total	58	50	**108**	100

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Oneida	24	22	**46**	42.6
Sioux	12	6	**18**	16.7
Seneca	0	8	**8**	7.4
Cherokee	4	2	**6**	5.6
Winnebago	4	2	**6**	5.6

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Arickara	1	4	**5**	4.6
Navajo	3	1	**4**	3.7
Ponca	4	0	**4**	3.7
Others	6	5	**11**	10.2
Total	58	50	**108**	100

Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Carlisle was the largest off-reservation Indian school, with an average student attendance of 683 between the years 1879 to 1918, and a peak population, in 1904, of 1,025 students. The high population at Carlisle was largely due to Pratt's emphasis on what was known as the outing program—a system Pratt designed in which Carlisle students were placed in white households to live and work a large part of the year. The outing system inflated Carlisle's student population as much as 50%. The school population began to decline in 1905, the year after Superintendent Pratt's forced retirement and it never rebounded to previous levels. In 1918, there were only 507 students attending school at Carlisle. Scandals and superintendent changes after Pratt's removal were common and clearly had an effect on attendance rates. In 1918, government officials decided to abandon Indian education at Carlisle and convert the grounds into a hospital and recovery center for soldiers returning from World War I.

Carlisle was one of three schools with consent to recruit students from all over the country. The spatial distribution of student origins confirms this fact, as Carlisle had students from 70 different tribes and from 21 States plus Puerto Rico. The highest concentration of students in 1900 came from the Oneida from Wisconsin, the Seneca from New York, the Chippewa from Minnesota and Michigan, and then the Sioux from South Dakota.

Achieving equal gender ratios was important to Pratt as he felt that the key to civilizing the Indians on the reservation was to send home properly trained and educated females to run the household. He expressed difficulties in recruiting female students and noted in 1882 that there was an unequal proportion of male and female students at Carlisle.[79] The first class at Carlisle, in

[79] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Carlisle School" by Richard Henry Pratt. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1882* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1882), 177.

1879, had a ratio of 74% male and 26% female.[80] In 1900, the U.S. Census recorded a gender ratio of 58% male and 42% female. Statistical analysis of Carlisle's gender proportion indicates a significant difference between the expected equal gender ratio and the observed values from the census. The chi-squared result (Table 9) rejects the null hypothesis and accepts the alternate hypothesis that there is a significant difference between the recommended gender proportion and actual attendance values.

Gender at Carlisle, 1900

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	574	495.5	78.5
Female	417	495.5	-78.5
Total	991		

Table 8. Gender counts at the Carlisle Industrial Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	24.873
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 9. Chi-squared results comparing Census counts to expected values from model.

The students' ages at Carlisle in 1900 ranged from a 3 year-old Chippewa boy from Pennsylvania to a 33 year-old Lipan woman from Kansas. The 3 year-old boy at Carlisle was the son of the school's "band master." The average age of students in 1900 was 18.3 and the most common age for males was 18, and 15 and 17 for females. However, 16.9% of the student population at Carlisle was outside the proper age range defined by the model. In addition, the chi-squared calculation (Table 11) indicates that the Carlisle school in 1900 did not meet the age requirements defined in the recruitment model.

Age at Carlisle, 1900

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	824	941.0	-117.0
Ages outside of range	167	50.0	117.0
Total	991		

Table 10. Age count at Carlisle. Expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	288.327
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 11. Chi-squared results for age.

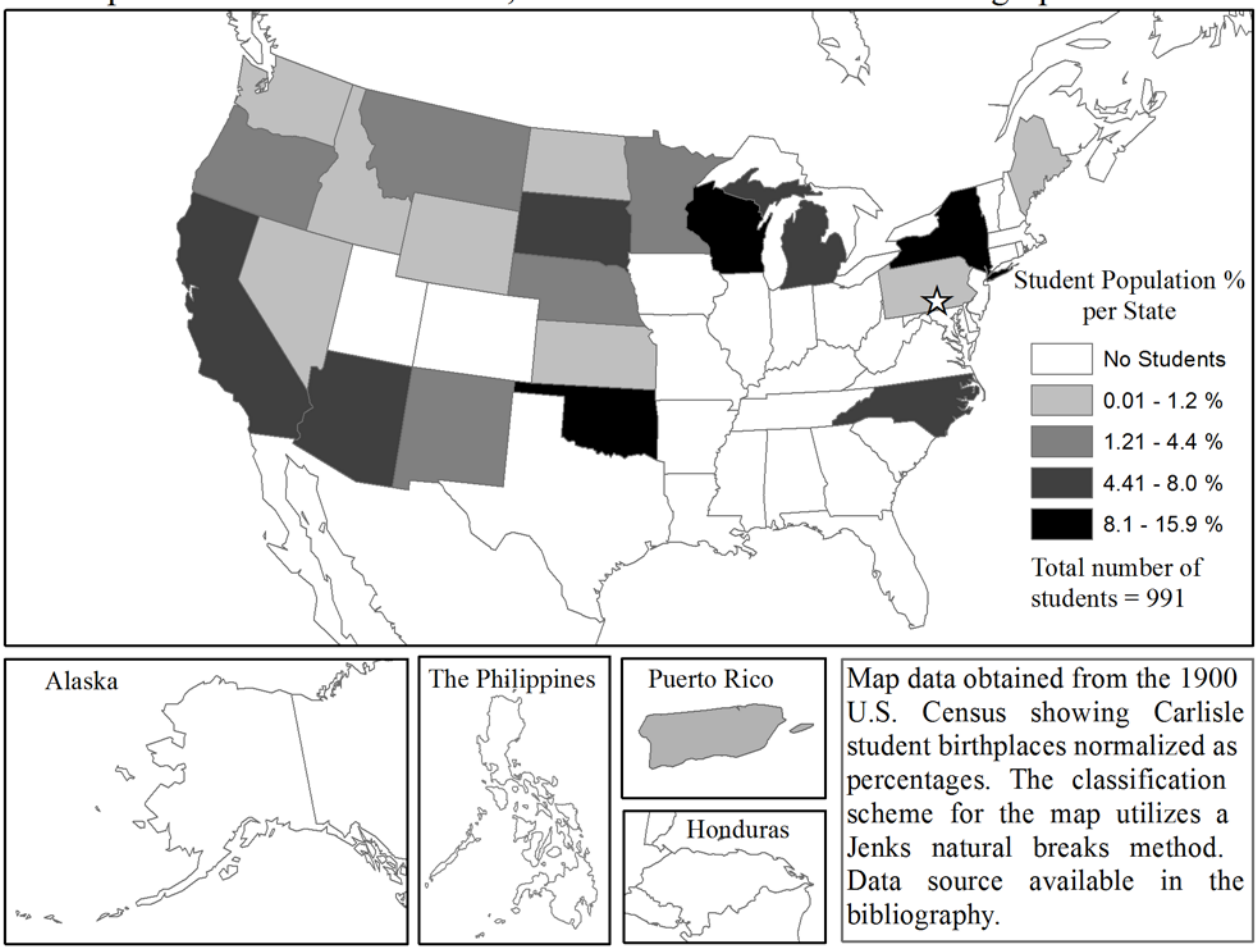
[80] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Carlisle School" by Richard Henry Pratt. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1880* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1880), 179.

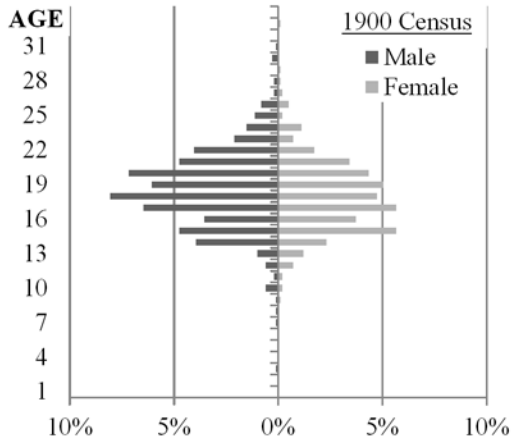
Pratt wanted the off-reservation boarding schools to benefit Native Americans who did not have access to education on the reservation, and hoped to enroll mostly full-blooded students. He reported that in the first year at Carlisle "two-thirds are the children of chiefs and head men, about 10 per cent. are mixed blood."[81] By 1900, this percentage was slightly lower, but still a large majority of students attending Carlisle were full-blooded, representing 86.5% of the student population. The chi-squared statistical test result is unnecessary to calculate for the degree of Indian ancestry because 99.4% of the student population at Carlisle was half-blooded or more. Only six students out of 991 were less than half-blooded; five Sioux from South Dakota and one Stockbridge from Wisconsin.

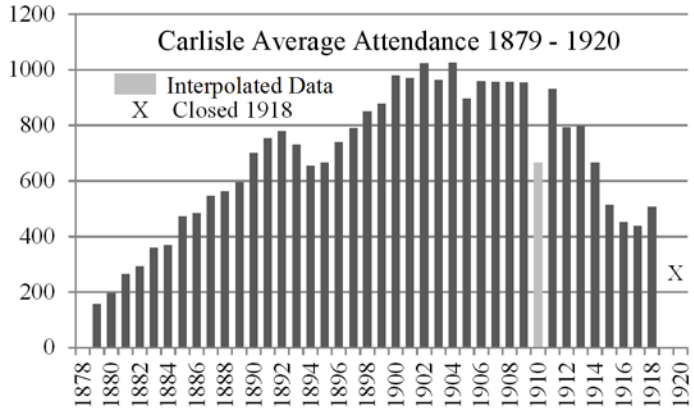
Overall, the Carlisle school did not meet the age and gender requirements for the proper recruitment of students. On the other hand, the school's population consisted of a large proportion of half to full-blooded students. The school also recruited from the designated areas, had the widest spatial distribution, and had the largest number of different tribes representing of all the schools. In the end, Pratt failed from the perspective of BIA recruitment policies to make his school a true model for all off-reservation boarding schools.

[81] Ibid.

Map 3. Carlisle Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	4	2	**6**	0.6
1/2	65	56	**121**	12.2
3/4	3	2	**5**	0.5
7/8	0	2	**2**	0.2
Full	502	355	**857**	86.5
Total	**574**	**417**	**991**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Oneida	47	55	**102**	10.3
Seneca	50	41	**91**	9.2
Chippewa	55	31	**86**	8.7
Sioux	43	37	**80**	8.1
Cherokee	33	20	**53**	5.3

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Mission	20	21	**41**	4.1
Pueblo	18	20	**38**	3.8
Apache	25	6	**31**	3.1
Others	283	186	**469**	47.3
Total	**574**	**417**	**991**	**100**

Chemawa Indian Industrial School (Harrison Institute)

The Chemawa Indian School was established less than a year after Carlisle and was meant to become a similarly large school. Its student population at first was relatively small compared to expectations at the BIA. When the school opened in 1880 there were only 18 students enrolled.[82] This number increased the next year to 76,[83] but the school was dealing with funding issues and a lack of supplies for any additional students. In 1885, the school moved from Forest Grove to its current location in Salem, Oregon. The school population peaked in 1903 with 613 students, and during the years 1880 to 1920 the average attendance was 349.

Chemawa's recruitment area was designated as the Pacific Northwest and Alaska. The few exceptions to this were a few students from South Dakota, North Carolina, Canada and the Philippines. In 1900, the census recorded 67 different tribes from seven States and two foreign countries at Chemawa. This is not surprising considering the large number of small tribes in the Northwest region.

Gender was a problem at Chemawa as it was at most off-reservation boarding schools. At the end of the first year in 1880, of the 18 total students there were 4 girls and 14 boys. In 1883, Superintendent Minthorn expended additional funds specifically to bring girls to the school stating: "a number of girls are enjoying the advantages of the school that could not have otherwise been brought here."[84] When the Census surveyed the school in 1900, 55% of the population was male and 45% was female, a large increase in female students from the first years. However, the results of the chi-squared test support a rejection of the null hypothesis

[82] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Forest Grove School" by Melville C. Wilkinson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1881* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1881), 198.
[83] Ibid.
[84] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Forest Grove School" by Henry J. Minthorn. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1883* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1883), 183.

(Table 13) and suggest there was a significant statistical difference between the male and female populations at Chemawa.

Gender at Chemawa

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	238	216.0	22.0
Female	194	216.0	-22.0
Total	432		

Table 12. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Chemawa Indian Industrial School, Salem, Oregon.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	4.481
df	1
P-value	.034

Table 13. Chi-squared results for gender proportions at Chemawa.

In 1900, the average age at Chemawa was 14.6 years old for the total population. The girls were slightly younger at 13.6, and the boys 15.4. The youngest female student at Chemawa was a 3 year-old ¾ blood Puyallup girl who was the daughter of the school disciplinarian and the laundress. The youngest boy at Chemawa in 1900 was a 3 year-old ¾ blood Alaskan native who came to school with his 5 year-old brother. Overall at the Chemawa school, 28.2% of the students' ages were outside of the appropriate age range for attendance. The chi-square test confirms this discrepancy (Table 15). The statistics suggest there is a significant difference between the model student population and the observed demographic values from the 1900 census.

Age at Chemawa

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	311	410.0	-99.0
Ages outside of range	121	22.0	99.0
Total	432		

Table 14. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	469.405
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 15. Chi-squared results for student age at Chemawa, 1900.

The degree of Indian ancestry at the school was surprisingly low. In 1900, 17.2% of Chemawa students were less than half-blooded. The superintendents at Chemawa never complained about having students of low Indian ancestry and it was apparently not a major

problem at the school. However, Chemawa failed to meet the proper enrollment criteria when comparing the school demographics to the model student scenario. The chi-squared results (Table 17) indicate a significant difference between the observed and expected blood quantum values.

Blood Quantum at Chemawa

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	358	410.0	52.0
Less than half-blooded	74	22.0	-52.0
Total	432		

Table 16. Blood quantum of students at Chemawa, 1900. Half-blooded or more are encouraged to be enrolled. Expected frequency of outliers is 5%.

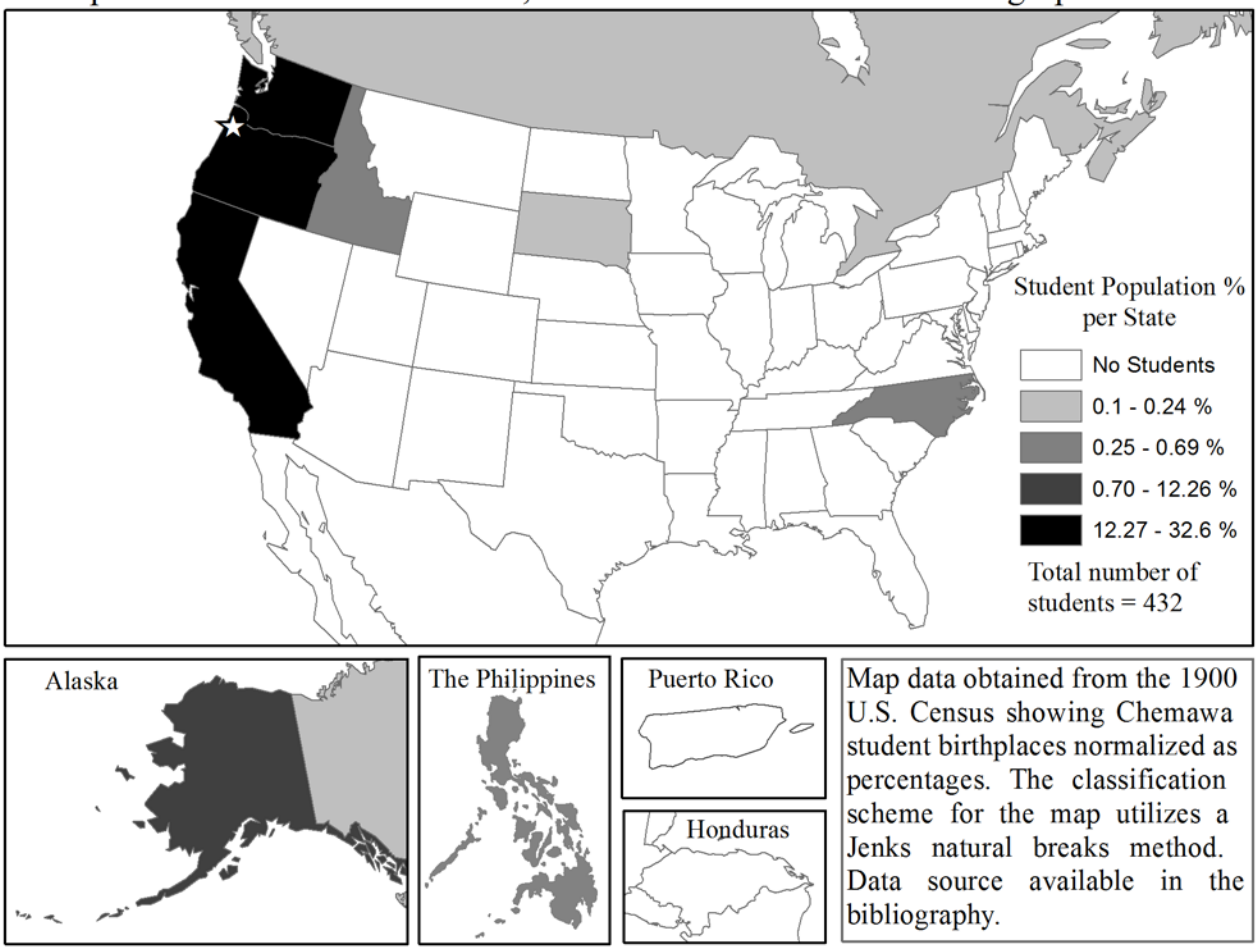
Test Statistics

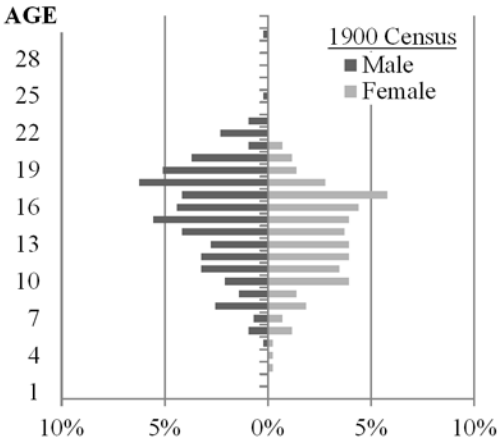
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	129.504
df	1
P-value	.000

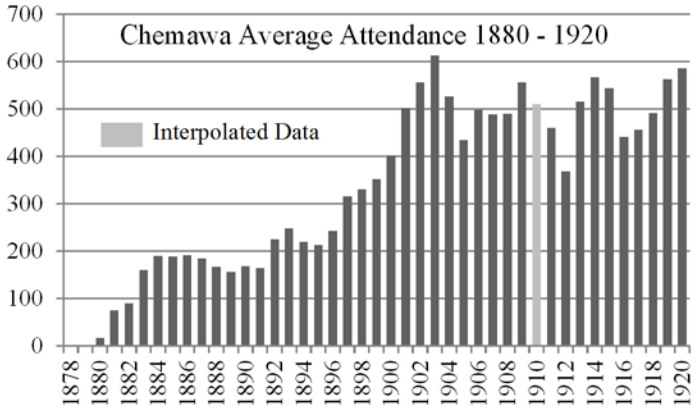
Table 17. Chi-squared results for student's degree of Indian ancestry.

The Chemawa Indian School met only one of the criteria for proper student recruitment; the school recruited students from the appropriate tribal regions. However, the school failed to meet the requirements for age, gender, and degree of Indian blood. The gender ratio was fairly close but statistical analysis suggests the difference is too large. The age and blood quantum criteria were rejected because 28% of students were outside of the age range and 17.2% were less than half-blooded. Overall, the Chemawa school did not match the model very well.

Map 4. Chemawa Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/8	0	5	**5**	1.2
1/4	30	39	**69**	16.0
1/2	95	80	**175**	40.5
3/4	15	16	**31**	7.2
7/8	10	13	**23**	5.3
Full	88	41	**129**	29.9
Total	**238**	**194**	**432**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Alaskan	37	18	**55**	12.7
Klamath	15	25	**40**	9.3
Rogue River	8	14	**22**	5.1
Hupa	8	9	**17**	3.9
Puyallup	6	11	**17**	3.9

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chinook	7	8	**15**	3.5
Pitt River	4	11	**15**	3.5
Unknown	6	8	**14**	3.2
Others	147	90	**12**	2.8
Total	**238**	**194**	**432**	**100**

Lincoln Institution

The Lincoln Institution of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was established in 1866 as an orphanage for children of soldiers killed or missing in the Civil War. In 1882, the school received its first government appropriation to house and educate fifty Indian girls.[85] The first students arrived at the institution September 8, 1883, and on August 29, 1884, the first Indian boys were received.[86] The school continued to educate Indian youth until 1908 when the government began to phase out all remaining contract schools.[87]

The school's population grew to around 200 students from 1887 to 1900, but decreased drastically in 1901 after Congressional appropriations were accidentally omitted from the bill.[88] In 1900, the average attendance was reported in the *Annual Report* as 204 students,[89] but the 1900 census recorded only 98 students. The survey was performed in June while many of the students were home for the summer or on work duties through the outing system.

Lincoln always had near equal number of female and male students enrolled, and generally there were often a higher number of girls than boys. In 1883 there were 96 girls and 92 boys,[90] and in 1886 there were 112 girls and 116 boys.[91] This sets Lincoln apart from the other

---

[85] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by John H. Oberly. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885), cxvi.
[86] Ibid.
[87] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by Francis E. Leupp. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1908* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1908), 47.
[88] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 27.
[89] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 628.
[90] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by John H. Oberly. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1883* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1883), cxvi.

schools because it consistently had such a relatively large number of female students. The data show that there were 33 male students and 65 girls at the time of the survey. Although the Lincoln Institution had a large number of female students (by far the largest proportion of females to males of all schools), it failed to meet the requirements of equal gender (Table 19).

Gender at Lincoln

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	33	49.0	-16.0
Female	65	49.0	16.0
Total	98		

Table 18. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for the Lincoln Institution, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	10.449
df	1
P-value	.001

Table 19. Chi-squared results for gender proportions at Lincoln.

The average age of students at the Lincoln Institution was 13.9 in 1900, with the boys' average age of 13.8 and girls' average of 14. The youngest girl at Lincoln was a 5 year-old full-blood Wichita from Kansas, and the youngest boy was a 6 year-old full-blood Seneca from New York. The school superintendent reported in 1886 that a group of students older than 20 were sent home because they were too old for the school.[92] However, when the census surveyed the school in 1900 there were still two students twenty-one years or older. In total, 25.5% of the students at Lincoln were outside the appropriate age range. The chi-squared calculation (Table 21) verifies a significant difference between the expected age counts and the observed numbers.

Age at Lincoln

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	73	93.0	-20.0
Ages outside of range	25	5.0	20.0
Total	98		

Table 20. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5%

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	84.301
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 21. Chi-squared results for student age at Lincoln.

[91] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Lincoln Institution" by Anne H. Whorten. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1886* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1886), 262.
[92] Ibid.

outliers.

Degree of Indian ancestry was never reported in the Annual Reports for the Lincoln Institution. Some of the schools reported demographic statistics in their reports, but the reports from the Lincoln Institution did not include this information about the students. In 1900, the school population was mostly half-blood or higher, with only 11.2% of the student body one-quarter blood Native American. However, after running the statistical analysis (Table 23), the Lincoln Institution failed to meet the requirement for enrolling students of proper Indian ancestry.

Blood Quantum

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	87	93.0	-6.0
Less than half-blooded	11	5.0	6.0
Total	98		

Table 22. Degree of Indian ancestry for Lincoln Institution, 1900. An expected frequency of 5% outliers outside of range.

Test Statistics

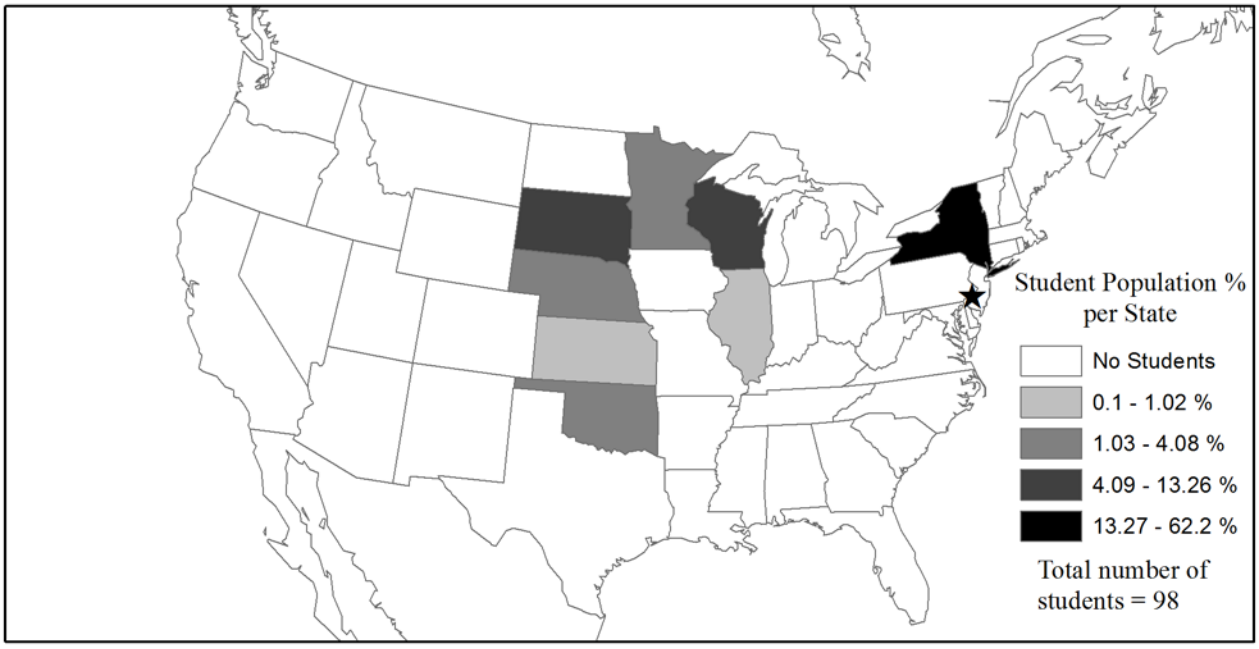
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	7.587
df	1
P-value	.006

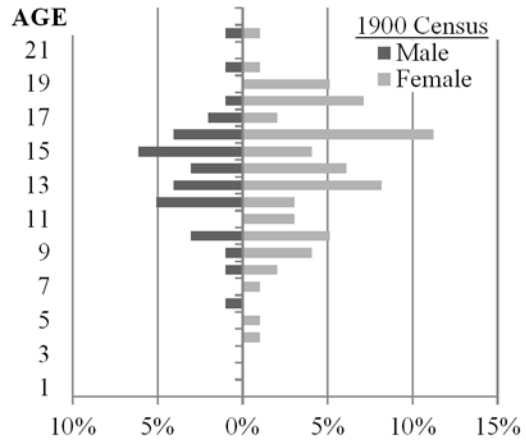
Table 23. Chi-squared results for students' blood quantum information from 1900 Census.

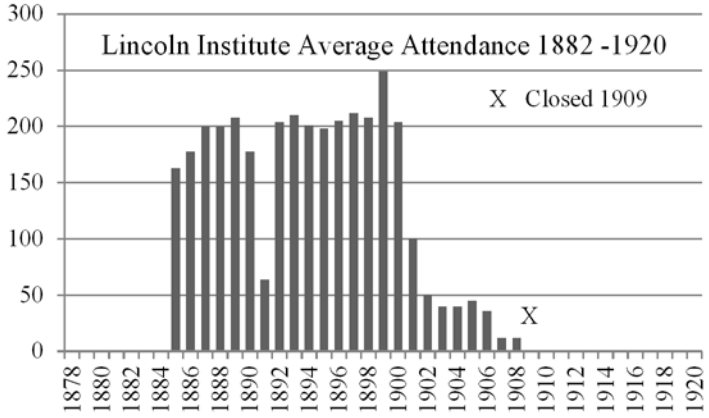
The tribes represented at Lincoln are not typical of a smaller boarding school because there were few nearby tribes to recruit students from. The majority of the students in 1900 were New York Indians, with smaller groups from South Dakota, Wisconsin and across the Midwest. The largest tribal group was Seneca from New York, with Wisconsin Oneidas and New York Onondagas following behind.

The Lincoln Institution matched the requirement for recruitment area, but failed to meet the standards for age, gender, and blood quantum. The gender proportion at the Lincoln Institution was significantly biased toward the girls, with nearly twice as many female as male students. In addition, the Lincoln school fails to meet the age requirements as 35.7% of the students’ ages at the school were outside of the proper age range.

Map 5. Lincoln Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	0	11	**11**	11.2
1/2	0	11	**11**	11.2
3/4	3	3	**6**	6.1
Full	30	40	**70**	71.4
Total	**33**	**65**	**98**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Seneca	16	20	**36**	36.7
Oneida	11	2	**13**	13.3
Onondaga	6	7	**13**	13.3
Sioux	0	12	**12**	12.2
Mohawk	0	10	**10**	10.2

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chippewa	0	4	**4**	4.1
Winnebago	0	4	**4**	4.1
Osage	0	3	**3**	3.1
Other	0	3	**3**	3.1
Total	**33**	**65**	**98**	**100**

Chilocco Indian Agricultural School (Haworth Institute)

The Indian school in Chilocco, Oklahoma, was established in 1884 and was primarily for agricultural training with one of the largest working farms of all the boarding schools, covering 8,640 acres.[93] The school comprised a tract three miles north and south, by four and one-half miles east and west, bordering the Kansas-Oklahoma state line about seven miles south of Arkansas City, Kansas. The property was crossed by a number of railroads which made it ideal to deliver students and supplies. The main building was constructed in 1883 and the school opened for students on January 15, 1884.[94] The school had six changes in school superintendents in its first six years, plus a poor reputation among neighboring whites and Indians. This situation made filling the classrooms difficult.[95] The school continued as a boarding school until 1982 when it was finally closed.

The Chilocco Indian School was a medium-sized institution with an average student population of 402 between 1884 and 1920. The school population peaked in 1905 with 714 students, but it soon decreased due to budget cuts and a general dissatisfaction within the BIA toward the off-reservation boarding school program. When the U.S. Census surveyed the school in 1900 there were 367 students in attendance.

---

[93] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Chilocco, Okla." by Benjamin F. Taylor. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1898), 383.

[94] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Chilocco, Okla." by Benjamin S. Coppock. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1892), 671.

[95] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Training School at Chilocco, Oklahoma" by William H. Hadley. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Secretary of the Interior for the year 1890* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1890), 302.

The first class in 1884 had a ratio of 69.9% male and 30.1% female,[96] and in 1892 the gender proportion was 58.2% male and 41.8% female.[97] According to the 1900 census, the gender ratio at Chilocco was 41.4% female and 58.6% male, an increase from the first year but not nearly equal. The chi-squared results in Table 25 confirm a significant difference between the expected gender ratio and the observed proportion from the census.

Gender at Chilocco

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	215	183.5	31.5
Female	152	183.5	-31.5
Total	367		

Table 24. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Chilocco Indian Industrial School, Indian Territory.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	10.815
df	1
P-value	.001

Table 25. Chi-squared results for gender proportion at Chilocco.

Student age was rarely mentioned in the *Annual Reports* from the Chilocco superintendents. The one mention of age came in the 1900 report which stated that the average age was 15 with an average attendance of 316.[98] According to the census data the calculated average age was 14.8 out of 365 total students. The most common age for male and females are 19 and 16 respectively. In 1900 the youngest student was a 3 year-old boy half-blood Ute from Idaho and the youngest female students were three 6 year-olds. The other outliers were several older students, including, a 27 year-old quarter-blood Pottawatomie man from Michigan, and a 27 year-old quarter-blood Ute woman from Idaho who came to school with her two daughters and two sons, one of which is the 3 year-old boy previously mentioned. There were 88 students

[96] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Chilocco School" by William J. Hadley. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1884* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1884), 209.
[97] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Chilocco School" by Charles W. Goodman. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1892), 673.
[98] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Chilocco School" by Charles W. Goodman. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1900), 497.

at Chilocco whose age was outside of the required range, or approximately 30% of the students. The chi-squared test results in Table 27 confirm a large and significant difference between the expected age values and the observed.

Age at Chilocco

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	276	349.0	-73.0
Ages outside of range	91	18.0	73.0
Total	367		

Table 26. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	311.325
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 27. Chi-squared results for student age at Chilocco.

In 1900, Chilocco had a fairly wide geographic distribution of students for being a medium-sized school, covering 21 States and the country of Honduras (Map 6). The school had students representing 33 different tribes, the majority of them coming from nearby Indian Territory.

The student's blood quantum in 1900 was a mix of full and mixed-bloods; 38.1% of the students were full, 24.3% were half, and 20.2% were quarter-bloods. The chi-squared calculation (Table 29) confirms a large discrepancy between the census data and the expected values for student ancestry.

Blood Quantum at Chilocco

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	258	349.0	-91.0
Less than half-blooded	109	18.0	91.0
Total	367		

Table 28. Degree of Indian ancestry of Chilocco student obtained from 1900 Census. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

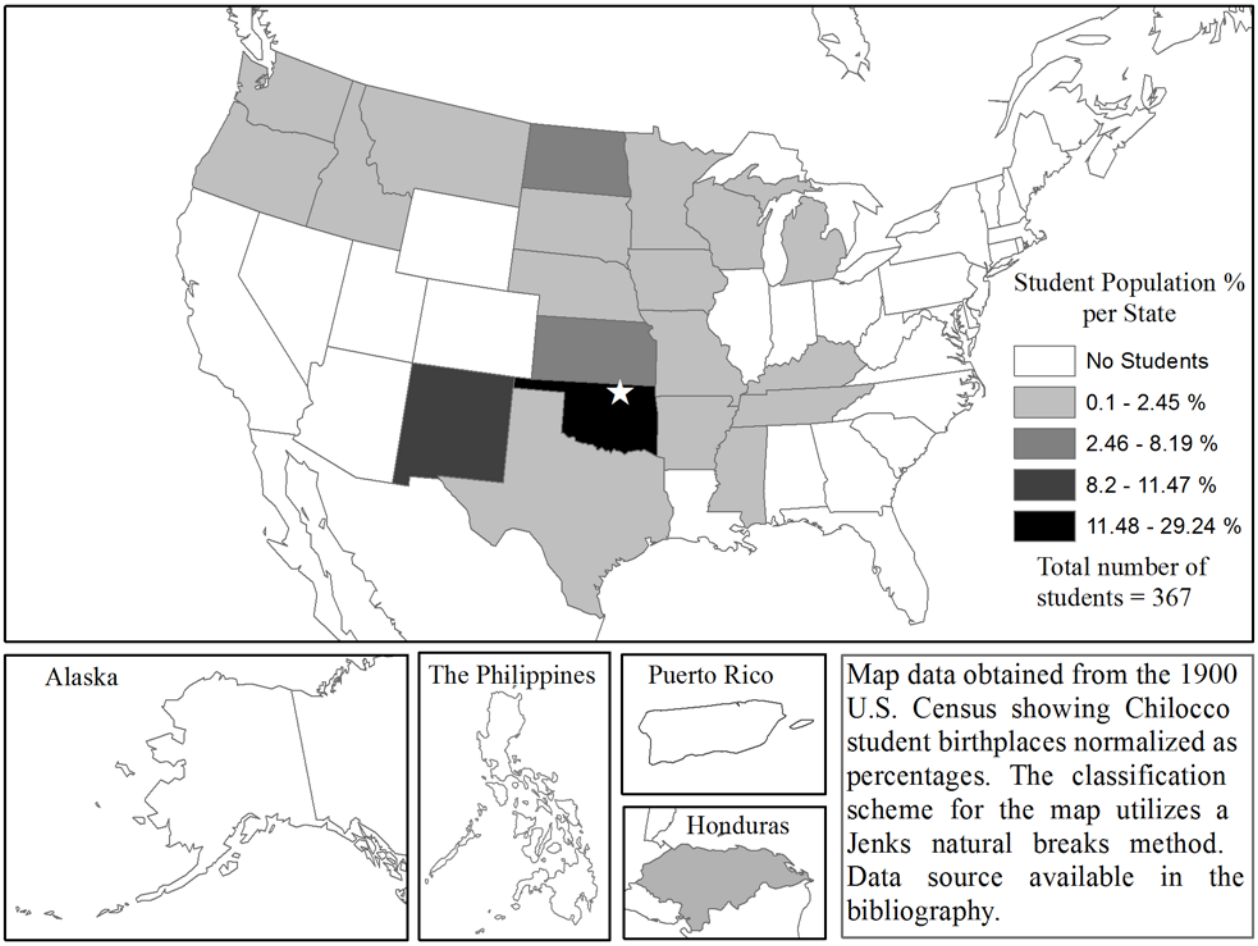
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	483.783
df	1
P-value	.000

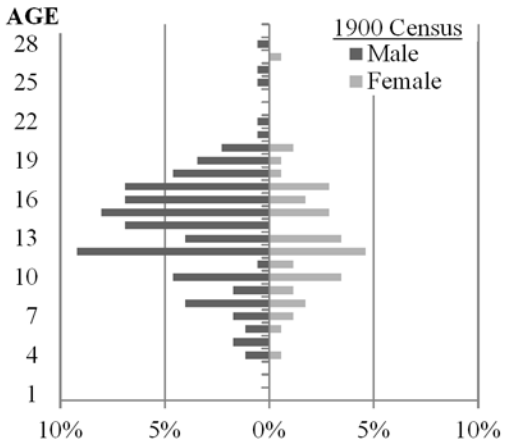
Table 29. Chi-squared results for students' blood quantum.

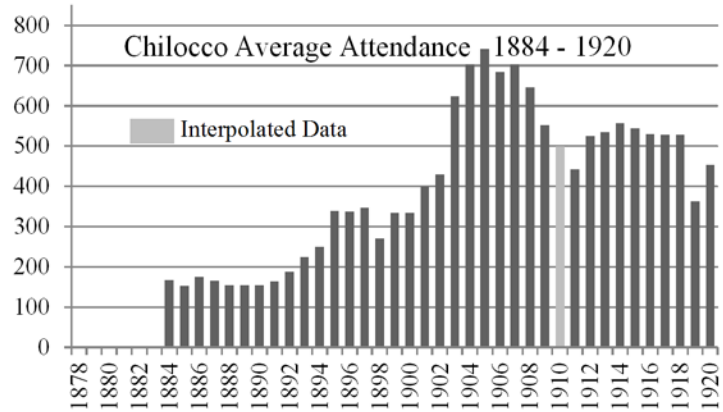
Although Chilocco was a relatively successful school and survived for over one hundred years, the school failed to adhere to the model for the proper recruitment of students. According to the census data, the age, gender, recruitment distribution and degree of Indian ancestry were

all outside of the accepted standards. Chilocco is the only school to fail to meet any of the requirements defined in the student recruitment model.

Map 6. Chilocco Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	47	27	**74**	20.2
1/2	61	28	**89**	24.3
3/4	10	14	**24**	6.5
Full	77	63	**140**	38.1
Other	20	20	**40**	10.9
Total	**215**	**152**	**367**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Sioux	26	18	**44**	12.0
Pueblo	42	0	**42**	11.4
Pawnee	19	16	**35**	9.5
Pottawatomie	17	15	**32**	8.7
Chippewa	19	11	**30**	8.2

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Ponca	10	20	**30**	8.2
Delaware	15	13	**28**	7.6
Otoe	4	16	**20**	5.4
Others	63	109	**172**	46.9
Total	**215**	**152**	**367**	**100**

Genoa Indian Industrial School (Grant Institute)

As part of the Indian appropriation act of May 7, 1882, the Secretary of the Interior authorized the establishment of a school for 150 Indian students on either the Sioux Reservation in Dakota Territory or on the former Pawnee Reservation in Nebraska.[99] A site near the town of Genoa, Nebraska, was chosen and the land was purchased by the Department of the Interior. It consisted of about 320 acres of level ground on the east side of the town.[100] The school property was crossed by the Union Pacific Railroad, running east-west about 200 feet south of the main school building.[101] The Genoa Indian Industrial School opened on February 20th, 1884,[102] with 71 students. By the end of the year 129 students were enrolled. The school was closed in 1934 as a result of broad changes in federal Indian policy following the Merriam Report of 1928 and preceding the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.[103]

The Indian school in Genoa, Nebraska was a medium-sized school with an average student population of 227 students between the years 1884 to 1920. The population at Genoa was small in the beginning but it slowly grew until a fairly consistent number was maintained. The enrollment had an early boost during the 1892-1893 caused by an increase in funding and also

[99] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by Thomas J. Morgan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior Interior for the year 1892* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1892), 883.
[100] Wilma A. Daddario, "'They get milk practically every day': The Genoa Indian Industrial School, 1884-1934," *Nebraska History 73* (1992): 4.
[101] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Genoa, Nebr." by W. B. Backus. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior Interior for the year 1890* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1890), 294.
[102] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior Interior for the year 1903* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1903),. Page 17
[103] Shelley R. Frear, "The Genoa Indian School: a mixed legacy, 50 years of transformation, survival, and hope in a United States government Indian boarding school on the Nebraska plains" (master's thesis, University of Nebraska at Kearney, 2012), 203.

the introduction of the "outing" system at Genoa.[104] The 1900 census surveyed a total of 264 students at Genoa. This coincides closely to the average attendance rate of 272 reported in the 1900 *Annual Report*.[105]

When Genoa opened in 1884 the superintendent of the school reported that students were between the ages of seven and twenty-two,[106] and in 1891 the age range was reported at between five and twenty.[107] The average age calculated from the 1900 Census data was 15 for the entire student body; females had an average of 14.2 and males 15.6. The youngest student at Genoa was a 6 year-old girl from Nebraska. The oldest student was a 28 year-old male from Minnesota. Overall 24.7% of the students' ages were outside of the acceptable range for attendance at the school and the chi-squared calculation (Table 31) confirms this number is significantly different than the expected values defined in the model.

Age at Genoa

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	201	251.0	-50.0
Ages outside of range	63	13.0	50.0
Total	264		

Table 30. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	202.268
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 31. Chi-squared results for student age at Genoa.

[104] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Genoa, Nebr." by W. B. Backus. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1892), 676.
[105] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1900), 626.
[106] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Samuel F. Tappan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1884* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1884), 207.
[107] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by W. B. Backus. *In Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1892), 565.

The student gender ratio at Genoa was often reported in the school's *Annual Reports*. In 1884, there were 89 males and 40 females;[108] in 1885 there were 91 males and 35 females.[109] Again, in 1886, there were a reported 110 males and 56 females,[110] and in 1887, there were 146 male and 59 female students.[111] When the census surveyed the school in 1900 there were 150 males and 114 females, or 56.8% male and 43.2% female. The gender ratio at Genoa seemed to favor of the male students, but by 1900 it was slowly getting closer to becoming equal. The chi-squared results in Table 33 indicate there is a significant difference between the observed census gender count and an expected equal proportion.

Gender at Genoa

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	150	132.0	18.0
Female	114	132.0	-18.0
Total	264		

Table 32. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Genoa Indian Industrial School, Genoa, Nebraska.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	4.909
df	1
P-value	.027

Table 33. Chi-squared results for gender proportion at Genoa.

The first students in 1884 came from the Rosebud and Yankton Agencies in Dakota Territory.[112] Additional students were recruited from the Omaha and Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska the following year.[113] In 1886, Sioux students from Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Poncas

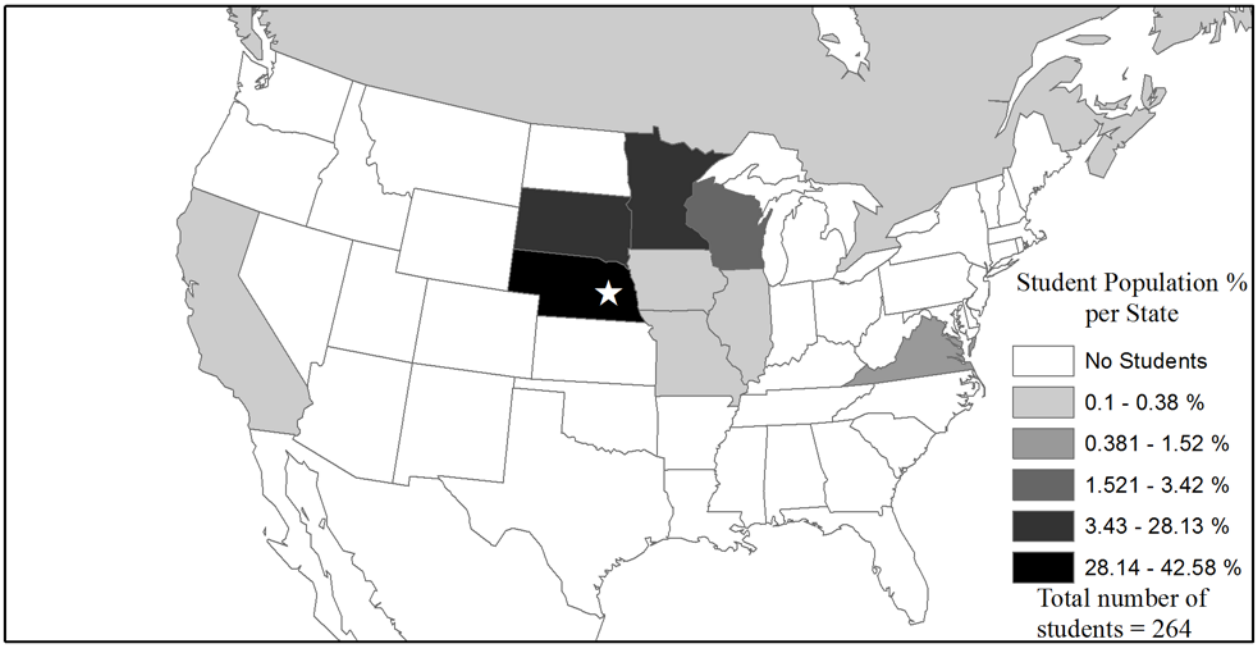
[108] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Samuel F. Tappan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1884* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1884), 207.
[109] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Samuel F. Tappan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1885), 225.
[110] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Horace R. Chase. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1886* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1886), 8.
[111] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Horace R. Chase. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1887* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1887), 243.
[112] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Samuel F. Tappan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1884* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1884), 207.
[113] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Samuel F. Tappan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1885), 225.

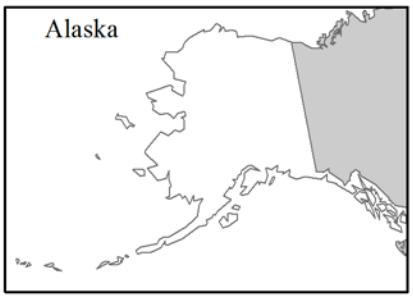
from Nebraska, and Arikara and Mandan from North Dakota were enrolled.[114] In 1887, a large group of Arapahos began attending the school, as well as smaller groups of Cheyenne and Santee Sioux.[115] The 1900 census did not record tribal affiliation of the students, making it impossible to compare the data to the numbers reported in the *Annual Reports*.

The census enumerator who surveyed the school in Genoa did not use the proper Indian population schedule sheet, and therefore did not record tribal affiliation or degree of Indian ancestry. However, the age, gender and place of birth were recorded and the data indicate that the Genoa school failed to fulfill the requirements for age and gender. The spatial distribution of student origins illustrates that the Genoa school did follow protocol by recruiting most of the students from nearby reservations and tribal areas; the outliers from Virginia and California represent less than 2% of the student population.

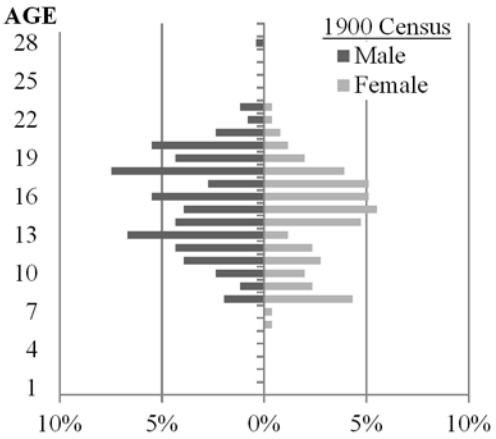
[114] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Horace R. Chase. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1886* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1886), 8.
[115] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Genoa School" by Horace R. Chase. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1887* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1887), 243.

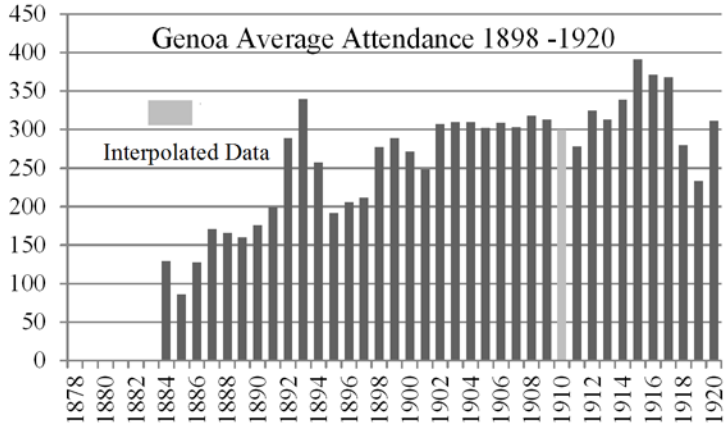
Map 7. Genoa Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Genoa student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





Tribal affilation and degree of Indian blood was not recorded by the Census enumerator.

Albuquerque Indian Industrial School (Fisk Institute)

In 1881, the Presbyterian Board of Missions established an Indian school in Albuquerque, New Mexico.[116] In 1886, the Government purchased the property from the Presbyterian board and the school was converted to an industrial and agricultural training school for Indians. The land on which the school was situated was very poor and the superintendent stated that "the land had been used for the manufacture of adobe brick since the memory of man, until the citizens conceived the idea of presenting it to the Government."[117] The school in Albuquerque was one of the largest institutes and survived until 1989 when the school was closed and the school programs were transferred to Santa Fe.[118]

The school at Albuquerque was a medium-sized off-reservation boarding facility that served local tribal communities. Between the years 1884 and 1920 the school had an average attendance of 284 students. The first year it was open, in 1884, this number was 156.[119] The *Annual Report* for 1900 states the average attendance for the year was 315 students.[120] When the census surveyed the school in June, 1900, they recorded 298 students in attendance. These two numbers coincide fairly well considering that one is an average for the year and the other a survey. Overall, the Albuquerque school was kept at or above the maximum capacity for

[116] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Albuquerque School" by P. F. Burke. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1887* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), 248.
[117] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque" by Edgar A. Allen. *In Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1899* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899), 409.
[118] John R. Gram, "Education on the edge of empire: The Pueblos and the federal boarding schools, 1881-1929" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2012), 282.
[119] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Albuquerque School" by Richard W. D. Bryan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885), 254.
[120] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 627.

students, and there were often requests from the administration to increase appropriations for the budget.

In 1900, the average age at the Albuquerque school was 13 for the entire student population, 14 and 12 for males and females, respectively. The administration actively removed students who were too old, including fifty sent home in 1894.[121] In 1889, the superintendent reported that the student age range was between five and twenty.[122] The 1900 Census recorded that 93 students, or 31.2% of the student population, were either too young or too old for the school. The chi-squared calculation (Table 35) confirms a large discrepancy between the expected age range and the observed values obtained from the census.

Age at Albuquerque

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	196	284.0	-87.0
Ages outside of range	102	14.0	87.0
Total	298		

Table 34. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	580.41
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 35. Chi-squared results for student age at Albuquerque.

The gender ratio at Albuquerque was similar to the other schools because the school had more male students than females in attendance. Gender was rarely mentioned in the school's annual reports, except for one comment in the 1889 report stating that there were 124 males and 56 female students,[123] with a calculated ratio of 68.9% male and 31.1 female. The 1900 census reported that there were 177 males and 121 females, with a percentage ratio of 59.4% male and

[121] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque, N. Mex." by William M. Moss. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 391.
[122] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque" by William B. Creager. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1889* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 361.
[123] Ibid.

40.6% female. Statistical analysis (Table 37) of gender counts at Albuquerque indicates a significant difference between the expected and observed gender proportion.

Gender at Albuquerque

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	177	149.0	28.0
Female	121	149.0	-28.0
Total	298		

Table 36. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Albuquerque Indian Industrial School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	10.523
df	1
P-value	.001

Table 37. Chi-squared results for gender proportion at Albuquerque.

In 1900, the school population was made up almost entirely of Southwest tribes, except for one individual from Alabama with an unknown tribal affiliation. The vast majority of students came from New Mexico. The superintendent report from 1884 stated that the school consisted of mostly Pueblo Indians, with a small number of Apaches, Utes and Pimas.[124] In 1887, the superintendent reported "five distinct tribes were represented: The Pueblos, Navajos, Mescalero Apache, Pima and Papago."[125] In 1896, the superintendent reported the presence of Mexican-Indian students,[126] while the next year's report said that "many of those admitted in the last few years are of mixed Indian and Mexican blood, and while they are in great need of education and fully appreciate the privilege accorded them, they are not the ones, it appears, for whom the school was established."[127] Again, in 1900, it was reported that "a great many Mexicans are in attendance at this school, but I find very few who do not prove their Indian

[124] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque" by Richard W. D. Bryan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885), 254.
[125] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque, New Mexico" by P. F. Burke. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1887* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), 248.
[126] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque, N. Mex." by Samuel M. McCowan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 382.
[127] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque, N. Mex." by Edgar A. Allen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 361.

blood, and I am making an effort this fall to accept only such as can show a fair amount of Indian blood."[128] However, when the census came and surveyed the school in 1900 there was only one Mexican Indian in attendance.

Blood Quantum at Albuquerque

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	291	284.0	8.0
Less than half-blooded	7	14.0	-8.0
Total	298		

Table 38. Degree of Indian ancestry of students at Albuquerque. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	3.673
df	1
P-value	.0553

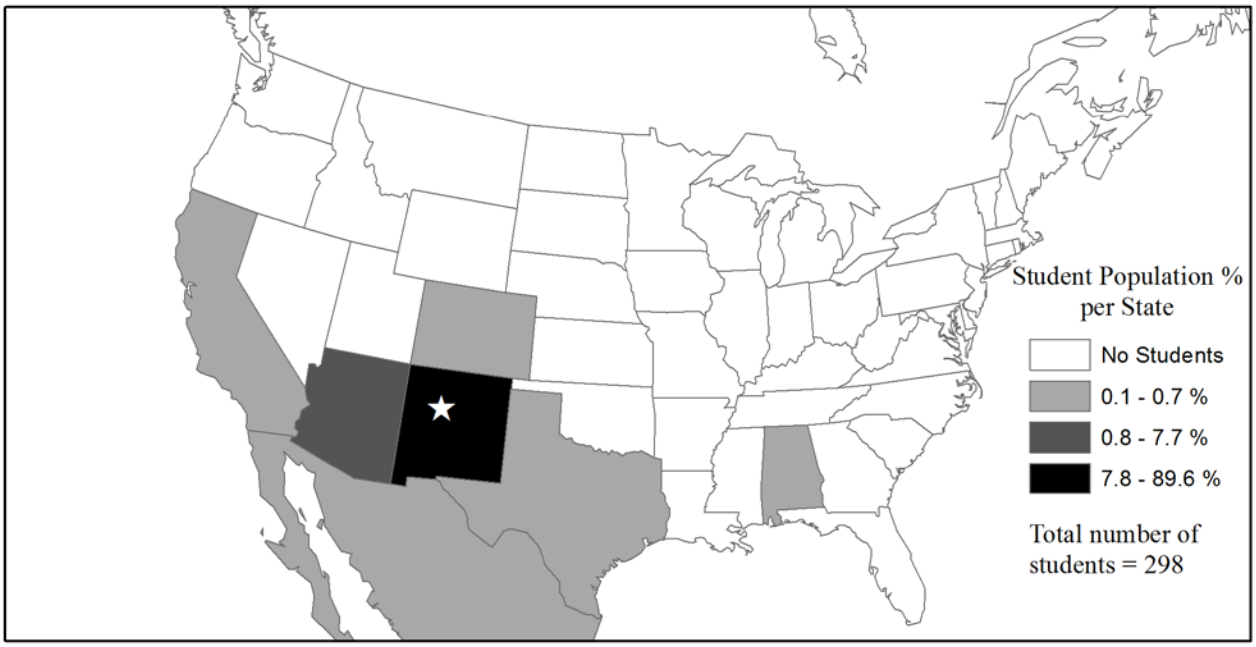
Table 39. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum.

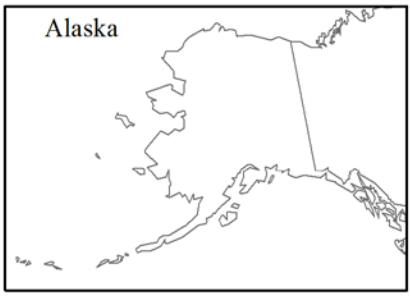
The student's blood quantum was never mentioned in the *Annual Reports* for the Albuquerque school. However, in 1900, the census recorded 97.7% of the students were half-blooded or more, with 53% being full-blooded. Overall, the school managed to recruit an appropriate number of students that were half-blooded or greater. The chi-squared test results (Table 39) confirm that there is a statistical similarity between the observed ancestry count taken from the census and the expected values based on the student recruitment model.

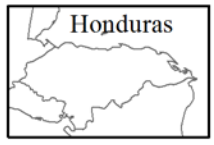
In the end, the Albuquerque Indian School failed to fulfill half of the recruitment requirements. Although they managed to obtain students from the school's designated recruitment area and enroll students with a high amount of Indian ancestry, however, they recruited students outside of the acceptable age range and failed to achieve an equal proportion of male and female students.

[128] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Albuquerque, N. Mex." by Ralph P. Collins. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 494.

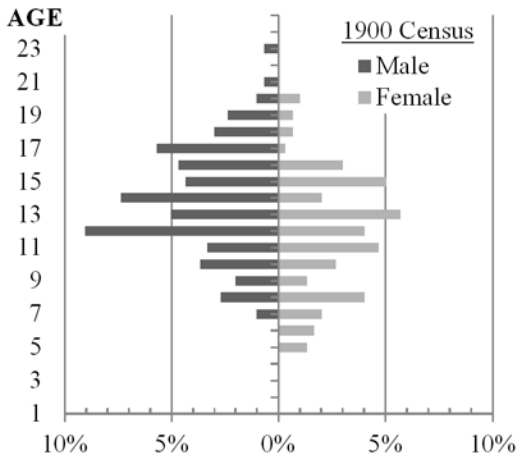
Map 8. Albuquerque Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900

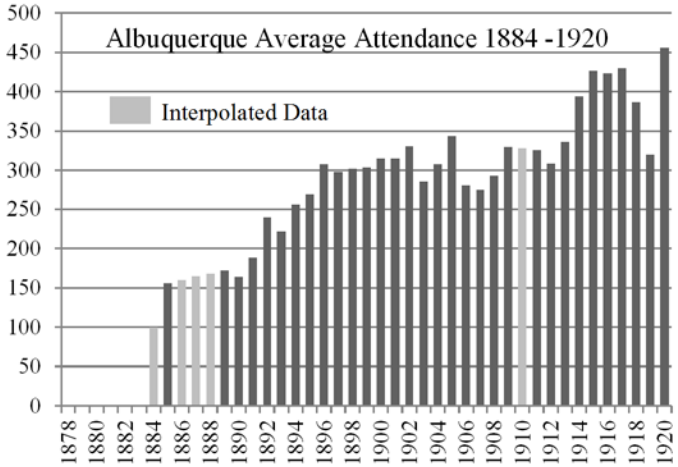






Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Albuquerque student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	7	0	**7**	2.3
1/2	68	37	**105**	35.2
3/4	28	0	**28**	9.4
Full	74	84	**158**	53.0
Total	**177**	**121**	**298**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Pueblo	151	105	**256**	85.9
Navajo	10	14	**24**	8.1
Apache	4	1	**5**	1.7
Moqui	5	0	**5**	1.7
Pima	3	1	**4**	1.3

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Papago	1	0	**1**	0.3
Mexican	1	0	**1**	0.3
Mission	1	0	**1**	0.3
Unknown	1	0	**1**	0.3
Total	**177**	**121**	**298**	**100**

Haskell Institute

Haskell Institute is the oldest surviving school still in operation at its original site. Located in Lawrence, Kansas, the school opened its doors in the fall of 1884 and continues to educate Native Americans as the Haskell Indian Nations University. Haskell was initially known as the "United States Indian Industrial Training School,"[129] but officially changed its name in 1890 to Haskell Institute in honor of the late Kansas congressman, Dudley C. Haskell. The Haskell Institute was governed much like Carlisle, including military dress and customs, and an education split between academics and industrial training. After Carlisle closed in 1918, Haskell became the premiere Native American institution of higher learning.

Haskell Institute was one of the largest off-reservation boarding schools. During the years 1884 to 1920, it had an average attendance of 571. The census recorded 469 students attending classes at the beginning of June, 1900. The *Annual Report* statistics for that year say that there was an average attendance of 562 students,[130] a discrepancy of almost 100 students between the two datasets. This difference in attendance can be explained by the time of year when the census surveyed the school. A number of students were away on the outing system or home during the summer months.

The age of students at Haskell was a contentious subject early in its history. Superintendent Haworth stated he wanted to "test the feasibility of training younger pupils, especially girls, away from all camp association."[131] In 1888, Superintendent Robinson voiced

---

[129] Kim C. Warren, *Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 21.
[130] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 625.
[131] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute" by James Marvin. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885),.. Report of Haskell Institute. Page 230.

his objection to the policy of accepting young students, stating that the school should not rely on "infants and camp children for recruits . . . only advanced pupils from the reservation schools should be selected."[132] In 1900, the average age of student was 16.3 for the entire student body, 16.7 for males and 15.7 for females. The youngest students at Haskell in 1900 were 6 years old, two males and three females. The oldest student was a 29 year-old quarter-blood Shawnee Indian from Montana. The most common age for males was 16, and 17 for females. Overall, 21% of the student population at Haskell in 1900 was either too old or too young for such an institution, and the chi-squared calculation in Table 41 confirms this large discrepancy between the census data and the expected values from the model.

Age at Haskell

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	372	446.0	-74.0
Ages outside of range	97	23.0	74.0
Total	469		

Table 40. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	250.365
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 41. Chi-squared results for student age at Haskell.

Gender was never mentioned in the school reports as an issue at Haskell. A special emphasis was put on education and training female students, as was mentioned previously. However, both the school statistics from the *Annual Reports* and the 1900 census data show that the school had a difficult time recruiting female students and achieving an equal number of boys and girls. In 1888, Superintendent Robinson reported 254 males and 107 females at the school.[133] Again, in 1894, the school reported 430 male students and only 230 females in

[132] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Lawrence, Kans." by Charles L. Robinson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), 260.
[133] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Lawrence, Kans." by Charles L. Robinson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), 259.

attendance.[134] The 1900 census data indicate a gender disparity at Haskell, with 262 to 207, or 56% male and 44% female. The chi-squared result (Table 43) confirms a significant gender inequality.

Gender at Haskell

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	262	234.5	27.5
Female	207	234.5	-27.5
Total	469		

Table 42. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	6.450
df	1
P-value	.011

Table 43. Chi-squared results for gender proportion at Haskell.

When Haskell opened in 1884 there were only five tribes represented: Ponca, Ottawa, Pawnee, Cheyenne and Arapaho.[135] Mixing of tribes at these schools was one method used by the administration to break up tribal associations and to force the use of the English language. Haskell had one of the highest numbers of different tribes of all the off-reservation boarding schools. In 1886, there were 30 tribes represented,[136] in 1898 47,[137] and when the Census surveyed the school in 1900 there were 48 different tribal affiliations. In 1894, the superintendent of Haskell reported that "formerly a very large percentage of our pupils came from the Oneidas of Wisconsin, the Sioux of Dakota, the Indians of Michigan, and from various other points at a distance, while during the past year we have been expected to draw from Kansas and the Indian

[134] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans." by John A. Swett. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 381.
[135] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute" by James Marvin. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1885), 229.
[136] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas" by Arthur Grabowskii. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1886* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1886), 8.
[137] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute, at Lawrence, Kans." by Hervey B. Peairs. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 369.

Territory only."[138] The census data of 1900 reflects this increase in local Indian tribes because 41.5% of the students at Haskell were from either Kansas or Oklahoma.

The blood quantum of students at Haskell was quite varied, with a combination of full-bloods and various degrees of mixed heritage. In 1900, the census recorded that 71.2% of students at Haskell were half-blooded or less. Statistical analysis using the chi-squared test (Table 45) confirm a large difference between the expected blood quantum values of the students at Haskell and the observed values obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census.

Blood Quantum at Haskell

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	275	446.0	-171.0
Less than half-blooded	194	23.0	171.0
Total	469		

Table 44. Degree of Indian ancestry for Haskell students. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

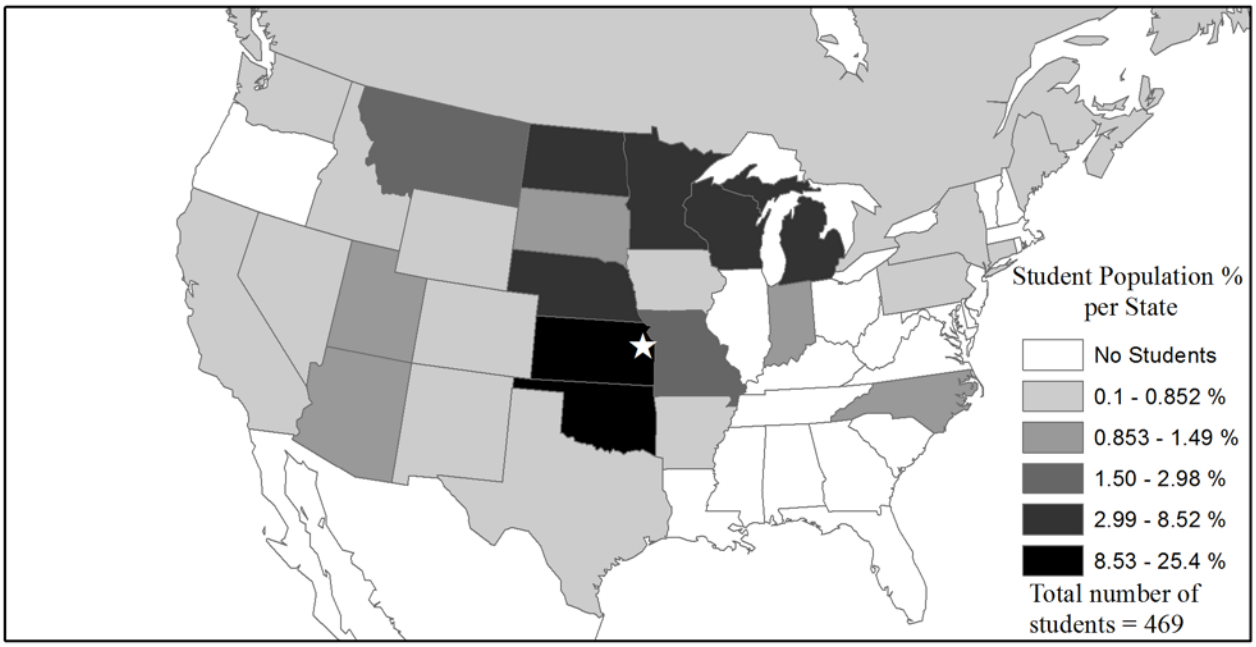
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	1336.911
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 45. Chi-squared results for blood quantum at Haskell.

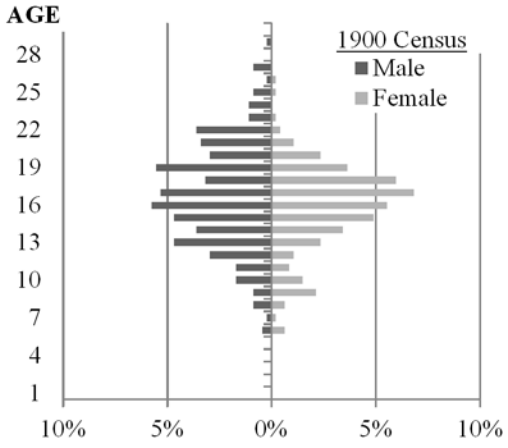
According the student recruitment model, Haskell failed three out of four requirements for the proper recruitment of students. There was an unequal gender proportion, too many students of inadequate Indian ancestry, and too many students either too old or too young. The only thing that Haskell recruiters did correctly was obtain students from the suggested recruitment region.

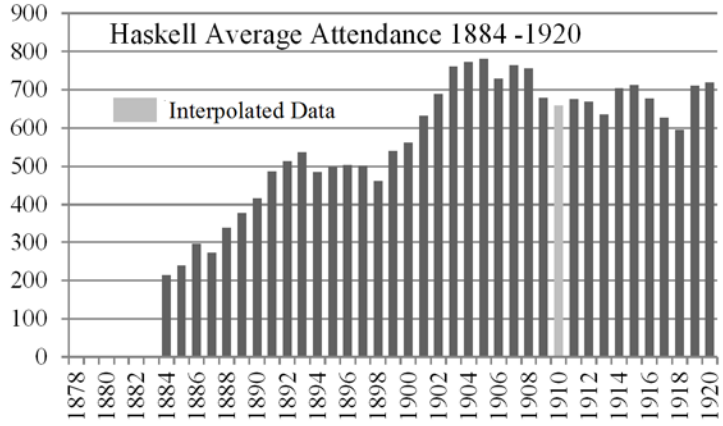
[138] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans." by John A. Swett. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 381.

Map 9. Haskell Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900



Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Haskell student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/8	27	32	**59**	12.6
1/4	57	54	**111**	23.7
1/2	77	63	**140**	29.9
3/4	30	11	**41**	8.7
Full	54	31	**85**	18.1
Other	17	16	**33**	7.0
Total	**262**	**207**	**469**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chippewa	68	50	**118**	25.2
Pottawatomie	39	40	**79**	16.8
Sioux	21	14	**35**	7.5
Sac and Fox	7	11	**18**	3.8
Shawnee	9	8	**17**	3.6

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Pawnee	7	8	**15**	3.2
Ponca	7	7	**14**	3.0
Menominee	5	6	**11**	2.3
Others	99	63	**162**	34.5
Total	**262**	**207**	**469**	**100**

Grand Junction Indian Industrial School (Teller Institute)

The school in Grand Junction, Colorado, was established in 1886.[139] Since the beginning, this school had difficulties ranging from unhappy students and parents to sewage disposal. In 1890, Superintendent Record expressed frustration over Government appropriations for the school, stating that "the pupils of this school were told that there were workshops and tools and they would be taught trades. As a matter of fact there is not a single shop in connection with this industrial training school."[140] The school was closed in 1911[141] as the Bureau of Indian Affairs was systematically closing the smaller schools in favor of the larger more established institutions.

The school in Grand Junction had an average attendance of 129 students each year from 1889 to 1911. The school's early history was full of problems with attendance and recruiting pupils. During the summer of 1888 nearly all employees at the school quit.[142] At the end of the regular school year in 1889, the remaining seven students were sent home on account of becoming dissatisfied with their time at the school.[143] In 1900, the census recorded 174 students

[139] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[140] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Training-School at Grand Junction, Colo." by Sanford P. Record. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1890* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1890), 282.
[141] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by R G. Valentine. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1911* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911),.. Page 30.
[142] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Grand Junction, Colo." by Thomas H. Breen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), 253.
[143] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Grand Junction, Colo." by George Wheeler. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1889* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 349.

attending class at the time of the survey; this is a little higher than the average attendance of 134 that the superintendent reported in the *Annual Report* of 1900.[144]

The average age for all students at Grand Junction was 13.7; the boys 14 and the girls 12.9. The most common age was 12 for both sexes. The youngest students were two boys and one girl, each 4 years old. The oldest male student was 28 and the oldest female was 27, both were Papago from Arizona. According to the census data, 29.3% of the student population at Grand Junction was either too old or too young for attendance at an off-reservation boarding school. The chi-squared results (Table 47) confirm a large statistical difference between the expected 5% outside of the 12 to 21 age range and the observed values recorded from the census.

Age at Grand Junction

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	123	165.0	-42.0
Ages outside of range	51	9.0	42.0
Total	174		

Table 46. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	206.691
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 47. Chi-squared results for student age at Grand Junction.

The first *Annual Report* for the school recorded only three female students for the year 1887.[145] In 1890, the superintendent of the school reported that "the small number of girls has necessitated the detailing of boys to do what naturally belongs to the opposite sex."[146] The 1900 census data reports that the gender ratio continued to be disproportionate, with 72% male and 28% female. This disparity is confirmed by the chi-squared results from Table 49.

---

[144] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 623.

[145] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Grand Junction, Colo." by Thomas H. Breen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), 251.

[146] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Grand Junction, Colo." by Sanford P. Record, S. P. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1890* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1890), 282.

Gender at Grand Junction

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	125	87.0	38.0
Female	49	87.0	-38.0
Total	174		

Table 48. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Grand Junction Indian Industrial School, Grand Junction, Colorado.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	33.195
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 49. Chi-squared results for gender proportion at Grand Junction.

The Grand Junction school is located in western Colorado, near the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah. This positioning gave it access to tribes in the Southwest as well as those in the Great Basin. In 1900, the census recorded 18 different tribes represented at the time of the survey. This is a high number of tribes relative to the size of the school, and an increase since the first *Annual Report* in 1888 citing only three tribes.[147] In 1888, 73% of the students came from the Paiute tribes.[148] By 1900, only 2% were Paiute, with the majority coming from the Navajo Nation.

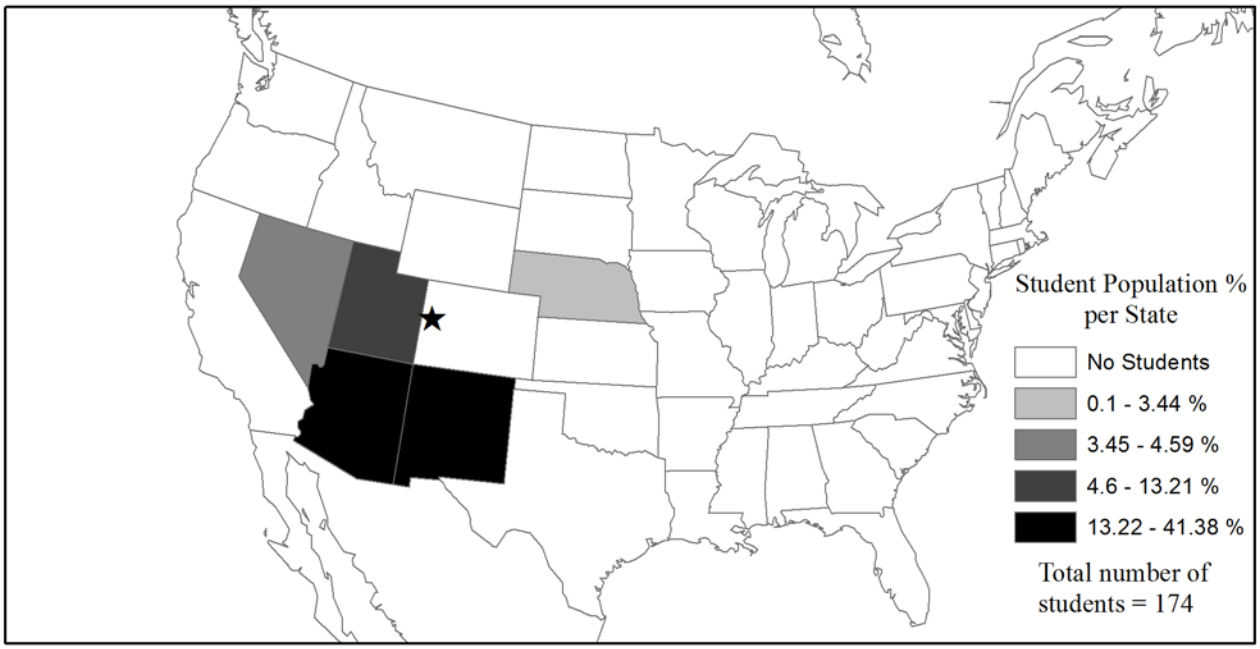
Blood quantum was never discussed by the school superintendent in their *Annual Reports*. This is similar to the other schools in or near the Southwest where Indians of questionable heritage is rarely an issue. The 1900 census data confirm the fact that the school enrolled a large percentage of full-blood students, as 89% were full-blooded and the rest were three-quarter blooded. Statistical analysis on student blood quantum is unnecessary due to the entire student population at Grand Junction being half-blooded or more.

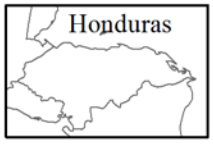
In the end, the school in Grand Junction, Colorado, like many other schools, failed to meet the recruitment standards for age and gender. The disproportionate number of males to females and the large number of students too old or too young was caused by a simple need to

[147] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Grand Junction, Colo." by Thomas H. Breen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), 251.
[148] Ibid.

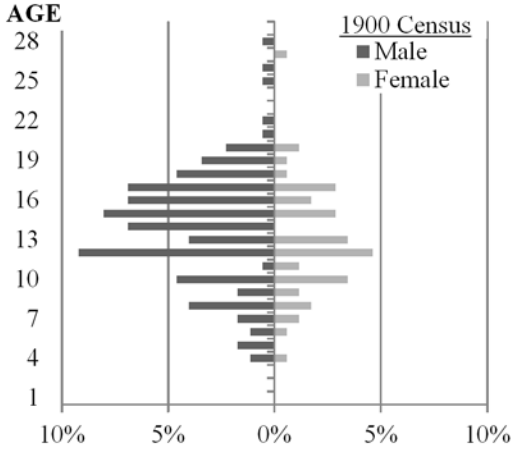
fill classrooms in order to receive government funding. However, the school did manage to recruit a diverse student population from a large number of different tribes and also recruited them from the appropriate tribal regions.

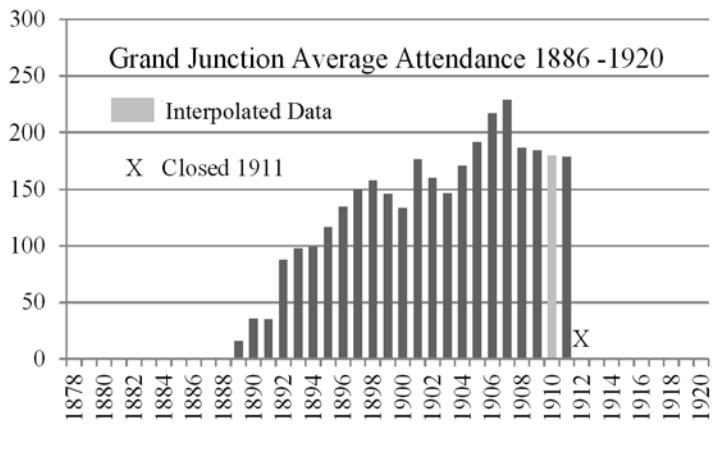
Map 10. Grand Junction Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Grand Junction student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
3/4	17	3	**20**	11.5
Full	108	46	**154**	88.5
Total	**125**	**49**	**174**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%	Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Navajo	38	13	**51**	29.3	Pima	4	4	**8**	4.6
Papago	17	7	**24**	13.8	Shoshone	3	3	**6**	3.4
Pueblo	18	3	**21**	12.1	Winnebago	4	2	**6**	3.4
Shebit	11	3	**14**	8.0	Others	28	3	**31**	17.8
Taqua	2	11	**13**	7.5	**Total**	**125**	**49**	**174**	**100**

Santa Fe Indian Industrial School (Dawes Institute)

The school in Santa Fe, New Mexico was established in 1890 and opened the following year with its first class of 9 pupils.[149] The school site was situated on the southwest side of the city on a tract of 106.48 acres.[150] This property was donated to the federal government by the citizens of Santa Fe specifically for the purposes of an industrial training school for Indians.[151] Federal funding for the school was discontinued in 1962.[152] That same year, the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico took control and the school continues to this day as a high school and art institute for Native Americans.

The school in Santa Fe was medium-sized with an average attendance of 274 students per year between the years 1891 and 1920. Its peak population was 378 in 1916. The 1900 census recorded 295 students at the school. The school's *Annual Report* for 1900 gave an average attendance of 298,[153] very close to the census number.

The average age in 1900 was 13; the boys' average was 13.5 and the girls' was 11.6. In 1892, the superintendent reported that the average age was 12 ½ years.[154] The most common age for male students was 18, with 14 years old as a close second. The mode for female age was 7, and 14 was a near second. The youngest student was a 4 year-old Pueblo girl from New Mexico.

---

[149] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Dawes Institute, Santa Fe, N. Mex." by Samuel M. Cart. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1891* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 576.
[150] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Training-School at Santa Fe, N. Mex." by Samuel M. Cart. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1890* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1890), 301.
[151] Winona M. Garmhausen, "The Institute of American Indian Arts 1962 to 1978: With historical background 1890 to 1962" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1982), 11.
[152] John R. Gram, "Education on the edge of empire: The Pueblos and the federal boarding schools, 1881-1929" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2012), 281.
[153] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 627.
[154] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Santa Fe, N. Mex." By Samuel M. Cart. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 686.

The youngest male students were two 5 year-olds also Pueblo from New Mexico. The oldest student was a 22 year-old quarter-blooded Osage from Nebraska. According to the 1900 census, 110 students, or 37%, were beyond the appropriate age range for school attendance. Table 51 shows the chi-squared results, which confirm a significant difference between the expected age count and the observed ages.

Age at Santa Fe

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	185	280.0	-95.0
Ages outside of range	110	15.0	95.0
Total	295		

Table 50. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	633.899
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 51. Chi-squared results for student age at Santa Fe.

Gender was never mentioned as an issue in the *Annual Reports* for the Santa Fe Indian School. In 1900, the census recorded 214 male and only 81 female students, a percentage of 72.5% and 27.5%, respectively. This is one of the lowest numbers of female students of all the off-reservation schools. The chi-squared test results indicate a substantial inequality between male and female students.

Gender at Santa Fe

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	214	147.5	66.5
Female	81	147.5	-66.5
Total	295		

Table 52. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Santa Fe Indian Industrial School, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	59.963
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 53. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

Recruitment of students at the Santa Fe school was different for each tribe. The superintendent often reported being overwhelmed by the number of school-aged Indian children located in his district, and the meager government appropriations given to his school to educate

them.[155] The recruiting agent had difficulties getting students to come to the school.[156] The Pueblos who had established mission schools near their villages were reluctant to send their children away when there were educational opportunities closer to home. By 1900, previous issues with enrolling Pueblo students had disappeared as the majority of the students at Santa Fe came from one of the Pueblos.

In 1900, the census recorded that 95% of the students at the Santa Fe school were half-blood or full. The superintendent reported in 1892 that "of the number of children received into the school, about 70 per cent of them were direct from the camps, with practically no idea of civilization."[157] Results from a chi-squared statistical analysis, Table 55, indicate that the Santa Fe school followed the recommendations for recruiting students with a high degree of Indian blood.

Blood Quantum at Santa Fe

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	282	280.0	2.0
Less than half-blooded	13	15.0	-2.0
Total	295		

Table 54. Degree of Indian ancestry of students, 1900. 5% outliers expected to be less than half-blooded.

Test Statistics

	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	.281
df	1
P-value	.596

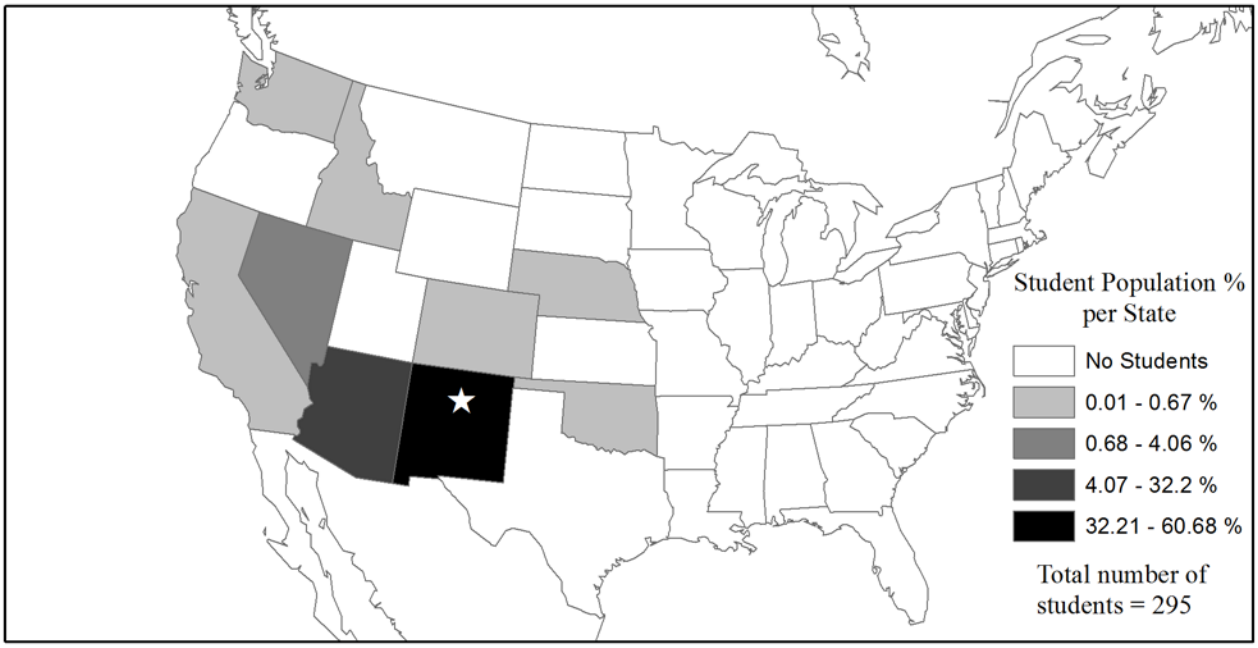
Table 55. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum.

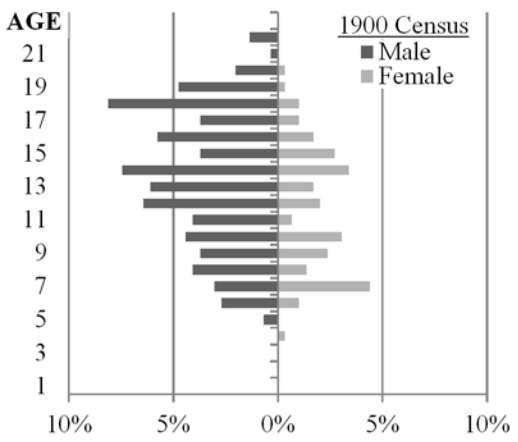
In the end, the Santa Fe school failed to secure students of proper age (too many young students) and also failed to achieve equal gender proportions (not enough girls). Gender counts were extremely disproportionate in favor of male students. The gender imbalance at Santa Fe likely can be explained by the presence of the Ramona Indian Girls School, also located in Santa

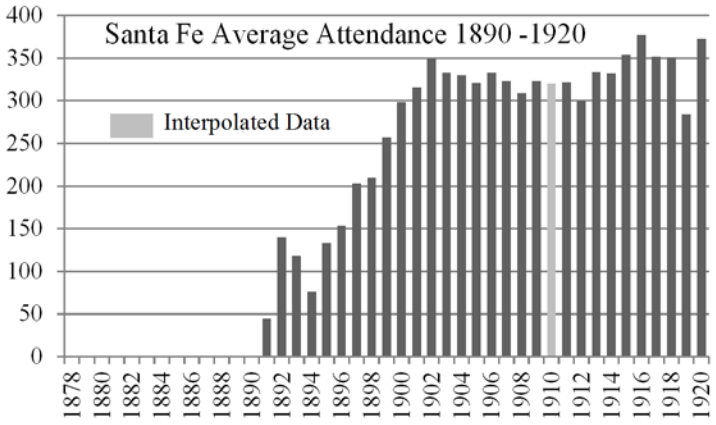
[155] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Santa Fe, N. Mex." by Samuel M. Cart. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 433.
[156] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Santa Fe, N. Mex." by Samuel M. Cart. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 432.
[157] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Santa Fe, N. Mex." by Samuel M. Cart. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 683.

Fe. However, the school did recruit students of proper Indian ancestry and from local tribes. The few outliers from Washington, Nebraska, California and Idaho represent only 5 students, or less than 2% of the total school population.

Map 11. Santa Fe Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	9	4	**13**	4.4
1/2	44	8	**52**	17.6
3/4	2	0	**2**	0.7
Full	159	69	**228**	77.3
Total	**214**	**81**	**295**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Pueblo	130	46	**176**	59.7
Papago	40	5	**45**	15.3
Pima	13	13	**26**	8.8
Navajo	9	8	**17**	5.8
W. Shoshone	10	3	**13**	4.4

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Apache	6	4	**10**	3.4
Mohave	0	1	**1**	0.3
Moqui	1	0	**1**	0.3
Others	5	1	**6**	2.0
Total	**214**	**81**	**295**	**100**

Fort Mojave Indian Industrial School (Herbert Welsh Institute)

The military post of Fort Mojave, Arizona, was established in 1858, located on the east bank of the Colorado River at the head of Mojave Valley.[158] This post, its buildings and the surrounding lands of over 15,000 acres were transferred by the War Department to the Department of the Interior on May 2, 1890 in order to create an industrial training school for the Mojave tribe of California.[159] The school was closed in 1931 and students were sent home or transferred to one of the larger off-reservation boarding schools.

Fort Mojave was a smaller school, with an average attendance rate of 163 students per year between the years 1891 to 1920. In 1900, the census recorded 153 students at the school. This corresponds closely to the *Annual Report* statistics for the school which stated the average attendance for 1900 was 156 students.[160] The ages of students were not recorded by the census enumerator in 1900 or by the superintendent of the school in his *Annual Reports*. Estimations of student age for the Fort Mohave school are therefore impossible.

Gender ratios were never reported by the superintendent of the school in any of the *Annual Reports*, but authorities were aware that special care was needed with the girls as the superintendent reported, in 1891:

> . . . the women of the tribe are entirely without virtue. Seventy-five out of every 100 will sell themselves for 25 cents, and boast of having made the money so easily. This is what the young girls have got to grow up to. As soon as they reach the age of puberty, they are sold to some degraded and diseased white man – very

[158] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Herbert Welsh Institute, Fort Mojave, Ariz." by Samuel M. McCowan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1891* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 549.
[159] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by Thomas J. Morgan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 879.
[160] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 623.

> often by their own parents. The authority given the Indian Office by the last Congress ought to be exercised in the case of these Indians, and every boy and girl of school age ought to be put into some good school for a long term of years."[161]

The 1900 Census recorded 62.7% males and 37.3% females at Fort Mohave. Results of a chi-squared test (Table 57) confirm a significant inequality of male and female students.

Gender at Fort Mojave

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	96	76.5	19.5
Female	57	76.5	-19.5
Total	153		

Table 56. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Fort Mohave Indian Industrial School, Fort Mohave, Arizona.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	9.941
df	1
P-value	.002

Table 57. Chi-squared results for gender at Fort Mohave.

This school was established to serve the Mojave and Hualapai Indians of the area. The superintendent reported that he had difficulties filling the classroom and received opposition from tribal elders who did not want to send the young children away from their homes.[162] However, in 1894, the superintendent reported that "the opposition to the school by many of the old Indians has very materially diminished, and in many instances, entirely disappeared."[163] By 1900, the school was almost entirely comprised of Mohave Indians, with only a few Chemehuevi and Paiute students in attendance.

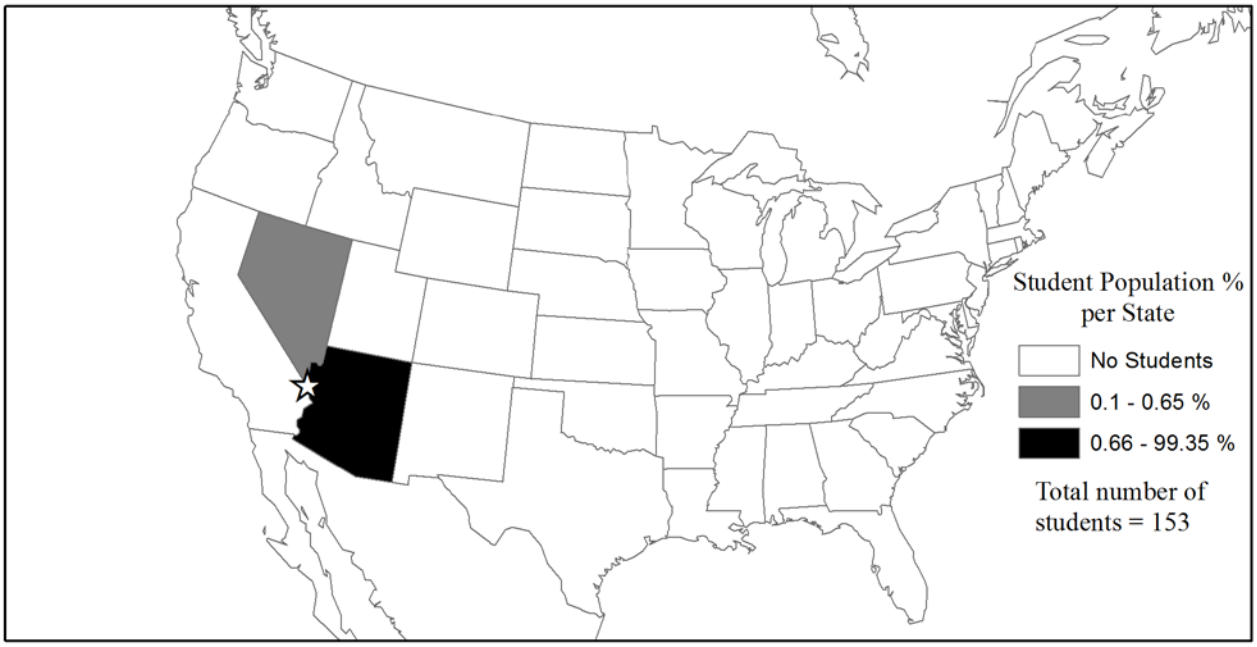
The student's degree of Indian ancestry was never mentioned as a problem in the school's *Annual Reports*. Southwest tribes had less contact and interaction with white Americans, and the different tribes maintained their customs and language longer than tribes with a greater exposure

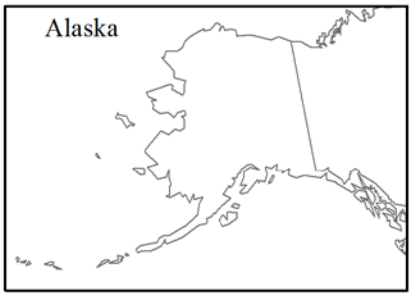
[161] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Herbert Welsh Institute, Fort Mojave, Ariz." by Samuel M. McCowan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1891* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 551.
[162] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Herbert Welsh Institute, Fort Mojave, Ariz." by Samuel M. McCowan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1891* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1891), 550.
[163] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Herbert Welsh Institute, Fort Mojave, Ariz." by Samuel M. McCowan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 365.

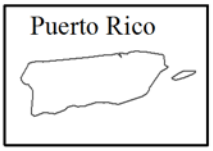
to the outside world. The 1900 census reported that all of the students at the school were half-blooded or more, with 96% being full-blooded, making any statistical comparison unnecessary.

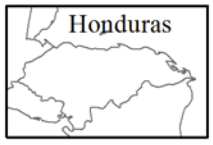
In the end, the Fort Mohave Indian School failed to meet the requirements for gender, although according to the existing data the school recruiter did manage to obtain students from the proper tribes and with an appropriate amount of Indian ancestry. Age was not recorded by the census enumerator at Fort Mohave making estimates of student age impossible.

Map12. Ft. Mohave Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900

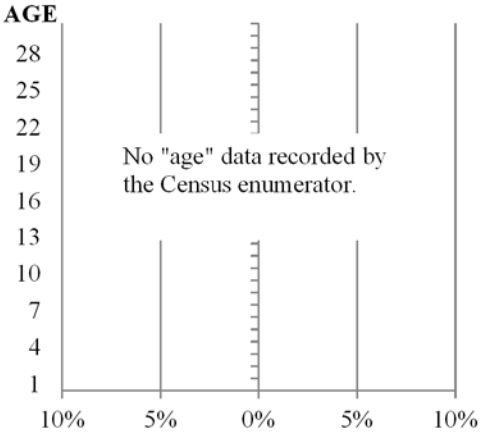


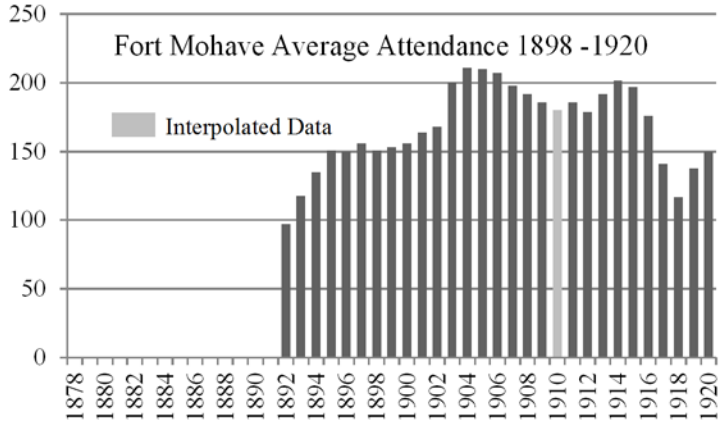






Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Ft. Mohave student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/2	2	4	**6**	3.9
Full	94	53	**147**	96.1
Total	**96**	**57**	**153**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chemehuevi	8	4	**12**	7.8
Mohave	87	53	**140**	91.5
Paiute	1	0	**1**	0.7
Total	**96**	**57**	**153**	**100**

Carson Indian Industrial School (Stewart Institute)

The Carson School was located in the Carson Valley, about 3 miles south of Carson City, Nevada. An act of the Nevada State legislature, passed January 25, 1887, appointed a commission to locate and purchase a 200-acre site for an Indian school but the process was not straightforward.[164] The commission first purchased acreage in 1888 but it was deemed "undesirable for school purposes."[165] Three additional sites in Ormsby County then were located and after examination, the commission agreed on a site containing 240 acres, nine buildings in good order, and water rights to a nearby creek for irrigation purposes.[166] The school officially opened December 17, 1890[167] and closed in 1980 due to budget cuts. The school property and buildings were acquired by the State of Nevada in the 1990s and are listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[168]

Carson was a smaller boarding school, with an average attendance of 201 students between the years 1890 to 1920. The 1900 census recorded 160 students at the school in mid-June, 1900, while the 1900 *Annual Report* reported an average attendance of 147.[169]

The average age in 1900 was 12.9, which is only a slight increase in the average age of 12.5 reported in the *Annual Report* for 1893.[170] The average age for males was 13.4 and for

---

[164] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by Thomas J. Morgan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 883.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid. 884.
[167] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[168] "Stewart Indian School," last modified April 3, 2003, http://museums.nevadaculture.org/new_exhibits/cc-stewart
[169] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 627.
[170] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Carson City, Nev." by William D. C. Gibson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 426.

females 12.2. The most common age for males was 15 and for females 10. The youngest student was a 4 year-old full-blood Shoshone boy from Nevada who came to school with his 6 year-old brother. The youngest female student was a 5 year-old full-blood Paiute from Nevada. The oldest student was a 26 year-old full-blood Washoe male from Nevada. According to the 1900 data, 40% of the students were outside of the appropriate age range for attendance at an off-reservation boarding school. The chi-squared calculations (Table 59) confirm a large discrepancy between expected age counts and the observed values obtained from the census.

Age at Carson

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	96	152.0	-56.0
Ages outside of range	64	8.0	56.0
Total	160		

Table 58. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	412.632
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 59. Chi-squared results for student age at Carson Indian School.

Gender was never mentioned as a problem in the *Annual Reports* from Carson. However, the superintendent stated in 1893 that the total enrollment for the year was 95 males and 46 females, (a 67.4% /32.6% ratio.)[171] In 1900, the census recorded 103 males and 57 females, 64.4% to 35.6%. This is a very small change over 7 years' time. Table 61 reports the statistical analyses of gender counts at Carson in 1900, which confirm a significant inequality in the gender proportion. The school's *Annual Report* for 1895 reported that there were three tribes represented: Paiute, Shoshone and Washoe.[172] These three tribes were still the only ones at the school, in 1900.

[171] Ibid.

[172] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Carson, Nev." by Eugene Mead. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1895* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1895), 379.

Gender at Carson

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	103	80.0	23.0
Female	57	80.0	-23.0
Total	160		

Table 60. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Carson Indian Industrial School, Carson City, Nevada.

Test Statistics

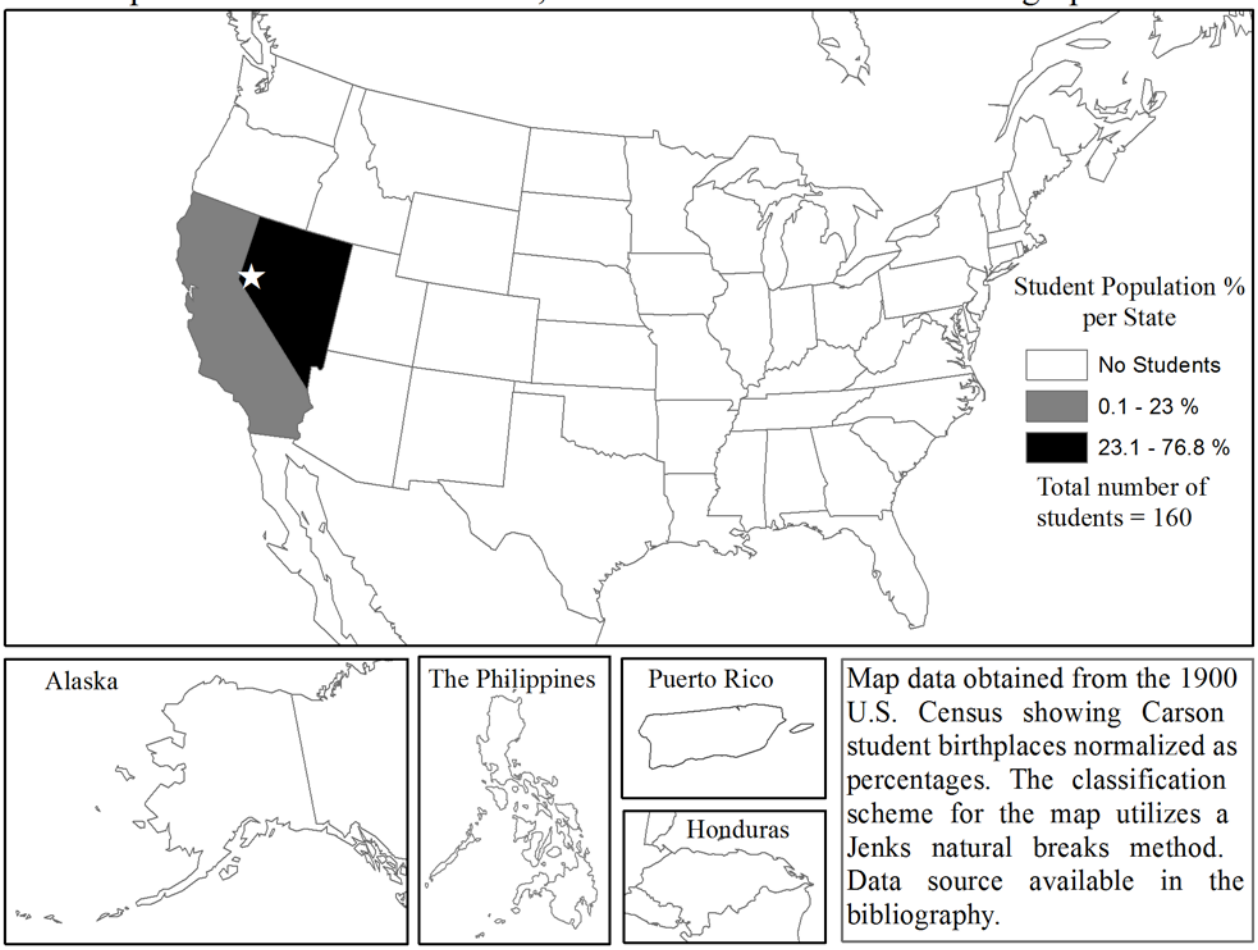
	Gender
Chi-Square	13.225
df	1
P-value	.000

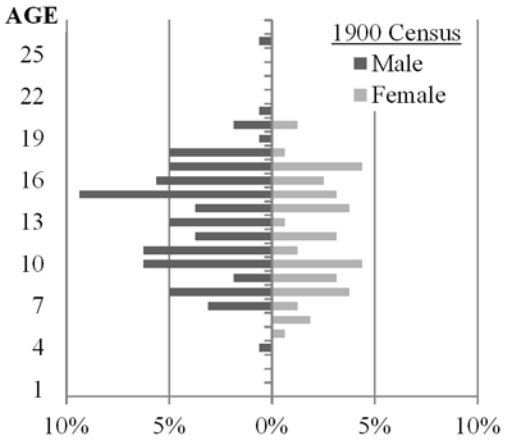
Table 61. Chi-squared results for the student gender proportion.

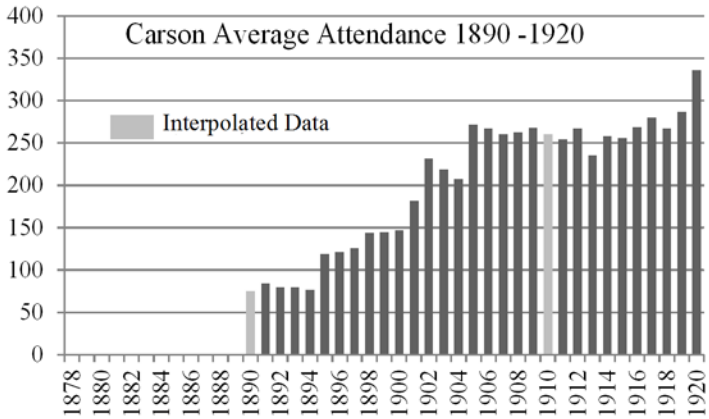
Finally, the students' degree of Indian ancestry was not discussed by the school superintendents in any of their *Annual Reports*. The 1900 census recorded that the entire student population was half-blooded or full, with the majority being full-bloods.

Overall, the Carson Indian School failed to meet the age and gender requirements. Like many other schools, the school recruited any student who could be obtained. Younger students, and especially boys, were easiest to find. However, the school stayed within its designated recruitment area and enrolled students with a high degree of Indian ancestry.

Map 13. Carson Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/2	21	12	**33**	20.6
Full	82	45	**127**	79.4
Total	**103**	**57**	**160**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Paiute	57	26	**83**	51.9
Shoshone	11	6	**17**	10.6
Washoe	35	25	**60**	37.5
Total	**103**	**57**	**160**	**100**

Phoenix Indian Industrial School (Peel Institute)

In 1890, an attempt was made to establish an Indian school at the decommissioned Fort McDowell, in Arizona.[173] It was soon deemed an unsuitable location after an examination by the superintendent, and so the school was temporarily located in a vacant hotel in Phoenix.[174] A new site chosen was situated on 160 acres approximately three miles north of Phoenix using $6,000 made available by the Indian appropriation act of March 3, 1891.[175] Classes began in September 1891[176] and continued until 1931 when the property was converted into an all Indian High School. This in turn was closed in 1990 and a park was built on the former school site.

The Phoenix Indian school was one of the largest of the off-reservation boarding institutions, with an average attendance of 555 students per year between the years 1892 to 1920. The 1900 census recorded 638 students at the school, a figure close to the 640 students that the school superintendent reported in his *Annual Report* for that year.[177]

The average age recorded by the 1900 census was 12.7. The average male age was 13.2 and for females it was 12.2. The most common age for the male students was 18, and for females 14. The youngest students were six five-year-old Pima girls. The oldest students were two 22 year-old females, one a Concow from California and the other a Pima from Arizona. According to the 1900 census, 39.5% of the students at the Phoenix school were too young for attendance at

[173] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by Thomas J. Morgan. In Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior *for the year 1892* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 879.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[177] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 623.

an industrial training school. The chi-squared statistical test results in Table 63 confirm a large difference between the expected age counts and the observed values obtained from the census.

Age at Phoenix

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	382	606.0	-224.0
Ages outside of range	256	32.0	224.0
Total	638		

Table 62. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	1650.799
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 63. Chi-squared results for student age at Phoenix.

When the school was established in 1892 only boys enrolled because there were not yet dormitories constructed for the girls. It took nine months before accommodations were created for the female students. The first group of 17 girls came from the Pima Agency, near Sacaton, Arizona. In 1893, there were 61 girls and 76 boys enrolled at the school.[178] Phoenix was one of the few schools where the female students outnumbered the males. In 1900, its student population was 52.5% female and 47.5% males. The chi-squared statistical test result in Table 65 indicates that the difference in the gender proportion at Phoenix was not significant and that there was not a statistical difference between the male and female counts in 1900.

Gender at Phoenix

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	303	319.0	-16.0
Female	335	319.0	16.0
Total	638		

Table 64. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Phoenix Indian Industrial School, Phoenix, Arizona.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	1.605
df	1
P-value	.205

Table 65. Chi-squared results for student gender proportion.

[178] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Phoenix, Arizona." by Wellington Rich. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 403.

The superintendent reported in 1893 that a majority of the students "came directly from the Indian villages."[179] In 1894, Superintendent Hall reported that the school was composed of Pima, Maricopa and Papago.[180] In 1898, the school received additional Congressional appropriations to increase the capacity from 250 to 450.[181] The number of tribes represented at the school increased in response, with a student population composed of 13 different tribes from 4 different states.[182] The 1900 Census recorded 24 different tribes at the school coming from 5 states.

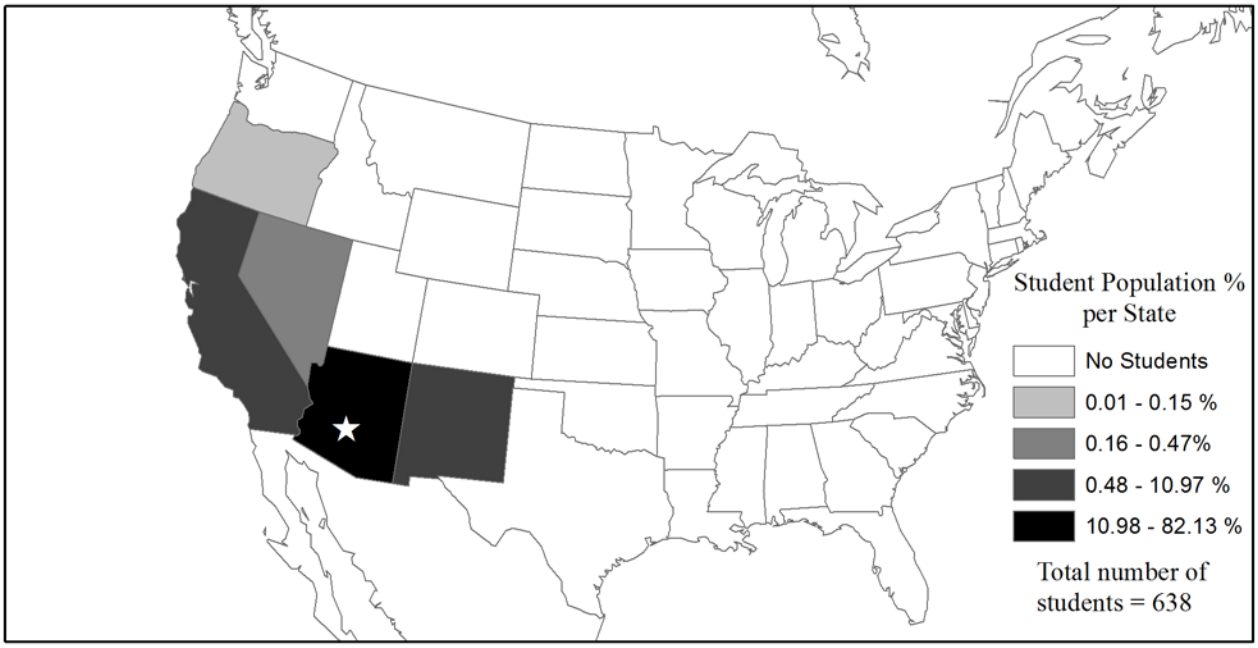
Despite Phoenix being one of the largest off-reservation schools, it did not encounter problems with students of low Indian heritage. In 1900, the census reported that 86.4% of the students were full-blooded. In addition, only 3 students out of 635 were less than half-blooded making a statistical comparison unnecessary.

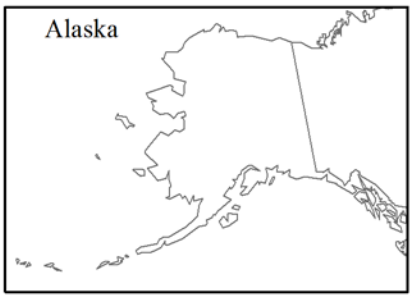
The Phoenix school met three of the requirements for proper attendance at an off-reservation boarding school. The school was unique among the larger institutions for having a large number of female students in attendance. School recruiters also obtained students with appropriate Indian ancestry and from the correct tribal regions. However, Phoenix failed to meet the age criteria because too many young children in attendance. Overall, Phoenix fit the recruitment model well, second best behind the Hampton school.

---

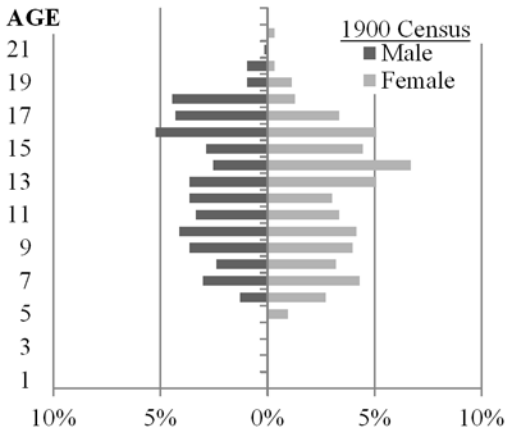
[179] Ibid.
[180] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Phoenix, Arizona." by Harwood Hall. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 369.
[181] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Phoenix, Ariz." by Samuel M. McCowan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 352.
[182] Ibid.

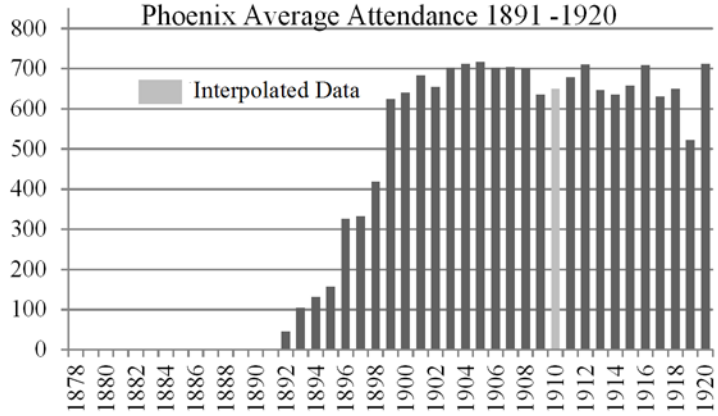
Map 14. Phoenix Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Phoenix student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	1	2	**3**	0.5
1/2	15	10	**25**	3.9
3/4	24	21	**45**	7.1
7/8	8	6	**14**	2.2
Full	255	296	**551**	86.4
Total	**303**	**335**	**638**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%	Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Pima	108	178	**286**	44.8	Mojave	10	14	**24**	3.8
Papago	63	66	**129**	20.2	Moqui	8	9	**17**	2.7
Mission	30	14	**44**	6.9	Navajo	9	3	**12**	1.9
Maricopa	20	19	**39**	6.1	Others	34	17	**51**	8.0
Pueblo	21	15	**36**	5.6	**Total**	**303**	**335**	**638**	**100**

Fort Lewis Indian Industrial School

The Indian school at the former Fort Lewis Military Reservation in Colorado was established in 1891 when lands and buildings were turned over to the Department of the Interior from the War Department.[183] The school property consisted of approximately 10 square miles at the base of the La Plata Mountains near Hesperus, 18 miles east of Durango.[184] The school was short lived. It closed in 1910[185] and the property and buildings were given to the State of Colorado to be used as a land-grant institution provided that Indian students "shall at all times be admitted to such school free of charge."[186] The school relocated to Durango in the 1950s where it stands today as Fort Lewis College.

The Indian school at the old Fort Lewis was small, with an average attendance rate of 177 students between the years 1892 to 1909. The 1900 census recorded the student population as 180, while the average attendance for the year was reported as 307 in the school's *Annual Report* for 1900.[187] This discrepancy can be explained by a growth in the outing system at Fort Lewis, which began in 1898.

The average student age in 1900 was 13; the average male was 13.3 and the average female was 12.6. The most common age was 12 for boys and 13 for girls. The youngest students were 6 years old, two girls and one boy. The oldest students were two 23 year-old Apache men

---

[183] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by Thomas J. Morgan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 880.
[184] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Lewis, Colo." by Thomas H. Breen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1899* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899), 390.
[185] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by Robert G. Valentine. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1911* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911), 30.
[186] 36 Stat. 273
[187] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 623.

from Arizona and a 27 year-old Pueblo woman from New Mexico. The 1900 census data indicate that 36.7% of the student population at Fort Lewis did not meet the proper age requirements for enrollment. The chi-squared result (Table 67) confirms a large difference between the expected and the observed age counts.

Age at Fort Lewis

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	114	171.0	-57.0
Ages outside of range	66	9.0	57.0
Total	180		

Table 66. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	380.000
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 67. Chi-squared results for student age at Fort Lewis.

The superintendent reported in 1894 that there were 111 male and 21 female students at the school.[188] In 1900, the Census recorded 99 males and 81 females, with a calculated ratio of 55% male and 45% female. This is a vast improvement in the proportion of male and female students since 1894. The chi-squared result (Table 69) indicates the male and female counts at Fort Lewis were statistically equivalent.

Gender at Fort Lewis

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	99	90.0	9.0
Female	81	90.0	-9.0
Total	180		

Table 68. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Fort Lewis Indian Industrial School, Hesperus, Colorado.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	1.800
df	1
P-value	.180

Table 69. Chi-squared results for student gender proportion.

[188] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Lewis, Colo." by Thomas H. Breen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 374.

Navajo, Southern Ute, and Mescalero Apache tribes were present the first year that the school opened.[189] In 1893, the superintendent reported difficulties in securing students for his school, noting that:

> A limited number can be secured from the Navajos. Nothing can be done with the Southern Utes, as the people in Durango and vicinity, interested in having these people removed to Utah, will see that they put no children in school until they are removed and their present reservation opened for settlement. A large number ought to be obtained from the Jicarilla Apache and Pueblos.[190]

In 1894, there were nine tribes represented, the majority coming from four different bands of Apache: the Mescalero, San Carlos, Jicarilla and White Mountain.[191] In 1898, Superintendent Breen reported that 15 tribes were represented at the school.[192] However, in 1900, the census recorded only 11 different tribes. This is because the superintendent counted each individual Apache band separately, whereas the census enumerator recorded them all as "Apache."

The degree of Indian ancestry was not an issue at Fort Lewis and was rarely mentioned in the superintendent's *Annual Reports*. The report for 1898 states that "perhaps a third of the pupils are mixed blood, and not as desirable as those of full blood. If rations were withheld, as suggested, I am confident that the school could be filled to overflowing with full-blood Navajos, Southern Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches without much difficulty."[193] In 1900, the census recorded that 45% of the students were half-blood or full. A large percentage of the students were 1/8, and

---

[189] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Lewis, Colo." By Louis Morgan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 409.
[190] Ibid. 410.
[191] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Lewis, Colo." by Thomas H. Breen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 374.
[192] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Lewis, Colo." by Thomas H. Breen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 361.
[193] Ibid.

these were mostly Pueblo Indians plus a few Cherokee and Chippewa. The chi-squared result in Table 71 confirms the large deficiency in half to full-blooded students.

Blood Quantum at Fort Lewis

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	87	171.0	-84.0
Less than half-blooded	93	9.0	84.0
Total	180		

Table 70. Degree of Indian ancestry of students, 1900. 5% outliers expected to be less than half-blooded.

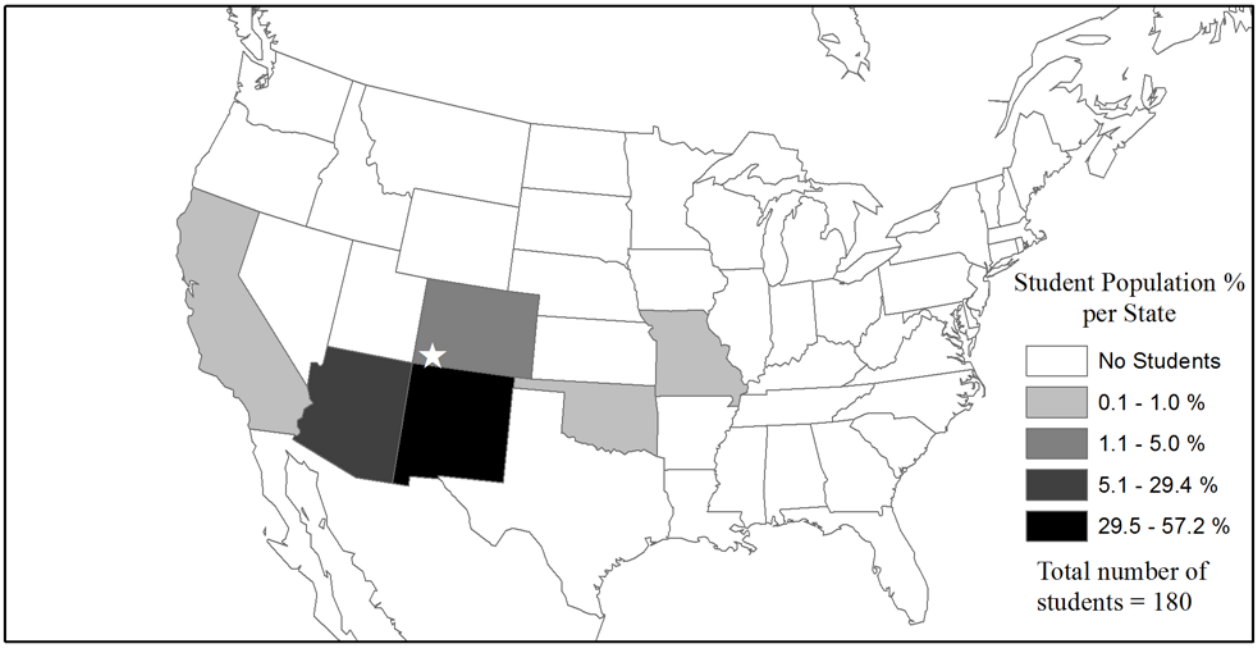
Test Statistics

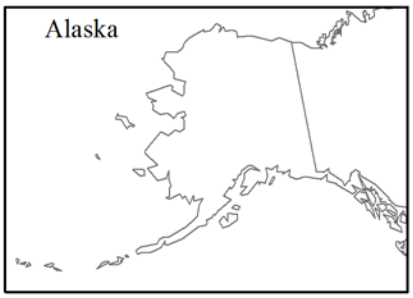
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	825.263
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 71. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum at Fort Lewis.

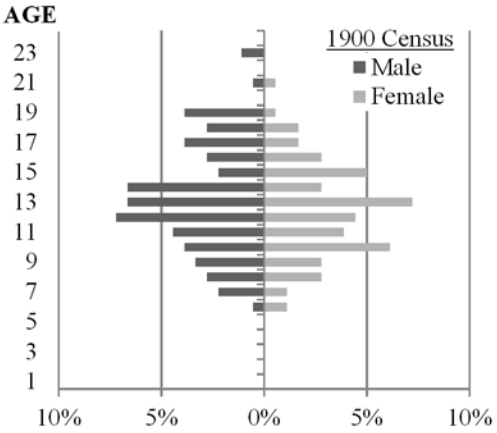
Overall, the Fort Lewis school failed half of the recruitment requirements as defined by my model for an off-reservation boarding school. The school met the requirement for gender and recruitment area, but failed to enroll students of the proper age and degree of Indian ancestry.

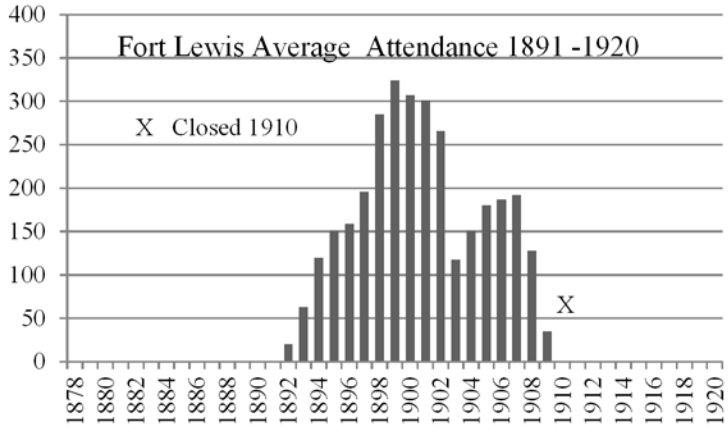
Map 15. Ft. Lewis Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Ft. Lewis student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/8	27	27	**54**	30.0
3/8	21	11	**32**	17.8
1/2	5	7	**12**	6.7
Full	45	24	**69**	38.3
Other	1	12	**13**	7.2
Total	**99**	**81**	**180**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Pueblo	49	46	**95**	52.8
Navajo	33	12	**45**	25.0
Ute	4	7	**11**	6.1
Cherokee	3	7	**10**	5.6
Apache	4	1	**5**	2.8

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chippewa	1	3	**4**	2.2
Pima	2	1	**3**	1.7
Delaware	1	2	**3**	1.7
Others	2	2	**4**	2.2
Total	**99**	**81**	**180**	**100**

Fort Shaw Indian Industrial School

The Fort Shaw military post, located 24 miles east of Great Falls, Montana, was abandoned by the military in 1891 and the property transferred to the Department of Interior in 1892 for school purposes.[194] This school was closed in 1910 because declining enrollment numbers and changes in federal Indian policy regarding off-reservation boarding schools.

The Fort Shaw Indian School was medium in size, with an average attendance of 264 students between the years 1893 and 1920. The 1900 census recorded 301 students at the school, and the superintendent reported the average attendance for the year was 264.[195]

The average age in 1900 was 12.7; for males it was 13 and the average age for females was 12.4. The most common age for females was 14 and the male students were bimodal with 10 and 14 as the most common ages. The youngest students were 5 years old, two girls and one boy. The oldest student was a 21 year-old male. Overall, 39.5% of the student population at Fort Shaw was outside of the recommended age range for attendance. Fort Shaw failed to follow the recruitment policy for student age, according to the chi-squared results in Table 73.

Age at Fort Shaw

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	182	286.0	-104.0
Ages outside of range	119	15.0	104.0
Total	301		

Table 72. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	758.885
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 73. Chi-squared results for student age at Fort Shaw Indian Industrial School, Fort Shaw, Montana.

[194] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Shaw, Mont." by William H. Winslow. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 422.

[195] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 625.

The gender proportion at Fort Shaw in 1900 was 41.5% female and 58.5% male. Gender was never mentioned in the school's *Annual Reports* and statistical data were also never mentioned in the reports. However, the chi-squared results confirm that the gender ratio at Fort Shaw was significantly in favor of the male students (Table 75).

Gender at Fort Shaw

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	175	150.5	24.5
Female	126	150.5	-24.5
Total	301		

Table 74. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for the Fort Shaw Indian School.

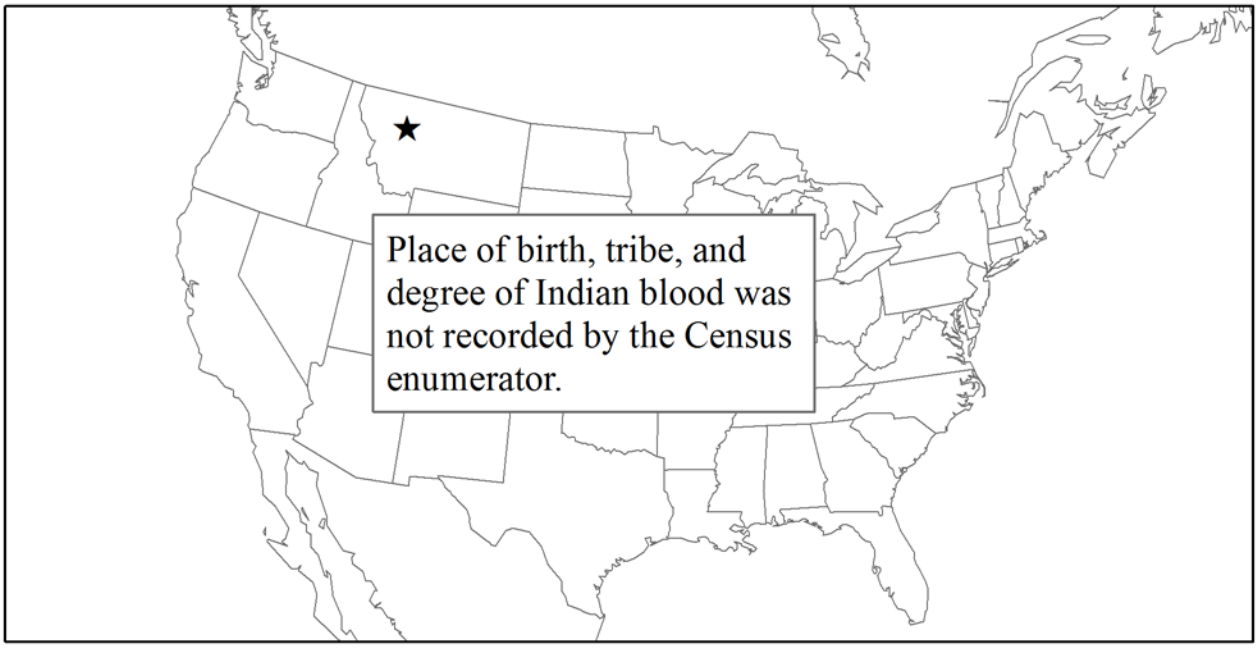
Test Statistics

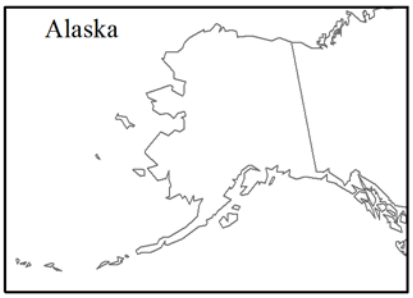
	Gender
Chi-Square	7.977
df	1
P-value	.005

Table 75. Chi-squared results for student gender proportion.

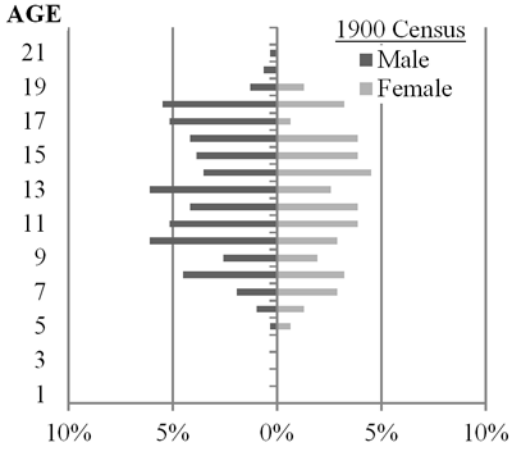
Tribe, birthplace and degree of Indian ancestry were not recorded by the Census enumerator. The *Annual Reports* from the school superintendent are also lacking in demographic information, but the census data indicate that the school failed to meet the age requirement for attendance.

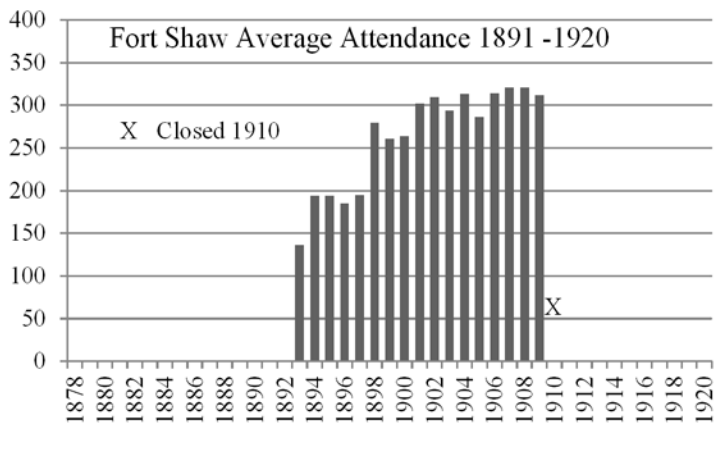
Map 16. Ft. Shaw Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Ft. Shaw student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





Perris Indian Industrial School (Sherman Institute)

The school in Perris, California, was established in 1892, on 80 acres, four miles from town.[196] It was located on a tract of land found to be unsuitable for agricultural purposes, with one superintendent stating that "a poorer place for an Indian school could not have been found in southern California."[197] "Why this school should have been planted in this desert, with no civilizing surroundings, is one of the mysteries."[198] In 1894, another superintendent noted that "this school was built on the kind of land usually selected for an Indian reservation – the poorest in the locality."[199] The school was relocated to nearby Riverside, California, in 1902.[200] This school continues today as the Sherman Indian High School, a boarding institution for Native American high school students.

The school in Perris was medium in size, with an average attendance of 387 students between the years 1893 to 1920. The 1900 census recorded 203 students and the *Annual Report* stated the average attendance was 202.[201] The school in Perris was going through a transitional phase at the turn of the 20th century. The student population had an immediate response to the

[196] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Calif." by William F. T. Bray. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 373.
[197] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Calif." by Harwood Hall. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 345.
[198] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Calif." by Harwood Hall. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1899* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899), 389.
[199] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Calif." by Edgar A. Allen. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1895* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1895), 362.
[200] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[201] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 623.

relocation to Riverside as better housing and classroom facilities were constructed. After its move, the new school became one of the largest and longest-lived off-reservation schools.

According to the 1900 census, the average age for Perris students was 15. The average age for males was 15.2 and 14.8 for the girls. The most common age for both males and females was 13. The youngest student was a 7 year-old Mission boy from California. The oldest student was a 22 year-old female. Overall, 22.2% of the students were either too old or too young for attendance at the school. According to the chi-squared result, Table 77, there was a significant difference between the expected age count and the observed age count obtained from the census.

Age at Perris

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	138	193.0	-55.0
Ages outside of range	65	10.0	55.0
Total	203		

Table 76. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	318.174
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 77. Chi-squared results for student age at Perris.

The 1893 *Annual Report* for the school reported that there were 61 female students and 57 males, one of the few examples of a school with more female than male students.[202] In 1894, there were 54 girls and 63 boys at the school,[203] and in 1898, Superintendent Hall reported 94 boys and 96 girls.[204] In 1900, the census recorded that the student population at the Perris Indian School was 53% male and 47% female. The chi-squared result in Table 79 indicates that the

[202] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Cal." by Myron H. Savage. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 406.
[203] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Cal." by William F. T. Bray. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 373.
[204] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Cal." by Harwood Hall. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 354.

difference between male and female students was not statistically significant and that the two populations can be considered statistically equivalent.

Gender at Perris

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	108	101.5	6.5
Female	95	101.5	-6.5
Total	203		

Table 78. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for the Perris Indiand Industrial School, Perris, California.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	.833
df	1
P-value	.362

Table 79. Chi-squared results for student gender proportion at Perris.

The school was established for the purpose of providing an educational facility for the numerous Mission Indians in California.[205] The 1893 *Annual Report* stated that "60 per cent came from the Mission day schools."[206] In 1900, when the census surveyed the school, they recorded that 96.6% of the students enrolled were local Mission Indians.

The Indian ancestry of the students at Perris was never discussed by the Superintendent in his *Annual Reports*. I assume from this that the school did not have a problem with Indians of questionable heritage. The 1900 census recorded that 91% of the students were full-blooded, 99% were half-blood or full.

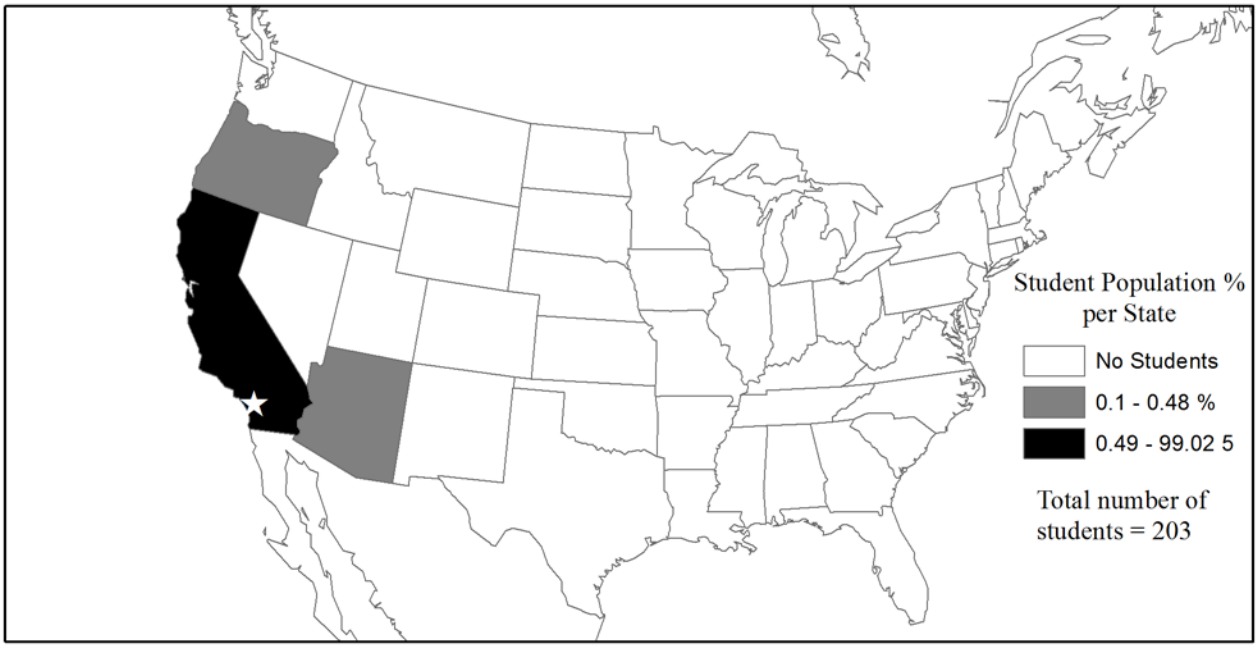
The Perris Indian School fulfilled all of the demographic requirements of the recruitment model, except the student's age. Twenty-two percent of the student's were outside of the age requirements. The other variables matched the model relatively well, on par with the Phoenix and Hampton schools.

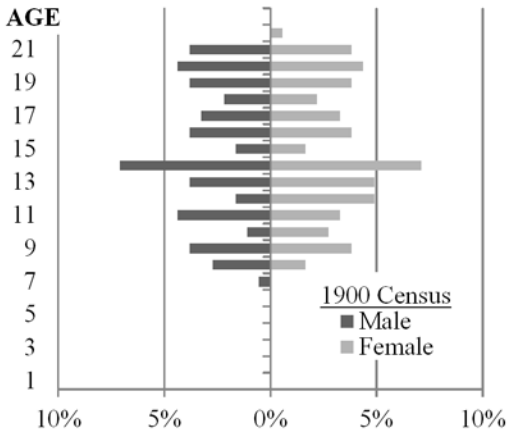
---

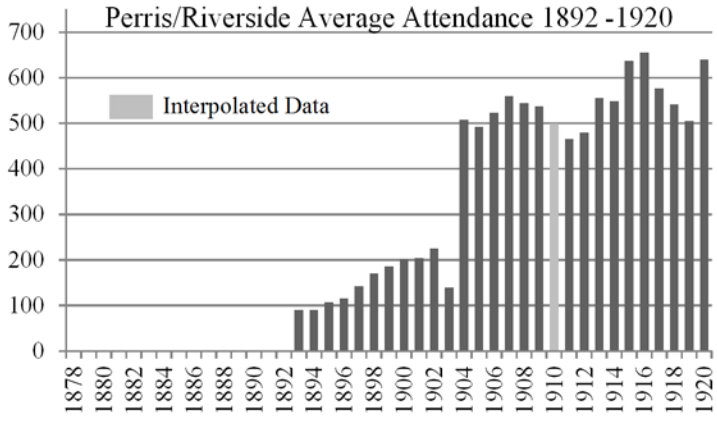
[205] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Cal." by William F. T. Bray. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 373

[206] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Perris, Cal." by Myron H. Savage. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 406.

Map 17. Perris Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	0	1	**1**	0.5
1/2	10	6	**16**	7.9
3/4	0	1	**1**	0.5
Full	98	87	**185**	91.1
Total	**108**	**95**	**203**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Mission	106	90	**196**	96.6
Tule River	1	4	**5**	2.5
Rogue River	1	0	**1**	0.5
Pima	0	1	**1**	0.5
Total	**108**	**95**	**203**	**100**

Flandreau Indian Industrial School (Riggs Institute)

In 1892, 160 acres of prairie land in Moody County, South Dakota was purchased by the Department of the Interior for the purposes of establishing an Indian boarding school.[207] This site was three-fourths of a mile from the city center of Flandreau, near the banks of the Big Sioux River, overlooking the Sioux Valley. The first students were accepted on March 7, 1893,[208] and the school continues today as the Flandreau Indian School.

Flandreau was a medium-sized school, with an average attendance of 284 students between the years 1893 to 1920. The 1900 census recorded 265 students in mid-June of that year, whereas the superintendent reported the average attendance was 184 students.[209] The two attendance figures are quite different, but this is not completely unexpected considering one is a calculated average and the other is a survey taken at one specific time of year.

The average age for students in 1900 was 13.7. The average age for males was 14.1 and for females it was 13. The most common age for males was 18 and for the female students it was 12. The youngest student was a 3 year-old half-blood Santee girl from South Dakota. The oldest student was a 25 year-old full-blood Chippewa man from Minnesota. Overall, 41% of the students at Flandreau were the wrong age for enrollment at an industrial training school, and the chi-squared results in Table 81 confirm this large discrepancy.

---

[207] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Flandreau, S. Dak." by W V. Duggan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 457.
[208] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[209] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 633.

Age at Flandreau

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	158	252.0	-94.0
Ages outside of range	107	13.0	94.0
Total	265		

Table 80. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	714.756
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 81. Chi-squared results for student age at Flandreau.

The 1895 *Annual Report* for Flandreau stated that there were 80 girls and 82 boys enrolled.[210] In 1900, the census recorded that 61.1% of the students were male and 38.9% female. This big drop in the number of girls in five years was a result of scandals involving Superintendent Leslie D. Davis, who was replaced mid-year. His replacement, Charles F. Pierce fixed many of these problems and the attendance increased thereafter. The chi-squared results in Table 83 confirm a significant inequality between males and females at Flandreau in 1900.

Gender at Flandreau

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	162	132.5	29.5
Female	103	132.5	-29.5
Total	265		

Table 82. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census for Flandreau Indian Industrial School, Flandreau, SD.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	13.136
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 83. Chi-squared results for gender proportion at Flandreau.

The first *Annual Report* of the school, in 1893, stated that the majority of the students were local Flandreau Sioux, with a few coming from the Lower Brulé, Yankton and Santee Sioux tribes.[211] In 1896, Superintendent Davis reported in his *Annual Report* that there were six

[210] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Flandreau, S. Dak." by Leslie D. Davis. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1895* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1895), 402.
[211] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Flandreau, S. Dak." by William V. Duggan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 457.

Sioux tribes, two Chippewa tribes and Northern Cheyenne at the school.[212] In 1900, the Census recorded only seven tribes. This number, though, is misleading because the enumerator generalized the students' ancestry, and the school superintendent reported each individual Sioux or Chippewa tribe separately.

The superintendent discussed the "paucity of full-blood children" in his *Annual Report* for 1895, stating that:

> A very large majority of the whole number of pupils now in this school are mixed-blood children; many of them are very fair of complexion, having in many instances flaxen hair and light blue eyes. This condition will continue to obtain in all non-reservation schools under the present regulations for procuring children for them from Indian reservations. Mixed-bloods understand the advantages to their children and to themselves of a free education. Full-bloods are less intelligent of such matters or ignore their advantages, and are loth to allow their children to go so far from home.[213]

The 1900 census data also suggest the existence of a large number of mixed-blood students. Of the students at Flandreau in 1900, 51% were less than half-blooded, and 49% were half or more. Most of the students with a small amount of Indian ancestry came from the Chippewa tribes in Minnesota and Wisconsin. For example, there was a 14 year-old Chippewa boy from Minnesota who was only 1/64 Chippewa. That would make one of his great-great-great-great-grandparents a full-blooded Chippewa and the rest of his lineage Caucasian. The chi-squared statistical analysis result in Table 85 confirms a large deficiency in students with an Indian ancestry of half or more.

---

[212] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Flandreau, S. Dak." by Leslie D. Davis. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 395.

[213] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Flandreau, S. Dak." by Leslie D. Davis. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1895* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1895), 403.

Blood Quantum at Flandreau

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	132	252.0	-120.0
Less than half-blooded	133	13.0	120.0
Total	265		

Table 84. Degree of Indian ancestry of students, 1900. 5% outliers expected to be less than half-blooded.

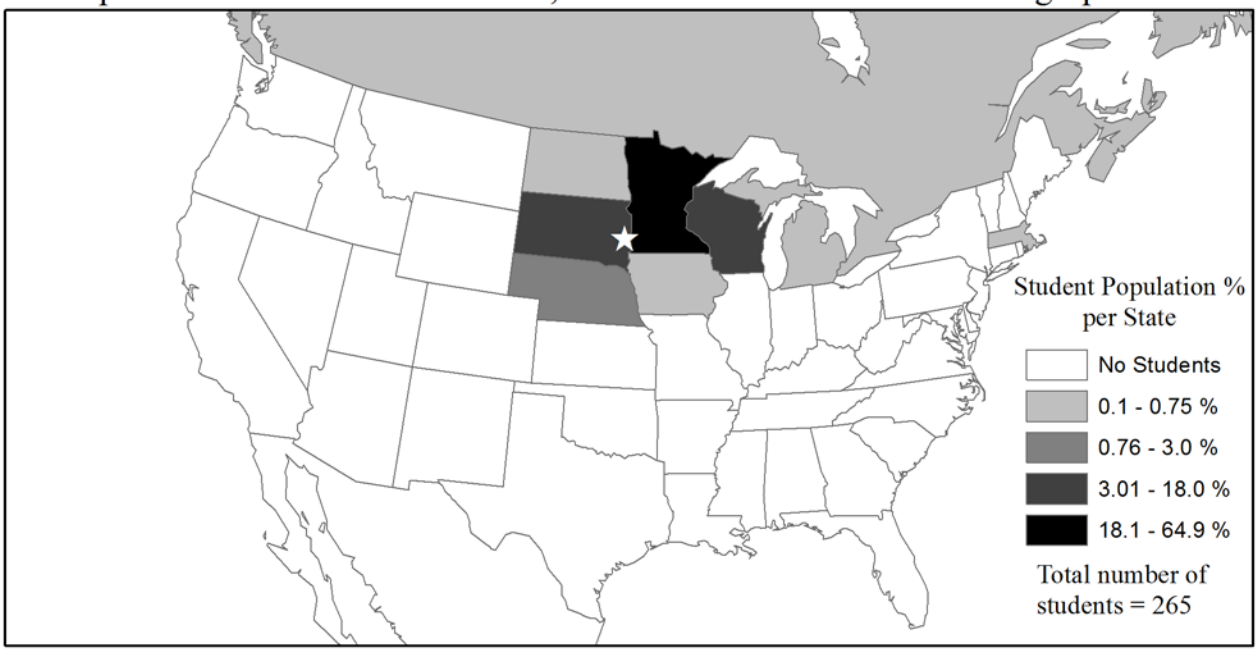
Test Statistics

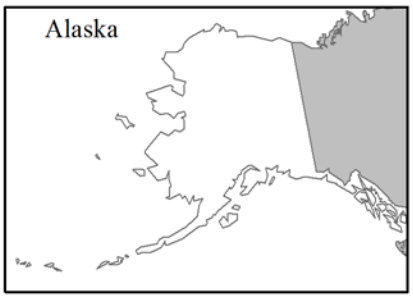
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	1164.835
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 85. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum at Flandreau.

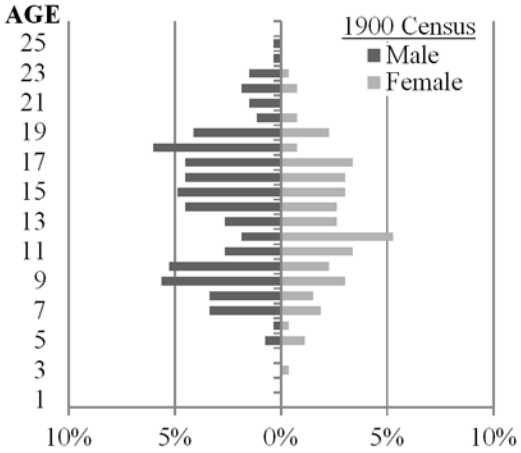
The Flandreau Indian School succeeded in meeting only one of the enrollment requirements for an off-reservation boarding school. The school properly recruited students from the designated area, but school officials enrolled too many students of improper age, Indian ancestry and gender.

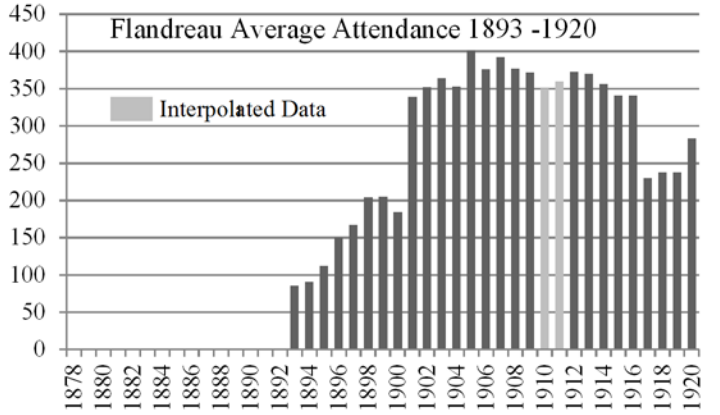
Map 18. Flandreau Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Flandreau student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/16	25	23	**48**	18.1
1/8	15	15	**30**	11.3
1/2	19	11	**30**	11.3
Full	56	23	**79**	29.8
Other	47	31	**78**	29.4
Total	**162**	**103**	**265**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chippewa	83	60	**143**	54.0
Sioux	56	29	**85**	32.1
Oneida	14	6	**20**	7.5
Winnebago	5	2	**7**	2.6

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Santee	2	3	**5**	1.9
Yankton	1	3	**4**	1.5
Rosebud	1	0	**1**	0.4
Total	**162**	**103**	**265**	**100**

Pipestone Indian Industrial School

The school in Pipestone, Minnesota was established by Congress in 1891,[214] but building construction was not completed until October 1892.[215] The first students arrived in February, 1893,[216] and the school continued until 1953 when it was closed and then converted to the home of Minnesota West Community College.

The Pipestone Indian School was a smaller off-reservation boarding school, with an average attendance of 146 students between the years 1893 to 1920. The 1900 census recorded 110 students at Pipestone, a number close to the 106 reported by the superintendent in his *Annual Report* for 1900.[217]

The average age for students in 1900 was 12.6. The average age for males was 12.1 and for females it was 12.9. The most common age for males was bimodal with 10 and 15, and for females it was 12. The youngest student was a 5 year-old Chippewa girl from Minnesota. The oldest student was a 23 year-old Chippewa woman from Minnesota. According to the 1900 Census, 43% of the student population at Pipestone was either too old or too young. The chi-squared test results in Table 87 confirm this presence of too many students outside of the appropriate age range.

---

[214] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Pipestone, Minn." by Clinton J. Crandall. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 421.
[215] Ibid.
[216] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[217] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 625.

Age at Pipestone

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	63	104.0	-41.0
Ages outside of range	47	6.0	41.0
Total	110		

Table 86. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	296.330
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 87. Chi-squared results for student age at Pipestone Indian Industrial School, Pipestone, MN.

The proportion of males and females at the Pipestone Indian school was not mentioned in the superintendents *Annual Reports* from 1893 to 1900. The 1900 census recorded 41.8% male and 58.2% female. Pipestone was one of six off-reservation schools that had more girls than boys enrolled, although the chi-squared results in Table 89 indicate that this difference is not significant.

Gender at Pipestone

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	46	55.0	-9.0
Female	64	55.0	9.0
Total	110		

Table 88. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census at Pipestone.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	2.945
df	1
P-value	.086

Table 89. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

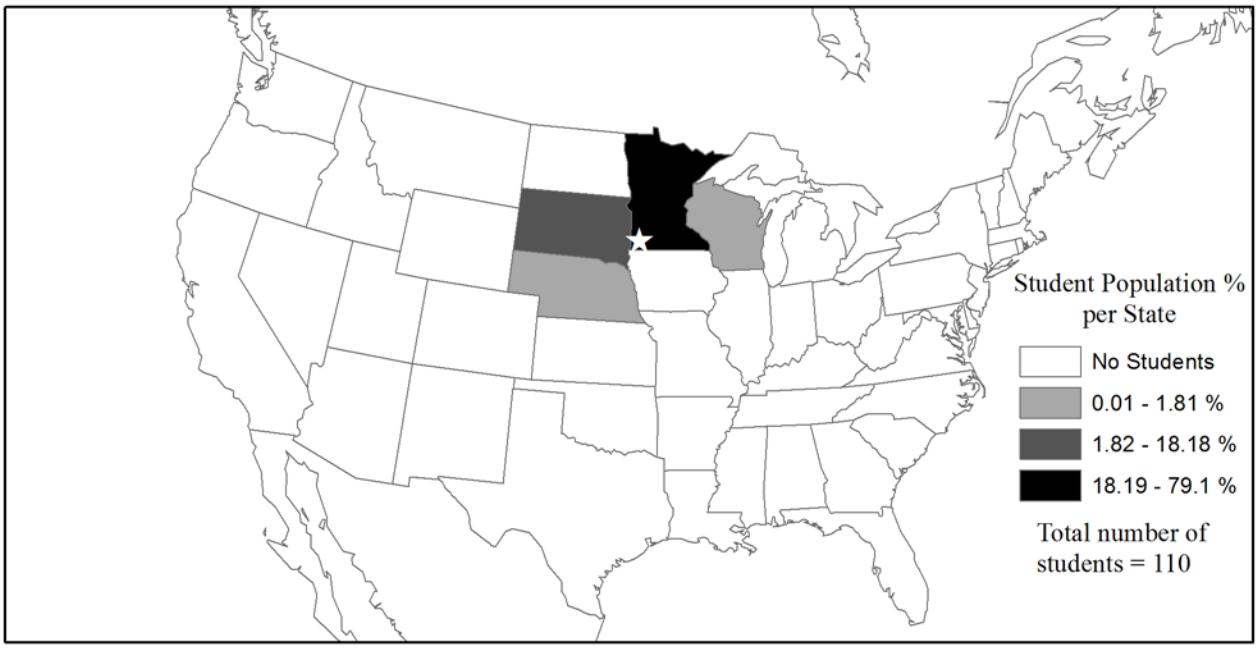
The first class of students at Pipestone, in 1893, consisted of Menominee, Dakota Sioux from Minnesota, and Sisseton Sioux from South Dakota.[218] By 1900, the census recorded that the student population had shifted away from the Sioux and that vastly more Chippewa students were enrolled.

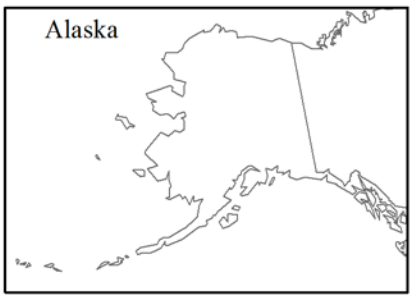
Degree of Indian ancestry was not recorded by the census enumerator in 1900 for some unknown reason. The superintendents of the school also did not report on the student's Indian heritage in their reports. The 1910 census exists for Pipestone, however future research could

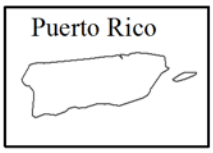
[218] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Pipestone, Minn." by Clinton J. Crandall. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), 421.

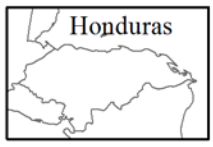
explore these data. Overall, the Pipestone Indian School was like many of the small boarding schools. It had a good proportion of male and female students, and the students were obtained from nearby tribal areas. However, the school recruiters enlisted too many students of the wrong age.

Map 19. Pipestone Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900

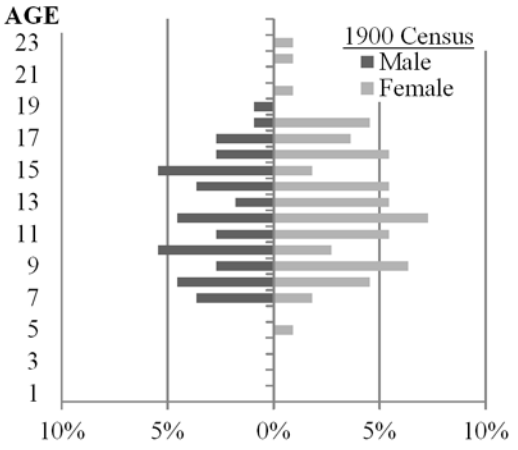


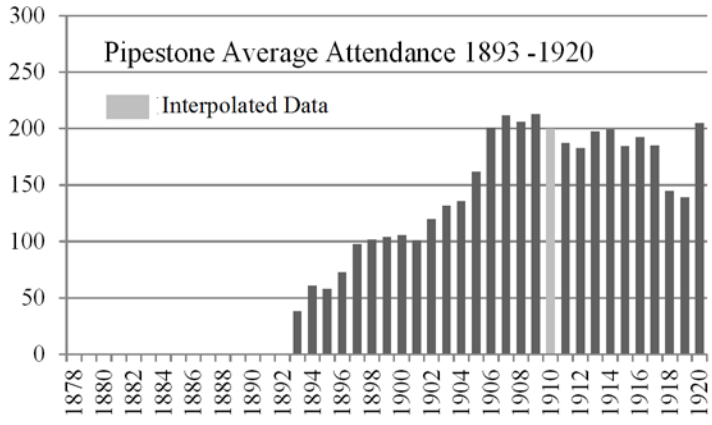






Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Pipestone student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Tribal Affiliation

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chippewa	37	59	**96**	87.3
Sioux	6	5	**11**	10.0
Stockbridge	3	0	**3**	2.7
Total	**46**	**64**	**110**	**100**

Degree of Indian blood was not recorded by the Census enumerator.

Mt. Pleasant Indian Industrial School

In 1891, Congress appropriated $25,000 to purchase land and erect buildings for an Indian industrial training school in Isabella County, Michigan.[219] A suitable location was chosen near the town of Mount Pleasant: 320 acres plus a farmhouse and several barns and sheds.[220] This school lasted until 1933 when the property transferred to the State of Michigan to establish the Mt. Pleasant Regional Center for Developmental Disabilities.

The Indian school in Mt. Pleasant was a medium-sized off-reservation boarding school, with an average attendance rate of 253 students each year between the years 1890 to 1920. The census recorded a total of 183 students during the first week of June, 1900. This is only a little higher than the 165 reported by the superintendent in his *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*.[221]

The average age for students in 1900 was 12.9. The average age for males was 13.1 and for females it was 12.8. The most common age for males was 10, 14 and 16, and the mode for female age was 14. The youngest students were 6 years old and the oldest students were two 21 year-old men. Overall, 38% of the students at the Mt. Pleasant School were too young for enrollment, and this discrepancy is validated by the chi-squared results in Table 91.

---

[219] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by Thomas J. Morgan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1892), 882.

[220] Andrew Balabuch, (2010) "To Run and Play": Resistance and Community at the Mt. Pleasant Indian Industrial School, 1892 – 1933" (B.A. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2010), 11.

[221] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 625.

Age at Mt. Pleasant

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	113	174.0	-61.0
Ages outside of range	70	9.0	61.0
Total	183		

Table 90. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	434.830
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 91. Chi-squared results for student age at Mt. Pleasant Indian Industrial School, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

The 1900 census recorded 88 males and 94 females at Mt. Pleasant. The school had a slightly higher number of female students than males for the year. The *Annual Reports* for the school never mention gender counts, so there is no way to compare the census data to anything else. The chi-squared test results indicate that the difference in the number of males and females is not statistically significant.

Gender at Mt. Pleasant

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	88	91.5	-3.5
Female	95	91.5	3.5
Total	183		

Table 92. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census at Mt. Pleasant, 1900.

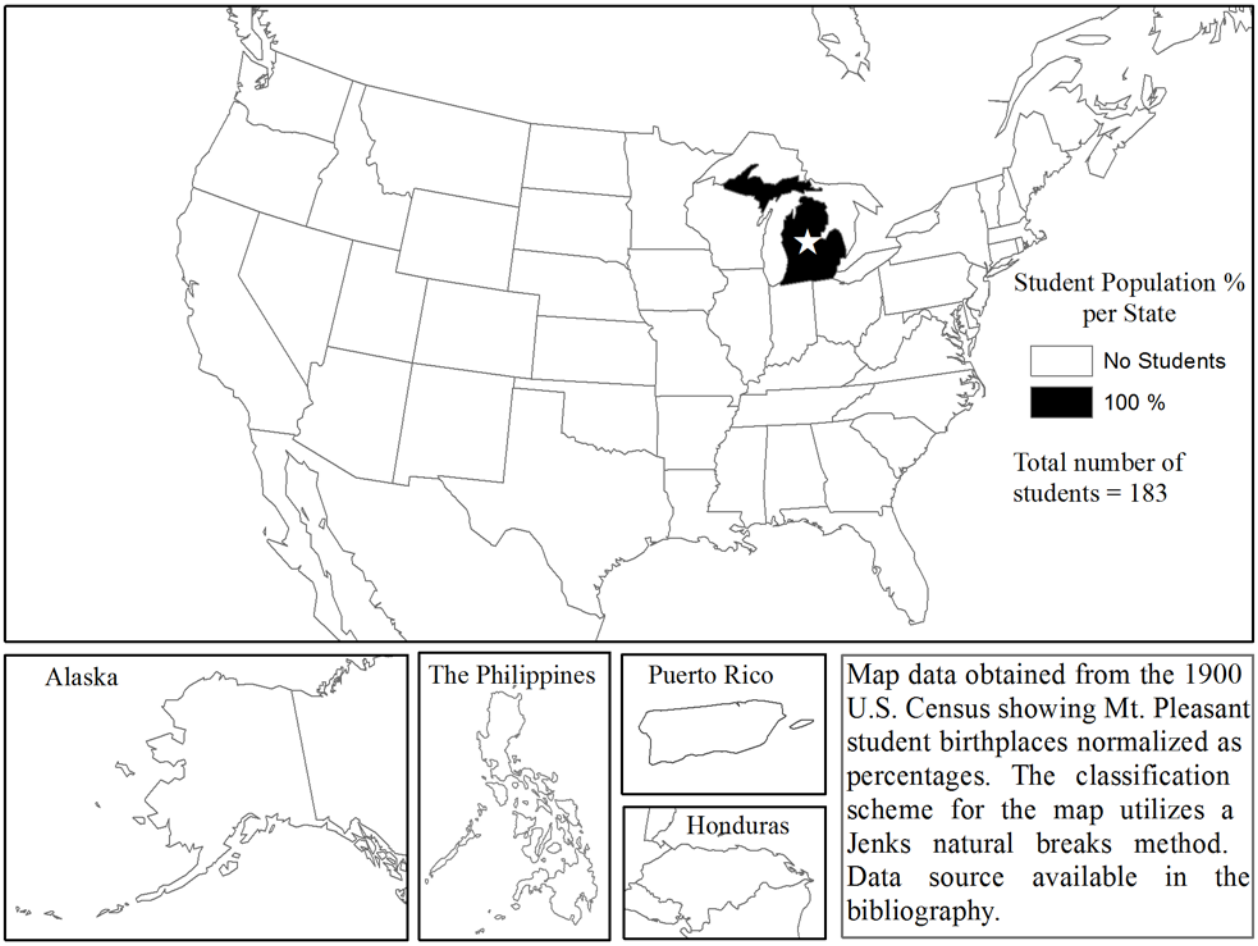
Test Statistics

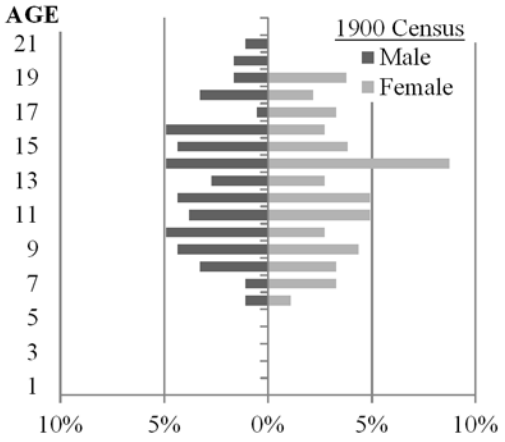
	Gender
Chi-Square	.268
df	1
P-value	.605

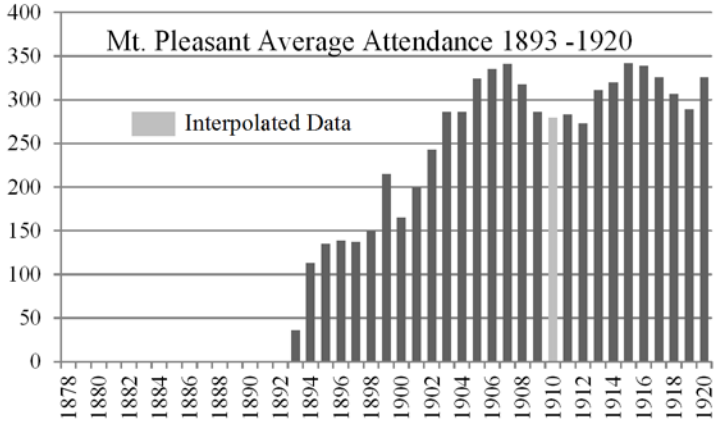
Table 93. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

The Census enumerator did not use the Indian Population Schedule, and as a result, did not record the tribal affiliation or the degree of Indian ancestry of the students. However, the census did record age, gender, and place of birth of each student. These data show that the school officials allowed the enrollment of many children too young for an off-reservation training school.

Map 20. Mt. Pleasant Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







Tribal affiliation and degree of Indian blood was not recorded by the Census enumerator.

Wittenberg Indian Industrial School

The Indian school in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, started as a contract school in 1887, ran by the Norwegian Evangelical Church of America.[222] It was located one half of a mile west of the town of Wittenberg. In 1895, when the contract with the church ended, the Government purchased the school and transferred ownership to the Department of the Interior.[223] The school endured a number of difficulties over the years. Initially it dealt with overcrowding and lack of rooms to teach shop trades. In the first year of government contracting, the school had funds for only twenty-five students even though the attendance ranged as high as ninety.[224] In 1899, a fire at the school destroyed one of the main school buildings.[225] Finally, in 1917, the school closed and ownership was transferred back to the Norwegian church.[226]

The Indian school in Wittenberg was small with an average attendance rate of 114 students between the years 1896 to 1917. The 1900 census recorded 105 students attending classes. This is close to the average attendance reported in the *Annual Report*. The superintendent calculated that the average attendance of his school was 100 students for the year 1900.[227]

The average age calculated from the 1900 census data was 11.4. The average age for males was slightly lower at 11.1 and for females it was 11.6. The most common age for male

---

[222] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Wittenberg, Wisc." by Axel Jacobson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 404.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.
[225] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Wittenberg, Wisc." by Axel Jacobson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1899* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1899), 435.
[226] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by Cato Sells. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1917* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1917), 12.
[227] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 635.

students was 12 and for girls it was 13 and 14. The youngest students were eight 6 year-olds, 5 boys and 3 girls. The oldest student was an 18 year-old full-blood Winnebago man from Wisconsin. The Wittenberg school enrolled a lot of younger students and the census data verify this fact. In 1900, 60% of the students in attendance at Wittenberg were too young for enrollment and should not have been recruited. The test results from the chi-squared analysis (Table 95) also indicate a large presence of students that are outside of the appropriate age.

Age at Wittenberg

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	56	100.0	-44.0
Ages outside of range	49	5.0	44.0
Total	105		

Table 94. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	406.560
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 95. Chi-squared results for student age at Wittenberg Indian Industrial School, Wittenberg, WI.

Gender proportions at Wittenberg were an issue for the school officials. The superintendent reported that, in 1896, "a number of our girls were transferred to other schools, and applications for girls' admittance have been few."[228] However, according to the 1900 census the gender proportion was fairly equal at 47% female and 53% male. The chi-squared test results in Table 97 indicate that the gender proportions at the Wittenberg school are statistically equivalent.

Gender at Wittenberg

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	56	52.5	3.5
Female	49	52.5	-3.5
Total	105		

Table 96. Gender counts from 1900 Census at Wittenberg.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	.467
df	1
P-value	.495

Table 97. Chi-squared results for gender.

[228] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Wittenberg, Wis." by Axel Jacobson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 404.

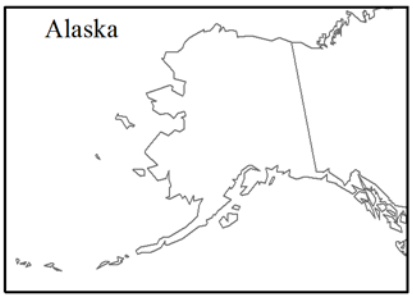
Superintendent Axel Jacobson had a special interest in the Wisconsin Winnebago, whom he considered "the lowest and most degraded tribe of Indians in the United States."[229] In 1896, he stated: "I find the wish expressed by some of the older Winnebago pupils to get away to far-off schools, so as to escape the imposition and persecution of older adherents to these ancient theories and customs, and hope to be able amicably to carry out their wishes."[230] The goal of Jacobson's school was to "absorb these people into the use of the language of the land. It has been and is one the main principles of the school to have children from different tribes about equally divided, forcing the use of the English language."[231] In 1898, Superintendent Jacobson reported six tribes representing the school, with the Oneida and Winnebago being the most numerous. [232] By 1900, the census survey recorded 5 tribes in attendance.

Degree of Indian ancestry was not discussed in the school's annual reports. The 1900 census recorded 78% of the students in attendance were full-blooded and all students at the school were half or more, making any statistical inference unnecessary. Overall, the Wittenberg school met three out of four recruitment criteria, missing only the recommendation for student age. A large majority of the students at Wittenberg should have been in a reservation day school because they were so young.

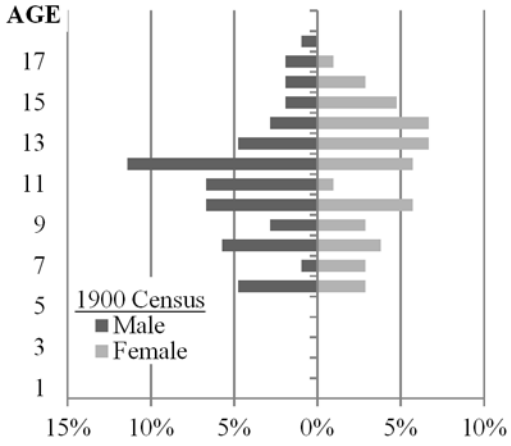
---

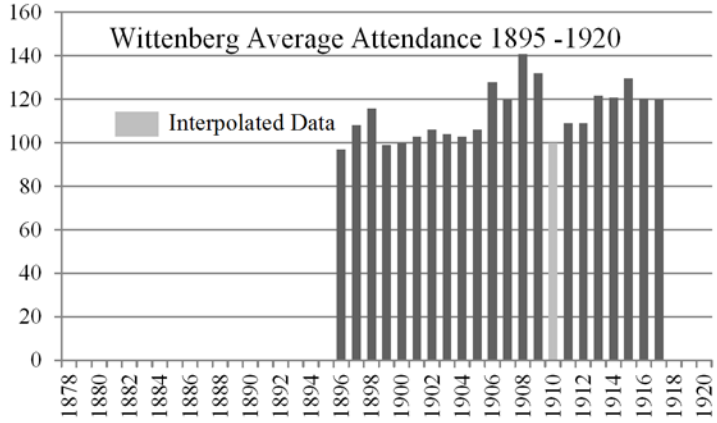
[229] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Wittenberg, Wis." by Axel Jacobson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 420.
[230] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Wittenberg, Wis." By Axel Jacobson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 406.
[231] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Wittenberg, Wis." by Axel Jacobson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896), 404.
[232] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Wittenberg, Wis." by Axel Jacobson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 400.

Map 21. Wittenberg Indian School, Student distribution and Demographics 1900



Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Wittenberg student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/2	8	9	**17**	16.2
3/4	0	5	**5**	4.8
7/8	1	0	**1**	1.0
Full	47	35	**82**	78.1
Total	**56**	**49**	**105**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Onieda	28	20	**48**	45.7
Winnebago	20	21	**41**	39.0
Stockbridge	8	2	**10**	9.5
Chippewa	0	3	**3**	2.9
Menominee	0	3	**3**	2.9
Total	**56**	**49**	**105**	**100**

Greenville Indian Industrial School

The Indian school in Greenville, California, was created in 1893 by the Women's National Indian Association, who ran a day school on the grounds.[233] The first students were enrolled January 1894.[234] In 1896, the Association sold the school buildings and 40 acres to the federal government for a sum of $1,500 for use as an industrial training school.[235] This school was destroyed by arson in 1920 and was not rebuilt due to complaints from parents about student treatment.[236]

The Greenville Indian school was the second smallest off-reservation boarding school, with an average attendance of 72 students between the years 1896 to 1920. The 1900 census recorded 75 students at the school, compared to the 59 reported in *Annual Report*.[237] The difference between these two numbers can possibly be explained by the fact that the *Annual Report* numbers are based on an average of each school quarter attendance, whereas the census is a survey at one specific time. Still, the two numbers are fairly consistent with each other.

The average age in 1900 was 11.3. The boys had the slightly higher average age of 11.6; the girls' average age was 11.2. The most common age for the male students was 16 and for the females it was 12. The youngest students were two 4 year-olds, a Washoe boy and a Digger girl

---

[233] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 421.
[234] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[235] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 421.
[236] Thomas E. Long, "To the edge of the world and back: Native American struggles for sovereignty as seen through the investigations of Colonel L. A. Dorrington, Indian Agent, 1913 – 1923" (PhD diss., University of California at Riverside, 2006), 141.
[237] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 623.

both from California. The oldest student was a 19 year-old Neosho woman from California. Overall, there were 38 students too young for enrollment at an off-reservation boarding school, or 51% of the total student population. Table 99 confirms the fact that this number was too hight to meet the appropriate age range.

Age at Greenville

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	37	71.0	-34.0
Ages outside of range	38	4.0	34.0
Total	75		

Table 98. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	305.282
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 99. Chi-squared results for student age at Greenville Indian Industrial School, Greenville, California.

Gender statistics were not reported in the school's annual reports. However, the 1900 census recorded 47 female and 28 male students in attendance, the largest proportion of female students at any of the schools in the study. The chi-squared statistical analysis in Table 101 indicates a significantly more number of females than males at Greenville, thus rejecting the hypothesis that the school had an equal gender ratio.

Gender at Greenville

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	28	37.5	-9.5
Female	47	37.5	9.5
Total	75		

Table 100. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census at Greenville.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	4.813
df	1
P-value	.028

Table 101. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

The Greenville Indian school was very small but it still tried to recruit students from a variety of local tribes in order to keep the use of Indian languages to a minimum. As one superintendent mentioned: "Under advice of the Indian Office, last April I obtained children from considerable distance. This was very beneficial, as having pupils of different tribes makes

the use of English a necessity."[238] According to the 1900 census, this goal of having a variety of tribes was a success, with eight tribes being represented.

In 1900, the census recorded that about half of the students were full-blood and 85% were half-blooded or more. Despite the large percentage of half and full-blooded students, the chi-squared results indicate a significant difference between the observed student counts and expected counts.

Blood Quantum at Greenville

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	64	71.0	-7.0
Less than half-blooded	11	4.0	7.0
Total	75		

Table 102. Degree of Indian ancestry of students, 1900. 5% outliers expected to be less than half-blooded.

Test Statistics

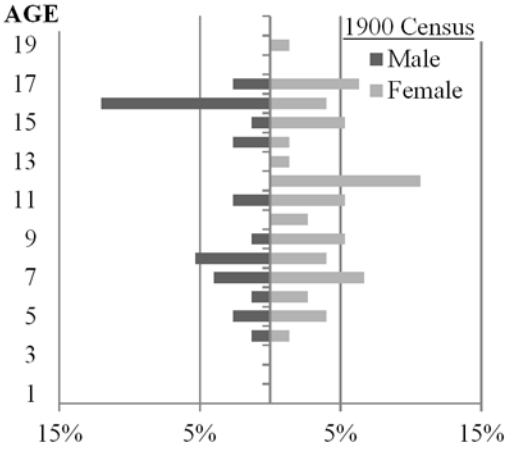
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	12.940
df	1
P-value	.000

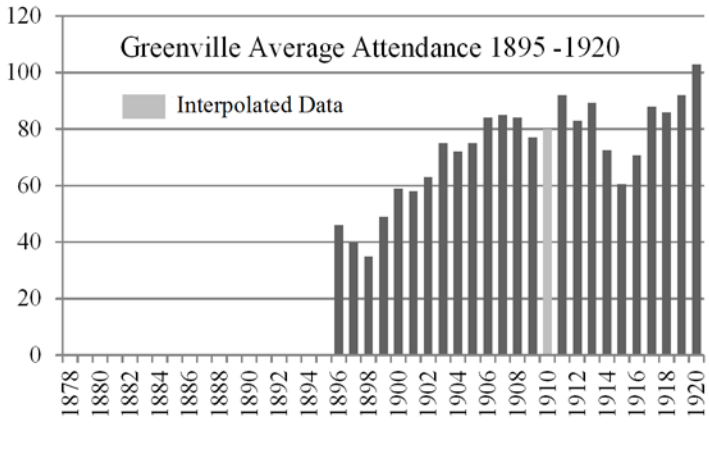
Table 103. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum.

The Greenville school failed to satisfy the majority of the criteria for proper enrollment at the school, meeting only the requirement of obtaining students from local tribes. There were too many students of low Indian ancestry and also too many outside of the appropriate age range. The gender proportion was statistically unequal, but surprisingly in favor of the female population. In the end, the Greenville school was one of the smallest and shortest lived off-reservation boarding schools. Schools of this caliber were all phased out by the early 1930s and students were transferred to the larger schools.

[238] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Greenville, Cal." by Edward N. Ament. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1889* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 387.

Map 22. Greenville Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	4	7	**11**	14.7
1/2	9	17	**26**	34.7
3/4	0	1	**1**	1.3
1	15	22	**37**	49.3
Total	**28**	**47**	**75**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Digger	16	26	**42**	56.0
Washo	9	5	**14**	18.7
Neosho	0	9	**9**	12.0
Wintun	2	2	**4**	5.3
Pit River	1	2	**3**	4.0

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Hot Creek	0	1	**1**	1.3
Humboldt	0	1	**1**	1.3
Pauite	0	1	**1**	1.3
Total	**28**	**47**	**75**	**100**

Morris Indian Industrial School

In 1897, the Sisters of Mercy School for Indians in Morris, Minnesota, was sold to the federal government for use as an Indian industrial training school.[239] The property, three-fourths of a mile east of town, included several buildings, a chapel and a dormitory all situated on 80 acres.[240] It was a short lived school, closing in 1909 after only twelve years. The property was eventually sold to the State of Minnesota and it is now the home of the University of Minnesota at Morris.

The Indian school in Morris was small, with an average attendance rate of 138 students between the years 1897 to 1909. The census recorded 159 there on June 8, 1900; this is a bit higher than the average attendance of 129 reported in the *Annual Report* for that year.[241]

The average age for student at Morris in 1900 was 12.8. The male students had a slightly lower average age of 12.7 and the girls an average of 12.9. The most common age for the male students was 14 and for females it was 17. The youngest student was a 4 year-old Chippewa girl from Minnesota. The oldest student was a 40 year-old Chippewa woman who came to school with her three children. In total, there were 76 students too old or too young at the school, or 47.8% of the student population. This discrepancy is confirmed by the chi-squared test results in Table 105.

---

[239] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Morris, Minn." by William H. Johnson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 372.

[240] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 423.

[241] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 625.

Age at Morris

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	83	151.0	-68.0
Ages outside of range	76	8.0	68.0
Total	159		

Table 104. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	608.623
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 105. Chi-squared results for student age at Morris Indian Industrial School, Morris, Mn.

Gender proportions were not mentioned by the school superintendents in any of their *Annual Reports*. However, the 1900 census recorded 98 female and 61 male students in attendance at the time of the survey. Like several other smaller schools, Morris had more female students than male. According to the chi-squared test results in Table 107, the school failed to meet the enrollment criteria defined by the student recruitment model.

Gender at Morris

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	61	79.5	-18.5
Female	98	79.5	18.5
Total	159		

Table 106. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census at Morris.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	8.610
df	1
P-value	.003

Table 107. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

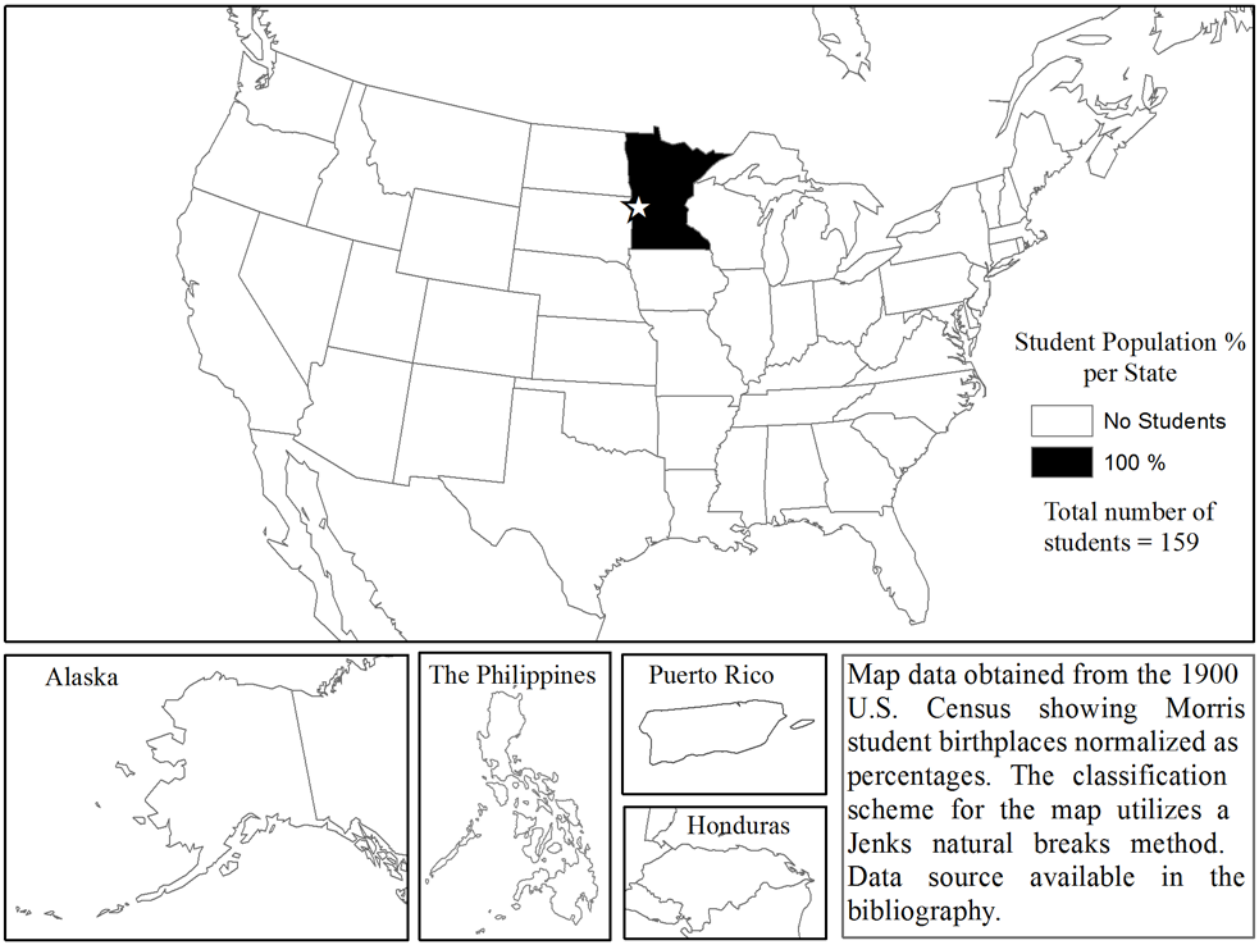
The first students enrolled at the Morris school were from the various Chippewa tribes in Minnesota, except one student from the Sisseton Sioux Agency.[242] In 1900, the census recorded three tribes at the school: Chippewa, Sioux and Oneida. It also recorded that the entire student population at Morris was full-blooded. A statistical analysis therefor is not needed in this case.

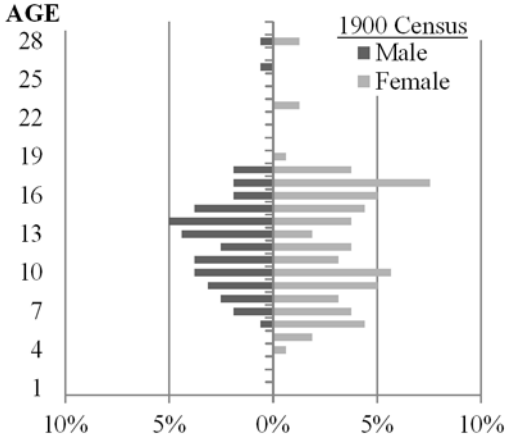
The Morris school met two of the requirements for obtaining students. The school properly recruited from the local Indian population and also recruited students with a high degree of Indian ancestry. However, the school failed the age and gender criteria by enrolling too many

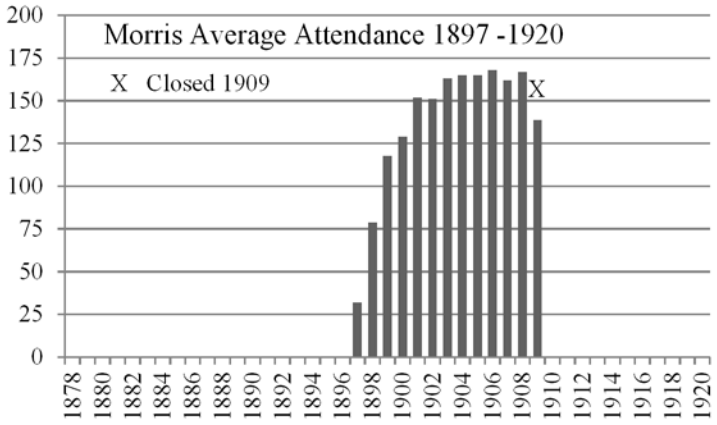
[242] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Morris, Minn." by William H. Johnson. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 372.

female students and too many young children. Morris was one of five schools with more females than males; all of these schools had populations fewer than 200.

Map 23. Morris Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affilaion

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
Full	61	98	**159**	100

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chippewa	50	80	**130**	81.8
Sioux	10	14	**24**	15.1
Oneida	1	4	**5**	3.1
Total	**61**	**98**	**159**	**100**

Chamberlain Indian Industrial School

The Indian appropriation act approved June 10, 1896, authorized $3,000 to purchase up to 160 acres of land near Chamberlain, Brule County, South Dakota, for an Indian industrial school.[243] This property was located about one mile north of Chamberlain on the east bank of the Missouri River. The school opened for students on May 5, 1898,[244] and was closed in 1909, the same year as the school in Morris. It was one of the smallest schools and the shortest lived being in operation for only 11 years.

Chamberlain was a smaller off-reservation boarding school, with an average attendance of 134 students between the years 1898 to 1909. The 1900 census recorded 104 students during the time of its survey. The *Annual Report* for 1900 listed an average attendance of 92 students that year.[245]

The average age of the students at Chamberlain in 1900 was 14.6. The males' average was 15.1 and the females were slightly lower at 14. The most common age for male students was 18 and for females the mode was 12. The youngest student was a 6 year-old Chippewa girl. The oldest student was a 23 year-old full-blood Sioux woman. In total, 28 students were either too old or too young for enrollment at the school, or 27% of the total student population. The chi-squared test results in Table 109 indicate that this difference is statistically significant and that the school failed to meet the requirements for enrollment.

---

[243] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Indian School Sites" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 429.

[244] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.

[245] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 633.

Age at Chamberlain

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	76	99.0	-23.0
Ages outside of range	28	5.0	23.0
Total	104		

Table 108. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	111.143
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 109. Chi-squared results for student age at Morris.

The 1900 census recorded 51 females and 53 males in attendance, an almost equal number of both sexes. Chamberlain is one of six schools in which the female population is nearly equal to or greater than the males. The chi-squared test results (Table 111) confirm that the male and female counts are statistically identical.

Gender at Chamberlain

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	53	52.0	1.0
Female	51	52.0	-1.0
Total	104		

Table 110. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census at Morris.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	.038
df	1
P-value	.845

Table 111. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

In 1897, Superintendent Flinn's *Annual Report* of the school spoke optimistically of obtaining nearby Sioux Indians who are "very much opposed to sending their children away to school, for the reason that taking the children from a comparatively dry climate to the Eastern States causes a rapid development of tuberculosis. They are therefore much pleased that an industrial school has been established near their homes."[246] According to the 1900 census, the school consisted mostly of Sioux, and an especially large number of Indians of unknown tribal affiliation. Because the census enumerator did not record the student's birthplace, mapping the spatial distribution of student origins is impossible. Tribal affiliation is not a good indicator of

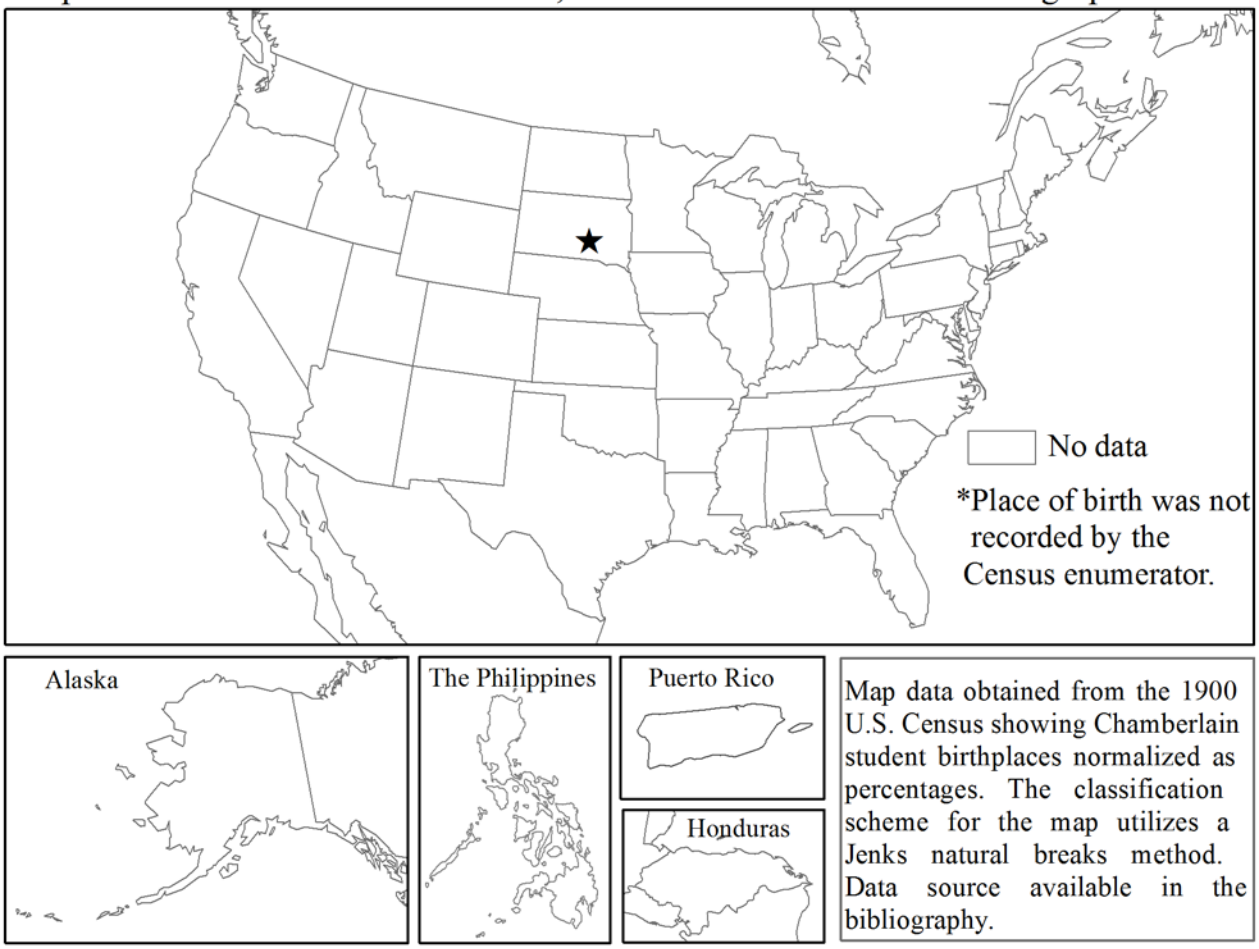
[246] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Chamberlain, S. Dak." by John Flinn. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1897), 368.

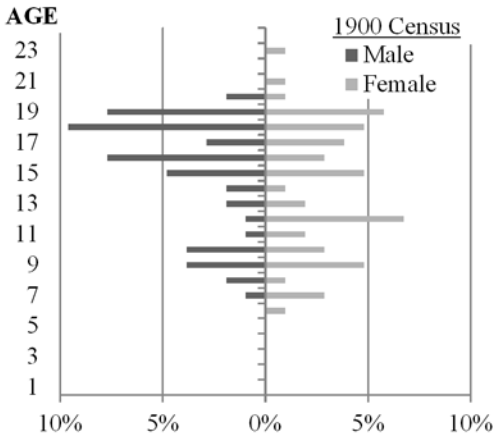
origin because tribes like the Sioux and Chippewa cover a wide area that includes multiple states, and the enumerator was not specific as to which Sioux or Chippewa tribes the students came from.

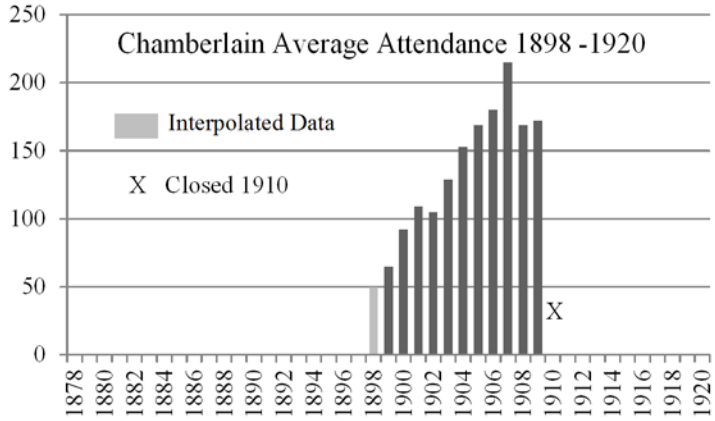
The 1900 census recorded that 99% of the students at Chamberlain were half-blooded or more. Only one student was less than half-blooded, making a statistical analysis of student ancestry at Chamberlain unnecessary. The one student that was less than half-blooded was an 18 year-old quarter-blooded Chippewa man.

Like many other schools, the Chamberlain Indian School met the requirements for the student gender proportion and degree of Indian ancestry. The school failed to meet the criteria for student age, but only by two students. In addition, the lack of data on student's birthplaces inhibits our understanding of where these students came from.

Map 24. Chamberlain Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900







1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	1	0	**1**	1.0
1/2	6	16	**22**	21.2
3/4	15	8	**23**	22.1
7/8	10	9	**19**	18.3
Full	21	18	**39**	37.5
Total	**53**	**51**	**104**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Chippewa	10	11	**21**	20.2
Sioux	29	30	**59**	56.7
Unknown	14	10	**24**	23.1
Total	**53**	**51**	**104**	**100**

Fort Bidwell Indian Industrial School

The school in Fort Bidwell, California, was created by a joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, approved January 30, 1897. Under this ruling, the Fort Bidwell Military Reservation, with all its lands, buildings, water system, and improvements were turned over to the Department of the Interior for the purposes of an Indian school. The school is located in the extreme northeast corner of California, at the foot of Mount Bidwell, and at an elevation of 5,000 feet. The town of Fort Bidwell near the east entrance to the school grounds, had a population of around 200 citizens. This school was closed in 1930 as part of the wide changes made at the time to federal policies on Indian education.[247]

Fort Bidwell was the smallest of all the off-reservation boarding school, with an average attendance rate of 59 students between the years 1898 to 1920. The census recorded 51 students at the school on June 15, 1900. The superintendent reported the average attendance for the year 1900 was 44 students.[248]

The average age for students in 1900 was 10. The males had a slightly higher average at 10.2 and the girls' mean was 9.8. The most common ages for boys were 8 and 10, and for girls it was 7, 8 and 11. The youngest students were two 4 year-old boys, both Paiutes from California. The oldest students were two 18 year-old Paiute men from California. Overall, 68.6% of the students at Fort Bidwell were below the appropriate age for attendance at an off-reservation boarding school. The chi-squared test results in Table 113 also indicate a large number of students too old or too young for attendance.

---

[247] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by Charles J. Rhoads. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1931* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1931), 5.

[248] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 623.

Age at Ft. Bidwell

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	16	48.0	-32.0
Ages outside of range	35	3.0	32.0
Total	51		

Table 112. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	362.667
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 113. Chi-squared results for student age at Ft. Bidwell Indian Industrial School, Ft. Bidwell, California.

According to the census data, there were 23 female and 28 male students in 1900. The superintendent of the school did not report gender counts in his *Annual Reports,* so a comparison of ratios between different years cannot be made. However, the chi-squared test results indicate that these ratios at Ft. Bidwell in 1900 were statistically similar and that any difference between the two populations is insignificant.

Gender at Ft. Bidwell

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	28	25.5	2.5
Female	23	25.5	-2.5
Total	51		

Table 114. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census at Ft. Bidwell.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	.490
df	1
P-value	.484

Table 115. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

The school was established for the benefit of the Paiute and the Pit River Indians located in the vicinity of the Fort.[249] The first class of students recruited for the school, in 1898, consisted entirely of Paiutes, 15 boys and 10 girls.[250] The superintendent reported in 1900 that Paiute and Pit River Indians both were represented.[251] The 1900 census data confirms this fact, reporting that there were 40 Paiutes and 11 Pit River students at the time of the survey.

---

[249] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Bidwell, Cal." by Ira R. Bamber. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 359.
[250] Ibid.
[251] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Fort Bidwell, Cal." by Horton H. Miller. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 479.

Blood quantum was never discussed in any of the superintendent's reports. However, the 1900 census recorded that 94% of the students at Fort Bidwell were full-bloods. The chi-squared test results in Table 117 indicate that this school recruited students of appropriate Indian ancestry.

Blood Quantum at Ft. Bidwell

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	48	48.0	.0
Less than half-blooded	3	3.0	.0
Total	51		

Table 116. Degree of Indian ancestry of students, 1900. 5% outliers expected to be less than half-blooded.

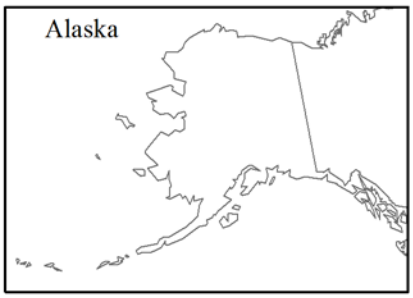
Test Statistics

	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	.000
df	1
P-value	1.000

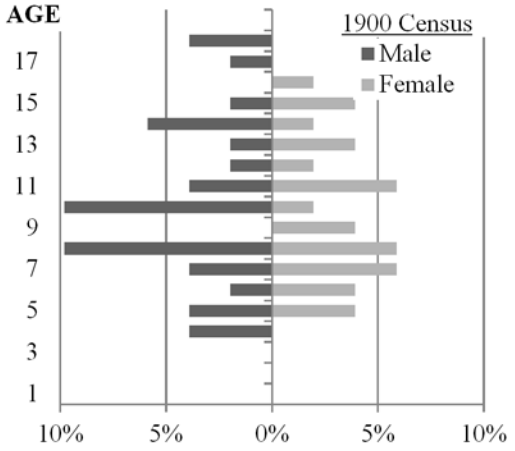
Table 117. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum at Ft. Bidwell.

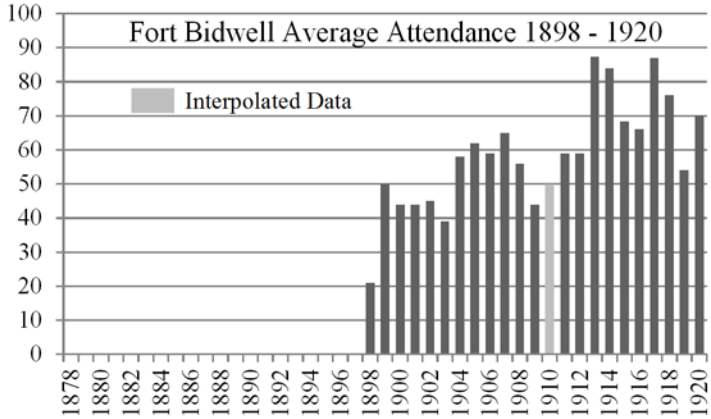
Overall, Fort Bidwell matched three of the four general recommendations for recruiting students at an off-reservation boarding school. It failed to fulfill the age requirement for the students it enrolled, but met the criteria for Indian ancestry, gender, and tribal affiliation. Although a smaller school, Fort Bidwell managed to match the model quite well.

Map 25. Ft. Bidwell Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900



Map data obtained from the 1900 U.S. Census showing Ft. Bidwell student birthplaces normalized as percentages. The classification scheme for the map utilizes a Jenks natural breaks method. Data source available in the bibliography.





1900 Census - Blood Quantum

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	2	1	**3**	5.9
Full	26	22	**48**	94.1
Total	**28**	**23**	**51**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Paiute	23	17	**40**	78.4
Pitt River	5	6	**11**	21.6
Total	**28**	**23**	**51**	**100**

Rapid City Indian Industrial School

The Indian school in Rapid City, South Dakota, was established in 1898.[252] In 1929 the BIA converted it to a specialized sanatorium school for students with tuberculosis,[253] and then closed it altogether in 1933[254] as part of an ongoing consolidation process. The Rapid City Indian school was one of the smaller off-reservation boarding schools, with an average attendance of 192 students between the years 1899 to 1920. The 1900 census and the superintendent's *Annual Report* both report the school population that year as 80 students.[255]

The average age of students at the Rapid City school in 1900 was 13.2. The male students had an average age of 13.3 and the girls' average was 13.1. The most common age for the male students was 13 and 15, and for the female students it was 15. The youngest students were two 6 year-olds, a full-blood Sioux girl and a quarter-blood Shoshone boy. The oldest students were 19, two male and one female. In total, there were twenty-four students, or 30% of the student population who were too young for attendance. The chi-squared test results in Table 119 also report far too many students outside of the appropriate age range.

Age at Rapid City

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	56	76.0	-20.0
Ages outside of range	24	4.0	20.0
Total	80		

Table 118. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Ages 12 to 21 is the appropriate age range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Age
Chi-Square	105.263
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 119. Chi-squared results for student age at Rapid City Indian Industrial School, Rapid City.

[252] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1903), 17.
[253] Scott Riney, "The School of the Hills: American Indians and the Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1996), 13.
[254] Ibid.
[255] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Statistics as to Indian Schools" by William A. Jones. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 633.

According to the U.S. census of 1900, the Rapid City Indian School enrolled 36 female students and 44 male students. The proportion of males and females is therefore 55% and 45%, respectively, a difference that is not significant according to the chi-squared test results (Table 121).

Gender at Rapid City

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	44	40.0	4.0
Female	36	40.0	-4.0
Total	80		

Table 120. Gender counts obtained from 1900 Census at Rapid City.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	.800
df	1
P-value	.371

Table 121. Chi-squared results for gender proportion.

According to the superintendent's *Annual Report* for 1899, the school consisted of Sioux from Pine Ridge and Cheyenne River, and also Shoshone from Wyoming.[256] The 1900 census recorded that the students consisted almost entirely of Sioux, with a few Shoshone, Osage and Arapaho. In 1898, Superintendent Collins expressed interest in accepting a number of mixed-blood Indians that had applied, but questioned whether or not this was appropriate.[257] The 1900 census recorded that only 75% of the students in attendance were half-blooded or more. The chi-squared results in Table 123 indicate that there were too many students of low degrees of Indian ancestry at Rapid City.

Blood Quantum at Rapid City

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	58	76.0	-18.0
Less than half-blooded	22	4.0	18.0
Total	80		

Table 122. Degree of Indian ancestry of students, 1900. 5% outliers expected to be less than half-blooded.

Test Statistics

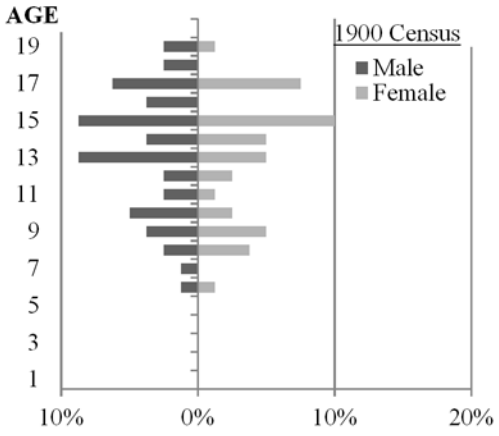
	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	85.263
df	1
P-value	.000

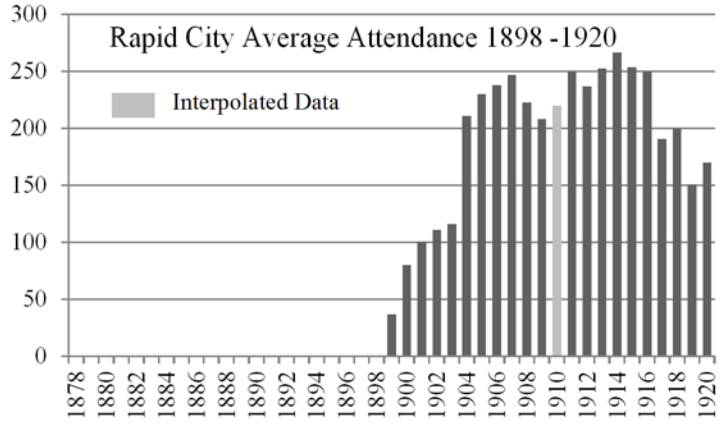
Table 123. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum.

[256] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Rapid City, S. Dak." By Ralph P. Collins. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 396.
[257] Ibid.

Overall, the Rapid City school met two of the requirements defined by the recruitment model based on the criteria established by R.H. Pratt and others in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The school obtained students from the appropriate tribal areas and also obtained a near equal gender ratio. But the school officials failed to enroll students of the appropriate age and degree of Indian ancestry.

Map 26. Rapid City Indian School, Student Distribution and Demographics 1900





1900 Census - Blood Quantum and Tribal Affiliation

Blood Quantum	Male	Female	Total	%
1/4	12	8	**20**	25.0
1/2	8	5	**13**	16.3
7/8	4	4	**8**	10.0
Full	19	16	**35**	43.8
Other	1	3	**4**	5.0
Total	**44**	**36**	**80**	**100**

Tribe	Male	Female	Total	%
Arapaho	1	0	**1**	1.3
Osage	3	0	**3**	3.8
Shoshone	4	2	**6**	7.5
Sioux	36	34	**70**	87.5
Total	**44**	**36**	**80**	**100**

The overall off-reservation boarding school student population, 1900

In 1900, the census recorded 6,263 students in attendance at 25 off-reservation boarding schools. The schools in Pierre, South Dakota, and Tomah, Wisconsin, were not surveyed but when the estimated school populations for these places based on *Annual Reports* are added in, one gets a total population of 6,531 for all 27 off-reservation boarding schools. This number compares well with the reported 6,570 student count from the 1900 *Annual Report*. The two sources thus confirm each other, and so stand as reasonably accurate measurements of the school population.

The age range of students attending the off-reservation boarding schools was between 3 and 40 years of age, with a total of 6,100 ages recorded in the census. Another 163 students were listed as "unknown" age, 153 of these at the Fort Mojave School alone. The off-reservation boarding schools as a whole failed to meet the age requirement defined by the student recruitment model, as too many students were outside of the expected age range. Some 4,240 of the enrolled students were of the proper age, but 1,860, or 30.5%, were either too young or too old. The chi-squared test results in Table 125 confirm a vast discrepancy between the expected age count based on the student recruitment model and the observed age values recorded by the census.

Age at all off-reservation boarding schools

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Ages 12 to 21	4240	5795.0	1555.0
Ages outside of range	1860	305.0	-1555.0
Total	6100		

Table 124. Age counts obtained from 1900 Census. Age 12 to 21 is the appropriate range for enrollment. An expected frequency of 5% outliers.

Test Statistics

	Count
Chi-Square	8345.211
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 125. Chi-squared results for age.

The 1900 census data for all the schools indicate an overall gender ratio of 56.5% male to 43.5% female. This imbalance occurred despite female education being emphasized by officials within the Bureau and school superintendents stressing the recruitment and retainment of female students. The chi-squared test results indicate a significant difference between the male and female populations in the off-reservation school program.

Gender at all off-reservation boarding schools

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Male	3496	3131.5	364.5
Female	2767	3131.5	-364.5
Total	6263		

Table 126. Gender counts for the total off-reservation school program.

Test Statistics

	Gender
Chi-Square	84.854
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 127. Chi-squared results for gender.

There were 154 tribes represented at the off-reservation boarding schools in 1900. Not all of the schools had tribal affiliations recorded by the census enumerator, but a total of 5,515 students were properly surveyed and recorded. Some generalizations existed, for example, the Sioux people are comprised of three distinct linguistic groups: the Lakota, the Dakota, and the Nakota, each with numerous subgroups. It is a great oversimplification to refer to all of these people as “Sioux,” but this is exactly what happened with many census surveys. The Chippewa people another good example, as there are dozens of different Chippewa tribes across the country, but only a single distinction in the census data. The top twenty tribes are listed in Table 128.

Tribal Affiliation	Male	Female	Total		Tribe Population
Pueblo	432	238	**670**		8,183
Chippewa	324	314	**638**		14,035
Sioux	243	205	**448**		24,649
Pima	148	198	**346**		4,350
Mission	157	126	**283**		2,927
Oneida	134	109	**243**		1,671
Papago	126	83	**209**		3,889
Mohave	109	90	**199**		2,741
Navajo	104	51	**155**		20,000*
Seneca	74	73	**147**		3,146
Paiute	84	46	**130**		1,790
Pottawatomi	58	57	**115**		2,377
Winnebago	46	44	**90**		2,581
Cherokee	48	36	**84**		36,376
Apache	61	18	**79**		15,026
Washoe	36	26	**62**		n/a
Klamath	26	35	**61**		1,398
Digger	22	32	**54**		n/a
Ponca	22	31	**53**		797

Table 128. The top twenty tribes where students were obtained for the off-reservation boarding school program.
*Navajo population estimated by BIA agent

Tribal population numbers were compiled from the statistical tables in the 1900 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. In Table 129, these data are standardized as a ratio of the number of students attending off-reservation boarding schools to the tribe's total population. The extent of the disruption of the social structure of a tribe can be gauged by comparing the number of students in the boarding school system to the number of tribal members. Pratt's goal was to use these schools as a means of breaking apart tribal unity, and one certainly can imagine the impact on a community when a large proportion of their young men and women were sent away to school, possibly never to return.

Tribal affiliation	# of Students Attending Off-Res. School	Tribal Population	% of Tribe Pop. Attending Off-Res. School
Oneida	243	1671	14.50%
Maricopa	39	345	11.30%
Otoe	21	186	11.29%
Mission	283	2927	9.67%
Rogue River	24	254	9.45%
Tuscarora	33	378	8.73%
Pueblo	670	8183	8.19%
Wyandotte	27	339	7.96%
Pima	346	4350	7.95%
Kickapoo	20	255	7.84%
Pawnee	50	650	7.69%
Paiute	130	1790	7.26%
Mohave	199	2741	7.26%
Ponca	53	797	6.65%
Hoopa	25	421	5.94%
Papago	209	3889	5.37%
Chemehuevi	15	300	5.00%
Menominee	26	527	4.93%
Pottawatomi	115	2377	4.84%

Table 129. Number of students attending off-reservation schools compared to total number of tribal members.

The Indian ancestry for the students as a whole was 65% full-bloods and 88% half-blooded or more. The distribution of full-blood students is clustered mainly around the centers of high Indian population, namely the Southwest, Northwest, Plains States, and Great Lakes region (Map 27). The largest number of full-bloods came from Arizona, mostly from the Pima, Papago and Mojave tribes. California and New Mexico were other states with a high number of full-blooded students. The vast majority of full-blood students from California were Mission Indians, and the Pueblos of New Mexico represented most of the full-blood students in that state. The chi-

squared test result in Table 131 indicates that the school system failed to match the blood quantum requirement defined in the student recruitment model.

Blood Quantum at all off-reservation boarding schools

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Half-blooded or more	4724	5135.0	-411.0
Less than half-blooded	681	270.0	411.0
Total	5405		

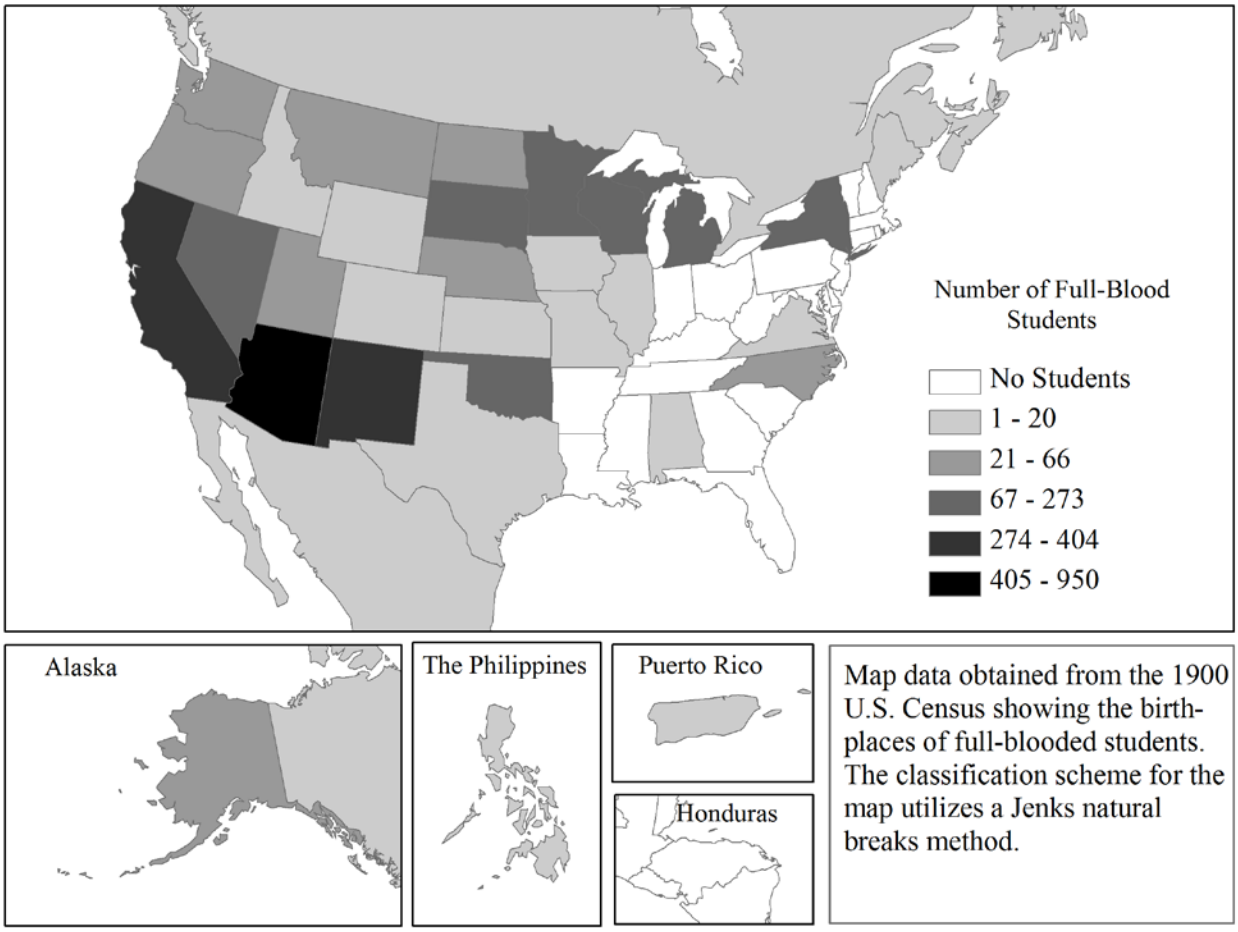
Table 130. Degree of Indian ancestry of students, 1900. 5% outliers expected to be less than half-blooded.

Test Statistics

	Blood Quantum
Chi-Square	658.529
df	1
P-value	.000

Table 131. Chi-squared results for student blood quantum.

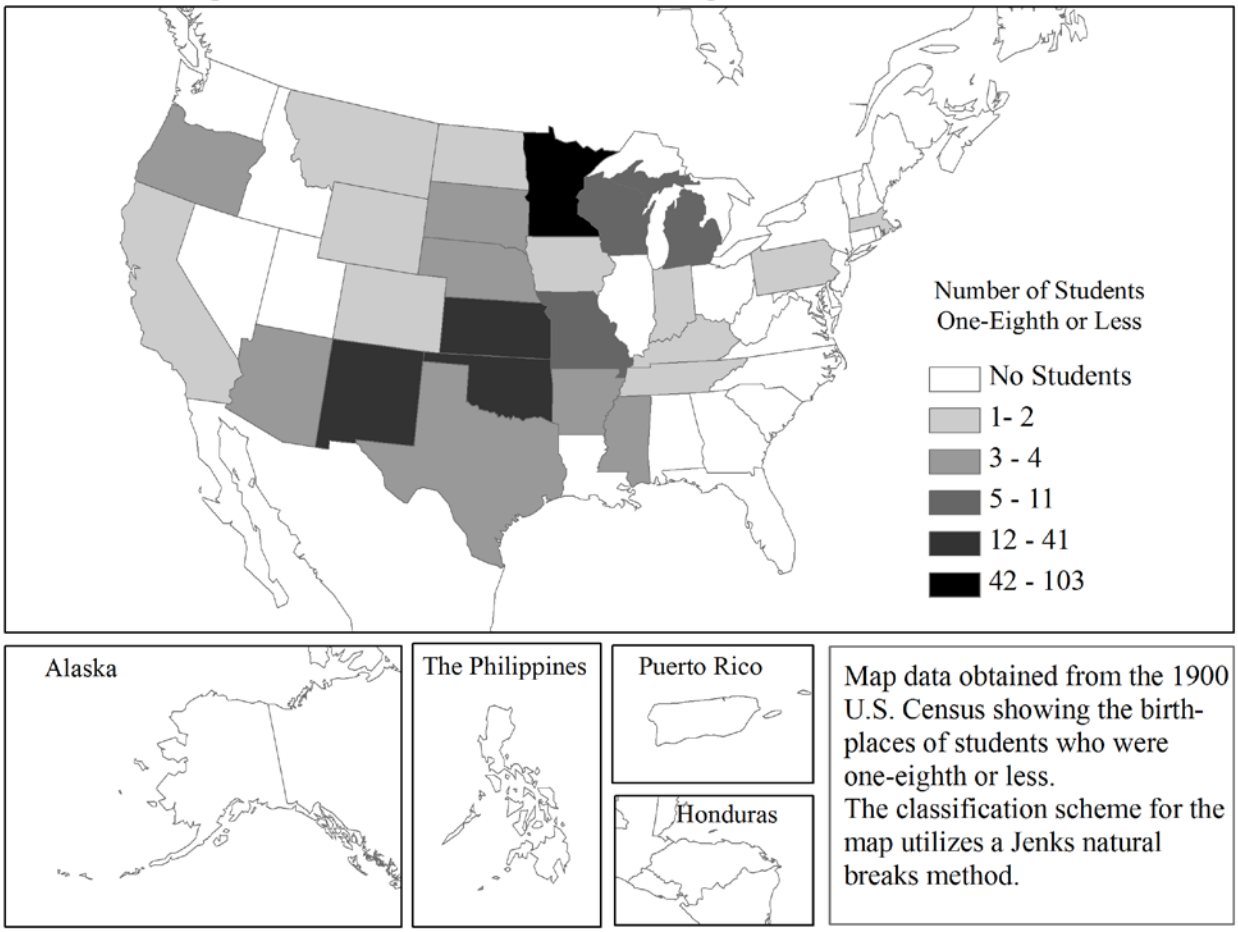
Map 27. Distribution of full-blood students at the off-reservation boarding schools, 1900



The distribution of students with a low amount of Indian ancestry shifts away from the Southwest and moves into higher concentrations in the Southern Plains and Great Lakes region (Map 28). The highest number of students of low ancestry came from Minnesota, mostly

Chippewa. A fairly large concentration of students also came from Kansas, Oklahoma and New Mexico. New Mexico shows up as an outlier simply because of the large number of students from that state.

Map 28. Distribution of students one-eighth and less blooded, 1900



Chapter 5 - Conclusion

The compiled demographic data for all off-reservation boarding schools indicate a vast difference between the enrollment goals set forth in the establishment of the program and the actual students who were obtained for attendance at the schools. R. H. Pratt and the BIA wanted to recruit students for these off-reservation schools that represented the core of the tribal communities, but the reality was much different than the vision. The off-reservation program wanted students with a high percentage of Indian blood in order to influence and convert the more traditional families with strong ties to the tribe, but instead a significant portion of students came from mixed families with one white or mixed heritage parent. According to census data they also actively recruited students as young as 3 and as old as 31, even though the overall program was meant for students aged 12 to 21. Gender proportions were also far from equal with most schools having a large surplus of male students.

The early vision of the school system envisioned by Pratt was ambitious and unrealistic. His goal was the complete assimilation of the American Indian, the abandonment of the reservation system, and rejection of all tribal culture. Although his plans were carried out and thousands of young Native Americans were subjected to the horrors of being removed from their family and forced into a boarding school, the overall off-reservation school program was a failure from both the assimilationist's and the tribal perspectives.

The school that best fit the student recruitment model was Hampton, only failing the age criteria because there were too many students older than 21 recruited. The school in Phoenix, with 638 students in attendance, met three out of the four recruitment criteria but also failed the age criteria. Phoenix was the largest school that best followed recruitment protocol. Several of

the smaller schools also met three out of the four recruitment criteria, including the schools in Perris, Wittenberg, and Fort Bidwell.

The school in Chilocco, Oklahoma, did not match any of the four recruitment criteria and was the only school with complete census data not to meet any of the attendance requirements. Chemawa, Lincoln, Greenville, Flandreau and Haskell failed all except for the recruitment area of their students. As noted, a number of schools had an incomplete dataset, making a final judgment impossible on how well these schools fit the model.

None of the twenty-five schools surveyed matched the recruitment criteria for age. The school age defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1900 was based on Article VII of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, making a requirement that "children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school."[258] This definition applies to all schools funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and not just the off-reservation boarding schools. There were varying and often conflicting reports from the BIA and school superintendents that discuss the appropriate age of student at the off-reservation boarding school. Some superintendents stressed the importance of obtaining young students in order to begin the assimilation process at an early age and avoid "the dreadful influences of camp life."[259] However, Superintendent of Indian Schools John B. Riley thought these schools were no place for children under 12. In addition, the superintendent of Haskell, Charles Robinson, also voiced objections to the use of infants and young children to fill the classes and work rooms. Despite numerous efforts, the off-reservation

[258] "Treaty With The Sioux – Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee – and Arapaho, 1868 - Article VII," accessed March, 10, 2014, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol2/treaties/sio0998.htm#mn17.
[259] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs" by Thomas J. Morgan. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year* 1889 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1889), 8.

boarding school system continued to recruit students who were too young to do the work required by the government to keep these schools functioning as intended.

The statistical results of the gender proportions are also not surprising, taking in account previous remarks by school administrators about their difficulties recruiting female students. Ten out of 25 schools had statistically equal gender proportions, most of them facilities with fewer than 200 students. One of the largest off-reservation schools with an equal gender ratio was Phoenix. This school was also exceptional in that it had more female students than males, meeting and exceeding the gender recruitment criteria. A number of smaller schools failed the gender criteria because of too many female students, including the Greenville and Morris schools, as well as Lincoln Institution in Philadelphia. In general, however, recruiting female students was difficult at most of the off-reservation boarding schools.

Most of schools recruited students from their designated tribal areas, with Chilocco being the only school that recruited beyond its designated boundaries. Compulsory education laws passed in 1892 made it easier for schools to obtain students. Also, beginning in 1908, there was a gradual closing of the smaller schools and greater emphasis placed on larger and better-equipped institutions. By 1909, Congress added a stipulation to the year's Indian Appropriation Act stating that: "No pupil under the age of 14 years shall be transported at government expense to an Indian school beyond the limits of the State or Territory in which the parents of such children reside or of an adjoining State or Territory." This put further limitations on where the remaining off-reservation schools could obtain students. The Indian education system was slowly making the transition away from the paradigm created by Pratt, and instead began to focus on developing the reservation schools and preparing students there for the inevitable transfer to an off-reservation boarding school or neighboring public school.

The more than half of the schools with a complete census data set met the requirements for obtaining students with a high degree of Indian ancestry. Of the twenty-two schools that had tribal affiliation and Indian ancestry recorded, thirteen schools met the criteria of the student recruitment model. Many of the schools that met the blood quantum criteria were the small and medium sized ones in the Southwest. The larger schools in the Midwest, such as Haskell and Chilocco failed the blood quantum requirements by a large degree. Carlisle passed with a very large percentage of full and half-blooded students. The overall pattern seems to be a cluster of students with a higher blood quantum in the Southwest, while the Midwest and Plains had significantly fewer full-blood students.

Making generalizations about blood quantum at the off-reservation boarding schools is difficult because a number of factors can explain such differences. Each individual tribe was different in their willingness to send away their children to an off-reservation school, potentially dependent on length of time in contact with Euro-American people and whether or not the response to contact was hostile or friendly. Some tribal leaders saw these schools as an advantage for their children; others saw them as a passive method to destroy Indian culture and separate families. Recruiting agents from the school also often encountered a large number of prospective students from mixed families, with at least one white parent. Frequently it was families with mixed parents who were willing to send their kids away to school, seeing the benefits of an education. More traditional families were less willing to give up their children, as was noted, in 1895, by the superintendent of Indian Schools, stating “white fathers and mothers of half-breed children are more ready to appreciate the advantages of education than is the case

with full-blood Indians."[260] This led to an increase in the number of low blood quantum applicants, as was noted by Superintendent Collins at the Rapid City school,[261] and by Superintendent of Indian Schools William Nicholas Hailmann.[262]

Overall, Pratt and the BIA failed to fully realize their vision of the off-reservation boarding school as a quick means to assimilate the younger generation of American Indians. Recruitment criteria were established that focused on a certain type of student. I created my model based on these recommendations, which is as follows: equal gender ratios, students obtained from the specified recruitment regions for each school, students from ages 12 to 21 and with an Indian ancestry half-blooded or greater. After examining the actual student demographic data and performing a statistical comparison between the observed and expected demographic values I conclude that, in general, the off-reservation boarding school program did not obtain the proper students. There were excessive numbers of children too young, a disproportionate number of male to female students, and too many students with small amounts of Indian ancestry.

The boarding schools have left a long lasting impression on the Native people of this country. Indigenous language, customs, and religion were all to be abandoned with English, American culture, and Christianity in its place. Many aspects of the off-reservation schools were successful in the eyes of the government. These schools introduced, or in some instances, reinforced Christian values on young and impressionable youths. They were a major contributor to breaking apart families and created conflict within the tribes. The consequences of these

---

[260] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools" by William N. Hailmann. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1895* (Washington, D. C.: 1895), 343.
[261] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of School at Rapid City, S. Dak." By Ralph P. Collins. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1898), 396.
[262] U.S. Department of the Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Indian Schools" by William N. Hailmann. In *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897* (Washington, D. C.: 1897), 339-340.

efforts have been felt by Native peoples for generations. What happened at these schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries would today be considered crimes against humanity. In fact, many people now regard the off-reservation boarding schools as a form of cultural genocide.

A positive result of the off-reservation boarding school program was the subsequent development of pan-tribal Indian culture. Language and customs were shared between members of different tribes at these schools. Students now had an opportunity to unite, no longer as just Sioux, Cherokee, or Navajo people, but together as Indian people. Past research has linked the development of pan-Indian culture to the mixing of Plains tribes after the introduction of the horse and then to the mixing of tribes on the same reservations.[263] More recent studies have recognized the off-reservation schools as an integral part of the modern pan-Indian movement. Dr. Joane Nagel, for example, has stated that:

> The emphasis on English had the unintended consequence of supplying students from linguistically diverse tribes with a lingua franca for intertribal communication that was essential to the development of intertribal organizations and supratribal, "Indian" identification. [264]

These schools were one of the foundations of modern Indian movements, as places where people of different language and culture came together and shared their experiences as Native peoples, realizing the commonalities among formerly disparate groups.

Future Research

This thesis and the field of geography in general are multidisciplinary. My work combines aspects from demography, cartography, history, and Indigenous studies in an attempt

[263] Robert K. Thomas, "Pan-Indianism," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* 6, no. 2 (1965), 77.
[264] Joane Nagel, *American Indian ethnic renewal: Red power and the resurgence of identity and culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 116.

to explore the historical population dynamics and spatial distribution of student's origins at the off-reservation boarding schools in 1900. It illustrates the value of the census and *Annual Reports* when analyzing historic Native American populations, and demonstrates the possibility of such analysis without hundreds of hours spent in museum and library archives. This thesis is a first look at a vastly understudied source of spatio-demographic information about Native Americans at the turn of the 20th century. Previous research has garnered little attention to this data even though it is readily accessible. Understandably, American Indian research is not the most popular topic to study in mainstream academia, but there has been an increase interest in Indigenous philosophy and methodology in recent years that I hope will lead to further analyses.

Each demographic variable from the census can be explored further as each has its own social and academic implications. In addition, the data can be analyzed from multiple perspectives, including multivariate statistics and time-series analysis. Other useful data sets also exist, including additional census years, National Archive materials, and documents from local and county historical societies. The school data for all off-reservation boarding schools are immense and spread across the country in a variety of places, making a full examination difficult but definitely not impossible.

The results of this research reveal many things about the off-reservation boarding school program's student population, but there is still much left to be explored. Student demographics and the census data for the off-reservation school program have had little previous academic examination and I plan to continue researching this topic either as an independent scholar or in a Ph.D. program. These schools each have their own unique history and story to tell. It is my hope that this is not a forgotten era of American Indian history.

Bibliography

Adams, Douglas W., "The Federal Indian Boarding School a Study of Environment and Response, 1879-1918." PhD diss., Indiana University, 1975.

Adams, Douglas W., *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence: The University of Kansas Press, 1995.

Armstrong, Samuel C., *Twenty-two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia*. Hampton: Hampton Normal School Press, 1931.

Balabuch, Andrew, "To Run and Play": Resistance and Community at the Mt. Pleasant Indian Industrial School, 1892 – 1933." Master's thesis, University of Michigan, 2010.

Bell, Genevieve, (1998). "Telling Stories out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918." PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998.

Brudvig, Jon. L., "Bridging the cultural divide: American indians at Hampton Institute, 1878-1923." PhD diss., The College of William and Mary, 1996.

Child, Brenda J., *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Churchill, Ward, *Kill the Indian, save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools.* San Francisco: City Lights, 2004.

Daddario, Wilma A., "'They get milk practically every day': The Genoa Indian Industrial School, 1884-1934," *Nebraska History 73* (1992): 2-11.

Fisher, Walter D., "On Grouping for Maximum Homogeneity," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 53(1958): 789-798.

Frear, Shelley R., "The Genoa Indian School: a mixed legacy." Master's thesis, University of Nebraska at Kearney, 2012.

Garmhausen, Winona M., "The Institute of American Indian Arts 1962 to 1978: With historical background 1890 to 1962." PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1982.

Gram, John R., "Education on the edge of empire: The Pueblos and the federal boarding schools, 1881-1929." PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2012.

Granzer, Loretta M., "Indian Education at Haskell Institute, 1884-1937." Master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1937.

Hagenbuch, Mark O., "Richard Henry Pratt, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and U.S.

policies related to American Indian education, 1879 to 1904." PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1999.

Hamley, John L., "Cultural Genocide in the Classroom: A History of the Federal Boarding School Movement in American Indian Education, 1875-1920." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1994.

Jenks, George F. *Optimal Data Classification for Choropleth Maps*, Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1977.

Kennedy, Michael D. *Introducing Geographic Information Systems with ArcGIS: A Workbook Approach to Learning GIS*. Hoboken: Wiley, 2013.

Lindsey, Donal F., "Indian Education at the Hampton Institute, 1877-1923." PhD diss., Kent State University, 1989.

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina and Teresa L. McCarty, *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education.* New York City: Teachers College, 2006.

Long, Thomas E., "To the edge of the world and back: Native American struggles for sovereignty as seen through the investigations of Colonel L. A. Dorrington, Indian Agent, 1913 – 1923." PhD diss., University of California at Riverside, 2006.

McDade, Jeffrey R. *The Birth of the American Indian Manual Labor Boarding School: Social Control through Culture Destruction, 1820-1850.* Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2008.

Milk, Theresa, *Haskell Institute: 19th Century Stories of Sacrifice and Survival, with a Haskell Cemetery Walking Tour.* Lawrence: Mammoth Publications, 2007.

Morgan, Thomas J., *Indian Education*. Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1890.

Music, Amy B., "Spatial Theory in the Native American Boarding School Program Cultural Influence through Landscape." Master's thesis, University of Florida, 2006.

Nagel, Joane, *American Indian ethnic renewal: Red power and the resurgence of identity and culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Nevada Department of Cultural Affairs, "Stewart Indian School." Accessed 02/19/2014. http://museums.nevadaculture.org/new_exhibits/cc-stewart

O'Brien, Charles A., "The Evolution of Haskell Indian Junior College, 1884-1974." Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1975.

Pratt, Richard Henry, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.

Prucha, Frances Paul, *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Prucha, Frances Paul, *The great father: the United States government and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Reyhner, Jon A. and J. M. Oyawin, *American Indian Education: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.

Riney, Scott, "The school of the hills: American Indians and the Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933." PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1996.

Robinson, Martha K., "Assimilation, Ambivalence, and Resistance: Students at Haskell Institute, 1920-1930." Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1996.

Robinson, William H., "The History of Hampton Institute 1868-1949." PhD diss., New York University, 1953.

Szasz, Margaret, *Indian education in the American colonies, 1607-1783*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

Thomas, Robert K., "Pan-Indianism." *Midcontinent American Studies Journal*, 6, no.2 (1965): 77.

Thornton, Russell, "Tribal membership requirements and the demography of "old" and "new" Native Americans" *Population Research and Policy Review*, 16(1997): 37.

Voyer, Charlene, "Assimilation of the American Indian the Meaning of the Boarding School Experience." PhD diss., Chestnut Hill College, 2006.

Vučković, Myriam, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884-1928*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008.

Government Publications

Indian Appropriation Act of 1912. 62nd Congress, 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 48, pt. 5: 4457.

Treaty With The Sioux – Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee – and Arapaho, 1868. Article VII. Online. Available from: Oklahoma State University, Kappler Project. Accessed 03/10/2014. http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol2/treaties/sio0998.htm#mn17.

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1878*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O, 1878. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21913.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1879. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21914.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1880*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1880. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21915.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1881*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1881. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21916.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1882*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1882. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21917.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1883*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1883. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21918.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1884*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1884. http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?id=History.AnnRep84

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1885*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1885. http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?id=History.AnnRep85

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1886*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1886. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21919.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1887*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1887. http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?id=History.AnnRep87

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1888*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1888. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21920.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the*

Secretary of the Interior for the year 1889. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1889. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21921.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1890*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1890. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21922.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1891*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1891. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21923.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1892*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1892. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21924.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1893*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1893. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21925.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1894*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1894. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21926.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1895*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1895. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21927.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1896*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1896. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21928.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1897*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1897. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21929.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1898*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1898. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21930.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1899*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1899. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21931.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1900*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1900. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21932.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1901*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1901. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21933.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1902*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1902. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21934.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1903*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1903. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21935.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1904*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1904. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21936.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1905*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1905. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21937.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1906*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1906. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21938.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1907*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1907. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21939.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1908*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1908. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21940.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1909*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1909. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21941.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1910*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1910. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21942.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1911*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1911. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21943.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the*

Secretary of the Interior for the year 1912. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1912. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21944.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1913*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1913. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21945.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1914*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1914. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21946.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1915*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1915. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21947.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1916*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1916. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21948.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1917*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1917. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21949.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1918*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1918. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21950.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1919*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1919. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21951.pdf

U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1920*. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1920. http://www.doi.gov/ost/tribal_doc_archive/upload/T-21952.pdf

U. S. Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Arizona Vol. 2 Graham Co., Maricopa Co., Indian School, Insane Asylum*. Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 0046. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu0046unit/12thcensusofpopu0046unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 California Vol. 19 Modoc Co., Mono Co., Monterey Co*. Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 0094. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu0094unit/12thcensusofpopu0094unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 California Vol. 21*

Plumas Co., Riverside Co., San Benito Co. Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 0096.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu0096unit/12thcensusofpopu0096unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 California Vol. 22 Plumas Co., Riverside Co., San Benito Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 0097.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu0097unit/12thcensusofpopu0097unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Colorado Vol. 11 Kiowa Co., Kit Carson Co., Lake Co., La Plata Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 0125.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu0125unit/12thcensusofpopu0125unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Colorado Vol. 18 Lincoln Co., Logan Co., Mesa Co., Mineral Co., Montezuma Co., Montrose Co., Morgan Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 127.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu127unit/12thcensusofpopu127unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Kansas Vol. 17 Douglas Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 479.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu479unit/12thcensusofpopu479unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Michigan Vol. 33 Isabella Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 718.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu718unit/12thcensusofpopu718unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Minnesota Vol. 41 Pine Co., Pipestone Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 780.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu780unit/12thcensusofpopu780unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Minnesota Vol. 60 Steele Co., Stevens Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 793.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu793unit/12thcensusofpopu793unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Montana Vol. 2 Cascade Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 910.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu910unit/12thcensusofpopu910unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Nebraska Vol. 29 Nance Co., Nemaha Co. Bureau* of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 935.
http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1338unit/12thcensusofpopu1338unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Nevada Vol. 2 Lincoln Co.,*

Lyon Co., Nye Co., Ormsby Co., Storey Co., Washoe Co., White Pine Co. Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 943. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu943unit/12thcensusofpopu943unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 New Mexico Vol. 1 Bernalillo Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 999. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu999unit/12thcensusofpopu999unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 New Mexico Vol. 7 Santa Fe Co., Sierra Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1002. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1002unit/12thcensusofpopu1002unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Oklahoma Vol. 7 Kay Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1338. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1338unit/12thcensusofpopu1338unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Oregon Vol. 9 Marion Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1349. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1349unit/12thcensusofpopu1349unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Pennsylvania Vol. 74 Cumberland Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1401. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1401unit/12thcensusofpopu1401unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Pennsylvania Vol. 156 Philadelphia Co. and City.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1454. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1454unit/12thcensusofpopu1454unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 South Dakota Vol. 3 Brule Co., Buffalo Co., Butte Co., Campbell Co., Charles Mix Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1547. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1547unit/12thcensusofpopu1547unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 South Dakota Vol. 13 Moody Co., Pennington Co., Potter Co., Sanborn Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1553. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1553unit/12thcensusofpopu1553unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Virginia Vol. 16 Elizabeth City Co., Essex Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1707. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1707unit/12thcensusofpopu1707unit.pdf

United States Census Bureau, *12th Census of Population 1900 Wisconsin Vol. 70 Shawano Co.* Bureau of the Census Micro-film Laboratory, Reel 1817. http://archive.org/download/12thcensusofpopu1817unit/12thcensusofpopu1817unit.pdf