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INDIAN EDUCATION AND ACCULTURATION:

THE FOREST GROVE INDUSTRIAL TRAINING SCHOOL

1880-1885

By

Cynthia Straughan

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Education and Acculturation:

The Forest Grove Industrial Training School

By

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In January of 1880, the Forest Grove Industrial Training School was established by the federal government under the auspices of the Pacific University Board of Trustees. The school remained in Forest Grove for five years until it moved to the Salem area. During the school's operation in Forest Grove, there were four superintendents and three hundred and eighty-two students.

This thesis is an analysis of the policies and goals of Indian education during the nineteenth century in the United States, and how they effected the establishment of the training school at Forest Grove and the school's subsequent relocation to Chemawa.

Approved by: ______________________

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INTRODUCTION

[illegible] for this research project began in August [illegible] [illegible] working as a volunteer in the Pacific University [illegible] in Old College Hall. At that time I was contemplating [illegible] University Honors Program, and was thinking in [illegible] research that I wanted to do during the upcoming year. Richard Read, the Archivist and Curator at Pacific offered me several options, from biographies of the Presidents of the University, to biographies of the Trustees of the Pacific University. The Indian Training School, located in Forest Grove from 1880-1885, was mentioned only [illegible] passing, but the seed was planted. The more we discussed the little bits and pieces of information that were available about the school, the more intrigued I became. When I made the decision to enter the Honors program, there was no question that I would research the Forest Grove Indian Training School as my Honors project.

Initially, I believed that there must be a body of information regarding the school, either at the federal level, since it had been a federally run training school, or at the local level, since it seemed a small but significant piece of Oregon history. I was wrong in both cases.

I began my research by sending letters to the Department of the Interior, Federal and Regional offices, The Bureau of

Indian Affairs, Federal and Regional Offices, the Oregon and Washington Indian Agencies, the tribal organizations for the Umatilla, Warm Springs, and Klamath Indians, and to the Superintendent of the Chemawa Indian School in Salem. The only response I received was from the Warm Springs agency and the Regional Bureau of Indian Affairs office telling me that they thought the information that I was looking for was located at Chemawa. I placed a phone call to Chemawa and was sent a brochure regarding the founding of Chemawa in Forest Grove in 1880, but it was clear that their information was scanty, and in some cases wrong. It occurred to me that perhaps no one had ever researched the school and that the resources that did exist had not yet been tapped.

I held on to the hope that the information that I needed existed somewhere in the bowels of the National Archives or the Oregon Historical Society. Several phone calls to the regional National Archives in Seattle and to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. led to further frustration. Not only were they unable to do any substantive research for me, but I learned from Joyce Justice at the Archives in Seattle that all the records for the Forest Grove Indian School, as well as for the early days at Chemawa, had been destroyed in a flood at the turn of the century. Contacts made with the universities and colleges in the Northwest, as well as the Smithsonian Institution, also ended in dead ends. I was back at square one.

While I was sending out letters and making phone calls, I was also conducting a literature search. Searches made through the Pacific University Library, Multnomah County Library, and Portland Sate Library turned up no information about the school. Finally, Alex Toth, Pacific's Resource Librarian, turned up a Doctoral Thesis at the University of Washington that had been written about the history of Chemawa Indian School. This thesis discussed the protohistory of Chemawa at Forest Grove. The most valuable information that the thesis contained was the bibliography. I learned through Patrick McKeehan's thesis, The History of Chemawa Indian School, that the primary sources of information about the Forest Grove school existed in the Annual Report of The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Pacific University Board of Trustees Minutes, located in the Pacific University Archives. Both were available to me.

The Board of Trustees Minutes were interesting in that they contained a number of comments about the school as start-up and building progressed. However, as controversies around the land and money issues began to develop, there were fewer and fewer notations about the school, until the final notation that the School had moved to Salem. There was not a consistent chronology of events that gave a true picture about why the school left and how the Board of Trustees dealt with the situation. It appears from letters available in the Pacific University Archives that the

their Trustee to remain committed, both to the school and to its remaining at Forest Grove was, Dr. George H. Atkinson. The minutes contained no information about the School's day to day operation.

The reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs contained information from the School Superintendent's point of view, but again, did not give details as to the daily life of the school, nor a clear picture of how the students were faring. Each report was a testament to the Federal policy of acculturation, rather than a serious analysis of the success or failure of the school's attempts at civilizing the Indian children.

The most helpful sources to me were the excerpted diaries of Myron Eells and Mary Richardson "Grandma" Walker, that were available to me through the Pacific University Archives. Both of the diaries contained concerns and insights into the actual running of the School, while Grandma Walker's diary talked about the students and some of their activities. Both diaries gave me some direction in pursuing further research.

In addition to the written information at Pacific University, there were a number of photographs of the school and students. I began to believe that if I could locate enough photographs, these too could tell the story of the Forest Grove Indian Training School. A trip to the Oregon State Library added to my collection of photographs, as did a

to the Photographic Archives of the Oregon Historical Society.

The photographs were, for the most part, before and after pictures, and a record of the Indian students engaging in White Man's activities and wearing socially appropriate attire. This form of propaganda had been devised at the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and since Forest Grove was designed on Carlisle's military model of education and discipline, it was not a surprise that Forest Grove should follow suit.

Although I did receive some anecdotal information from other diaries and local newspapers, I was not able to piece together any significant information about the students and their daily lives at the school. Often the anecdotal information was in conflict with other sources, so a number of sources had to disregarded and some events had to be ignored altogether. My primary source of information on who attended the school was through a class list obtained from the Regional National Archives, which listed the tribes, ages, gender, and anglicized names assigned to each child. I was only able to track three out of three hundred and seventy-seven students. Ibelieve that no analysis of the education provided at the Forest Grove Indian Training School will be complete until a significant number of students can be tracked in order to determine the long-term effects of the education they received. What I have been able to accomplish

is a chronology of theschool's existence, as well as some insight into why it cameto Forest Grove, and why after five years, it was abandoned and moved to the Salem area. This is more than has beenaccomplished in the past.

My heart felt thanks go out to many people. First and foremost, to my Mentors; Dr. Joseph Frazier, Associate Professor of History, and Richard Read Archivist and Curator for the Pacific University Archives and Museum. The Pacific University Library staff was of assistance and continued to support this project with their time and energy, even when I was discouraged and perhaps, being a "pain". Thanks go to Eric Stewart and John Wolfe, who kept finding little tidbits of information for me, just because they love history. A special and friendly thank you goes to Laurie Hill who helped me wrestle with the Macintosh. And finally, to Dr. Juliet Brosing , who saw a bunch of over achievers whose projects confirmed Murphy's Law on a number of occasions, through a rigorous, but exciting nine months.

INDIAN EDUCATION

I. Federal Policy and the Evolution of Indian Education

The education of Indians by white society has a long and varied history. As early as 1611, the Jesuits were bringing European forms of education to Indian communities around the Great Lakes. By 1617 the English settlers in New England and Virginia were trying to educate Indian children, while on the West Coast the Franciscans who had followed the conquistadors had established a system of mission schools in California ,Texas, and Arizona for the native population. The idea of the Indians learning to live by Anglo values is as old as European habitation in the New World.

Formalized attempts at Indian education began in 1769 with the establishment of Dartmouth college to bring higher education to the Indians. In 1774 when the Commissioners of William and Mary College invited young men of local Indian tribes to attend the Indians declined, giving a prophetic analysis that the future proponents of Indian education might have heeded:

> We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance or our young men while with you would

be very expensive to you. We are convinced that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are wise must know the different Nations have different conceptions of things, and you will, therefore not take it amiss if our ideas of this education happen not to be the same with yours.

We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the College of the Northern Provinces. They were instructed in all your sciences. But when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods...Neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing.[1]

The Second Great Awakening of 1790 brought a zealous approach to missionary activity and a new interest in converting the natives. And after the war of 1812, there were better financed efforts, working from a broader base of commitment that was enhanced by expanding transportation and greater access to the interior.

The Treaty period from 1776 until 1870 saw the federal government taking partial responsibility for Indian education. American efforts during this time were marginal, consisting of small pragmatic educational projects that were

subsidized by the government. Most work was carried on by missionaries who were not assigned to particular reservations, and there was much competition between denominations for the limited government funds. It was a period without consistency or clearly defined goals, with the exception of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians.

In 1819 the Congress passed appropriations for Indian education for the first time , amounting to $10,000.00. The funds were specifically allocated for:

> ...The the civilization of the Indian tribes and adjoining the frontier settlements...for the purposes of providing against the decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them habits and acts of civilization...that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation and for teaching their children in reading, writing and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined according to such instructions and roles as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct, in the discharge of their duties...[2]

These funds exacerbated the competition among the various sects for providing Indian education. All Indian schools among the frontier tribes, that were receiving Federal aid were required to be run by missionaries.[3]

The Indian Office, which later became the Bureau of Indian Affairs, had been established in 1824 as a sub-department of the War Department. This office handled all areas of governmental interaction with the Indians, including military action used against the Indians and the running of the reservations. Policy toward the Indians was convoluted by the conflicting goals of Indian assimilation and manifest destiny. On the one hand, the government did not want to be the exterminator of the Indians, but on the other hand, was committed to white settlement in the Indian territories. Westward movement and expansion were their first and primary priorities.

During this period, Oregon also became part of the race to educate Indians. Competition between the Catholics, who were attached to the Hudson's Bay Company, and missionaries sent Westward by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was intense, with the U.S. government actively supporting the Protestant efforts. Catholic involvement in the Oregon Territory was seen as a direct result of British entitlement through the Hudson's Bay Company; and American society in general, during this time, resented the Jesuit influence, while the Catholics felt the

[illegible] primary goals were to [illegible]

[illegible] Jason Lee established a manual labor school for native children, located north of the present city of Salem. [illegible] Marcus and Narcissa Whitman established their [illegible] school among the Cayuse Indians at Waiilatpu [illegible] Walla Walla River, while Henry and Eliza Spalding [illegible] mission at Lapwai Creek, among the Nez [illegible].

[illegible] families, the Walkers and the Eells, who later became prominent in the running of Pacific University, [illegible] a mission at Tsimakain among the Spokan Indians in 1839. After the Whitman massacre in 1847, both families moved to Forest Grove. A number of the Eells children, [illegible] Myron Eells, later a member of the Pacific University Board of Trustees, his brother Cushing Eels, who [illegible] Whitman College, and another brother, Edwin [illegible], who was the Indian Agent in charge of the Puyallup [illegible] during the initial set up of the Forest Grove Indian School, were all involved with Indian education in the region. Mary Richardson Walker, who became active at both Pacific University and the Forest Grove Indian School, and [illegible] sons Samuel and Levi taught at the Indian School, was one of the founding missionaries at Tsimakain.

In 1838 Francis Blanchet and Modeste Demers, both Franciscan priests, responding to requests from the French-

Canadian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who were living along the Willamette River, began the first Catholic mission in the Northwest, North of Fort Vancouver. Over the next ten years the Catholics were to establish approximately thirty missions throughout the region.[4]After the Whitman's were murdered by the Cayuse in 1847, Henry Spaulding believed that the massacre had been a conspiracy among the Catholic missionaries and the Indians. His accusations further inflamed tensions between the two faiths. The murder of the Whitmans led to the Cayuse Wars and a violent and uneasy relationship between the Indians and white settlers. The Territorial government of Oregon and the U.S. military becoming a presence in the region were an immediate consequence of the wars. Indian education took a backseat to sectarian rivalry and governmental attempts to control the Indian population.

Manifest destiny, the doctrine of white superiority and the belief that it was the nation's God-given destiny to expand Westward, allowed settlers and missionaries alike, to ignore British and Indian claims in the Oregon Territory. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 put the Territory in American hands. From this time forward the tribes were systematically moved to reservations, and the process of acculturation for the Western Indians began.

The competitive work of the missionaries continued even after the Department of the Interior took over the Indian

Office in 1849. It was not until President Grant's "Quaker Policy" enacted in 1871, that any substantial changes occurred in U.S. policy towards the Indians. As a result of the new policy, the Indian tribes were no longer viewed as separate nations from the United States, and the era of treaty making was over. The Indian tribes were now considered dependents of the Federal government, and the new "Peace Policy" saw the Indians as "wards of the nation". From that point forward, Indians fell into two categories; reservation Indians under government management, or hostile Indians to be dealt with by the army.[5]

As a result of the Quaker Policy, Congress appropriated $100,000.00 for Indian education. The policy also expanded the number of Indian agents, although many who were appointed had no experience with the Indians. In the long run the Peace Policy was a failure, in the short run it began a new era of federal domination in U.S. and Indian relations. The unwritten goal of Grant's Quaker policy was to isolate the Indian from white society, destroy their culture, and to assimilate the Indian back into white society. These goals did not change significantly until the 1930's.

In 1876, the government appropriated another $20,000.00 for the support of industrial schools, in order to bring self-sufficiency to the Indians and to mitigate the emphasis on religion in the mission schools. Many of the reservation boarding schools moved toward industrial training under the

federal policies. The government at this time saw the Indians as barbarians in need of Christian civilization; however, they were also sensitive to growing public concerns regarding the separation of church and state.

The boost to Indian education that the government was looking for arrived in the form of Capt. Richard Pratt. As an army captain, Pratt was put in charge of Indian prisoners at Fort Marion, Florida. In an attempt to rehabilitate seventy-two Indian warriors, and to verify his opinions on the value of assimilation into the dominant Anglo culture, Pratt began an education program using local women to teach the Indians as a means of desegregating them and giving them skills that they could use in the white world.

In 1878, when the Indians were released to return to their tribes, twenty-two of them refused. Capt. Pratt approached Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia, in an effort to find them placement. Although Hampton was a post-Civil War training facility for blacks, Pratt found the superintendent of the school, General Samuel C. Armstrong, to be sympathetic to Pratt's idea to enroll Indians. The area where Pratt and Armstrong disagreed, was in the segregation of the races. Armstrong kept the Indian and black students separated, with the exception of time spent in the classroom. Later in 1878, dissatisfied with this approach to education, Pratt asked for permission to turn the abandoned Armybarracks at Carlisle,

Pennsylvania into a school for Indian children. With the support of Carl Schurz, Secretary ofthe Interior, Pratt was given permission to start his school.

The first task required of Pratt was to recruit students for the new school. Capt. Pratt and his wife made a trip west to the Indian agencies along the Mississippi River and through the Plains states, where they were able to secure forty boys and nine girls, for the boarding school at Carlisle. In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Pratt states that the conditions at the Indian Agency schools are "deplorable, with the children being held hostage to their parents' behavior".[6]
This was to be a criticism of all the boarding schools, whether on or off the reservation, for a number of years to come.

Carlisle Indian Training School became the prototype for the off the reservation boarding schools that were to follow. It was run with military regimentation, with discipline consisting of corporal punishment, imprisonment, and group humiliation for those who broke the rules. The students and the School were expected to become economically self-sufficient, with monies earned by the students being returned to the School to help cover expenses. The "outing" system was instituted where the students were placed in white homes for the purposes of earning wages and assimilation into the white culture. The school trained male students in such

practical crafts as agriculture, blacksmithing, shoemaking, harness making and carpentry. The female students were trained in housekeeping skills such as sewing, laundry and cooking. Classes were only held for half the day so that students could spend the rest of their time working and learning their craft. The yearly allotment per student, from the federal government, was $167.00.

As Carlisle and Hampton were becoming functional institutions in industrial training for Indians, plans to open a third Off the Reservation Boarding School were being discussed with Pacific University in Forest Grove, Oregon.

II. The Goals of Indian Education

From its inception, through the nineteenth century, Indian education had been focused on one primary goal--the assimilation of the Native population into the dominant society. Secondary to this was the destruction of a life style and system of values that were alien to Anglo-Europeans.

Acculturation through the removal of children from their native environment, often by force, and the rules at the schools which prevented them from speaking their own language and associating with members of their own tribes, were the tools that Indian educators used to accomplish their goals. During missionary control of Indian education Christian religious values were seen as the methods that would be most

effective in the civilizing of the Indian. When this failed andthe majority of Indians "returned to the blanket" and disregarded their education by returning to their former way oflife and belief system, more aggressive means were needed toaccomplish acculturation. Thus were born the Off the Reservation Boarding Schools. If the child could be removed fromthe undesirable influences of his family, tribe and reservation, then the superior values of white society could beinstilled and maintained:

> In the education of Indian youth it is the policy of the office to have farm and domestic work occupy as prominent place as study in the schoolroom, and the development of character and training of the pupils in manners and habits of civilized life is held to be quite as important as acquiring knowledge form books. But the opportunity for teaching Indian children how to live, as well as how to read and think, is found only in the boarding school...[7]

There were a number of contributing factors to the quest of white America to destroy the Indian culture. First and foremost was the American thirst for land. As the treaty period from 1776 to 1870 drew to a close, and the West became more populated, manifest destiny and social darwinism led Anglo-Americans to believe in their supreme rights to Indian

land. Severalty, the break up of reservations and the concept of individual ownership of 160 acres per Indian (often in the most desolate and least productive areas of the continent), had been discussed as early as the 1830's. The Dawes Severalty Act was finally passed in 1887, and the Indian was thrown into a value and economic system he could not understand nor function in. The secondary goal, then, was to prepare the Indian to live on homesteads and develop agricultural skills that would enable him to function economically and socially with the white culture.

This did not mean that the Indian was viewed as equal, the prevailing philosophies of social darwinism and rugged individuality, precluded equality. Indians could however, be trained to make their way in the white world and provide a decent (based on Christian standards) home for his family. The goal was to attain a certain degree of invisibility for the Indian, and a confirmation of ethnocentric satisfaction for white society.

THE FOREST GROVE INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL

I. The Origins of the Forest Grove Indian Training School

In 1874 Lieutenant Melville C. Wilkinson came to Oregon as secretary to General O.O. Howard, commander of the Army's Department of the Columbia. Not much is known about Wilkinson's early years in Oregon, except that he was President of the Young Men's Christian Association in Portland in 1875, and was considered evangelical in his religion.

Before coming to Oregon Lt. Wilkinson had been assigned as Professor of Military Tactics at Howard University in 1871. He had been serving as an aide-de-camp to General Howard, and according to the Pacific Board of Trustees, his first interest had been to Indian education. So it is clear that the Board was aware of the army's and Wilkinson's primary interest when they appointed him Military Professor on July 19, 1879.[8]

More is known about General Howard. Howard had been head of the Freedman's Bureau after the Civil War and had helped establish Howard University in 1867, where he served a President of the University for two years. The General considered himself an expert in race relations and liked to think of himself as the "Moses to the Negroes".[9] When he was

appointed as President Grants "peace commissioner" to the hostile Western Indian tribes, he felt his expertise was expanded to include the Indians.Known as the "praying, one-armed General," Howard was a devout Christian who was also active with the YMCA. He was known as a humanitarian and felt that the surest way to improve the life of the Indian was through education.[10] General Howard was particularly supportive of Captain Pratt's program at Carlisle, and was influential in education as well as, military matters

It was General Howard who, in 1877, tried to move Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce Indians out of the Wallowa Valley and onto the Warm Springs Reservation. After some of his braves killed white settlers, Chief Joseph and his tribe tried to flee to Canada. When they were finally caught, just miles short of the Canadian border, General Howard sent the Chief to the Federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, after promising Joseph that he could return to the reservation. Many of the older generation of Nez Perce were killed or died during this ordeal, leaving the younger generation without role models, and allowed the government to shape the young people's values.

It is not clear what role General Howard played in the establishing of the Forest Grove Indian School. Sources vary from stating that General Howard ordered Lieutenant Wilkinson to establish the school, to Commissioner E.A. Hayt ordering

the School established and Lt. Wilkinson volunteering to become Superintendent. Regardless of General Howard's actual role, it is safe to say that his views on Indian education made him an ardent supporter.On June 4, 1879, the <u>Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Pacific University</u> contain a copy of a letter sent to the Secretary of War:

> Sir,
>
> I have the honor to inform you that at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Tualatin Academy and Pacific University held on this 4th day of June 1879, it was voted in accordance with sections 1225.1260 Revised Statutes, to request the detail of 1st Lieut. M.C. Wilkinson, 3rd Infantry, as Military Professor at this University. No other army officer is so detailed in this state. This University has the capacity to educate the required number of students.
>
> Lieut. Wilkinson has placed before the Board of Trustees the purpose and plan of the Interior Department to educate at some institution on this Coast a certain number of Indian youth, of both sexes, and the Board of Trustees make this application for the detail of Lieut. Wilkinson with the understanding that this Board of Trustees incur no pecuniary liability thereby, and that the Government pay the necessary expenses attending

[illegible]

That the President and Secretary of this Institution be and hereby authorized to negotiate with the proper officers of the Government, for carrying into effect the proposition to supervise the education of Indian youth as per this date, June 4, addressed to the Hon. Secretary of War.

Wilkinson brought start-up funds of $5,000.00 to his negotiations with the Pacific University Board of Trustees. The negotiation resulted in the establishment of the Indian School under the auspices of the Pacific University Board of Trustees. With the assistance of eight Puyallup Indian boys, Wilkinson began the construction of the buildings that would house the School. On June 2, 1880, the Board of Trustee Minutes report that:

1. Wilkinson reports that he has 70 students under drill instruction
2. The Board of Trustees visit the site of the Indian School.
3. The building (went) better than we expected with means of $5,000.00
4. (They) have completed a 30 X 60 rough lumber building, 2 stories, 12 and 10 feet high, partitioned into 7 rooms, below 16 bedrooms.

5. (We) find order and neatness in all Depts.
6. (We) find Matron Mrs. Huff, well fitted to her office.
7. Mr. Boynton does a good job in training mentally & industrially.
8. New Building for boys 32 X 60, two stories, built by Indian Boys.
9. Good carpenter's shop--built by the Indian Boys with the care of Mr. Boynton
10. (We) find a well and drain begun
11. (We) find 2 gardens planted & tilled by the Indian Boys.
12. (We) find the Indian Boys & Girls neatly & well clad and able to understand preaching and singing in English.
13. Their good conduct and intelligence has won them the respect of their community
14. They show much religious interest.
15. (We) hope for increase in their industry and cultivate respect for their own rights and duties.
16. We see need for continued care and watchfulness over them.
17. 100 more can find room, work & good care in the Industrial School.

Resolved: President of the Board and President of Facility be assigned to work with Capt.

Wilkinson to oversee the industrial, social, religious and intellectual life.

A. Hinman, J.W. Marsh

Private reaction to the school was varied. Although the Board of Trustees appeared to present a positive and supportive position toward the School and toward Lt. Wilkinson, Myron Eells reports in his diary on June 7, 1880:

> ...The Indian School in some points seems to be doing well, and in some I am afraid.--1st. The keeping of Mr. Boynton there as a teacher after his experience here, and utter failure if persisted in, will be fatal to the school if not a detriment to the white school also: I have talked against this as strong as I am able:--2nd the sexes play together, and are together is parallel with this, in which I suppose Capt. Wilkinson's ignorance is at fault as well as Mr. Boynton's concealment. Mr. Hinman and Dr. Atkinson seem to take sides with Mr. Boynton much more than sensible men ought to: after knowing what they do:--3rd. the forcible taking of the last six from the Puyallup Indian Reservation I think was unwise, as it will set all the Indians against the school on the Sound, who were considerably opposed to it before: when I think that Judi-

cious management might have won them over: --4th. the keeping of all children there all the time until they have finished their education without returning to see their people even if it be ten years, I think to be unwise: there may be some advantages about it, but more disadvantages, I think.

It is difficult to address the concerns of Dr. Eells as there is no other evidence available regarding the situation with Mr. Boynton. In this case, the diary must speak for itself. In the issue of taking the children forcibly from the reservations, there are documents alleging that this was done. In several of the Commissioner Reports, the accusations are denied as rumors. However, they were persistent rumors, that included the charge that the agents on the reservations had given the Indian Police quotas of children that they must deliver from the reservation as the push for students to fill the Off the Reservation Boarding Schools increased. This was perhaps one of the primary symptoms of the Government's enthusiasm for acculturation. Keeping the children for ten years if necessary, is certainly the result of the acculturation movement.

As with the Board of Trustees, community response to the Indian School was mixed, in his report to the Commissioner in 1881, Capt. Wilkinson reported: "...the battle just commenced of locating an Indian school in a community where the hope is

expressed that the buildings might burn down before scholars could be gathered to put in them."[11]

By October of 1881 the school had obtained seventy-six students, and vocational training had commenced in earnest. Reports on additional buildings, a blacksmith shop located in the town, the shoemaking shop, carpentry shop, and the girls industries; which included sewing, cooking and laundry, were sent to the Commissioner. Capt. Wilkinson also noted the high standards for Oregon public schools, and spoke to the problems involved in the success of Indian education in a part of the country where "there is no poetry in the Indian question".[12] It is also in the 1881 report that the issue of acculturation is first specifically addressed as it was implemented at the Forest Grove Indian Training School. Capt. Wilkinson writes:

> The first rule here after cleanliness and obedience is "NO INDIAN TALK." The delegations from the different tribes are divided and sub-divided until all tribal association is lost. Over and over again and all the time are the children impressed with the fact that if they only learn to speak English well their coming is a grand success for them and their people. This and their entire removal from family and reservation influences are the points of highest

hope, so far as this and kindred schools are concerned.[13]

The industrial training that the children received, and their compensation for the labor they performed, was impacted, during the period in which the School was at Forest Grove, by the standards set by Capt. Pratt at Carlisle, these standards were taken up and enforced by Capt. Wilkinson and his successors at Forest Grove. Capt. Wilkinson elaborated in his 1881 report to the Commissioner:

> From the start I have felt that when the government take up the children from the reservation, transports them to school, feeds, clothes, and educates them, and while it is the solemn obligation of the government to do so, the best interests of the Indians demand at this point help should cease; and so the apprentices at the different trades, and the boys who have done so much building, have been made to feel that duty to themselves, to their race, and to their government, demanded cheerful obedience, faithful service and their best energies. I should greatly deprecate any feeling among them that they ought to be paid for learning a trade, tilling the ground, or in building the monument they have in the way of buildings, etc. They enter heartily into this view,

> and spring eagerly to their work, in the knowledge that this community and State have marked their diligence and now accord them the credit due to their enterprise and success. And this inspiration is worth far more to them, in character building, than any money that could be put in their hands. I count this culture, next to English speaking, and cleanliness, the strongest element in this school.[14]

This philosophy continued and as the school expanded profits were made in all areas of industrial training , greatly enhancing the goal of self-sufficiency at the boarding schools.

The last important and continuing issue for the Forest Grove Indian School, brought up by Capt. Wilkinson in the 1881 Report, was the need for more land. He and his successors would continue to request money for additional lands for the school's farming venture. His request included the following:

> One hundred and fifty acres of land for this school, with a reasonable outlay for farming implements and stock, would produce quite sufficient to provide subsistence for 300 pupils, besides giving the absolutely required instruction in agriculture, the FOUNDATION INDUSTRY. The 4 acres upon which the school buildings stand, now

purchased at one for the school. It can now be bought for $375.[15]

By 1882 forty-five acres of land had been rented and the industries added were wagonmaking and harness making. The School had earned a profit of $772.00. Capt. Wilkinson reported that many of the boys had helped with the harvest that year, making the same wages as the whites. His report included community reaction to Indian labor:

> The local press of the country notes the fact that without the help of the boys of the Indian school some of the farmers would have had great trouble in harvesting their crops. One paper has raised its warning cry for the protection of white labor as against Indian. The boys have worked side by side with the white man, earned the same wages, and this in a section of the country where it has always been claimed that the Indian would not work.[16]

Enrollment during 1882 had reached ninety-one pupils, representing ten tribes and five agencies, and there had been additions built to two dormitories. For the first time in the reports, the number of deaths at the school had been

[illegible], eight had died and their deaths had been [illegible] to acclimatization. The "outing" system used at Carlisle had also become part of the Forest Grove system.

The role of the Board of Trustees of Pacific University at the Indian School was still being defined. The Secretary of the Interior congratulated the board for taking a "fatherly" interest, which seems to have been a limiting factor in their involvement. The Minutes of the Board of Trustees makes reference to a visit by the Board to the Indian School, but there are no further comments.The major issue in 1882, was the recalling of Capt. Wilkinson to his regiment. Several letters were written by the Board to the Secretary of War, commending the Captain and his policies. However, because it was against regulations for an officer to be away from his regiment for more than three years, the Board's appeal went unheeded, and Capt. Wilkinson was replaced by Dr. Henry Minthorn. In 1892, after returning to his regiment, Capt. Wilkinson was killed in an Indian uprising in Minnesota.

Taking over as Superintendent sometime late in 1882, Henry Minthorn, a Quaker, a physician with Mid-western roots, and the uncle of Herbert Hoover, brought an additional set of values to the Indian School. His approach, though supportive of the discipline and military structure of the school, also included an emphasis on academics. It was under Dr. Minthorn that the shortcomings of the structural components of the

School became apparent. In his 1883 Report to the Commissioner, Dr. Minthorn states:

> Want of money and room has compelled the refusal of many urgent applications for admission to the Forest Grove School. It is a great mistake that Congress should have limited to 150 the number of pupils to be received in the only training school west of the Rocky Mountains, especially when the parents readily surrender their children for a five years' course. This school is not yet fairly equipped for work. Its buildings are unsubstantial in construction and inadequate, but are as good and commodious as the meager funds therefor would build. It has no land except the lot on which the buildings stand, offered for that purpose by Pacific University.[17]

The Industries report for the year 1883 shows a marked increase in profits. The Farmer's Report showed earnings of $1,412.86; the Blacksmith Shop, $815.50; the Shoe Shop, $710.10; while the Wagonmaking showed no profit due to the death of Mr. Blood, the School's mechanic.[18] The schoolroom in 1883 concentrated on religion first, next speaking English, then reading, writing and composing, and speaking in public. The classes were divided into four grades, based on the ability of the student, and not on age.

character building demanded the constant attention of the teachers.[19]

II. The Demise of the Forest Grove Indian Training School

In 1884 Dr. Minthorn was replaced by Dr. W.V. Coffin who continued the school's policies. The primary issue confronting Dr. Coffin, who had been a teacher and physician of the School for one and one half years, was that of land. It became evident at this point that Pacific University and the town of Forest Grove were not going to be able to provide any substantial property for the school to use as a farm. The request went out across the state; the School wanted to relocate and donations of land were needed.

The other reasons cited for the relocation were an improper and inadequate water supply, poor drainage around the school, and inadequate facilities for the number of pupils, now one hundred and sixty-six, attending the school. In December of 1884, the girls' dormitory burned to the ground, further cramping the school for space, the loss of the classrooms and living quarters required either the release of the $20,000.00 appropriation or donated funds. There was also a dispute with the Pacific Board of Trustees regarding the 4 acres the School where the School was situated. Instead of selling the land to the government, the Board had decided to lease the land for $1,000.00, in perpetuity, as long as it was used for the Indian School. If

the School relocated, then the property would revert to Pacific University. The government was not interested in this proposition.

Although there were significant amounts of federal land, especially timber land, in the area of Forest Grove, the government would not consider any alternate proposals to relocating. Offers of land came form Newberg, McMinnville, and Salem. The Salem offer of 171 donated acres, that were partially cleared, and a train spur leading to the school, finally tipped the balance in favor of the Salem site.

In October of 1885, Dr. Coffin was replaced by John Lee, who met a contingent of Indian boys at the new site, and began the temporary quarters to which the pupils from Forest Grove would be moving. From December of 1885 until May of 1886, students were moved in groups from Forest Grove to the new campus. The Forest Grove Indian Training School soon became a little known piece of Oregon and National history.

CONCLUSION

To the Indian, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a period of darkness and despair. The loss of their cultural roots and the deaths of whole tribes, such as the Kalapooyas of the Willamette Valley, devastated Indian values and sense of self. To have been torn from one's family and tribe, and thrown into an environment where you were not allowed to speak your own language, or to associate with members of your own tribe, practice your own religion, where demands were made that you did not understand, must have literally broken the hearts, not to mention the spirits, of many Indian children.

To judge those who perpetrated this cruelty by current social values, is to see them as cold and calculating tyrants. We cannot empathize with the values of a time that fostered what amounted to cultural genocide. Yet, I do not believe that Richard Pratt, O.O. Howard, Melville C. Wilkinson, or Henry Minthorn were all monsters. They were pragmatists who believed that the only way that the Indian could survive westward expansion was to learn to adapt to the dominant culture. The errors in their judgement lay in their belief that the white culture was superior to the Indian culture. Nothing from their own cultural values allowed them to think any other way.

In 1881 Helen Hunt Jackson wrote A Century of Dishonor and a new awareness of how the Indians had been treated was born. This awareness did not change governmental policy, but it did provide for public that looked at and criticized the conditions of the Indian educational system.

In 1928 the Merriam Report exposed and criticized federal treatment of Indians, finally bringing an end to the government's educational policies. For a few short years there was a Renaissance in Indian education, including the Indian New Deal of the 1930's. This was short lived however, and the 1960's became another time of darkness for the Indians. I believe it is through research that we will learn to understand the values that shaped the events and actions of thepast. It is through understanding that we will learn not tomake the same mistakes, and perhaps be able to create a culture that respects and nurtures minority cultures.

The Forest Grove Indian Training School was part of an abysmal period in American history. But I only come to this conclusion through the values of my time and place. In 1880, those who founded the school thought they were doing what was right. After all, they were not shooting Indians, they were teaching them to conform to the standards of white America. They did not realize that by killing the Indian culture they were depriving the Indian of his sense of time and place.

Visiting Chemawa today, we find a culture reclaiming those things that were lost and returning them to their

children. They are learning to be Indians again, and to take pride in their heritage and culture. Once again Indian is teaching Indian, and it will be this synthesis of cultural values that will finally enable the Indian to live and prosper, fully actualized, in American culture.

NOTES

1. Thompson, Thomas, The Schooling of Native Americans. United States Office of Education, 1978. pg. 5

2. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1885. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1885. Pg LXXVII-LXXIX. (Future references to such reports will be cited as Commissioner's Report and year.)

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4. Schwantes, Carlos A., The Pacific Northwest. University of Nebraska Press, 1989. pg. 82

5. Dippie, Brian, The Vanishing American. Wesleyan University Press, 1982. pg. 146

6. Commissioner's Report, 1878, pg. 174

7. Commissioner's Report, 1880. pg. 85

8. McKeehan, pg. 90

9. Dippie, pg. 113

10. Ibid. pg. 113

11. Commissioner's Report, 1881, pg. 198

12. Ibid. pg. 199

13. Ibid. pg. 200

14. Ibid. pg. 200

15. Ibid. pg. 200

16. Commissioner's Report, 1882, pg. 26

17. Commissioner's Report, 1883, pg. XXXIII

18. Ibid. pg. 181

19. Ibid. pg. 182

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Appendix I:

The Indian Citizen

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"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

IND. INDUSTR[illegible]L SCHOOL FOREST GROVE
VOL. 1 OREGO[illegible]N. February 1984. NO. [illegible]

Edited and Published by the Indian children at Forest Grove Or[illegible] in the interests of the Forest Grove School and of the Indians of the Pacific Coast.

In presenting this the first number of "THE INDIAN CITIZEN" to our friends and the public, we ask you to overlook any mistakes that it may contain. This is our first attempt at editing and publishing a paper. our press is a very small one, we have to set up one page and print it, and then distribute the type and set up another [illegible] type is old and so is [illegible] that we have [illegible] [illegible] be [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] every- [illegible] will be glad to know what we [illegible] doing here. And the Indians on [illegible] Reservation like to know what [illegible] this school, also [illegible] to hear from Indians everywhere [illegible] they are doing and [illegible] progressing. The [illegible] work [illegible] Indians now is to [illegible] and become civilized. [illegible] was all our own but we did not need it all and we can be happier with a little of it if we learn to work and love God than we could with all of it [illegible] were [illegible] and idle. We still [illegible] and in order that it may be we must become citizens of the U.S. and of the states where we live. And we have no time to lose. The [illegible] work for [illegible]

[illegible] us to get education and learn trades and improve farms like white people [illegible] we can do it. And if we do not do it we will suffer more for we will be hungry and naked and without houses and be [illegible] and sometime killed so let us choose. And when we look at the title of our paper let us think what it means. It means [illegible] protected by the strong laws of the U. S. It means to help make those laws that are to govern us. It means that then our lives and property will not be taken from us and nothing be done [illegible] means to have [illegible] by ourselves [illegible] from [illegible]. White people always say Indians have [illegible] land [illegible] not know which is our land [illegible] white men do not clear and [illegible] land plant trees and build houses untill they know who owns that land. They say we have large reservations but we do not know if it is so we had other places before and when the white [illegible] it was better for us to move [illegible] even if we have large reservations we want to know which [illegible] and then we want to [illegible] always [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] Lewiston and Pendleton [illegible]

Appendix II

The YMCA: Annual Report 1875

Officers of the Association.

M. C. WILKINSON,
President.

E. J. NORTHRUP,
Vice President.

CURTIS C. STRONG,
Secretary.

G. J. AINSWORTH,
Treasurer.

WM. C. CHATTIN,
Gen. Secretary.

Board of Managers.

BAPTIST CHURCH.

Rev. D. J. Pierce, William Adams, A. Matterson.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

M. C. Wilkinson, L. M. Parrish, O. O. Howard.

METHODIST CHURCH.

E. J. Northrup, J. K. Gill, C. P. Yates.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Curtis C. Strong, G. J. Ainsworth, H. W. Corbett.

Committees.

FINANCE.

Jas. Steel, Ch'n, Wm. Wadhams, O. O. Howard, G. J. Ainsworth, R. Weeks.

LIBRARY, ROOMS, PRINTING AND PUBLICATION.

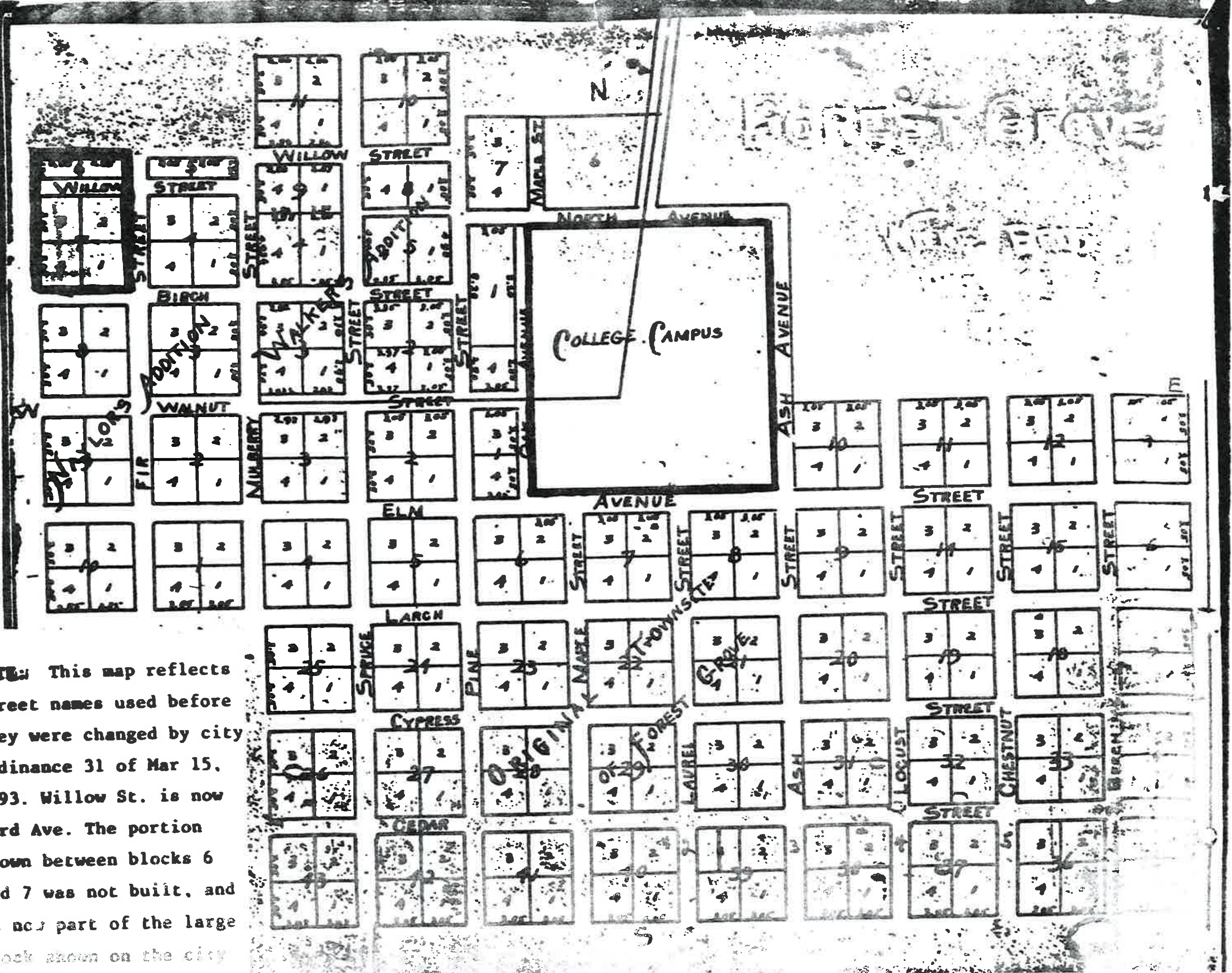
J. K. Gill, Ch'n, T. N. Strong, Wm. G. Steel, Wm. Cooke, G. Shindler.

MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

O. O. Howard, Ch'n, S. A. Durham, J. J. Browne, E. Quackenbush, E. W. Cornell.

BENEVOLENCE AND EMPLOYMENT.

W. C. Chattin, Ch'n, L. M. Parrish, C. P. Yates.



NOTE: This map reflects street names used before they were changed by city ordinance 31 of Mar 15, 1893. Willow St. is now 23rd Ave. The portion shown between blocks 6 and 7 was not built, and is no part of the large block shown on the city

Vernonia
St Helens
Columbia City
Scappoose
Schofield
Buxton
Manning
Glenwood
Banks
Mountaindale
Gales Creek
North Plains
Burlington
WASHINGTON
Forest Grove
Hillsboro
Verboort
Orenco
Cornelius
Dilley
Tualatin
Reedville
Aloha
Beaverton
Garden Home
Maplewood
PORTLAND
Russellville
Cherry Grove
Gaston
Farmington
Cooper Mtn
Metzger
Lake Oswego
Milwaukie
Laurelwood
Laurel
Tigard
Wapato
Midway
Scholls
Lake Grove
Clackamas
Damascus
Trask Mtn
Fairdale
Cove Orchard
North Yamhill
Tualatin
Six Corners
Sherwood
Gladstone
Park Place
Yamhill
West Linn
Stafford
Oregon City
Carlton
Springbrook
Newberg
Wilsonville
Dundee
YAMHILL
Canby
New Era
Redland
Bell Mtn
Lafayette
Butteville
Barlow
Aurora
McMinnville
Dayton
Donald
St Paul
Macksburg
Mulino
Highland Butte
Whiteson
Hubbard
Needy
Liberal
West Woodburn
Woodburn
WILLAMETTE
Bellevue
Amity
Sheridan
Molalla
Yoder
Gervais
Monitor
Willamina
Waconda
Ballston
Perrydale
McCoy
Hopmere
Mount Angel
Marquam
Brooks
Scotts Mills
Chemawa
Silverton
Keizer
Dallas
West Salem
Rickreall
SALEM
P O L K
Macleay
Falls City
Independence
Rosedale
Monmouth
Turner
Silver Falls City
Sweet Spring Mtn
Aumsville
Sublimity
M A R
Monmouth Peak
Stayton
Buena Vista
West Stayton
Mehama
Little North Santiam
Talbot

No.	Family No.	Name	Tribe	Agency	Sex	Date	Remarks
1		Adams, Charles	Puyallup	Puyallup	m	Feb. 23, 1880	
2		Ashue, Samuel	"	"	m	"	
3		Bowers, David	"	"	m	"	Died May [illegible]
4		James, Julia	"	"	F	"	
5		Kautz, Hugen	"	"	m	"	
6		Kautz, Augustus	"	"	m	"	
7	+1	Kalama, Peter	Nisqually	"	m	"	
8		Mucker, Jerry	Puyallup	"	m	"	
9		Porter, Annie	"	"	F	"	
10		Richard, Edward	"	"	m	"	
11		Richard, Andrew	"	"	m	"	
12		Stamp, Peter	"	"	m	"	
13		Sicade, Henry	"	"	m	"	
14		McCaw, Samuel	"	"	m	"	
15		Taylor, Julia	"	"	F	"	
16		Taylor, Harry	"	"	m	"	
17	+1	Kalama, Emma	"	"	F	"	
18		Wilton, Willie H.	"	"	m	"	
19		Lyal, Mary	"	"	F	May 28, 1880	
20	+1	Thompson, Minnie	"	"	F	"	Home July 31, [illegible]
21	+1	Lane, Ella	"	"	F	"	
22		" Celia	"	"	F	"	Died Jan [illegible]
23		Stamp, Annie	"	"	F	"	
24		Leslie, Lucy	"	"	F	"	
25	+12	Whitley, Rosa	Wasco	Warmspring	F	July 13, 1880	
26		Temple, Laura		"	F	"	
27	+6	Pitt, Lillie	Pitt River	"	F	"	
28	+17	Pitt, Sallie	"	"	F	"	
29	+16	Olney, Lizzie		"	F	"	
30	+7	Holtaquille, Etta M		"	F	"	

Total No. of Rations