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October 22, 2023

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Abstract

In this paper we investigate schools designed for American Indians and student enrollment among American Indian students from 1819 through 1940. For the 19th century, we use data from the annual reports of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to assemble a time series of schools and student enrollment in schools in the BIA system. For the 20th century we rely on data from both the BIA and the U.S. decennial censuses. National estimates are provided for the total population of American Indian schools and students across three subgroups: New York Nations; the Five Nations originally located in the Southeast and later moving to what is now the state of Oklahoma; and all Other Nations. We also document the introduction and expansion of national boarding schools in the last decades of the 19th century. For the early 20th century we describe the BIA's incorporation of standard neighborhood schools into its American Indian education program. We also incorporate estimates of the school age population for this time period along with numbers of students, to document the percentage of Native youth enrolled in school. Our data show moderate increases in the number of American Indian schools and students through the first half of the 19th century, along with fluctuations associated with the program of expulsion of American Indians from the eastern to the western part of the country and with the disruptions of the Civil War. We also describe rapid increases in American Indian schools and students, along with increases in the size of schools across the last half of the 19th century and early part of the 20th century. Particularly important for the early 20th century is the incorporation of large numbers of standard neighborhood schools into the BIA program for Native education. During the early 20th century both the number of students and the rate of enrollment increased substantially.

Introduction[3]

This paper investigates levels and trends in schools designed for American Indians and in the number of American Indians enrolled in schools across the period from 1819 through 1940. We accomplish this documentation using Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) data from 1819 through 1938 and data from the 1900-1940 federal decennial censuses[4]. Our time period begins in 1819 when the U.S. government initiated a new program of annual appropriations for the education of American Indians and ends in 1940 with the last publicly available decennial census[5].

We have several interrelated goals for our paper. Our first goal is to document long-term trends in the number of schools associated with the BIA for the education of American Indian youth. Our second goal is to examine trends in the number of American Indian students enrolled in school. A third goal is to document trends in the proportion of American Indians attending school. As part of these goals, we investigate changes in the distribution of students by type of school—day school or boarding school—and examine the average size of schools reported by the BIA. We also examine the enrollment of Native students in standard neighborhood schools that are commonly known as "public" schools.

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[3] We have received valuable input and guidance from many people concerning numerous aspects of American Indian education, history, and culture and many dimensions of census data that have been very valuable in formulating and writing this paper. These knowledgeable and helpful individuals include: Lillian Ackerman, Trent Alexander, George Alter, Eric Anderson, Laurie Arnold, Dennis Baird, Joseph Brewer, Larry Cebula, Harold Crook, Phil Deloria, Norm DeWeaver, Greg Dowd, Beth Erdey, Robbie Ethridge, Bonnie Ewing, Steve Evans, Rodney Frey, Joe Gone; Kayla Gonyon, David Hacker, Eric Hemenway, Fred Hoxie, Nicholas Jones, Susan Leonard, Carolyn Liebler, Kevin Lyons, Scott Lyons, Diane Mallickan, Rachel Marks, Kendra Maroney, Alan Marshall, Ruth McConville, Chris Miller, Melissa Parkhurst, Allen Pinkham, Josiah Pinkham, Alphonse Pitawanakwat, Nancy Shoemaker, Lindsey Willow Smith, Matthew Snipp, Jason Sprague, Zoe Higheagle Strong, Rebecca Thornton, Connie Walker, and Patsy Whitefoot. Assistance in preparation of the paper was provided by Catherine Frost, Eli Gordon, Navya Gupta, James Long, Lewis McCammon, Riley Kita, and Lindsey Willow Smith. At the same time that we appreciate the input and assistance of these individuals, we retain responsibility for any errors in the paper.

[4] Unfortunately, the agency and head of the United States agency administering national government affairs with Native Americans have been known by many different names in addition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Among these are Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Indian Bureau, Indian Department, and Indian Service (Prucha 1984, pages 1227-1229; Newland 2022, page 28; Taylor 1984, pages 33-43). We use the various names interchangeably at different places within our paper.

[5] The 1950 decennial census has been publicly released, but after the time of this analysis and writing.

To our knowledge, this is the first detailed quantitative investigation of national levels and trends in American Indian schools and school enrollment across more than a century[6]. We acknowledge the presence of a large and impressive literature documenting the experiences of Native children in schools. Part of this literature considers the broad sweep of American Indian experience with schools[7]; other parts take a local or case study approach, focusing on individual schools or Native nations—or groups of schools or nations[8]. Although this literature provides much understanding concerning the nature of American Indian schooling, it provides little information from a population perspective about the actual numbers of schools and students and how these numbers varied from time to time. It is to these latter issues that our paper makes its contributions.

Because of the newness of our research on American Indian schools and school enrollment, we take a descriptive approach of documenting levels and trends. Although we document levels and trends in American Indian schools and students from 1819 through 1940, we do not attempt a general history of American Indian education. Our focus is on the sociology and demography of American Indian education, with emphasis on the number of establishments designed to educate Natives and the extent of Native student enrollment in those establishments. Although we recognize the importance of examining such topics as the boarding school experience, our intention is to provide an overview of the different types of schools in existence and the number of Natives participating in them. In addition, an evaluation of the various political, economic, social, religious, demographic, and individual forces producing Native school attendance are beyond our immediate knowledge and scope. Instead, we leave the task of interpreting and

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[6] The recent report by the Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior provides a very extensive documentation of the boarding schools supported by the U.S. government (Newland 2022). However, it does not address levels and trends across time, although such information could be calculated from its documentation.

[7] For example, Huff 1997; Reyhner and Eder 2017; Coleman 1993; Fear-Segal 2007; Churchill 2004; Berkhofer 1972; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Adams 1995; DeJong 2007; Newland 2022. For broad studies of Native schooling in Canada, see Miller (1996) and National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (2016).

[8] For example, Baird, Mallickan, and Swagerty 2015; Lomawaima 1994; Gram 2015; Parkhurst 2014; Vučković 2008; Blackbird 1887; Karamanski 2012; Littlefield 1989; Widder 1999; Ehle 1988; Mihesuah 1998; Josephy 1965. For a specific case study in Canada see Johnston (1989).

explaining trends and differentials to subsequent research, evaluation, and discussion. Yet, while we do not aspire to provide a comprehensive history of Native involvement in Euro-American educational institutions or a detailed investigation of the causes of levels, trends, and differentials in Native involvement in such educational institutions, our research sets the stage for more detailed and comprehensive future examination into these matters.

However, in our discussion of levels and trends in Native education, we note some of the central influences on those levels and trends. These include the policies and programs of the primary United States agencies overseeing relations with Native nations--the Department of War from its establishment in 1789 to 1849 and the Department of the Interior from 1849 to the present (Newland 2022, pages 26-28; Prucha 2000, page 13). Among the important policies and programs we discuss are the Civilization Act of 1819 that formally established the long-term involvement of the U.S. government in Native education and the evolving US government policies concerning the mix of day schools, boarding schools, and the standard neighborhood public schools attended by both Native and non-Native students. We also introduce the central relevance of the U.S. government's program of ethnic cleansing that both disrupted education through the forced displacement of Indian populations, with associated catastrophes of disease and death, and led to the creation of schools for some Native students. Other very relevant factors include the establishment in what is now the state of Oklahoma and neighboring territories of large tracts of land for many groups of Natives that were called Indian Territory and the eventual elimination of Native government functions with the creation of the state of Oklahoma out of Indian Territory in the early 20th century.

Our discussion of influences on Native education also includes the involvement of Christian missionaries and other Christian religious leaders who were involved in Native schooling from the beginning of European and Euro-American involvement in the Americas. We also mention the importance of the Civil War in understanding trends in Native education during the 1860s and later.

Note that in our documentation and discussion of levels and trends, we divide the Native population into three groups: 1) the Five Nations consisting of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole nations originally located in what is now the southeast part of the United States but later banished to Indian Territory in current day Oklahoma; 2) the New York Nations; and 3) all Other Nations not included in the Five Nations or New York Nations. This geographical subdivision permits examination of how the overall picture varied across the various groups of Native nations. It also provides insights into how various government actions may have influenced groups differently.

Our research is significant on several levels. The focus of our project is on the descendants of the original inhabitants of what is now the United States--people who have experienced centuries of encounters with Euro-American ideologies, diseases, military power, thirst for land, and social and economic organizations. During the period of our study, American Indians also experienced substantial isolation, discrimination, and disadvantage. Although much of the history of epidemiological, military, and land and population loss has been written, many aspects of the social and demographic history of American Indians remain to be told. For example, what were the trajectories of schooling, educational attainment, and literacy across time? And, what were the forces that produced the trends and differential experiences and attributes? These are important issues that deserve study and motivate our present research.

The current literature on Native schooling indicates large differentials, controversies, and disagreements concerning many aspects of education among American Indians. There is an extensive literature documenting that school attendance was forced on many American Indian families and their children through various mechanisms, including through Indian police and the U.S. Army[9]. This coercive element was likely associated with the many reports of parents and children resisting, sometimes

[9] For example, Coleman 1993; Lomawaima 1994; Fear-Segal 2007; Churchill 2004; Hoxie 2001; Vučković 2008; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Child 1998; Newland 2022; DeJong 1993.

vigorously, the requirement to attend school[10]. In contrast, there are also many accounts of American Indians being motivated by a variety of reasons to desire and seek Euro-American schooling and reading and writing skills for themselves or for their children[11]

There are also disagreements and controversies about the experiences of American Indian children in schools and the effects of those experiences on adult life. There are numerous accounts of Native school children experiencing many negative experiences in these schools, including being separated from their families and experiencing poor facilities, severe discipline, neglect, abuse, poor nutrition, and high levels of illness and mortality, with these experiences sometimes leading to young people running away from school[12]. At same time, there are also many accounts of Native children reporting positive experiences in these schools[13]. In addition, many American Indians learned few skills of value for adult life and/or suffered in adulthood because of their school experiences[14], but many others obtained skills in school, including reading, writing, and arithmetic[15]. Despite the many disagreements and controversies, there is widespread agreement that it was very common for Euro-American schools to

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[10] For example, Coleman 1993; Lomawaima 1994; Fear-Segal 2007; Gram 2015; Churchill 2004; Berkhofer 1972; Vučković 2008; Karamanski 2012; Widder 1999; Ehle 1988; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Child 1998; Adams 1995; Calloway 2010.

[11] For example, Crum 2007; Josephy 1965; Baird, Mallickan, and Swagerty 2015; Huff 1997; Reyhner and Eder 2017; Lomawaima 1994; Fear-Segal 2007; Gram 2015; Hoxie 2001; Adams 1995; Berkhofer 1972; Cleland 1992; Vučković 2008; Kidwell 1995; Blackbird 1887; Karamanski 2012; Littlefield 1989; Widder 1999; Ehle 1988; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Child 1998; Mihesuah 1998; McClurken 2007; Calloway 2010; DeJong 1993; Wallace 1970, 1999; Hoxie 2012).

[12] For example, Reyhner and Eder 2017; Coleman 1993; Lomawaima 1994; Fear-Segal 2007; Churchill 2004; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Child 1998; Adams 1995; DeJong 1993, 2007; Newland 2022; Calloway 2010.

[13] For example, Reyhner and Eder 2017; Lomawaima 1994; Vučković 2008; Littlefield 1989; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Adams 1995

[14] For example, Coleman 1993; Lomawaima 1994; Churchill 2004; Vučković 2008; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Newland 2022.

[15] For example, Coleman 1993; Lomawaima 1994; Berkhofer 1972; Vučković 2008; Karamanski 2012; Littlefield 1989; Ehle 1988; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Adams 1995; Mihesuah 1998; Hoxie 2012).

teach Native children not only Euro-American ways but also to work vigorously to produce cultural genocide by extinguishing Native culture, language, religion, and lifestyles[16].

It is likely that most of the observations made in this literature—both positive and negative—were experienced by at least some—and probably many—Native students participating in Euro-American education, and some likely had both positive and negative experiences. There were great differences in school philosophies, policies, and programs across the history of the program, and there were differences among the various schools themselves (DeJong 2020, 2021; Coleman 1993). Individual student experiences also varied within schools, as students matured and interacted with a range of teachers and administrators who themselves had different beliefs, values, and dispositions. These variations were likely reflected in real differences across time and place in the experiences of individuals and groups. The different perspectives and controversies over the nature of American Indian schools may also reflect to some extent differences in the emphases of the writers. While we recognize the importance of understanding these issues in the lives of American Indians—and evaluating the different experiences and perspectives--such investigations are outside the scope of this research. We approach our project from the disciplines of sociology and demography, with the goals of documenting levels and trends of schools and student enrollment over more than a century. We believe that the documentation of such levels and trends has relevance for the research literatures outlined above, but we leave those implications for future research and explanation.

We also view our work as a beginning rather than an end point for documenting levels and trends in schools and student enrollments among American Indians. We know that this is an exceptionally large topic and that the data are often ambiguous and error-ridden, making definitive conclusions difficult.

[16] For example, Coleman 1993; Fear-Segal 2007; Gram 2015; Parkhurst 2014; Churchill 2004; Vučković 2008; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006; Child 1998; Adams 1995; and Newland 2022.

Nevertheless, we are optimistic that our work can be a reasonable beginning point for more precise and complete empirical work on this topic.

We recognize as we address these aims that the concepts of “race” and “American Indian” have long been central in American society, the BIA, and the decennial censuses, but both are problematic terms. Despite the long tradition of racial categorization in American society, the BIA, and the censuses, race has become a suspect category, with no scientific basis for distinguishing among groups identified as separate races. Nevertheless, race continues to be a social category widely used in society, the BIA, and the decennial censuses (Hirschman 2004; American Anthropological Association 1998; Jacobson 2002; Sollors 2002; Bentley 2003; Office of Management and Budget 1997).

The category of “American Indian” was, of course, not originally created by Native peoples of what is now known as the Western Hemisphere and the Americas. Before Christopher Columbus, there was no ”America”, and India was in Asia. The Natives of the now-called Western Hemisphere thought of themselves by specific names such as Nimiipuu, Haudenosanee, Odawa, and Lakota (Lyons 2010, pages 66-69; Thornton 1987, pages 186-189; Nagel 1996, pages 3-4). The American Indian category was invented by Europeans as part of their colonization process to refer in general to the original peoples of the hemisphere and their descendants. These considerations have led to the creation of such terms as “Native Americans”, “First Nations”, “First Peoples”, and “Indigenous Peoples”. There are, however, also issues with these terms. For example, the term “native Americans” is sometimes used to refer to people who were themselves born in what is now known as America rather than to people who were descendants of people living in America before Columbus. This pattern is reflected in the Census Bureau’s long-time pattern of dividing the White population into those who were born in the U.S.--“the native born”--and those who were born elsewhere--“the foreign born”.

We recognize that individuals and groups descended from inhabitants of the lands that became known as the Americas after Columbus landed in 1492 are free to use any of the terms discussed above--

or others--to describe or identify themselves. For the purposes of this paper we have chosen to use these general terms interchangeably in referring to the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. At the same time, we rely primarily on the category of "American Indian" for two reasons. First, American Indian is the category used by the BIA and the Census Bureau in the data we use. Second, many descendants of people resident in the Western Hemisphere before Columbus refer to themselves as American Indians (Lyons 2010, pages 66-69)[17] . We also frequently use the term "Native" as a shorthand term for "American Indian". Nevertheless, as we use these terms, we recognize the colonial nature of the categories.

We also note that many Europeans and Euro-Americans frequently used a hierarchical model or paradigm that described some populations as uncivilized, rude, backward, barbarous, savage, wild, and undeveloped, while describing other populations as civilized, polished, and developed, with civilizing or development, being the process transforming populations from the former categories to the latter categories (Berkhofer 1978; Prucha 1984; Thornton 2005; Williams 1985). The latter categories were frequently applied by Europeans and Euro Americans to themselves and the former categories to Native Americans. We do not use this model and terminology because of their hierarchical nature and implications of cross-cultural superiority and inferiority, but use this language when quoting the historical literature itself.

Native American Education and the Introduction of Euro-American Schooling

It is important to note that while we begin our period for studying First Nations education in the United States in 1819, Native families and communities had been educating their children about Native culture since the beginning of time. Like all societies, First Americans taught their children how they

[17] This observation can be illustrated by data from the 2000 census that asked people: "What is your ancestry or ethnic origin?" People could provide one or more ancestries. Of those who indicated "Native American" or "American Indian" as their first ancestry, 73 percent indicated "American Indian" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2007, Table 1). The number reporting themselves as "Native American" was only slightly higher than the number reporting "Indian" without any modifier, and it is very likely that many of those saying "Indian" without a modifier would have thought of themselves as "American Indian".

believed the world worked and how people should live in that world, providing knowledge about Native society and culture, including such things as economics, religion, language, clothing styles, morality, and family relations. Many forms of Native socialization and education would also continue well after the formation of Euro-American schools for Native education. The schools provided and maintained by Euro-Americans were, of course, different from Native education in structure and in the content they disseminated, but were mechanisms for educating and socializing young people just as Native education and socialization had been doing for eons of time (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate 1969, pages 139-142)[18]. This means that our research is about Euro-American education among American Indians and not about Native education more generally.

In addition, 1819 does not come close to representing the timing of the introduction of European education to Native Americans. One observer has noted that European rulers "felt bound to advance the cause of Christianity" and "missionaries attended every expedition to the New World", flocking "over to devote themselves to the great work" (Shea 1855, page 20). Although there may have been European expeditions to the Americas with no missionaries, missionary activity in North America was often used as a rationale for colonization efforts, and European and colonial governments gave various kinds of support to the missionizing efforts (Beaver 1966, pages 7-45; DeJong 1993, pages 22-33; Weber 1999, pages 3-7). We know that Christian missionaries were active in North America from the 1600s onward and in some places earlier (Shea 1855; Fletcher 1888; Szasz 2007; Gram 2015; Szasz and Ryan 1988; McLoughlin 1986, 1993; Kidwell 1995; Debo 1961; Berkhofer 1972; Beaver 1966; Newland 2022; Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate 1969; Rahill 1953; DeJong 1993; Weber 1999). In addition, Christian missionaries came with the purpose of teaching more than Christian piety, but to promulgating to American Indians more generally the beliefs of Euro-Americans about how the world works, how Natives should live in the world, and what Natives should believe and value. In some

[18] See Szasz (2007), Fear-Segal (2007), and DeJong (1993) for discussions of different educational forms among Euro-Americans and American Indians.

ways these missionary activities took the form of schools (Kidwell 1995; Prucha 1984; Beaver 1966; Newland 2022; Wallace 1999; Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate 1969).

Although the American Revolution was a huge disruptive force, missionary efforts toward Native Americans continued during the Revolution, sometimes with the support of government authorities (Fletcher 1888; Beaver 1966, pages 53-79). As early as 1775, the American Continental Congress began appropriating funds to a Congregational minister, Eleazar Wheelock, to educate American Indian youth at Dartmouth College (Calloway 2010, pages 40-42; Fletcher 1888, page 161; Beaver 1966, pages 57-58). Missionary work among Native Americans expanded substantially after the Revolution, with support from the federal government to establish schools for Native people (McLoughlin 1986; Prucha 1984; Harmon 1969; Beaver 1966, pages 53-79; Wallace 1970, pages 177-178, 274-315; Wallace 1999, pages 203-240, 276-317). The U.S. government also promised school aid to various Native nations and began the practice of promising education assistance to Native nations in treaties (Fletcher 1888, pages 161-162; Harmon 1969, pages 157-158).

From early in United States history many citizens and government officials were very interested in the First Nations people being transformed from what Euro-Americans called uncivilized to what they called civilized. As summarized by Francis Paul Prucha, for these citizens and government officials, "*To civilize*, meant to bring to a state of civility out of a state of rudeness and barbarism, to enlighten and refine. It meant as a minimum to lead persons who lived a natural life in the wilderness, relying upon hunting and gathering, to a state of society dependent upon agriculture and domestic arts (spinning and weaving); to this was added instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the truths of the Christian religion" (Prucha 1984, page 136).

From the very beginning, this so-called civilization project of Euro-Americans emphasized changing Native economic organization and land use (Miller and Ethridge 2023; Prucha 1984; Wallace 1999; Beaver 1966; Newland 2022; Thornton 2005; Hämäläinen 2022; Witgen 2022). Although Native

economies frequently included agricultural elements, they also often included elements of hunting and gathering over extensive geographical space. U.S. government policy sought to transform Native economies through the adoption of Euro-American agricultural patterns, including both intensive horticulture and raising animals. In the 1790s and later, U.S. legislation authorized government provisions be made available to American Indians—often through missionary channels--for such things as domestic animals, equipment, and training for adopting Euro-American agriculture (Prucha 1984; Wallace 1970, 1999; Miller and Ethridge 2023). For example, as early as 1793, an act of Congress stated: "That in order to promote civilization among the friendly Indian tribes, and to secure the continuance of their friendship, it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States, to cause them to be furnished with useful domestic animals, and implements of husbandry, and also to furnish them with goods or money, in such proportions, as he shall judge proper, and to appoint such persons, from time to time, as temporary agents, to reside among the Indians, as he shall think proper: *Provided,* That the whole amount of such presents, and allowance to such agents, shall not exceed twenty thousand dollars per annum" (Statutes at Large. 1793, Volume 1, page 331[19]). This policy was implemented with considerable energy during the early 1800s (Prucha 1984, pages 142-144).

This government policy of substituting Euro-American economic organization for Native ones was directly related to "helping the whites acquire desirable land, and of changing the Indian's economy so that he would be content with less land" (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate (1969, pages 142-146; also see DeJong 2020, pages ix-xii; Calloway 2010, pages 58-59; Witgen 2022, pages 69-73; Wallace 1999, pages 203-240; Prucha 1984, pages 135-142; Miller and Ethridge 2023, pages 5-9). This can be seen in an 1803 message from President Thomas Jefferson to Congress where he noted that the "Indian tribes …….have for a considerable time been growing more and more uneasy at the constant diminution of the territory they occupy…….and the policy has long been gaining

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[19] Statutes at Large. 1793. "An Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes", Volume 1, pages 329-332. https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/llsl//llsl-c2/llsl-c2.pdf.

strength with them of refusing absolutely all further sale on any conditions….” Jefferson went on to recommend measures that would “counteract this policy of theirs and to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for….” One particular measure he outlined was “To encourage them [Natives] to abandon hunting, to apply to the raising stock, to agriculture, and domestic manufacture, and thereby prove to themselves that less land and labor will maintain them in this better than in their former mode of living. The extensive forests necessary in the hunting life will then become useless, and they will see advantage in exchanging them for the means of improving their farms and of increasing their domestic comforts” (Jefferson statement in Prucha 2000, pages 21-22; also Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate 1969, pages 142-146 and Newland 2022, pages 20-22).

The transformation of First Nations people into Euro-American culture and economic and social ways of life was seen as an important governmental policy, and schools and Euro-American education were increasingly seen as mechanisms to produce this transformation (Calloway 2010, pages 58-59; DeJong 2020, pages ix-xiii; Prucha 1984, pages 139-142). Interest in the U.S. government providing Euro-American education to Natives increased substantially during the first two decades of the 19th century, with the subsidization of Christian mission schools as an important mechanism (Prucha 1984, pages 145-151).

The campaign for government funding of Native education through missionaries reached a new level in 1816 with the appointment of Thomas McKenney to oversee U.S. government relations with the Native nations. McKenney and other influential people campaigned vigorously for a “national school system for the Indians” (Prucha 1984, page 150). The election of James Monroe as president in 1816 also added energy to this effort for a program of schools for Natives, as his first State of the Union Address in December 1817 asked Congress to consider programs to advance Native “improvement in the arts of civilized life” (Monroe 1817). His second State of the Union Address in November 1818 again called upon Congress to adopt “some benevolent provisions, having these objects in view” (Monroe 1818). In addition, a House committee report in January 1818 stated that “every measure that would tend to civilize

those savage tribes ought to be pursued by the United States." The committee went on to state that "nothing which it is in the power of Government to do would have a more direct tendency to produce this desirable object than the establishment of schools at convenient and safe places amongst those tribes friendly to us". Such an education program, the Committee stated, "would be attended with beneficial effects both to the United States and the Indian tribes". The House committee described such an effort as an "experiment [that] may be tried at a very small expense" (U.S. House of Representatives, 15th Congress. 1818, pp. 150-151).

This effort culminated in March 1819 when the U.S. government passed "An Act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements" that allocated an annual sum of $10,000 "for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes……. and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization". Native people were to be instructed by "capable people of good moral character…… in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic". The law further required that "an account of the expenditure of the money, and proceedings in execution of the foregoing provisions, shall be laid annually before Congress" (Statutes at Large. 1819, Volume 3, pages 516-517[20]; reprinted in Prucha 2000, page 33). This Civilization Fund led to the establishment of a systematic federal education program for American Indians that "became a central component of federal Indian policy" (Calloway 2010, page 73; also see Fletcher 1888; Drake 1993). Although this program had its critics, it continued in various forms through the present[21].

In addition, the requirement of annual reports from the BIA motivated the documentation of, among other things, the annual numbers of American Indian schools and students participating in that

[20] Statutes at Large. 1819. An Act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements. Volume 3, pages 516-517. https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/llsl//llsl-c15/llsl-c15.pdf.

[21] The Civilization Fund itself remained in place until 1873 (Oberly 1885, page LXXIX).

program. These annual BIA reports are, thus, an important source of empirical data, interpretation, and explanation used in this paper.

Data and Methods

We now turn to our primary data sources, methods for compiling our data, and the empirical measures of "schools", "students", and "school age population" that we use. We describe the education system established under the 1819 Civilization Act for American Indians and the data collected by the BIA about Native schools and students between 1819 and 1938. We then describe the decennial census program and the data it generated about Native school enrollment from 1900 through 1940.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Annual Reports

As mentioned earlier, the Civilization Fund established in 1819 both provided systematic and on-going funds for American Indian education and required an annual accounting of the use of those funds and the schools and students it supported. It was through the BIA annual reports that this reporting responsibility was accomplished. Although the program of federally funded American Indian education evolved across time, the practice of the BIA submitting annual reports concerning the schooling of Natives continued across our time period from 1819 through 1938 (and beyond). We obtained our BIA data about the number of schools, and the number of students of school age from these reports.

We are not aware of precise BIA statements about the schools and students included in those reports. We do know that these reports included coverage of American Indian schools and students in the schools funded, at least in part, by the 1819 act. The BIA also reported data about schools funded by the Native nations themselves. In many instances these funds were received from the U.S. government as partial payment for land ceded by the Native nations in treaties with the government (Prucha 1979, 1984; Harmon 1969; Kidwell 1995). One early example of this is the Choctaw Academy established in Kentucky, which was funded both by treaty money provided by the Choctaw Nation and by the

Civilization Fund (Drake 1993; Prucha 1984). We included the Choctaw Academy in the years it was included in the BIA reports, without regard to its funding source. In addition, some Native individuals and nations provided funds to religious schools for the operation of schools for their children.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the BIA reports also included information about students attending standard community neighborhood schools. This occurred as the BIA contracted with local school districts to educate Native students in return for BIA payments. Later, the BIA reported both students where there were such contracts with local school districts and students without this kind of contract between the BIA and local school districts. Native students attending standard community neighborhood schools without some connection to the BIA program were probably not included in these BIA reports.

These considerations suggest that our time series of Native schooling is largely one of schools and students that were associated with the BIA in some way. They also suggest that independent schools outside the purview of the BIA were not included in the BIA annual reports. As a result, they are not included in our analyses using information from those BIA reports. This is, of course, an important potential source of undercount of schools and students in the country. We have not been able to assess the magnitude of this under-reporting.

Over the course of its history, the BIA provided funds for and reported information about a wide array of different kinds of schools for American Indians. In addition to academic topics, these schools frequently included manual or vocational topics, and some were almost entirely devoted to manual topics. There were local and small day schools, reservation boarding schools, and off-reservation boarding schools (Fletcher 1888, page 168; Prucha 1984). In addition, as we noted earlier, in the later years the BIA extended its reach to support Native enrollment in standard community neighborhood schools (Prucha 1979).

Being funded from the federal allocation does not mean that the reported schools were administered by and totally funded federally. In fact, the original program in 1819 intended for the American Indian education program to be sponsored and administered by other organizations and individuals who were interested in Native education (Fletcher 1888, pages 163-164; DeJong 1993, page 57-70). In the early years of the program the reported schools were entirely sponsored and administered by missionary and benevolent societies. Fletcher (1888, page 167) wrote that this pattern continued up to 1873, with the schools "maintained either wholly by missionaries or jointly with the aid of the Government, with the exception of a few schools supported wholly from tribal funds and under the charge of United States teachers"; also DeJong 1993, pages 57-70. Fletcher went on to state that about this time (1873) "Government schools began to be established; day-schools first, and later boarding-schools, the number increasing with each year" (page 167).

Furthermore, at least in the early years, the federal funding comprised only a small fraction of the total funding for the schools—approximately 7 percent in both 1824 and 1825, with the rest coming from private contributions and Native resources (Fletcher 1888, page 165; also Newland 2022, pages 43- 45 and Drake 1993). Although the non-federal money in the early years was primarily private (missionary) money, in later years it was primarily from the Natives themselves (Fletcher 1888, pages 165-167).

The very important role of Christian churches in American Indian education would extend well past the early 1870s. In fact, in 1905 the BIA report indicated that "The education of Indian children was practically in the hands of the religious associations alone during the first hundred years of our national history" (Office of Indian Affairs 1905, page 34). This may seem surprising given the constitutional separation of church and state, and, indeed, during the late 19th and early 20th century church-state issues in this arena did become salient and controversial (Office of Indian Affairs 1905, pages 34-40; Prucha 1979; Newland 2022, pages 45-50; DeJong 2020, page 101). Protestant-Catholic competition heightened these church-state issues during this period as Protestants campaigned to limit government mission school payments to Catholics. As a result, missionary schools for Natives declined for a period but then

increased again. We found missionary schools in the BIA counts for all years included in our time series[22].

Our compilation of a time series of Native schools and student enrollment was complicated by the fact that the relations of the federal government with the Five Nations of Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole and the New York Nations sometimes differed from those of the U.S. with other Native nations (Prucha 1984, pages 897-916). We had originally planned to use an 1823-1886 time series of American Indian schools and students prepared and published by Alice Fletcher in 1888 (page 197) and then to extend the Fletcher time series to 1940[23]. However, footnotes in Fletcher's time series indicated that in a small number of years, the reported numbers did not include data from either the New York Nations or the Five Nations, or both. Further examination of the original sources for the Fletcher data suggested that differences in population coverage may have been quite widespread, extending past the 1823-1886 period covered by Fletcher and into the twentieth century. In some years government reports covered schools in all parts of the country and data were reported for all regions. In other years Native education in New York was handled by the state government rather than the BIA. Similarly, in some periods, the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole conducted their own educational programs (DeJong 1993, pages 86-106). As a result, the BIA annual reports for those years often did not include information on education among the New York Natives or among the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole. We have not searched the Five Nations records and New York Nations and New York state records for independent information about these programs when they were operated independently of the BIA.

[22] We have been unable to find the list of schools for 1826 and just have summary counts of schools and students. While we have been unable to verify the existence of missionary schools in 1826, we expect that there were some.
[23] The 1888 Fletcher report was prepared for the Interior Department in response to an 1885 resolution of the U.S. Senate requesting that the Secretary of the Interior provide a report "showing the progress of Indian education and civilization" (quoted in Fletcher 1888, page 9).

Before proceeding to a discussion of our approach to handling this issue of inconsistent population coverage in a time series, we note that the flawed Fletcher time series was republished in a 1987 compilation of Native American historical statistics (Stuart 1987, page 165). In addition, a 1909 BIA report contained an annual time series from 1877 through 1909 about the national total number of Native schools and the average attendance of students at those schools (Office of Indian Affairs 1909, page 87). We checked the numbers in this BIA 1877-1909 time series for several years (1877, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, 1900, and 1905) against the numbers in the BIA reports for those same years and learned that each of the selected 1877-1905 numbers reported in 1909 did not include data from the Five Nations and in some years from New York as well[24]. These problems with the BIA 1877-1909 time

[24] The BIA 1877-1909 time series reported the 1877 national number of schools as 150, while the 1877 BIA report listed the national number of schools as 330 for that year. The BIA 1877-1909 time series reported the national average attendance for 1877 as 3,598, whereas the 1877 BIA annual report for the same year reported an average attendance of 3,598, but indicated that the "Five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory are not represented in this number" (pages 304-305). The BIA 1877-1909 times series reported the national number of schools for 1880 as 169 and the 1880 national average attendance as 4,651, whereas the 1880 BIA annual report indicated that the number of schools for 1880 was 169 and the average attendance was 4,651for "Other Indian tribes" besides the "Five civilized tribes in Indian Territory" (pages 256-257). The BIA 1877-1909 time series reported the national number of schools for 1885 as 200 and average national attendance as 8,143 whereas the 1885 BIA annual report indicated that the number of schools that year was 200 and the average attendance was 8,143 for the schools "supported in whole or in part by the Government", but with the following schools excluded: those "supported by the state of New York, those "supported by religious societies", and those "in the Union Agency—the agency of the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory" (page CII). The BIA 1877-1909 times series reported the national average attendance as 12,232 for 1890, whereas the 1890 BIA annual report represents the same number of 12,232 for that year as the summary of a list of schools that does not include the Five Nations or the New York Nations (pages 324-335); also see page XV of the 1890 BIA annual report that explicitly states that the "total enrollment" number in 1890 is "exclusive of the Indians of New York State and the Five Civilized Tribes", and presumably the same is true of "average attendance". The BIA 1877-1909 time series reported the national average attendance at 18,188 for 1895 whereas the BIA annual report for 1895 indicates that the average attendance number of 18,188 for 1895 does "not include schools among the Five Civilized Tribes nor those which the State of New York provides for her Indians" (page 3); pages 493-506 of the same 1895 report also provides the average attendance number of 18,188 as a summary of a list of schools that does not include New York Nations or Five Nations data. The situations for 1900 and 1905 are very similar to the situation for 1895. The number from the BIA 1877-1909 time series for average attendance in 1900 is identical to the 1900 number from the BIA annual report that year (page 22 and pages 622-635), and the number from the BIA 1877-1909 time series for average attendance in 1905 is identical to the 1905 number from the BIA annual report that year (page 50 and pages 505-515), yet both the 1900 and 1905 annual reports indicate that the numbers reported do not include the New York and Five Nations. As we discuss later, we use the terminology of "Five Nations" to indicate the group the BIA calls the "Five Civilized Tribes".

series, unfortunately, also affected the 1877-1900 time series that David Wallace Adams published of schools and student attendance in his excellent book, as he relied on the BIA 1877-1909 time series (Adams 1995, page 58)[25].

Issues of population coverage also affected another section of Adams's excellent book—his 1900-1925 time series of the national numbers of enrolled American Indian students categorized by type of school (pages 319-320). For this 1900-1925 time series Adams relied on the annual BIA reports for each of the years he covered, 1900, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, and 1925. When we compared the numbers reported by Adams with the numbers in the annual BIA reports, we found that his numbers for the national population of school enrollment for 1915, 1920, and 1925 matched those reported by the BIA for those years, but his numbers for 1900, 1905, and 1910 did not. Instead his numbers for 1900 and 1905 indicate the BIA national levels minus the New York Nations and the Five Nations, and his numbers for 1910 are based on the BIA national levels minus the Five Nations[26].

The fact that the BIA reports sometimes included data for the New York Nations and the Five Nations of Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole, but sometimes did not, made it impossible to assemble a consistent time series for the U.S. over the entire period covered by our research. Fortunately, the BIA annual reports frequently reported data separately for the different groups of Native nations. This permitted us to divide the First Nations population into three groups of nations, as we describe below, and then compile our time series separately for the three groups. When we had data

[25] This paragraph and the previous and following ones were motivated by a desire to demonstrate the difficulties of working with the BIA data and to alert readers to several sources of data that have problems with inconsistent population coverage. We also wanted to explain why some of our numbers vary from those reported by Fletcher, Stuart, Adams, and the BIA 1877-1909 time series. We readily admit that the numbers and interpretations we provide may include errors and welcome readers bringing any errors they discover to our attention.

[26] Our sources for the 1900-1925 BIA annual report numbers are as follows: 1900, page 22 and 622-635; 1905, pages 50-51 and 505-515; 1910, page 56; 1915, pages 149-155; 1920, pages 142-147; 1925, pages 40-44. While the numbers reported by Adams for 1910 are based on the BIA numbers "Exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes", we could not discern the origins of some of his numbers. As we discuss later, we use the term "Five Nations" for the group the BIA calls the "Five Civilized Tribes".

for all three groups, we aggregated the data into time series for the total population. This approach thus produced interrupted time series for some nations, but also allowed comparison of levels and trends across the three groups of nations for some years.

The three groups used in our time series are the Five Nations; the New York Nations; and all Other Nations. The Five Nations consist of the combined five large nations of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole originating in the southeastern part of the United States. The BIA and others frequently labeled these Five Nations as the five "civilized tribes", but we do not use this terminology because we reject the civilization language that divides groups into the "civilized" and the "uncivilized" with hierarchical levels suggested. Most people in these Five Nations were later deported to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma, but some Cherokees managed to avoid expulsion to Indian Territory by hiding in the mountains--primarily in North Carolina--and were frequently referred to as Eastern Band of Cherokee (Saunt 2020, pages 276-277). To our knowledge, the Eastern Cherokee Natives were always categorized separately in the BIA reports from those Cherokee the BIA categorized as "civilized" and we categorize as part of the Five Nations[27]. For this reason, we categorized the relatively small number of these Eastern Cherokee as being part of the Other Nations.

We categorized the New York Nations as their own group until 1910. We took a different strategy from 1910 through 1936 because the BIA categorization strategy during this period was unclear. Sometimes New York was listed separately and in other years it appears to have been listed with the Other Nations. In the years between 1910 and 1936 that New York was listed separately, we added its

[27] The Eastern Band of Cherokee was recognized by the BIA in 1868 as its own distinct Native nation (Saunt 2020, pages 276-277). Beginning with 1877 in our time series, the BIA recognized most Cherokees as part of the group we call the Five Nations, but also recognized the Eastern Cherokee group that they identified as residing in some combination of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. To our knowledge, the Eastern Cherokee group was never included in the BIA reports with the group we have labeled Five Nations and was always included with the group we categorize as Other Nations. There were also Choctaws who continued living in Mississippi (Kidwell 1995, pages 116-175), and we understand that BIA reports did not include them with the Five Nations then residing in Indian Territory.

number to the Other Nations and when New York was not listed separately, we assumed that it was included with the Other Nations. We believe that this confusion had only a minor effect on the Other Nations numbers because the number of students listed as New York during this period was relatively small (870 or fewer). Thus, while the Other Nations category from 1910 onward included the New York Nations, before 1910 the Other Nations category included only groups outside New York and groups that were not part of the Five Nations.

In some instances it was not clear how to categorize schools and their students into one of our three categories. One example of this was the previously mentioned Choctaw Academy that we categorized as a Five Nations school because of its location in Kentucky and affiliation with the Choctaw Nation even though it also included some students from groups that were not part of the Five Nations. The BIA reports were not always clear how this issue was handled, leading us to count all Choctaw Academy students included in BIA reports as students of the Five Nations.

Our review of the Fletcher material and the BIA reports also revealed concerns about the variable quality of the data. The data provided in the BIA reports and in the Fletcher time series were assembled from the annual reports of government agents who gathered the information about schools and pupils in their local areas and forwarded it to the federal level where it was accumulated and published in an overall report. These overall BIA reports often complained that the reports from individual agents were not timely, and some overall BIA reports were explicit in stating that non-trivial numbers of agents failed to send their reports in time to be included in the overall reports. Also, in some years the numbers in the overall BIA reports were obtained by using the data gathered from agents for the previous year, and at other times, it appears that the data for the unreported schools were simply left out of the overall reports. There were also instances where one or more schools were reported but without corresponding reports of the number of students.

The tilting of the data towards undercounts of schools and students may have been at least partially compensated for by forces inflating the numbers. There were likely financial pressures motivating school authorities to exaggerate the number of students reported. The amount of federal money provided to individual agencies and schools often depended on the number of students enrolled in school (Gram 2015, pages 23-56; Drake 1993). Gram (2015) documented that this led to individual agencies and schools actively recruiting to maximize the number of students and the amount of federal funds such students would generate. In addition, Drake (1993) documented that at least one school operated as a business for the personal gain of the school administrator, and reports in this school were "padded" to maximize the amount of federal funds received (Drake 1993, pages 283-284). It is unlikely that this was the only school that inflated its reported enrollment to enhance the flow of federal funds—thereby biasing upwards the counts in the reported data.

Because of these data coverage and quality concerns and limited project resources, we used a sampling approach that helped identify the years with the most accurate data. We started by selecting a 20 percent sample of all years included in the BIA reports—beginning with years ending in the digits zero or five. We then reviewed the information in the BIA reports for these and surrounding years to choose the years where the overall reported data looked to be the most complete.

Although we made deliberate efforts to choose years for which the data are the most reliable, we still have concerns about data coverage and quality for the years we selected. We considered making adjustments in the data to eliminate inconsistencies but did not do so because we did not have a reliable basis for it. These considerations make us approach our data series with substantial caution, as the data are neither precise or without error. At the same time, we believe that the data are sufficiently complete and precise to provide overall impressions of time trends across the period examined.

The first year for which we report data concerning schools and students reported by the BIA is 1819 and the last year is 1938. Appendix Table 1 lists the years included in our time series, along with information by year about our data sources, definitions, and explanations.

Appendix Table 1 indicates that the BIA designation of the students enumerated varied across the years covered. For the years included in our analyses between 1821 and 1874, the enumerated students were listed simply as "scholars" or "pupils" without further explanation. For 1877, 1880, and 1884, student numbers were listed as the number of scholars/pupils attending school one month or more during the year. Then, from 1890 through 1910 and again from 1921 through 1938, the BIA labeled the reported numbers of students as enrollment, but in 1911 and 1915 the label was "Indian children in school".

This review of BIA specifications of its listed numbers suggest that its numbers align closer with the concept of enrollment than attendance. This seems especially likely for the period from 1877 onward as the BIA reports for these years usually referred to the reported students as being enrolled or attending at least once in the year. For some of the later years, the BIA also reported attendance (or average attendance), and these numbers were, as expected, lower than the enrollment numbers. Things are more ambiguous for the years examined before 1877, as listed students were reported simply as scholars or pupils. However, we believe that it is likely that these numbers reflect an enrollment concept more than an attendance concept as it would have been easier for agents to compile and report enrollment rather than attendance. Assuming that the pre-1877 concept used was enrollment rather than attendance, the numbers that we have compiled represent a time series that approximates that of enrollment and not attendance.

There are many reasons that attendance would have been significantly lower than enrollment—a phenomenon that was acknowledged in the annual BIA reports. For example, an 1821 report of the superintendent of one school indicated that: "As some of the scholars who board at home have a great distance to walk, they are not all constant attendants, and the number of those who attend at all is not so great as when the schools first commenced" (Calhoun 1822b, page 278). School attendance would have

also been depressed by such factors as obligations at home, bad weather, sickness, death, lack of interest, unpleasant school conditions, and running away.

Appendix Table 1 also indicates the availability of information about the number of school age American Indians for the year 1911 and later. We have not seen documentation of where the BIA obtained its school age population data, but assume that it came from the annual BIA censuses of reservations conducted from 1885 through 1940 (Young-DeMarco 2021). For some years, the BIA specified the school age population to be ages 6-18, but in other years no specification of the age range was provided.

We noted earlier that our estimates of the number of children attending school are likely subject to a great deal of measurement error. We now note that our estimates of the number of school age children are also likely affected by extensive measurement error. With substantial measurement error in both the numerator and denominator of our enrollment rates, those rates reflect two sources of measurement error—making them especially subject to large amounts of measurement unreliability. Consequently, we view our enrollment rate estimates as being very imprecise.

The basic data assembled from the BIA reports are provided in four Appendix tables: Appendix Table 2 provides basic BIA data on the number of schools and students and average enrollment per school. Appendix Table 3 provides basic BIA information for some years concerning the distribution of schools among boarding schools and day schools, and Appendix Table 4 provides basic BIA information for the numbers of students at boarding schools, day schools, and standard neighborhood schools designed for both Native and non-Native students. Appendix Table 5 provides BIA data about the school age population, school enrollment, and the proportion of Native youth enrolled in school. As documented in these Appendix tables, data were not available for all years, and in some years only pieces of the information were available. In the results section we provide and discuss figures and additional tables summarizing trends in Native schooling, as documented by the BIA reports.

Decennial Census Data

In addition to the annual BIA school reports, we use data collected in the decennial censuses conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The decennial census began in 1790 and enumerated everyone in the country every ten years except for American Indians who were living on reservations or in other largely Native communities. This practice of excluding a large portion of the Native population changed in 1890 so that the census aimed to include all American Indians. The data used in this paper for American Indians were collected with the same enumeration schedules used for the general population. Although each of the censuses from 1890 through 1940 obtained information about school enrollment, as we discuss later, the data from 1890 are not currently available, forcing us to rely exclusively on the 1900-1940 decennial census data. For this paper, our focus is limited to the decennial census data for the coterminous U.S. and excludes Alaska and Hawaii.

For each decennial census from 1900 to 1940, the Census Bureau identified racial categories for grouping people. However, both the number and content of racial categories used by the Census Bureau changed from 1900 to 1940, with both additions and deletions of categories (Bennett 2000; Snipp 2003; Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2021a; U.S. Bureau of the Census No Date). The racial categories used in 1900 were American Indian, White, Black, Chinese, and Japanese. In 1910 Mulatto was added to this list, and in 1920 the 1910 list was expanded to include Filipino, Hindu, Korean, and "other". The Mulatto category was discontinued in 1930, and a category for Mexican was added. The Mexican category was dropped in 1940. The category "Indian" remained constant across the five censuses.

As Jobe (2004, page 75) has stated, "Through the Census of 1950, the race of an individual was determined by the enumerator". A 1950 special census report about non-whites indicated that information about race was not ordinarily based on a question to the respondent but on the observation and judgement of the enumerator (U.S. Bureau of Census 1953, page 3B-4). As discussed by Thornton, Young-DeMarco, and Smith (2021a), the instructions provided by the Census Bureau to enumerators to decide the race of individuals were very brief and varied across time—and were not clear and precise in specifying exactly who was an American Indian.

Our interpretations of the census data are affected by our understanding that many people who were descendants of residents of North America in the year 1491 were not enumerated in the 1900-1940 censuses. Undercounts are common in censuses and are particularly common among minorities and people with fewer resources (Hacker 2013; Hoy 2015; Snipp 1997, 2003; Lujan 2014; Meister 1980). The conditions producing undercounts among Native peoples were likely exacerbated by differences in language and culture and by a distrust by Natives of Euro-Americans and their institutions that led to a desire to be invisible to Euro-American authorities, including census enumerators (Hoy 2015; Lujan 2014; Liebler 2018; Jobe 2004; Thornton, Young-DeMarco, and Smith (2021).

There are also substantial reasons to believe that numerous descendants of residents of North America in the year 1491 who were enumerated in the 1900-1940 censuses were recorded as being of a non-Indian race rather than Native (Thornton, Young-DeMarco, and Smith 2021). This understanding is supported by the view of a prominent American Indian—Arthur Parker—who wrote regarding the 1910 census that "It is to be seriously doubted that the census enumerators obtained anywhere near the exact number of persons of Indian blood who are merged in the general population. The writer knows of many who refuse for various reasons to be regarded as Indians….." (Parker 1915, pages 205-207). A similar assessment concerning 1930 census results was provided by the Census Bureau: "if all persons having even a trace of Indian blood were returned as Indians, the number would far exceed even the total returned at the census of 1930" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1937, page 2). A more recent assessment by Jobe (2004, page 75) came to a similar conclusion: "In the late nineteenth and early 20th centuries, many Indians were probably overlooked by the census because they did not appear to be Indian, did not live on Indian reservations, were not recognized by the community as Indian, or chose to hide Indian ancestry from enumerators".

Three bodies of evidence from decennial censuses between 1960 and 2000 also support the idea that previous censuses enumerated and categorized as Indian substantially fewer individuals than the number of people with ancestors present in North America in the year 1491. First, the censuses after 1950

switched from enumerator determination of race to self-identification of race and discovered that many people who would have been identified as non-Indian by enumerators identified themselves as Indian with the self-identification methodology (Passel 1976, 1996; Snipp 1989, 2003; Jobe 2004; Eschbach 1993; Thornton, Young-DeMarco, and Smith 2021). Second, beginning in 1980 the censuses asked people to identify both their race and their ancestry and found that many more people identified themselves as having American Indian ancestry than identified their race as such (Snipp 1989, 2003; Liebler 2018; Passel 1996). Third, beginning in 2000, people were allowed to record more than one racial identity and many reported that they were both American Indian and some other race (Bennett 2000; Snipp 2003; Liebler and Ortyl 2014). Many of whom would have reported themselves as non-Indian if they were asked to report only one race (Bentley et al 2003). Although we cannot know for sure how these post-1940 results apply to the early 1900s, it is likely that significant fractions of people of Native ancestry during the early 20th century were also enumerated as having a non-Indian race.

Measurement and Coding of School Attendance in the Decennial Census

The census forms were designed to collect school attendance information about every individual enumerated in the 1900-1940 censuses regardless of the person's age. In practice, this goal may have been difficult to realize fully since school attendance instructions varied from year to year, were most often left up to the enumerator to interpret, and often conflicted with or were muddied by instructions found in other sections within the same document. Yet despite these shortcomings, for most people the school attendance information collected was likely accurate and that it was individuals "away at school", or affected by unclear and/or changing school attendance definitions who were most at risk to be under or over counted.

In 1900, the enumerator was instructed to write down for each person attending school during the year ending June 1, 1900, the number of months that person attended school (U. S. Census Office 1900). No definition of what was meant by "school" was provided. If a person was of "school age" and had not

attended school, the enumerator was told to write “0” in the space provided. If a person was not of “school age” and had not attended school, the enumerator was instructed to leave the space blank. It was left to the enumerator’s judgment to determine the range of ages that “school age” encompassed, thereby affording the enumerator the opportunity to incorrectly report the “0” category.

Beginning in 1910 and continuing through 1940, the census asked whether each individual listed had attended school (Yes/No) rather than the number of months attended. For the 1910 and 1920 censuses, the upper and lower bounds of “school age” were clearly defined. As in 1900, anyone who had attended school during the specified time period was recorded as “Yes” regardless of age. But if someone had not attended school, what was meant by “school age” was no longer left to the discretion of the enumerator. If an individual had not attended school and was younger than age 5 or older than age 21, the enumerator was instructed to leave the space blank. While certainly more precise, the refined “school age” definition coupled with shifting to a “Yes/No/Blank” format requires harmonization of school attendance in 1900 with subsequent census years when examining trends across the five censuses.

The concept of “school age” was dropped entirely from the 1930 and 1940 censuses; for each individual regardless of age, school attendance was recorded as either “Yes” or “No.” While this made the data easier for the enumerator to collect, it caused some inconsistencies with the prior three censuses as to who was eligible to be recorded as “No.” Previously the “0” (1900) or “No” (1910-1920) categories were reserved only for those of school age who had not attended school while “blank” was used for non-school age individuals who had not attended school. The methodology used in the 1930 and 1940 censuses combined both category types into one (“No”), mixing those who presumably should have been attending school and were not with everyone else not attending school.

As mentioned, the 1900 census did not provide the enumerators with a definition of “school.” Beginning in 1910, what was meant by “school” became less ambiguous although its meaning did not remain constant throughout the remainder of the period under study. This variability may have had some

impact on school attendance trends observed between 1900 through 1940. The more precise instructions given to the enumerator for the 1910 and 1920 censuses ("Write 'Yes' for a person who attended school, college, or any educational institution…"), potentially may have resulted in higher school attendance counts in those two years relative to the number in 1900. The 1930 census added "Include attendance at night school" to the enumerator instructions, providing yet another way for an individual to be counted as attending school. And since the 1940 census restricted who was eligible to be counted as attending school ("Include attendance at night school, or vocational school only if it is a part of the regular school system. Do not include correspondence school work of any kind."), fewer people in night school or vocational school may have been recorded as not attending school in 1940 while in 1930, all people participating under those circumstances would have been counted. It is also worth noting that in 1940, no instruction for how to determine whether the night school or vocational school was part of the regular school system was available to enumerators; that oversight may have contributed to some measurement error as well.

In addition to the issues described above, conflicting or non-existent instructions about whether to list an individual who was away at school as a member of the family or as a member of an institution posed a fair number of potential problems, particularly for Natives living at boarding schools. The 1900 enumerator instructions contained no guidance for recording family members away at school. Because of that deficit, such individuals could have been inadvertently double-counted, appearing in a family list as well as in an institutional list, or missed entirely.

Enumerator instructions for 1910 and 1920 contained greater specificity on the subject, yet may have caused greater room for error for enumerators trying to decide whether or not to include students away at school in either type of listing. In the set of instructions labelled "WHO ARE TO BE ENUMERATED IN YOUR DISTRICT", Section 47 stated "If a member of the family is…attending school or college…such absent person should be enumerated and included with the other members of the family. But a son or daughter permanently located elsewhere should not be included with the family." Section 57 said "If there is a school, college, or other educational institution in your district which has

students from outside your district, you should enumerate only those students who have their homes or regular places of abode in your district."

Native children often resided at a boarding school year-round or were sent elsewhere by the school during the summer months. These circumstances, in combination with the missing definition of "permanently located elsewhere" and/or the contradictions present in the between-section enumeration instructions once again created the possibility for confusion. It effectively allowed for a student away at school to appear once in the census as a family member or a member of an institution, twice as both a family member and a member of an institution, or to not be listed anywhere at all.

The same issues were present in the 1930 and 1940 census instructions and added even greater specificity along with more exclusions to the "WHO ARE TO BE ENUMERATED IN YOUR DISTRICT" rules. In 1930, enumerators were told "Persons to be counted as members of the family include the following…Members of the family attending schools or colleges located in other districts, **except cadets at Annapolis or West Point. (But a student nurse who receives even a nominal salary should be enumerated where she is in training.)** The 1940 census instructions added **"…or in any other training school or institution operated by the War or the Navy Departments or the United States Coast Guard"** to the list of exclusions. Again, those types of changes caused inconsistencies about who was considered to be "away at school" when compared to prior census years.

Sources of Decennial Census Data

The original manuscript census sheets for the 1890-1940 decennial censuses were collected and archived by the Census Bureau. Following the 1900-1930 censuses, the Census Bureau also analyzed and published information from those censuses on school attendance, the school age population, and the proportion enrolled. Unfortunately, we have not located such published information from the 1890 and 1940 censuses.

Two separate operations have also transformed the original archived manuscript census sheets into computer files appropriate for the analysis of individual-level data included in the 1900-1940 censuses. The first of these individual census data files was created by scholars at the University of Minnesota and other universities (IPUMS USA No Date (b)). These data files include representative samples of everyone in the U.S., including American Indians, with the 1900 and 1910 files including substantial oversamples of Natives (Minnesota Population Center 2005). The second of these individual data files is the complete count files that were created and disseminated by Ancestry.com, Family Search, and the University of Minnesota to include 100 percent of all residents of the U.S. (IPUMS USA, No Date(a)). Both the sample data and the complete count data files are disseminated as part of the University of Minnesota's Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) (Ruggles, Flood, Goeken, Grover, Meyer, Pacas, and Sobek 2019).

Unfortunately, almost all the 1890 individual-level manuscript census forms were destroyed in fires, making them unavailable for transformation into either of these twos IPUMS data sources. Because of this and the fact that we know of no published decennial census data about school enrollment for this year, we can only use the 1900-1940 data.

In our analyses of the IPUMS data, we followed the protocols used by the Census Bureau in its published reports as closely as possible. This led us to analyze data for individuals ages 5 through 20 at the time of each census to match the time series produced by the Census Bureau. In addition, we converted the "number of months of school attendance" variable present in the 1900 data into a "Yes/No" format to harmonize it as closely as possible with the remaining census years represented in our analyses. Appendix Table 5 provides the basic data tables of the school age population and school enrollment from the Census Bureau's published results and from our analyses of the two IPUMS data sets. Our results section provides data based on Appendix Table 5 and related decennial census data.

Results

The First Decade of the Government School Program

Appendix Table 2 provides our basic data about the number of American Indian schools and students, as obtained from the BIA reports. To provide a pictorial view of these data, we prepared three figures summarizing trends in the number of schools and student enrollment from 1819 through 1938. Figure 1 provides school numbers from 1819 through 1905, while Figure 2 provides school enrollment numbers from 1819 through 1877. Figure 3 uses a different scale from Figure 2 to provide more perspective on the nature of trends across the entire period from 1819 through 1938. With interpolation, we constructed continuous lines without missing data constraints for the New York Nations and for the Other Nations. However, as we discuss more thoroughly later, the disruptions of the Civil War made it impossible to have numbers for the Five Nations during that time period, making it necessary to show the data for the Five Nations and for the total in two segments.

The narrative reports of the BIA and the data in Figure 1 and Figure 2 provide evidence that the BIA moved quickly to implement its new federal program for the education of First Nations people. The Civilization Fund Act was passed in March 1819 and by September 1819 the government had circulated what we would today call a "request for proposals" to implement the new program. The circular stated that it was President Monroe's opinion that the program should be conducted "in co-operation with the exertions of benevolent associations, or individuals, who may choose to devote their time or means to effect the object contemplated by the act of Congress". The circular further stipulated "that the plan of education, in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic", should include instruction about practical things such as agriculture and mechanic arts for boys and "spinning, weaving, and sewing" for girls. The circular went on to invite associations and individuals to submit their proposals for federal financial support for their existing or planned schools (Calhoun 1820, pages 200-201).

Given that the “call for proposals” was issued only in September 1819, it is not surprising that a January 1820 report by the Secretary of War, John Calhoun (1820, pages 200-201), indicated that none of the annual allotment had yet been dispersed. However, he also indicated that things had proceeded far enough that the President could “apply, early in this year, the sum appropriated”. He also made note of three pre-existing schools and indicated that plans were underway for at least four additional schools—presumably with the assistance of the new federal program (Calhoun 1820, pages 200-201).

Two years later, in January 1822, the BIA annual report confirmed that the program had been implemented in 1820, with eleven schools reported to be operational that year (Calhoun. 1822a, pages 271-273). A report in February 1822, indicated that the number of schools in 1821 had grown to twelve, with three others in “a state of preparation”. In addition, while this report indicated that “the number of scholars at the last return…..amounted to five hundred and eight”, the tabular report listed only 493 students[28]. The report went on to express confidence that with many buildings already procured or erected for school purposes, a larger portion of the funds could be devoted to increasing the number of students more than increasing the number of schools (Calhoun 1822b, pages 275-278).

Despite the optimism that future expansion would be more in the number of students than in the number of schools, the data in the figures provide evidence that the number of American Indian schools and students in the new federal program both expanded rapidly over the first decade of the program’s existence. In fact, the number of schools expanded from 12 in 1821 to 51 in 1830, an increase by a factor of 4.2, whereas the number of students increased by a factor of 3.2 from 493 to 1601. The expansion of both schools and students attending those schools occurred in all three groups—the Five Nations, the New York Nations, and the Other Nations.

The 1826 BIA report suggested that the supply of American Indian schooling was below the demand for it. The report stated that “hundreds of Indian children are turned away, annually, from those

[28] We have no explanation for this discrepancy.

nurseries of kindness, for want of ability on the part of the Superintendents to receive them. Numerous applications for assistance, and from the most respectable societies are now on file in this office, to which it has not been possible to return any other answer than that *the fund appropriated by the Congress is exhausted"* (Office of Indian Affairs 1826, page 508; italics in original). These unfunded applications for assistance, of course, came from Euro-American societies and we cannot know to what extent regret for lack of school funding was shared by the American Indians themselves.

1830-1845

Although the first decade of the program from 1819 to 1830 saw a fairly steady and uniform growth in the number of American Indian schools and students reported, during the next 15 years from 1830 to 1845 the trends were neither steady nor uniform. At the national level between 1830 and 1845, the number of schools reported increased from 51 to 61, and the number of students reported increased from 1601 to 2508. However, a closer look at the data suggests that the overall trend in the number of schools was basically steady from 1830 to 1842, but increased by nearly 20 percent from 1842 to 1845. The reported data suggest a downturn in the overall number of students between 1830 and 1836, followed by an increase after 1836.

The pattern is even more complex if we examine the disaggregated trends among the three separate American Indian groups. The reported data for the Five Nations are clear: both the number of schools and the number of students declined monotonically between 1830 and 1842—by 65 percent for the number of schools and by 71 percent for the number of students. However, both the number of schools and the number of students more than doubled between 1842 and 1845.

The reported decline in the number of American Indian students and schools among the New York Nations was also dramatic, similar to that reported for the Five Nations. The number of reported schools dropped from 7 in 1830 to 2 in 1836 and there were still only 4 in 1845. Similarly, the number of

reported students in New York in 1845 was only about 70 percent of what it had been 15 years earlier in 1830.

The education experience reported for the Other Nations between 1830 and 1842 was quite different than for the Five Nations and for the New York Nations. Both the number of reported schools and the number of students among the Other Nations increased monotonically from 1830 to 1842 and then declined from 1842 to 1845.

There were undoubtedly many forces producing the trends observed in the numbers of schools and students between 1830 and 1845, including measurement errors. Although explanation of those trends is outside the scope of this paper, we note that the legislation frequently called the "Indian Removal Act"[29] was passed in 1830 to ethnically cleanse the eastern part of the U.S. by deporting the First Nations people from the eastern United States to west of the Mississippi River and was a central focus of the BIA across the next decade (Saunt 2020; Remini 2001, page 115; Prucha 1984, pages 64-86; Littlefield and Parins 2011; Stockwell 2014, 2018; Cleland 1992; Bowes 2016; Roberts 2021, pages 12-28; Calloway 2010, pages 74-95; Miller and Ethridge 2023, pages 41-68). The beginning of the expulsion of the Five Nations to the West had started before the passage and implementation of the Indian Removal Act in 1830 and continued after 1842, but the deportation of Five Nations people to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma was especially intense during this 1830-1842 period (Ehle 1988; McLoughlin 1993; Remini 2001, page 115; Littlefield and Parins 2011; Debo 1961; Kidwell 1995, pages 35-158; Miller and Ethridge 2023, pages 41-68).

[29] The official name of this legislation was an "Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi". Statutes at Large. 1830. Volume IV, pages 411-412. https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/llsl//llsl-c21/llsl-c21.pdf. Also, reprinted in Prucha 2000, pages 52-53. Claudio Saunt (2020, pages XI-XV) provides an excellent discussion of why the language of "Indian removal" is too soft to describe the "state-sponsored expulsion" of whole groups of people from their Native lands—and suggests other words such as "deportation", "expulsion", and "extermination" to describe these events.

During the 1830-1842 period the Five Nations were forced to leave their ancestral lands, their farms, and their houses—and, most importantly for the current topic, their schools. As they were ethnically cleansed from their ancestral lands in the Southeast, they were forced to travel great distances and during the journey experienced great physical trauma and dealt with very high mortality—what has become known as the "Trail of Tears". In addition, initial circumstances in Indian Territory were also very difficult, with people experiencing conflict with Native groups indigenous to Indian Territory, very poor living conditions, disease, and considerable loss of life (Miller and Ethridge 2023, pages 67-74). Then, came the difficult task of establishing new economies, homes, and schools in far-away Indian Territory.

With all of this, it would have been exceptionally difficult, even impossible, to maintain an educational system. It would have been an enormous surprise if the education system among the Five Nations had not declined, and our data indeed suggest that both the number of schools and the number of children participating in schools declined dramatically during the period. To be sure, schools and students among the Five Nations did not completely disappear during these years. This probably reflects both American Indian tenacity and the fact that the timing of expulsion varied between and within groups, with groups being displaced from their homelands across a period of more than a decade. As a result, the decline in the number of schools and students for the Five Nations as a whole would have been less sharp for any particular time period and more extended than it would have been if it had occurred at the same time for all groups.

It is likely that the more than doubling of Five Nations schools and students between 1842 and 1845 was at least partially the result of the Five Nations becoming settled in their new lands in the Indian Territory of present-day Oklahoma. Many would have been at least somewhat settled by 1842 and could reestablish schools and enroll students—at somewhat similar levels to what was in place in 1830 (Debo 1961). Missionary groups helped facilitate this recovery of educational programs in Indian Territory (Miller and Ethridge 2023, page 79).

In this paper we do not attempt to link the trends in schools and student enrollment between 1830 and 1845 among the New York Nations and Other Nations directly with the U.S. government's program of ethnically cleansing these nations from their lands in the east. However, we do note that most Native nations east of the Mississippi were substantially affected by the government's American Indian deportation programs before, during, and after this 1830-1845 period (Edmunds 1978; Stockwell 2014, 2018; Cleland 1992; Bowes 2016; Littlefield and Parins 2011; Remini 2001; Wallace 1999; Prucha 1984; Loew 2013). Many Native nations besides the Five Nations suffered their own land loss, disruptions, and dislocations. It is very likely that such dislocations would have been very disruptive forces for American Indian school programs among the New York Nations and Other Nations as well.

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that many of the land cessions of American Indians to the U.S. government both before and after the 1830s included payments of various types to the Natives that could be converted into resources for the establishment of schools. In fact, such arrangements helped facilitate the early formation of schools among the Five Nations (Calhoun 1822b, page 275; Office of Indian Affairs 1830, pages 166-167; Kidwell 1995; Hoxie 2012, pages 45-98). In addition, land cession treaties often provided funds explicitly for the creation and support of school facilities for the use of the nations involved (Oberly 1885; Kidwell 1995; Remini 2001; Stockwell 2018; McLoughlin 1986, 1993; Crum 2007; McClurken 2007, pages 10-11, 45; Prucha 1994, pages 9-14; Harmon 1969, pages 351-360; Newland 2022, pages 32-34; DeJong 1993, pages 34-; Hoxie 2012, pages 45-98). In fact, BIA reports of the 1830s and 1840s devoted considerable space to the deportation of eastern American Indians to the west and noted that many nations involved in recent land cession and expulsion treaties had received funds for education in those treaties (Office of Indian Affairs 1836, 1840, 1845). For example, according to the 1836 report, "The United nation of Chippewas, Ottowas, and Potawatomies, who are emigrating from Illinois, have preferred an earnest request, that the interest of seventy thousand dollars, appropriated for education under the treaty with them of September 26th, 1833, may be applied to the support of schools in the country to which they are removing" (Office of Indian Affairs 1836, page 3).

These ethnic cleansing treaties could thus help explain the increase in schools and students for the Other Nations during this 1830-1845 period. In fact, Harmon (1969, pages 354-360) documented that many of these Other Nations participated in such elimination treaties promising resources for schooling. He also documented the effects of these treaty funds in the establishment of schools in the new locations.

Despite the fact that the Five Nations experienced a substantial decline in schools and students during the 1830-1842 period, they also signed expulsion treaties providing resources for schools. Such funding would have been received and expended after the Five Nations moved west (Harmon 1969, pages 354-360; Ellis no date). It is likely that these resources played a significant role in the recovery and expansion of the number of schools and students among the Five Nations after 1842 in the Indian Territory that later became Oklahoma.

To provide more systematic evidence of the connections between the provision of resources for schools and land cession, we analyzed the treaties signed and ratified between the United States and Native nations, beginning with American independence from Britain and extending through 1868[30]. We examined each of the 366 treaties and determined if each one did or did not include provisions for the support of schools, teachers, and/or instructors for the Native nation participating in the treaty. For this analysis, we relied on the list of treaties for this period provided by Prucha (1994, Appendix B)[31]. For the treaty texts, we relied on the compilation provided by Kappler (1904), which Prucha (1994) described as the "standard collection of Indian treaties" (page 523).

This analysis shows that 134 of the 366 treaties (37 percent) negotiated and ratified over this nearly century period included clauses for financial and/or other support for education. Additional

[30] As one scholar has stated, "Treaties became the United States' most effective means to divest Native Americans of their land" (Hämäläinen 2022, page 381). Treaties were also part of what one scholar has termed the American political economy of plunder (Witgen 2022).
[31] Prucha actually provided entries for 367 treaties, but numbers 34 and 35 refer to the same July 4, 1805 treaty with the Wyandot and other Native nations, with different source documents listed for the two treaty entries. We only counted these two entries as one treaty, resulting in a total of 366 treaties analyzed.

analysis, however, reveals that the inclusion of educational clauses varied dramatically across time. This is shown in Figure 4 that documents the number of ratified treaties and the number and percentage of treaties explicitly providing educational support for Native Americans for each ten-year decade from 1780-89 to 1860-69. Figure 4 shows that none of the ratified treaties between 1780 and 1799 included such clauses, and there were only two such treaties in each of the 1800-1809 and 1810-1819 decades[32]. Then, during the 1820-1829 decade the number of treaties providing such educational support expanded to 16, about a third of all treaties that decade. Note that this decade of expanded inclusion of support for schools in treaties is the same decade that the federal government implemented its new program of funding religious and beneficial societies to provide schooling for Native Americans.

Figure 4 also documents that the decade following the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830 witnessed a substantial increase in the total number of treaties signed and ratified—from about 50 per decade from 1810 through 1829 to 81 during the 1830s. The percentage of treaties including clauses for education support remained steady at about one-third from 1820 through 1839, with the total number of such treaties ballooning to 26 during the 1830-1839 decade. This expansion in the number of treaties including clauses for school support during the 1830-1839 period is likely closely related to the expanded commitment of the U.S. to ethnic cleansing.

The 1840-1849 decade witnessed a substantial decline in the total number of ratified treaties (18) and in the number with educational clauses (8), but the percentage of treaties including an educational clause expanded to 44 percent. The decade of the 1850s, however, saw a substantial rise in the total number of treaties (59) and the number with educational clauses (41)—with the percentage including an educational clause increasing to nearly 70 percent—figures that remained nearly constant across the Civil War decade of the 1860s. The linkage of land cessions and resources for schools, thus continued across a very long period.

[32] The one treaty in 1778 also did not include a provision for Native education.

It should not be surprising that schools became part of the political wrangling associated with treaties and ethnic cleansing (McLoughlin 1986, pages 248-335). For example, advocates of Native expulsion to the west sometimes used the promise of providing schools in the West as inducements for Natives to agree to give up their land. Advocates of Native expulsion also argued against establishment of schools in the east because such schools would be seen as indicators of Native permanence in those areas—even leading to pressure to ignore (successfully) treaty promises of schools in the eastern part of the country. The presence of schools in eastern regions was also used by expulsion opponents as evidence of the success of Native assimilation and rationales why expulsion would be bad.

The importance of treaties for funding Native schools is emphasized by an Indian School Superintendent report stating that: "It appears that all the educational work by the Government among the Indians, excepting what was done under the Civilization fund act of 1819, was done under treaty stipulations until, in 1870, when the first general appropriation for Indian school purposes was made by Congress" (Oberly 1885, page LXXXIX). The Superintendent also provided a substantial list of Native nations receiving such educational funding in 1885 (Oberly 1885, pages LXXX-LXXXIII). The role of these treaty funds was, however, limited by the fact that sometimes the promised educational funding never materialized, thereby failing to increase the number of Native schools and students (Oberly 1885, pages LXXXIII-LXXXIV; DeJong 1993, pages 34-56; Office of Indian Affairs 1872, page 110). Also, our examination of the treaties themselves indicate that they frequently contained clauses setting time limits on educational support. The importance of such time-limiting clauses is illustrated by an 1872 BIA report stating that "In educational matters these Indians have, of late, most unfortunately, fallen short of the results of former years; for the reason mainly that, their treaties expiring, the provisions previously existing for educational uses failed" (Office of Indian Affairs 1872, pages 17-18). A combination of funds not being promised in treaties, treaty obligations not being honored, and the expiration of treaty obligations left many Native nations without treaty funding for schools. For example, an 1880 Office of Indian Affairs report (1880, page V) stated that "Fifty thousand Indians at seventeen agencies have no

treaty school funds whatever, and for educational facilities must depend entirely on the general appropriation for Indian education." Further research is needed to document more thoroughly the role of treaties in the participation of Natives in Euro-American schools.

<u>1845-1860/1861</u>

We now focus our attention on the period from 1845 to the onset of the Civil War in 1861. For reasons that we discuss in the next section, we have reports for 1860 (but not 1861) for the Five Nations and reports for 1861 (but not 1860) for the New York and Other Nations. In addition, we have no data for 1849 through 1859; this makes it impossible to detect actual changes occurring within this important decadal period.

As reported in Appendix Table 2 and Figures 1 and 2, this 15-year period was one of substantial growth in the number of American Indian schools and students. Just between 1845 and 1848, the total number of schools reported increased from 61 to 103 and the number of students reported increased from 2508 to 3682. Although we have no data for the three individual groups in 1848, we have no evidence that there were substantial differentials in growth between 1845 and 1848.

Although we cannot know the detailed trends between 1848 and 1860/1861 because of the lack of data between these years, the overall trend during this period was generally upward, with both the number of schools and students increasing by more than 50 percent. Furthermore, the increases between 1845 and 1860/1861 occurred across all groups, but were especially dramatic for the Five Nations and for the New York Nations that had experienced substantial declines in the 1830-1842 period. The reported number of schools among these nations, in fact, more than tripled between 1845 and 1860/1861.

<u>The Civil War and its Aftermath: 1860/1861 to 1871</u>

The Civil War wreaked havoc across much of America, including among many First Nations people. The effects were especially severe in the states that seceded from the Union and among the Native

nations living in or adjacent to the territory of the Confederate States. For many of these Native nations the Civil War was disastrous, as they became heavily involved in the fighting and suffered severe casualties, dislocation, and property damage (Prucha 1984; Debo 1961; McLoughlin 1993; Cowsert 2020; Fortney 2012; Roberts 2021; Miller and Ethridge 2023).

The Civil War disrupted the educational system for many American Indians as well as the system for reporting schools and school enrollment. The 1861 annual report of the BIA made this clear in its discussion of the Five Nations: “Owing to the disturbances in the southern superintendency, there has been no report of the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Choctaw, and Chickasaw agencies since that of 1860, which is here given again” (1861 report, footnote on page 215). This circumstance did provide information about these Five Nations for 1860 that we do not have from other sources, but tells us nothing about education in 1861. A similar comment appeared in the 1862 report: “Owing to the disturbances in the southern superintendency, the agents for the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Wichitas, Choctaws, and Chickasaws have not been able to reach their agencies” (footnote on page 359 of the 1862 report). This silence from the southern superintendency in the BIA reports continued through the duration of the Civil War and the years immediately after the War.

The Confederate States organized their own Bureau of Indian Affairs in March 1861 and in March 1862, its Bureau issued a report about “the several nations and tribes, occupying the country west of Arkansas and south of Kansas” (Confederate States of America War Department, Office of Indian Affairs, 1862, page 3). Although the information about education was very limited, the report made the general comment that among the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees “the hostilities, pending between the Confederate and the Northern States, have interfered with agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and the success of schools. The military spirit moving certain portions of these people, and the want of the money which has heretofore been paid them by the old United States Government, have been the causes of this derangement in their industrial and educational operations” (page 7 of report). The report of the Cherokee agency provided additional information about Cherokee

schools, stating that "for lack of means, proceeds of funded stocks, heretofore annually paid them, are temporarily suspended". The Cherokee report went on to say that "Some private schools are quietly going on as though no war racked the land" (page 16). The report specifically about the Choctaws and Chickasaws said that the schools had been suspended because of the "derangement of affairs consequent upon a change of relations with the United States to the Confederate States" (page 26). We found no information about school operations among the American Indians in a January 1863 report of the Confederate BIA (Confederate States of America War Department, Office of Indian Affairs 1863).

The scholarly literature is generally consistent with the reports of the Confederate government agents about the nature of Indian education among the Five Nations: it either entirely or almost entirely disappeared (DeJong 1993, page 90; Debo 1961; Cowsert 2020; Mihesuah 1998; Cobb no date; Starr no date; Miles no date; Miller and Ethridge 2023). In fact, Debo (1961, page 96) observed that during the five years before 1867 the Choctaw children "had been running wild". Things were generally shut down from the lack of means early in the War and in subsequent years some schools were destroyed or became hospitals or military camps. Others closed because missionaries operating the schools left for the North. Because of the lack of precise information about schools for the Five Nations for this period, we left the time series for them blank. Nevertheless, we believe that the number declined to zero or close to zero.

Although the disruptions to American Indian school systems produced by the Civil War may have been particularly dramatic for the Five Nations, others experienced them as well. The 1862 U.S. federal BIA report listed no schools for the Arkansas Agency and commented that "All schools at this agency suspended on account of the absence of the Indian youth for a time" (Office of Indian Affairs 1862, footnote on page 355). The Arkansas Agency included the following nations: Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Commanches, Kioways, and Apaches. In addition, the reports from the Confederate BIA suggest that the disruptions caused by the Civil War would have also diminished or eliminated school operations among other groups in the area west of Arkansas and south of Kansas.

The decline of American Indian schools and students among Other Nations during and immediately after the Civil War is also shown in our time series for the 1861-1870 period. During this period the reported number of schools in the Other Nations declined by about 40 percent and the reported number of students in these nations declined by about 20 percent. However, there was no apparent decline in schools and students during this period among the New York Nations—and there may even have been increases. This suggests that the devastating effects of the Civil War on Native education in Confederate States and in Indian Territory may not have been felt as much or at all in the North—a conjecture that requires additional investigation.

The recovery of the number of Native schools and Native students occurred strongly and quickly after the Civil War among the Five Nations. There were apparently 32 schools operating among the Cherokees and 14 among the Creeks by 1867 (Mihesuah 1998, page 48; Office of Indian Affairs 1867, page 378; data not shown in tables), and by 1868 there were schools and students among the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminole (Office of Indian Affairs 1868, page 355; data not shown in tables). Neither schools nor students were reported in the 1868 BIA report for the Choctaw or Chickesaw. The 1870 BIA report indicates educational activity among all of the Five Nations but we were not successful in locating sufficient numbers to estimate totals for the Five Nations (Office of Indian Affairs, 1870, pages 293-304).

By 1871, the BIA reported schools in each of the Five Nations, but the count of students was missing for the Cherokee, a nation with many schools; this led us not to report student counts for the Five Nations in 1871 (Office of Indian Affairs 1871, pages 618-619). Both the numbers of schools and students were reported in 1872. For 1871 and 1872, 145 and 143 schools were reported for the Five Nations—over 75 percent more than the number prior to the War, indicating a particularly strong post-War movement for Five Nations schools. The number of students among the Five Nations also increased from 1860 to 1872--but at just 20 percent rather than the more than 75 percent for the number of schools.

Schooling in the Other Nations had also recovered by 1871. Whereas 59 schools were reported for the Other Nations in 1861, the number had grown by 14 percent to 67 in 1871. The number of Other Nation students had increased between 1861 and 1871 by more than 40 percent. For New York Nations,

there was no Civil War dip in numbers to be recovered from, but there were modest reported increases in schools and students between 1861 and 1871.

From Civil War Recovery to 1884.

The two decades following the Civil War brought significant changes to the Native American school system and its administration. One change was the creation of a new independent Board of Indian Commissioners composed of people with strong religious and philanthropist commitments to play an important role in monitoring and advising Native affairs (Beaver 1966, pages 130-133; Keller 1983, pages 17-19; Stockwell 2018, chapters 4-6; DeJong 2020, pages 55-59). A related change was the BIA giving religious organizations the responsibility of nominating the directors of Native agencies and reservations. These changes were motivated by a perception of corruption in the administration of Native agencies and reservations and in the congressional action forbidding President Ulysses S. Grant's plans to have military officers administer those organizations.

These agents were "expected to select and employ physicians, clerks, teachers, and all other employees of the agency" (Tatum 1899, page 92). This arrangement gave the religious agents the opportunity to emphasize missionary activity and to give religious people substantial responsibility for Native education and other activities of the agency (Stockwell 2018, Chapters 4-6; Office of Indian Affairs, 1870, page 10; 1872, page 73; Newland 2022, pages 46-50; Beaver 1966, pages 134-146; Keller 1983, pages 19-25; Rahill 1953, pages 273-332; Whitner 1959). In some places this authority was used to exclude religious groups other than the one administering an agency from activity on a reservation. The policy of religious leaders choosing agency and reservation leaders continued only until 1882, but religious leaders and missionaries continued to have very strong roles in Native education through most of the 1890s (Newland 2022, pages 46-50; Beaver 1966, pages 161-168; Keller 1983, pages 188-204).

The Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during these two decades generally emphasized the value of education for increasing the well-being of American Indians and called for additional funding to support the expansion of that education (Office of Indian Affairs 1869-1885).

Although the calls for additional funds for Native schooling were not always met, there was substantial growth in the size of the federal budgets for Native schooling from 1870 throughout the rest of this period (Office of Indian Affairs 1871, page 5; Oberly 1885, pages LXXXIX-XCI; Office of Indian Affairs 1915, page 168; DeJong 2020, page 67-85).

The BIA annual reports for the period also placed great emphasis on the superiority of boarding schools over day schools and making education for Native children compulsory, with sanctions imposed for non-attendance (Office of Indian Affairs, 1869-1885). The quality of the implementation of these programs varied greatly, ranging in the views of historians from very poor to excellent, with some specific successes noted (Keller 1983, pages 228-229; Beaver 1966, pages 153-154; Whitner 1959; Stockwell 2018, pages 91-92).

The data presented in Figures 1-3 indicate that the enthusiasm for Native education and its funding after the Civil War was accompanied by rapid increases in the number of schools and students. The number of American Indian schools not only recovered from the large disruption of the Civil War by the early 1870s, but expanded very rapidly and substantially from then to 1884 and beyond. From just 1872 to 1884, the reported total number of schools increased from 261 to 433, an increase of 66 percent. The increase of schools between 1872 and 1884 occurred across all three groups of Native nations, but the relative increases varied across the groups—with the doubling of schools for the Other Nations being the highest and the 15 percent increase for the New York Nations being the lowest. This period also witnessed a new emphasis on boarding schools—a topic that we will discuss in a later section.

The total number of students enrolled increased so dramatically after 1872, that it was necessary to prepare Figure 3 to have a higher vertical axis than Figure 2 in order to display the magnitude of the changes. This new figure demonstrates the rather remarkable increases in student enrollment between 1872 and 1884—and beyond. The post-1872 changes were, in fact, so substantial that they make the pre-1872 changes look rather modest.

As seen in Figure 3, the number of enrolled students increased between 1872 and 1884 by over 140 percent. Furthermore, just as with the number of schools during this period, the increase in the

number of students was highest for the Other Nations—tripling over the dozen years covered. The number of enrolled students in the Five Nations more than doubled, but the number of enrolled New York Nations students declined somewhat during the period. These results, thus, indicate that this increase of schools and students was clearly the most consequential for the Other Nations.

1884-1910

We now turn to 1884-1910 trends, beginning with some important data challenges. First, we only have information about the number of schools for the New York and Five Nations for 1884, preventing us from examining school trends for these two groups during this interval. Second, for the Five Nations, we only have information for the number of students for 1884 and 1910, which permits a comparison of beginning and end points, but no opportunity to see mid-interval fluctuations. Third, as discussed earlier and documented in Appendix Table 1, the data for the number of students in the New York Nations were reported inconsistently after 1905, which led us to drop New York as a separate category beginning in 1910 and to include the New York data (when available) with the Other Nations beginning in 1910. This produced an inconsistency in our data series, but since the number of students in New York (when reported) was relatively small, the impact of this inconsistency on observed trends is probably not large.

Looking first at the student data for the Five Nations, we see that the overall period from 1884 to 1910 reversed the upward trend previously discussed for the period from the Civil War recovery to 1884. In fact, the number of students among the Five Nations actually declined by nearly 2000 in the 1884-1910 interval—or by about a quarter. Given the lack of temporal detail, these data, unfortunately, do not provide clues about when in the interval the decline occurred. However, we do have data for 1884 and 1900 for the four largest of the Five Nations—the Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Creek. Those data indicate that for these four nations combined, the number of schools actually increased substantially from 211 in 1884 to 340 in 1900, and the number of students during the same period increased from 7,610 to 9,669 (Office of Indian Affairs 1884, pages 270-272; 1900, pages 104-115; data not shown in tables). This enrollment number in 1900 of 9,669 for the combined four nations is 3,716 higher than the 5,953 recorded for the entire Five Nations in 1910. This indicates that the 1900 to 1910 decline in Five Nations

enrollment was more than 38 percent, reflecting a particularly dramatic decline in Five Nations schooling across this decade[33].

It is very likely that the very large decline in the number of Five Nations students from 1884 to 1910, and especially from 1900 to 1910, was related to the large-scale disruptions and transformations going on in Indian Territory since at least the Civil War and intensifying during the 1884-1910 period. During this period there were additional big pushes by Euro-Americans to diminish resources and political and economic power among the Five Nations, with Euro-American influence or control over Native education increasing (Prucha 1984, pages 737-757, 897-916; DeJong 1993, pages 99-106; Miller and Ethridge 2023, pages 83-111; Hoxie 2012, pages 130-141). Before this time the Five Nations held land communally and had a substantial amount of self-autonomy in government operations, including the operation of schools. During this 1884-1910 period parts of the land that was previously held communally was allotted to individual families and other parts were declared by Euro-American authorities to be "surplus" to the needs of the Five Nations and were taken to distribute to Euro-Americans. The authority of the Native governments of the Five Nations was also greatly diminished. Particularly important was the allotment process and dismantling of Native government authority promulgated by the 1898 Curtis Act that, among other things, mandated the allotment of land to individual families, terminated enforcement of all Native government laws, abolished all Native courts, required approval of all Native government action by the U.S. president, and indicated that the Native governments would be superseded within eight years (1906) by Oklahoma statehood[34] (Prucha 1984, page 748; Miller and Ethridge 2023, pages 95-98). The Native governments had indeed become "mere shadows" (Prucha 1984, page 898), and in 1907 Indian Territory was combined with Oklahoma Territory to form the State of Oklahoma under Euro-American domination.

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[33] If the unknown Seminole school enrollment number for 1900 were added to the 1900 number for the other four Five Nations, the 1900-1910 decline would have been even greater.
[34] The official title of the Curtis Act was "An Act For the protection of the people of the Indian Territory, and for other purposes". Statutes at Large. 1898. Volume 30, pages 495-519. https://www.loc.gov/item/llsl-v30/.

The last decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century were very transformational for the school systems among the Five Nations. Whereas each of the Five Nations had previously maintained their own school systems, their systems were first transformed into joint Native-federal systems, and then into a federal system with substantial state and local involvement (Prucha 1984, pages 909-911). A particularly important point in this chaotic and disruptive process of dissolving Native control over schools occurred in 1906 when the U.S. government passed "An Act To provide for the final disposition of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes" (Statutes at Large 1906. Volume 34, pages 137-148 [35]; also Department of Interior Bureau of Education 1923; DeJong 1993, pages 103-106). This Act "authorized and directed" the Secretary of the Interior "to assume control and direction of the schools in the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole tribes, with the lands and all school property pertaining thereto, March fifth, nineteen hundred and six, and to conduct such schools under rules and regulations to be prescribed by him, retaining tribal educational officers, subject to dismissal by the Secretary of the Interior, and the present system so far as practicable, until such time as a public school system shall have been established under Territorial or State government, and proper provision made thereunder for the education of the Indian children of said tribes" [36] (page 140).

As one might expect, these dramatic actions were met among many Natives with considerable disagreement, tension, protest, hostility, and refusal to accept the changes (Office of Indian Affairs 1900, pages 104-114). The 1900 BIA report noted "unsettled and conflicting conditions" that were interfering with the operation of the schools (Office of Indian Affairs, page 114). BIA officials issued warnings during this era about the severe negative effects these chaotic and transformational changes would have

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[35] Statutes at Large. 1906. "An Act To provide for the final disposition of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory, and for other purposes". Volume 34, pages 137-148. https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ll/llsl//llsl-c59/llsl-c59.pdf. Recall that the Five Nations were consistently labeled as the "Civilized Tribes" by the U.S. government, a designation that, as explained earlier, we do not endorse.

[36] One illustration of the disruption and chaos of this period was that this Act was passed on April 26, 1906 retrospectively directing the Secretary of the Interior "to assume control and direction of the schools" on March 5, 1906.

on the schooling of Native children. In some ways these warnings brought government recognition that softening and extending the transition period would be helpful (Office of Indian Affairs 1904; 1905; 1906). Nevertheless, the 1910 annual report of the BIA indicated that there continued to be substantial uncertainty, confusion, and discontinuity in the transition from Native administration of schools to federal, state, and local control (Office of Indian Affairs 1910 page 17). The same 1910 BIA report included a statement from the BIA supervisor of schools among the Five Nations stating that "The lack of a settled policy with reference to these schools resulted in permitting the buildings to fall into a dilapidated and insanitary condition, the equipment became worn out and unfit for use, and in many cases the school plants were neglected, and much criticism was made, both by whites and Indians, of the manner in which, the Government was conducting these schools" (Office of Indian Affairs 1910, page 225)[37]. The BIA supervisor in 1910 went on to say that the BIA had decided "to equip and conduct a few schools properly, rather than to attempt to conduct a larger number as they have been conducted during the past four years" (pages 225; also see DeJong 1993, pages 104-106). Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that the number of students among the Five Nations declined from 1884 to 1910, with the fall being especially dramatic between 1900 and 1910.

Schooling trends between 1884 and 1910 were very different for the Natives in the Other Nations compared to those in the Five Nations. Although the data for the number of schools extend only through 1905 for the Other Nations, those data indicate that the number of schools continued to increase rapidly between 1884 and 1905—increasing by nearly 70 percent to 312 during the period. The number of students for the combined New York and Other Nations increased dramatically between 1884 and 1910—from about 12 thousand to about 32 thousand. This represents nearly a tripling of student numbers during this 26-year period.

Boarding Schools from 1877 to 1905

[37] An even more scathing report of the state of schools for the Five Nations was made by the new supervisor of schools in the 1911 annual BIA report (Office of Indian Affairs 1911, pages 459-468).

As we noted earlier, there was growth in schools and student enrollees across all three groups of Native nations during the 1872-1884 period—being especially substantial in the Five Nations and Other Nations—and from 1884 to 1910 there was especially dramatic growth for the Other Nations. In fact, during the combined periods from 1872 through 1905, the number of schools in the Other Nations more than tripled from 92 to 312, and the number of Other Nation students increased by more than eight times from 3566 to 30,106 between 1872 and 1910.

The 1872 through 1905 period also witnessed the launching and growth of the U.S. government program to establish government-operated boarding schools that were national rather than being affiliated with a particular reservation or group of Natives. The first such national non-reservation government boarding school for American Indians was established in 1879 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and other similar schools such as Haskell and Chemawa were soon established elsewhere, with 25 being established by 1905 (Office of Indian Affairs 1905, pages 41 and 515). Appendix Table 3 documents the role of the rise of these non-reservation government boarding schools in the dramatic increase of Native schooling by showing the numbers of Native boarding and day schools for each of the three groups of Five Nations, New York Nations, and Other Nations. We also graphed in Figure 5 the numbers of boarding and day schools for the United States and for each of the three groups of Native nations. Appendix Table 4 similarly documents the numbers of Native boarding and day students for the U.S., by group, and Figure 6 graphs the number of students in boarding and day schools[38]. Note that the interpretation of the 1884 data is made difficult by the fact that the number of Five Nations day students (the blue triangle in the figure) is very similar that year to the number of Other Nation boarding students (the beginning of the green solid line),

We begin our discussion with the significant observation that local boarding schools oriented to a particular nation or reservation had been in existence long before the first national non-reservation government school, Carlisle, was established in 1879. In fact, Figure 5 shows that 60 local or reservation-

[38] Note that for some years the Five Nations sent students to the off-reservation government boarding schools.

based boarding schools were reported nationally in 1877, two years prior to the establishment of Carlisle. Each of the three groups of Native nations had a significant number of these local boarding schools, with 12 among the Five Nations, 3 among the New York Nations, and 45 among the Other Nations.

At the same time that we emphasize the substantial number of local or reservation-based boarding schools in 1877, it is important to note that in the same year, there was a total of 270 day schools reported, making the 60 boarding schools less than a fifth of the total number of 330 schools. However, the distribution of schools in 1877 between boarding and day schools varied by the Native groups; while 10 percent or less of Five Nations and New York schools were boarding schools, the number exceeded a third in the Other category.

There were substantial increases in the number of boarding schools between 1877 and 1884, increasing by 46 from 60 in 1877 to 106 in 1884—an increase of about three-quarters over just a 7 year period. Although there were no increases in New York, there were substantial increases in both the Five Nations and the Other Nations, with the number nearly doubling from 45 to 87 for the Other Nations. Note that while the overall increase in the number of boarding schools between 1877 and 1884 was a substantial 46 additional schools, there was an even bigger increase in the number of day schools during this period, with the total increasing by 57 from 270 to 327. The percentage growth in the number of day schools was less than that for the boarding schools, but these data indicate that the overall growth in this seven-year period was clearly much more than just a growth in boarding schools.

Unfortunately, we do not have data about the number of schools separately for New York and the Five Nations after 1884, but the data for the Other Nations indicate that boarding school growth continued very strongly through 1895, declined a bit from 1895 to 1900, and then increased again to 1905. In fact, the number of boarding schools in the Other Nations nearly doubled during this 21-year period from 1884 through 1905, growing by 80 schools, from 87 in 1884 to 167 in 1905 (Appendix Table 3). As in the earlier 1877-1884 period, the number of day schools also grew by 47 for the Other Nations--from 98 in 1884 to 145 in 1905—a substantial increase, but of a smaller magnitude than for boarding schools.

Because of these differential trends, the percentage of all schools in the Other Nations that were boarding schools increased from just over a third in 1877 to just over half in 1905.

These data, thus, clearly demonstrate that the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were periods of exceptionally rapid expansion in boarding schools. The data that we have discussed so far, however, do not indicate whether the growth of boarding schools during this period occurred through the expansion of the number of boarding schools located on or near reservations by either government or non-government organizations or through the establishment and expansion of government boarding schools such as Carlisle, Haskell, and Chemawa that were not associated with reservations. We begin to address this question with the observation that between 1877 and 1905 the total number of boarding schools in the Other Nations increased by 122 schools—from 45 in 1877 to 167 in 1905 (Appendix Table 3). As mentioned earlier, there were no government non-reservation boarding schools at all in 1877, and by 1905 their number had grown to 26—all located among the Other Nations[39]. This increase of 26 government non-reservation boarding schools, thus, represents only 21 percent of the total increase of 122 boarding schools among the Other Nations during the 1877-1905 period.

This means that the great bulk of the increased number of boarding schools among the Other Nations between 1877 and 1905 had to come from the combined group of government reservation boarding schools and non-government schools--that were also located on or near reservations. Whereas the combined number of such boarding schools located on or near reservations was only 45 in 1877, by 1905 the combined number of such schools had increased to 141, with 93 being in government reservation boarding schools and 48 in non-government boarding schools (Appendix Table 3). This increase of 96 boarding schools located on or near reservations from 45 in 1877 to 141 in 1905 thus accounts for 79 percent of the total increase of boarding schools in the Other Nations between 1877 and 1905.

[39] We are counting the Hampton Institute in this number. This school was originally established to educate African Americans, but in 1878 began including significant numbers of American Indians.

Unfortunately, data limitations prevent us from knowing whether the 1877-1905 increase in boarding schools located on or near reservations was produced by growth in government reservation schools or in non-government schools. This data limitation is produced by the fact that we only know the total number of boarding schools in 1877, making it impossible to disaggregate the 1877-1905 growth into estimates separately for government reservation schools and non-government schools. However, we do know that in 1905, there were 93 government reservation boarding schools and 48 non-government boarding schools in the Other Nations (Appendix Table 3). In addition, our data suggest that the number of non-government boarding schools declined from 61 in 1890 to 45 in 1900, with a modest uptick to 48 such schools in 1905.

Our discussion to this point on changes in the number of day and boarding schools between 1877 and 1905 understates the significance of boarding school increases during this period. That understatement occurs because boarding schools tended to enroll more students, on average, than did day schools. In 1884, the first year that we can calculate average school sizes by school type, we find that for Other Nations boarding schools averaged 76 students per school while day schools averaged 42 students per school. Put another way, in 1884 boarding schools comprised 47 percent of the schools but enrolled 61 percent of the students. This means that shifting the distribution of schools from day to boarding schools would have had an even bigger influence on student enrollment than on the number of schools.

The numbers of students enrolled in boarding and day schools are reported in Appendix Table 4 and Figure 6. These data show that the number of students enrolled in boarding schools in the Other Nations increased during the 21-year period from 1884 to 1905 from 6579 to 25,226, an increase of 18,647 students, or by more than 280 percent. Interestingly, the number of Other Nations day school students increased by less than 20 percent—from 4130 to 4796 during the 1884-1905 period. Because of the differential growth of boarding and day students during the 1884-1905 period, the percentage of students in boarding schools compared to day schools among the Other Nations increased from 61 percent in 1884 to 84 percent in 1905.

The 26 non-reservation government boarding schools, located among the Other Nations, were reported to have a total of 9,861 enrollees in 1905 (Appendix Table 4). Although this is a very large number of students, it still represents just less than two-fifths of all the Other Nations boarding school students and about a third of all students in the Other Nations in 1905. So, while this new non-reservation government boarding school phenomenon was very important, it did not come close to dominating the experiences of Native students at any one time. However, it is also likely that some Native students would have experienced more than one kind of school over their schooling years, resulting in the number of Native students experiencing non-reservation government boarding schools sometime in their school careers substantially exceeding the number experiencing them at any one time, as reflected in this cross-sectional view. We will consider changes of boarding and day school enrollments during the 1905-1938 period in the next section of our paper.

The increasing concentration of students in boarding schools also suggests that the average size of the schools attended by Native students increased substantially after 1872 (Appendix Table 2). To check this trend graphically within the long-range context, we constructed Figure 7 to plot the average size of schools across the period from 1821 to 1905.

From Figure 7 we see that between the early 1820s and the early 1870s, with a few unexplained outliers, average school size tended to fluctuate between 25 and 50 students[40]. This suggests that across these years the schools for Native youth were generally of the one or two room school house type, with a few outliers, rather than very large institutions. Also note that average enrollments before the 1870s tended to be similar across the three separate groups of Native nations, although the Five Nations schools tended to have somewhat smaller enrollments per school than the other schools after the mid-1830s.

Then, between 1872 and 1884 average enrollments rose for both the Five Nations and Other Nations—by nearly half for each group. And, although we do not have data for the Five Nations after 1884, Figure 7 indicates that average school size continued to increase between 1884 and 1905 for the

[40] We have no explanations for the very substantial peaks for New York around 1840 and the Other Nations around 1870.

Other Nations—reaching nearly 100 students per school for the latest period. Although it is difficult to detect a clear secular trend in the 1870s, the data indicate that there is a clear movement towards larger schools in the 1880s through 1905.

At least two things contributed to the increasing average sizes of Native schools from 1872 through 1905. We have already mentioned the increased percentage of schools that were boarding schools, which was important because boarding schools tended to be larger than day schools. A second component was the increased enrollments in the boarding schools after 1884, doubling from approximately 75 per school to 151 per school between 1884 and 1905. This increasing average size of boarding schools was directly affected by the fact that in 1905 the 26 non-reservation government boarding schools had a reported average of nearly 380 students per school (data not shown). Interestingly, this trend towards more and larger boarding schools was counteracted somewhat by reductions in the average enrollment in day school from 42 students in 1884 to 33 in 1905.

<u>1910 to 1938</u>

We begin our discussion of the 1910 to 1938 period by noting that this period experienced a substantial number of changes in Native American schooling. The first two decades of this period brought state and local governments into the administration of Native education and widespread enrollment of Native youth in standard neighborhood schools. Substantial critiques of the Native school system emerged during the 1920s and 1930s, sparking efforts for reform (Deloria and Lytle 1984; Collier 1963; Philp 1977). Particularly important in this reform movement was the report of the Institute for Government Research concerning *The Problem of Indian Administration* in 1928[41].

In 1933 John Collier was appointed as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and served in this office through 1945, advocating and implementing numerous reforms (Deloria and Lytle 1984; Kunitz 1971; Collier 1963; Philp 1977). As summarized by Laukaitis, "Collier abhorred assimilatory practices specifically designed to 'civilize' American Indian children by separating them from their communities

[41] Institute for Government Research 1928. This report has frequently been referred to as *The Meriam Report*, in recognition of its technical director, Lewis Meriam.

and, more specifically, their cultural practices" and emphasized "the substitution of community day schools and local public schools for boarding schools" and "the replacement of a curriculum that suppressed Indian culture with one that promoted it" (Laukaitis 2006, page 97)[42].

The widespread use of standard neighborhood schools for the education of Native students emerged during the beginning years of this 1910-1938 period. By standard neighborhood schools, we mean those schools operated by local governments or other public bodies for the education of students in local communities. Historically, these standard neighborhood schools had been operated for the education of Euro-American students while Native students had been educated in separate institutions that we refer to here as "standard Native schools"[43]. This innovation not only affected the location and type of

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[42] Collier's efforts at reform in Native education can be seen in his 1934 BIA report stating that "For many years, anthropologists and other students of Indian affairs have been distressed at a strong tendency in the Indian schools to impress upon Indian children that Indian customs, Indian language, and Indian ways of living were necessarily bad and must be completely uprooted as part of the educational process. In an effort to counteract this tendency and set up standards of appreciation of the worthwhile things in Indian life, Circular 2970 was issued in January 1934". Collier's 1934 report quoted this circular as stating that "No interference with Indian religious life or expression will hereafter be tolerated. The cultural history of Indians is in all respects to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group. And it is desirable that Indians be bilingual—fluent and literate in the English language, and fluent in their vital, beautiful, and efficient native languages ……. The Indian arts are to be prized, nourished, and honored". Collier's 1934 BIA report, however, indicated that this new respect for Native culture did not mean that Christian missionary work on Native reservations was to be abolished, stating that "Appreciation of Indian culture does not mean that there is any intention of interfering unduly with intelligent and devoted mission effort on the part of Catholic or Protestant workers in the Indian field" (Office of Indian Affairs 1934, page 90). Collier's 1937 BIA report also indicated the importance of "recognizing and preserving significant factors in Indian life and aiding in adjustment to white culture at points where such adjustment appears inevitable." "However", the report went on to say, "it is not enough to declare that a new policy is in order. It must somehow or other be incorporated into the living of a staff which for many years may have been practicing quite the reverse". The report also mentioned concrete steps to remove the old patterns (Office of Indian Affairs 1937, page 227). Opposition to these new policies came not only from missionaries but from some Natives who had "little interest in preserving their native religion…..and wanted to continue Christian education on the reservation" (Philp 1977, pages 131-132). Discussion of the implementation and success of these changes in BIA philosophy and programs in reversing the long-standing BIA program of cultural genocide is beyond the scope of our paper.

[43] The BIA reports did not use our language of "standard neighborhood schools". Although the BIA reports were generally not explicit, they appear to have consistently identified these "standard neighborhood schools" as "public" schools. In fact, their description of "public" schools indicates that they were operated by governments or other public bodies for the education of Euro-American students. Although people today frequently contrast such public schools operated by the government with "private" schools sponsored by non-governmental or private organizations, the BIA appears to have been

schooling experienced by Natives but the ability of the BIA to keep count of the number of Natives attending school—and thus the quality of the BIA data about Indian enrollments.

Although we did not previously discuss the innovation of standard neighborhood schools for the education of Native students, it was not a new idea in 1910 as it was proposed and implemented as far back as 1890 under the direction of BIA director Thomas Jefferson Morgan. In his 1890 BIA report, Morgan indicated that "I am desirous of bringing the Indian school system into relation with that of the public schools [standard neighborhood schools]. Not only so, but wherever possible I am placing Indian pupils in the public schools [standard neighborhood schools]. Very few are thus far enjoying these advantages, but in a letter addressed to the superintendents of public instructions……….I have invited their co-operation, and have offered to contract with school districts for the tuition of Indian pupils at the rate of $10 per quarter" (Office of Indian Affairs 1890, page XIV). Morgan's standard neighborhood school program began the next year in 1891 with an enrollment of 7 students. The reported number of American Indians so enrolled generally increased to 556 students in 1896 and then generally declined to 56 in 1905. At the beginning of our current period of 1910, the number of students in standard neighborhood schools stood at 111—all reported to be outside the Five Nations.

This changed in 1910 when the BIA instituted a drive for the education of Five Nations students in standard neighborhood schools. This drive was likely related to the before-mentioned act of the federal government of eliminating Native control and administration of schools among the Five Nations and eventually lodging it within the emerging standard neighborhood school program of the new State of Oklahoma. This effort would have widespread effects far into the future and far beyond the Five Nations.

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contrasting "public" schools for Euro-American students with government or government-sponsored schools for Native students that may also have been operated by non-governmental organizations such as religious institutions, causing considerable terminological confusion. To help ameliorate this confusion, we refer to the "public" schools regularly attended by Euro-Americans as "standard neighborhood schools" and schools designed for American Indians as "standard Native schools", without distinguishing who was operating them.

The supervisor of schools among the Five Nations reported that the government began its "first systematic effort…….to put Indians into the public schools [standard neighborhood schools] by employing officials whose sole time is devoted to such work". The report went on to say that "Beginning with the present fiscal year, July 1, 1910, our department has been instructed to confine the work exclusively to stimulating the attendance of Indian pupils in the public [standard neighborhood] schools and to arranging for the payment of tuition to such schools as are so impoverished by the presence of untaxed Indian lands as to make them unable to maintain a satisfactory" program (Office of Indian Affairs 1911, page 463,)

The BIA reports were generally unclear about how this policy was implemented in practice, but a 1921 report summarizing the current program mentioned what individuals and schools were eligible for BIA payments. It said that "Furthering the incentive of placing children in public schools [standard neighborhood schools], tuition is being paid for each pupil whose parent is a non-taxpayer and where the pupil is not less than one-fourth Indian blood" (Office of Indian Affairs 1921, page 8).

However, the 1911 BIA report divided the standard neighborhood school students into two groups: those with a contract and those without. It reported, without explanation, that there were a total of 10,625 standard neighborhood school students consisting of two groups: 4015 contract students; and 6610 noncontract students (Office of Indian Affairs 1911, page 163). We assume that in the cases of the 4015 contract school students there was some kind of formal agreement between the BIA and the schools the students were attending.

Things are not so clear for the noncontract standard neighborhood school students. It is possible that the noncontract standard neighborhood school students were simply students who were attending the standard neighborhood schools where the BIA had contract students but the noncontract students were ineligible for the BIA funding. It is also possible that the noncontract standard neighborhood school students were those attending different schools, but known in some way to the BIA. Or, the noncontract category could have included both types of students. In any event, we are not clear how the BIA assembled its standard neighborhood school data, the distinctions made between contract and noncontract

students, and how these methods and definitions may have changed over time. The BIA reports also suggest that the BIA itself may have been uncertain of its own definitions and procedures and that our results for this period should be interpreted with exceptional care[44].

Keeping these caveats in mind, we constructed Figure 8 to provide information about the impact of the introduction of standard neighborhood schools for the education of Native students. We did so by dividing American Indian student enrollment into two components: those of students enrolled at standard neighborhood schools; and those enrolled at standard Native schools—either day or boarding. Note that Figure 8 shows trends through 1938 for the total population but separately for the Five Nations and Other Nations through 1936[45].

Figure 8 indicates that the standard neighborhood school innovation took hold very quickly. As early as 1911, nearly 7 thousand Five Nations students were enrolled in standard neighborhood schools. This dramatic increase continued through 1915, increasing the standard neighborhood school enrollment of Five Nations students to nearly 19 thousand. This dramatic expansion was in some ways made at the

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[44] We provide some examples of the uncertainty and confusion raised in BIA reports by these issues. First, the standard neighborhood school number reported in the standard statistical table for 1910 was 111 while the text of the 1910 report said that there were about 3,000, mostly in California and Oklahoma (Office of Indian Affairs 1910, page 15). Second, the standard table for 1911 reported a total of 10,625 while the text of the 1911 report states the number of Native children in such schools exceeded 11,000 (Office of Indian Affairs 1910, page 27). Third, the 1930 report provides two contradictions. The 1930 standard statistical table puts the national number at 34,775 while the text (page 11) gives the number of approximately 38,000. In addition, the 1930 standard statistical table (page 55) states the number of such students for the Five Nations as 16,371 while providing a footnote stating that: "Additional Indian children attending city or town public schools [standard neighborhood schools] are reported to the number of 9663, which however is regarded as excessive" (Office of Indian Affairs 1930). Finally, in 1938, the standard statistical table put the total national number enrolled in these standard neighborhood schools at 33,645, but also provides a footnote estimating that another 10,000 are likely "enrolled in public schools away from the reservation, in addition to the number known to be in public schools" (Office of Indian Affairs 1938, page 245). The BIA commissioners also sometimes acknowledged the problems these matters posed for enumeration of students in school (Office of Indian Affairs 1920, page 13).

[45] Because the data available for 1938 were very limited, we did not include a separate column for that year in Appendix Table 4. However, we did include both the total standard Native school enrollment (34,355) and standard neighborhood school enrollment (43,645) in Figure 8 (see Appendix Table 1).

expense of standard Native school enrollment as it actually declined by about 60 percent from about 6 thousand in 1910 to about 2 thousand in 1915. This dramatic drop in standard Native school enrollment between 1910 and 1915 for the Five Nations primarily occurred through the elimination of standard Native day school enrollment, while the associated decline in Five Nations boarding school enrollment was only about a quarter. The number of students enrolled in standard Native schools among the Five Nations increased somewhat in subsequent years but never reached the 1910 level again in our time period, which itself was lower than standard Native enrollment among the Five Nations as far back as 1880. This reported shift from standard Native schools to standard neighborhood schools was so great that between 1915 and 1936 the percentage of Five Nations students reported to be attending standard neighborhood schools fluctuated between 82 and 90 percent.

As shown in Figure 8, the reported increases in enrollment in standard neighborhood schools between 1910 and 1915 was so substantial that the overall number of Five Nations students increased between 1910 and 1915 by more than 3 times, from just less than 6 thousand to more than 21 thousand in 1915. Between 1915 and 1930, the number of Five Nations standard neighborhood school students and the total number of Five Nations students generally leveled out, with some modest fluctuations through 1930.

The reported student enrollment trends in the Five Nations were less straightforward between 1930 and 1936. The reported total number of enrollees increased dramatically from about 20 thousand to about 30 thousand between 1930 and 1932 and then declined to about 25 thousand in 1936. This was almost entirely the result of trends in standard neighborhood schools that followed the same up and down pattern as the overall pattern—from about 16 thousand in 1930 to about 27 thousand in 1932 to about 22 thousand in 1936. It is possible that this reported pattern reflects big perturbations in Five Nations enrollment patterns during this six year period, but we found no discussion of such large events—and their explanations--in the Office of Indian Affairs annual reports. Instead, we believe that the very large ups and downs during these six years were likely produced by an over-reporting of standard neighborhood school enrollment in 1932. At the same time, if we accept the 1930 and 1936 numbers as

relatively accurate, there were significant increases in both the number of standard neighborhood students and the total number of students among the Five Nations. There were no substantial changes in the numbers of Five Nations students enrolled in day and boarding schools during this 1930 to 1936 period.

The dramatic increase in standard neighborhood school enrollment was not nearly as rapid or extensive among the Other Nations, but it was still very notable (Figure 8). The number of standard neighborhood school students in the Other Nations increased from almost zero in 1910 to more than 7 thousand in 1915, and this number increased steadily until 1930 when it stood at more than 18 thousand, surpassing the more than 16 thousand level among the Five Nations at that time. The enrollment of Other Nations students in standard neighborhood schools continued to increase between 1930 and 1936, and at an even faster rate than reported for the Five Nations during the same period.

We noted earlier that the substantial increase in standard neighborhood school enrollments for the Five Nations was accompanied by a 60 percent decline in the reported number of standard Native school students. There was also a substantial decline in reported standard Native school enrollments among the Other Nations between 1910 and 1911, but in percentage terms was much less than in the Five Nations—being just over 15 percent. The 1910-1911 percentage decline in Other Nation enrollments occurred similarly for both boarding and day schools during this one year period. Between 1911 and 1930, the number of standard Native students in the Other Nations increased by 12 percent, with this increase being produced by the combination of increased boarding school enrollment and decreased day school enrollment. In addition, while the percentage of students in the Five Nations enrolled in standard neighborhood schools fluctuated between 82 and 90 percent, in the Other Nations the percentage in standard neighborhood schools increased rather steadily from just 20 percent in 1915 to just 50 percent in 1936.

The 1930 to 1936 period produced a reversal of earlier trends among the standard Native schools for the Other Nations— increases in the number of day students and declines in the number of boarding school students. Day school enrollment more than doubled from about 5 thousand to about 12 thousand while boarding school enrollment declined by about a third from around 25 thousand to around 17

thousand—with the overall number of standard Native school students declining by about a thousand. The overall number of enrolled students in the Other Nations during the 1930 to 1936 period increased by about 9 thousand—or nearly 20 percent.

We now turn from our detailed separate discussions of the Five Nations and Other Nations to Figure 3 and the overall 1910 to 1938 trends for the total population of Native students. Unfortunately, data problems make an overall summary for this period difficult. In addition to the likely over-count of students in 1932 among the Five Nations, the 1938 report was very brief, with significant amounts of estimation, and did not provide data separately for the Five Nations and Other Nations.

At the national combined level student enrollment was reported to have increased by 80 percent from approximately 38 thousand in 1910 to approximately 68 thousand in 1930 (Figure 3). Although the 1932 BIA report indicated that the total number of 83 thousand students was reached in that year, we believe, as discussed earlier, that the 1932 number is an overestimate and that the total number had not reached 83 thousand by 1936. Figure 3 also suggests that the number of students at the national level actually declined by more than 4 thousand between 1936 and 1938. However, even with this reported decline between 1936 and 1938, the total number of reported students was still substantially higher in 1938 than 8 years earlier in 1930. In addition, as explained in Appendix Table 1, the data for 1938 include a significant amount of estimation, and we cannot be certain that this 1936-1938 decline was real.

The Commissioners of Indian Affairs during this 1910-1938 period frequently noted the growth of enrollment of Native children in standard neighborhood schools and emphasized the perceived benefits of these public schools. For example, the 1921 annual BIA report noted the increasing availability of standard neighborhood schools for Native children. It also stated that "placing of all Indian children in the public schools is the ultimate aim" (Office of Indian Affairs, 1921, page 7).

The commissioner in 1914 commented that "Indian parents themselves show a marked preference for this form of education. It permits their children to remain with them in their homes, the separation from which has been heretofore their chief objection to enrollment of their children in Government boarding schools" (Office of Indian Affairs 1914, page 5). The commissioners also argued that the

integration of Native children in local standardized neighborhood schools would be a strong force bringing about the assimilation of Natives. They noted that White settlers were increasingly building homes near to or on Native reservations and that this would lead Whites to organize public schools for their own children. This would make it easy for the Whites to include the children of their Native neighbors in the local White neighborhood schools. In addition, Whites were perceived as increasingly willing to mix with Natives in this way (Office of Indian Affairs 1912, pages 39-40; 1914, pages 6-7; 1916, page 24; 1928, pages 2-5).

Commissioners also emphasized the financial advantages of educating Native children in local neighborhood schools. They noted that the federal government placed stringent caps on what it would expend on Native education, which were well below what local public schools spent. This hurt the quality of Native education and forced the reliance on the labor of Native children in providing essential services to operate the schools. The commissioners also noted that despite the expansion of Native education, there were still many Native young people who did not have access to schools. Standard neighborhood schools were expected to ameliorate these problems because they were considerably less expensive to operate than government-operated schools, especially boarding schools. In addition, the commissioners argued that the placement of children in local public schools would facilitate the transfer of some of the costs of educating Native children from the federal to the state and local levels (Office of Indian Affairs 1917, pages 11-17; 1918, pages 31-33; 1919, pages 22-27; 1921, pages 7-8; 1922, pages 1-5; 1923, pages 3-4; 1927, pages 9-11; 1928, pages 2-5; 1931, pages 4-9). However, the 1933 commissioner report argued that the Indian Office has “made clear that the purpose is not to place an added burden upon the States, but rather to pool Federal and State resources with the object of securing a better quality of education for both whites and Indians” (Office of Indian Affairs 1933, page 76).

Numerous discussions in the annual BIA reports, however, illustrate the difficulties of working out cost-sharing programs at the various levels (Office of Indian Affairs 1913, pages 20-21; 1917, pages 12-17; 1921, pages 7-8; 1922, pages 1-5; 1928, pages 2-5; 1933, pages 75-76; 1935, pages 88-89; 1938, pages 245-246). For example, what Native children would be expected to go to the local community

schools versus going to the federally subsidized boarding and day schools? And, what students would be paid for exclusively by local resources and which would receive at least some support from state and federal governments—and in what proportion? Many different arrangements were implemented both within and across states. In some cases financial resources were transferred directly from the federal government to states; in other instances, tuition was paid directly from the federal government to local school districts; and in yet other cases the local districts, with or without state assistance, bore costs of educating Native students.

The BIA commissioner reports during this 1910-1938 period frequently noted that the increases in standard neighborhood school enrollments made it possible, even advisable, to diminish the use of, federally sponsored boarding and day schools, with boarding schools being especially targeted for closure (Office of Indian Affairs 1918, pages 33-34; 1919 pages 26-27; 1926, page 7; 1928, pages 2-3; 1930, pages 10-11; 1931, pages 4-5). For example, the 1932 report indicated that "The most significant feature of the year in Indian education was the determined effort to make the change from boarding school attendance to local day or public school attendance for Indian children……… particularly for younger children" (Office of Indian Affairs 1932, page 4). This 1932 report especially emphasized the growth of junior high school and high school enrollments in boarding schools (pages 4-7).

Although this narrative of reducing the number of boarding schools and boarding school enrollments existed over much of the 1910-1938 period, as noted earlier, there were no consistent downward trends before 1930. Yet, the 1930s did experience this declining trend of boarding school enrollments, along with the earlier noted increases in day schools and standard neighborhood schools (see Figures 6 and 8). The 1934 BIA report declared that such changes meant "that the decline of the boarding school as the dominant factor in the education of Indian children is at last an accomplished fact" (Office of Indian Affairs 1934, page 84; also Philp 1977, pages 128-129).

Two other relevant themes emerged in the reports of the BIA commissioners in the 1930s. One was an emphasis on Native children attending colleges and vocational schools, with some loans provided

for attendance at such institutions[46]. The BIA reported enrollment in colleges and vocational schools numbering in the hundreds during the middle 1930s (Office of Indian Affairs 1933, page 79; 1934, page 91; 1935, page 134; 1936, pages 172-173; 1937, page 230). A second theme emerging during this era was increases in adult education and the use of schools as community centers integrating the activities of children and adults (Office of Indian Affairs 1934, pages 86-87; 1936, pages 166-167; 1938, page 246; 1940, pages 388-389).

School Enrollment Rates

In our discussion of Native school enrollment so far we have considered only the total numbers of students enrolled without considering the size of the school age population. As a result, we know a substantial amount about levels and trends in Native school enrollment, but do not know the propensity or rates of Native enrollment. That is, we do not know the extent to which trends in school enrollment increased or decreased relative to the size of the school age population. We now turn our attention from sheer numbers of students to the propensity or rate of school enrollment, focusing on the percentage of school age children attending school (documented in Appendix Table 5 and in Figures 9 and 10).

We begin our analyses of enrollment rates with the BIA data shown in Figure 9 for the U.S. as a whole. Our first estimate of school enrollment proportions overall using the BIA data is for 1911 when just over half of the young people of school age were reported to be enrolled in school, which we will see later, closely aligns with the published decennial census results for 1910. The BIA estimated percentage enrolled increased substantially between 1910 and 1915—at about 70 percent where it basically leveled off until 1925 when it increased again until it reached nearly 80 percent in 1936 (again discounting the 1932 data as an overestimate and perhaps even more in 1938)

Because they constituted about three-quarters of the Native population, the levels and trends for the Other Nations were very similar to those for the total population. The Five Nations were very similar to the Other Nations and to the total population in having just over one-half enrolled in 1911; however,

[46] This does not mean that college attendance of Native students was an entirely new phenomenon in this period, as a small number of students had attended universities during the 19th century (Hoxie 2012).

this fraction reached over 80 percent in both 1915 and 1921. One plausible explanation of the different Five Nations trends is the dramatic disruption of Five Nations schooling in the first decade of the 20th century that we discussed earlier. That disruption may have caused a dip in the proportion in school in 1911, which set the stage for a remarkable recovery of enrollment rates in the following nearly one-half decade. The reported numbers for the Five Nations again increased substantially in the 1930s—to 82 percent in 1936[47].

The Commissioners of Indian Affairs during the initial decades of the 20th century were aware that school enrollment was substantially below universal, at least among the Other Nations, and discussed these issues in their reports (Office of Indian Affairs 1922, pages 2-3; 1933, pages 72-73). The 1922 report was especially detailed in identifying California, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Washington as having substantial numbers of Native children who were not enrolled in school. Despite the report being concerned about the lack of enrollment in these states, it argued that the "problem of providing school facilities for these children may not be as difficult as it would seem" because in these states "public schools are available for large numbers of Indian children, and every year the enrollment of Indians in public schools in these States is increasing". The commissioner indicated that in addition to utilizing Native schools to full capacity, the solution to the problem of non-enrollment in these states "will be largely one of cooperation with the public-school authorities in enrolling Indian children" (Office of Indian Affairs 1922, pages 2-3).

The 1922 BIA report, like reports in other years, was less sanguine about getting all students in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah enrolled in school. The report was especially concerned with Native schooling in Arizona and New Mexico, stating that these two states, "with their school population

[47] The reported proportion enrolled for the Five Nations in 1932 was .98. However, this number was so much greater than the number just two years earlier in 1930 and four years later in 1936 and so close to 100 percent that we are skeptical that enrollment rates actually reached that level in 1932. As we noted earlier, this was a period when the BIA was having difficulty enumerating students in standard neighborhood schools. In addition, the enrollment numbers for 1932 included people less than age 6 and over age 18 while the denominator just included those ages 6-18, providing another source of inflated enrollment rates for that year.

of between 11,500 and 12,000, without any kind of school facilities, constitute the big educational need among Indians". The report went on to state that "The United States Government more than 50 years ago made a treaty with the Navajo Indians pledging that for every 30 children a school would be provided. Generations of children have grown up in ignorance and superstition without having the promise fulfilled, and now….large numbers are neglected the same as were their fathers and mothers" (Office of Indian Affairs 1922, page 4).

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs made an extensive trip through the Southwest and noted in his 1922 report that the Native economy was to a large extent based on nomadic herding of goats, sheep, and cattle over substantial areas of the country. In addition, youth of school age were involved in these nomadic shepherding activities, making it difficult for them to attend school. The commissioner decried this situation and declared that "As Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I am not willing to longer overlook the failure to provide schools for these native Americans". He also indicated that "Schools should be provided for all of the Indians of the Southwest within the next four or five years" and further recommended that most education in this region be in boarding schools because of the geographic mobility of the Native populations (Office of Indian Affairs, 1922, pages 4-5). Subsequent reports indicated that concrete progress was being made, but also indicated that there were still many young people in the region who were not enrolled in school (Office of Indian Affairs, 1924, page 6; 1925, page 9; 1934, pages 87-88; 1937, page 228; 1940, page 386). Yet, as recently as 1946, the BIA estimated that the government provided facilities for teaching only a minority of Navajo children, and reported that a delegation of 26 Navajos had visited Washington, D. C. to demand additional schooling for their children (Office of Indian Affairs 1946, pages 357-359).

We now turn to Figure 10 and the enrollment rates estimated from the decennial census data—both the published and IPUMS data. Our time series for the published decennial census covers only 1900 through 1930 because we have been unable to locate a published number for 1940. Our time series from the data distributed by IPUMS combines the 100 percent complete count data for 1910-1940 with the sample data from the Native oversample for 1900. We used the IPUMS sample data for 1900 because

preliminary analysis showed that the 1900 complete count data varied from the 1900 published data for several variables. We did not use the sample data for 1920 and 1940 because of quite small samples of Natives in those years.

Although it is important to be cautious in comparing the enrollment rates of the BIA and decennial census estimates because they were derived using different definitions and procedures, we begin with the observation that the published census estimate of 51 percent enrolled for 1910 is similar to the BIA estimate for 1911 of 55 percent. The published decennial estimate for 1900 is substantially lower at 40 percent, suggesting a substantial rise in enrollment between 1900 and 1910. Interestingly, the proportion enrolled increased much less after 1910 in the published decennial census data—reaching only 60 percent in 1930--compared to the BIA estimate of 75 percent in the same year.

One possible explanation of this substantial difference between the BIA and published decennial census data is that the decennial census covers a much larger school age population than does the BIA. More specifically, the school age populations estimated in the decennial censuses are much larger than the estimates of the school age populations reported by the BIA. In fact, the ratios of reported decennial census estimates of school age populations to comparable BIA estimates of the school age population range from 1.51 in 1920/1921 to 2.70 in 1910 (raw data in Appendix Table 5).

One factor leading to this difference in the number of school age children is that the Census Bureau's data covered ages 5-20 in defining the school age population, compared to the 6-18 year age range of the BIA. This would obviously increase the Census Bureau's estimated school age population over that of the BIA.

Another factor explaining the differences between the Census Bureau's and the BIA's results is differences in organization and scope. The Census Bureau had responsibility to obtain and report data about the entire population, with no responsibility to administer programs for Native individuals and communities. The goal was to enumerate everyone, with this goal only inhibited by the difficulties of obtaining results for the entire population and overcoming the reluctance of people to be enumerated. On the other hand, the BIA data were generated by an organization with the responsibility of administering a

program of management and control over American Indians living on reservations and under the authority of a government agent. Since there were substantial numbers of American Indians in the early 20th century living outside reservations and the control of government agents, the BIA data would have covered fewer people than the decennial census.

In addition, during the early 20th century the BIA funded and sometimes operated an extensive school system designed to include as many Native students as possible. The BIA was also active in recruiting young people to go to school, with this recruitment sometimes involving coercion of various types. This situation likely led to Natives associated with government agencies attending school more often than they would have under other circumstances. In addition, incentives to enhance reported enrollment numbers would also have been greater for the BIA than for the Census Bureau. As a result of these things, this BIA system was likely part of the reason that the BIA reported a higher percentage enrolled than did the Census Bureau.

We now turn to the census estimates of the proportion enrolled using the IPUMS data. For this time series we used the 100 percent complete count data for the 1910-1940 years and the sample data with the Native over-sample in 1900. Our first conclusion from this IPUMS time series is that, with one exception, it overlaps very closely with the published census data (Figure 10). The exception is the year 1910 when the IPUMS data produced an estimate of .61 enrolled compared to the .51 reported by the Census Bureau in its published reports. Furthermore, this 1910 discrepancy between the published census results and the IPUMS data produces a difference in time trends between 1910 and 1920. Whereas the published data suggest an increase in the proportion enrolled during this period, from .51 to .54, the IPUMS data suggest that there was a decline from .61 to .53 over the same period. Also note that this suggested decline from 1910 to 1920 is inconsistent with the substantial increase from .55 to .70 for the BIA data during a similar period.

The discrepancy between the published and IPUMS census data results in 1910 is perplexing because both sources relied on the same census enumeration sheets—and the two operations produced

very similar numbers for 1900, 1920, and 1930. In addition, the results from the census sample data in 1910 are very close to the 1910 complete count data (.63 versus .61; not shown in figure).

We checked the possibility that the presence of missing data and IPUMS imputation may have contributed to this 1910 discrepancy. We found that whereas the amount of school attendance data that was edited or imputed by the Census Bureau or IPUMS for children ages 6-19 was 1.02 percent or less for the 1900, 1920, 1930, and 1940 IPUMS data that we used; 20.1 percent of the 1910 school attendance data was imputed by IPUMS (data not shown in tables). We checked the possibility of this imputation affecting the 1910 results for those ages 6-19 by estimating the school attendance rates for the total IPUMS population, for the not-imputed IPUMS population, and for the imputed IPUMS population and comparing those estimates with the comparable numbers in the published census reports. We found that whereas the published government report indicated that only 56.4 percent of those 6-19 were in school, the IPUMS total enrolled number was 66.7 percent, the not-imputed IPUMS number was 68.5 percent; and the imputed percent was 59.3 percent. These numbers suggest that the imputation process likely decreased the estimated percentage enrolled in the IPUMS data compared to the government's published reports. These results suggest that we will need to find the explanation of the IPUMS-government discrepancy elsewhere.

In order to obtain more insights into the level of Native school enrollment in 1910 and trends in the early 20th century, we now turn to independent information about literacy in the 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 censuses. Because the Census Bureau restricted its question about literacy to those ten years of age and older at the time of the census, we limited our analysis in the same way. We estimated literacy by single years of age from age 10 through age 19 at the time of the 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 censuses. The results are provided in Table 1.

Table 1 is clear in showing that literacy generally increased from 1900 through 1930--a conclusion previously documented by Thornton and Young-DeMarco (2021b). In fact, the data suggest clear upward trends in literacy for each age. In addition these trends are monotonic across census years

within age groups. The increases were greater from 1900 to 1910 than between 1910 and 1920, but there is no suggestion of an actual decline in literacy between 1910 and 1920.

We recognize that the data in Table 1 are about literacy and not about school attendance and might be thought of as irrelevant to questions about school attendance. However, Native literacy (at least as reported in censuses of Natives) was closely related to attending school in this period (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2021b). If Native attendance at school was declining between 1910 and 1920, we would expect there to be a decline in literacy for the youngest children as well. However, these data show no decline in literacy, suggesting that there was also no decline in school enrollment.

We made another independent estimate of school attendance in 1900 through 1930 by back-projecting the school attainment information in the 1940 census to the years that the people were actually accumulating their schooling. Our first step in back-projecting 1940 school attainment was to make an assumption that the school age population was between the ages of 6 and 19 and that all years of schooling were attained consecutively between the ages of 6 and 19. We also assumed that anyone with one or more years of completed schooling attended at age 6, that anyone with two or more years of completed schooling attended at ages 6 and 7, that anyone with three or more years of completed schooling attended at ages 6 through 8, and on up to 14 or more years of completed schooling where we assumed that the person attended school every year between ages 6 and 19. We identified every individual in the 1940 census who would have been between ages 6 and 19 in one of the years 1900, 1910, 1920, or 1930, calculated their age at that census year, and estimated whether they would have been in school that year. Then, for each single year of age, we calculated the proportion back-projected to be in school. We also summed across ages to ascertain the same information for the total population ages 6 to 19 in that census year.

We know that these assumptions cannot literally be true as people often have birthdays during a school year, some begin school at ages below 6 or above 6, some do not stop at age 19, and some experience interruptions in their school trajectories. Despite the fact that these assumptions do not match reality exactly, they do provide a plausible procedure for back-projecting 1940 school attainment to

school attendance at the respective census years, and because we use the same procedures for each census year, they should not introduce substantial differential inter-period bias.

Our results for these back-projections are shown in Table 2 where we list for each of the census years 1900 through 1930 the proportion of school age children projected on the basis just described to be attending school at each single year of age and across the entire age range from 6 through 19. Looking first at the entire age group from 6-19, we see that these back projections suggest a monotonic aggregate increase in proportion attending school from 37 percent in 1900, to 42 percent in 1910, to 47 percent in 1920, and to 57 percent in 1930. Furthermore, this monotonic upward trend in projected proportion enrolled across 1900 to 1930 holds for every individual age group from ages 6 through 19. This backward projection thus suggests that there was nothing unusual about the year 1910 and that the upward trend was likely monotonic over the 1900-1930 period, with no decline between 1910 and 1920.

Of course, the data in Table 2 are affected by both recall error and differential mortality by school attainment. As we have discussed elsewhere (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2021b) in regard to literacy, differential mortality by school attainment will distort school attendance trends as estimated by our back-projection method. On the one hand, if mortality differentially selects the more educated, it will distort the observed school attendance of the older cohorts downward relative to the younger cohorts, thereby contributing to the upward trend in school attendance suggested by Table 2. On the other hand, if mortality differentially selects the less educated, it will distort the observed school attendance of the older cohorts upward relative to the younger cohorts, thereby dampening the upward trend in school attendance suggested by Table 2. As Thornton and Young-DeMarco (2021b) discussed, the literature generally supports the latter expectation, meaning that the increased school attendance implied by Table 2 likely underestimates the overall time trend towards greater school enrollment.

Age Specific Trends in School Enrollment

It is important to note that the age-specific enrollment rates listed in Table 2 reflect the results of a simulation model with specific assumptions that back projects enrollment from 1940 school attainment

levels, but do not indicate actual age-specific rates of enrollment. Although these numbers are useful for our earlier purposes, they are produced from a model that ensures that enrollment rates are highest at age 6 and decline monotonically across the life course. For this reason, we do not use these numbers for discussing actual patterns of age-specific enrollment. Instead, we turn to the actual age specific enrollment rates derived from the IPUMS data that are reported in Table 3.

The data in Table 3 suggest that in 1900, one-tenth of a percent or more of the population at every age between 1 and 4 were reported to be in school. This number increased across ages in 1900, reaching 1 percent at age 4. We do not know if this pattern of reporting school attendance at ages 1-4 is the result of some kind of early school participation, the labeling of informal instruction or child care as school attendance, measurement error, or some other phenomenon.

The proportion reported to be in school continued to increase after age 4, reaching 7 percent at age 5 in 1900, with approximately the same number reported in 1940. The proportion reported to be enrolled in school at age 6 in 1900 was only 21 percent—with that number increasing to only 45 percent in 1940. It is important to note, however, that these low numbers for enrollment at age 6 are at least partially a result of the standard school calendar, the timing of the censuses, and the varying ranges of school attendance months specified by the school attendance question[48]. In a school system without kindergarden, which was uncommon in many places in the early 20th century, many six year old children at the time of an April or June census would not have been old enough to attend school during the previous academic year. As such, they would be reported as non-attending six year olds, even though they may have been on a standard school trajectory of starting after they reached age 6.

While this timing factor can help explain the relatively low attendance for those age six at the census date, it cannot explain the relatively low rates for the next older age groups—being only a third of

[48] The 1900 census day was June 1, and school attendance was measured as how many months the person attended school in the past year. The 1910 census day was April 15, and school attendance was measured as any time since September 1, 1909. The 1920 census day was January 1, and school attendance was measured as any time since September 1, 1919. The 1930 census day was April 1, and school attendance was measured as any time since September 1, 1929, and while the census day for 1940 was April 1 as well, school attendance was measured as any time since March 1, 1940.

seven year-olds enrolled in 1900 (also see DeJong 1993, page 138, on this late enrollment phenomenon). The rate of enrollment increased relatively consistently through age 13 in 1900, with three-fifths being enrolled. Reported enrollment declined steadily in 1900 after age 13, reaching 29 percent at age 18.

Table 3 also reports that in 1900 some Natives continued in school well into their twenties and thirties. In fact, 4 percent were still enrolled at age 22 and two-tenths of a percent were enrolled at age 29. These enrollment proportions in the twenties may indicate some enrollment of Natives in college, but it is also likely that they reflect a late age of starting school and continuation in the lower levels of schooling at higher ages. In addition, there is certainly measurement error in these (and other) estimates.

As we noted earlier, overall Native school enrollment increased steadily and substantially across the four decades from 1900 to 1940. Table 3 provides the additional information that, with one exception, the enrollment increase from 1900 to 1940 occurred at every age from 1 to 34[49]. At every census, enrollment was relatively low at age 6—influenced by the factors discussed above--and then increased steadily to a peak at about ages 11 to 13. In all census years, there were steady declines in enrollment after age 13, reaching very small numbers by age 25.

To provide a finer lens on the potential changes in the age structure of enrollment, we calculated a standardized enrollment proportion for each age by dividing the age specific enrollment proportions for each census by the proportion enrolled at ages 5-20 for that census. This allows us to see changes in age patterns across time while roughly controlling the enrollment level for each census. Those standardized enrollment numbers are reported in the five right hand columns of Table 3. Although we report the standardized numbers for 1910 in the table, we ignore them for this summarization because of the uncertainty of the IPUMS data for that year.

The right hand panel of Table 3 shows that despite the age pattern of school attendance keeping its same general shape over time, there were also significant changes in that pattern. Most important is the documentation of a general increase between 1900 and 1940 in the standardized enrollment proportions

[49] The pattern discussed earlier about the reported unusually high overall enrollment rates for 1910 in the IPUMS data is apparent in the age specific data as well.

attending school at ages 6 through 9. Furthermore, the 1900-1940 changes in the standardized enrollment proportions at these ages were substantial—ranging from .191 to .327 in proportionate increases. Furthermore the increases in standardized enrollment proportions for ages 7, 8, and 9 occurred at every age across each of the periods from 1900 to 1920, from 1920 to 1930, and from 1930 to 1940, suggesting that increases for these three young age groups were generally steady across the period.

Because of the way the standardized enrollment proportions were calculated, the increases in the standardized enrollment proportions at ages 6-9 between 1900 and 1940 had to be balanced by decreases in standardized enrollment proportions in at least some other ages. The right-hand panel of Table 3 indeed indicates that at every age between 10 and 22 (except for age 20), there were declines in the standardized enrollment proportions between 1900 and 1940. And, for several ages, the declines were of similar magnitudes to the increases at ages 6-9—for example at ages 13 and 18. This 1900-1940 general pattern of declining standardized enrollment proportions also generally applies to ages 10-22 for the 1900-1920 period and the 1930-1940 period but not the 1920-1930 period.

Our interpretation of these patterns is that across the 1900 to 1940 period the relative increases in enrollment were the largest for the young children between ages 6 and 9. In addition, while there were increases in enrollment at ages 10-22 during the same period, these were proportionately less than those at ages 6-9.

Table 4 provides another perspective on changing age patterns of Native enrollment by listing in the next-to-last column the proportionate increases in enrollment rates for each age group from 1900 to 1940. The last column in Table 4 fine-tunes this proportionate increase by displaying the proportion of the possible increases that could have occurred for a particular age group. This calculation divides the proportionate increase across the four decades for a particular age group by one minus the proportion enrolled in 1900.

The data in Table 4 support the observations made from Table 3 that the greatest proportionate increases between 1900 and 1940 were for ages 7 through 9, where the absolute increases were nearly .4

(next to last column). The proportion of the gap between the 1900 proportion and 1.0 that was reduced in these four decades for these three ages was between .59 and .68 (last column).

The proportionate increases in enrollment for the ages between 10 and 16 from 1900 to 1940 were significantly lower than for those ages 7-9—ranging from .20 to .28. However, since the proportions enrolled at ages 10 to 15 in 1900 were higher than the proportions enrolled at ages 7-9 in 1900, the proportions of the gap between the 1900 proportions enrolled and 1.0 for the 10-15 age group were just slightly lower than for the 7-9 age group. The absolute increases in proportions enrolled declined rapidly after age 15, as did the proportionate declines relative to the possible declines.

Thus, as with Table 3, Table 4 suggests that the enrollment increases between 1900 and 1940 were more substantial at ages 7-9 than at later ages. At the same time we note that the age trends in both tables do not reflect the experience of any particular birth cohort of Native children but indicate differences for people from different birth cohorts observed at different ages at the time of cross-sectional censuses.

The data that we just discussed from Tables 3 and 4 concerning the age distribution of enrollment also tell a broader story. Earlier research on one Native population group (Young-DeMarco and Thornton no date) has shown a general increase across time in the number of grades completed by Natives, suggesting that young people may have been increasing the number of years they spent in school. Tables 3 and 4 provide an additional dimension to this phenomenon by indicating that across the first four decades of the 20th century, the ages of starting school declined substantially, with nearly 40 percent increases between 1900 and 1940 in the proportion in school at ages 7-9. This 1900-1940 decline in ages starting school would have provided a much earlier start at completing higher grades of school in 1940 than in 1900.

The 1929 BIA annual report indicates that this increase in enrollment at the earlier years of the school ages may have been at least a partial result of BIA efforts. That report indicated that "So far as the service has secured information, it appears that the Indian children in the Government schools are, on an average, about 2 years older than the normal age-grade standard. This has been chiefly due to failure to

secure the early entrance of children into school, although this condition has been remedied to a large extent within the past few years due to persistent effort of the bureau" (Office of Indian Affairs 1929, pages 6-7).

At the same time, the data in Tables 3 and 4 show that the proportion of young people enrolled in school in their late teens and early twenties also increased from 1900 to 1940—by .20 at age 16, by .05 at age 19, and by .02 at age 22. Thus, the period of enrollment for Native youth was not only expanding at the young ages, but at the older ages as well. These expansions in enrollment at both the early and late ends of the school age continuum together provided considerable time for the dramatic increases in grade completion experienced during these decades that have been documented elsewhere.

Summary and Conclusions

In this paper we have provided a numerical sociological and demographic history of Euro-American schooling among the First Nations people of the United States from 1819 through 1940. We have documented levels and trends in the number of schools designed for American Indians and the number of Natives enrolled in schools across the entire 1819-1940 time period. For the later years of this 122 year period, we documented levels and trends in the percentage of Native youth reported to be enrolled in Euro-American schools, the distribution of schools and school enrollment among Native day schools, Native boarding schools, and the standard neighborhood schools attended by non-Natives as well as Natives.

We have documented these sociological and demographic dimensions of First Nations schooling in the Euro-American system using BIA data from 1819 through 1938 and data from the 1900-1940 federal decennial censuses. These two bodies of data together have permitted us to provide an extensive account of levels and trends in these central aspects of Native schooling, but limitations in the quality of the data and the resources available for our research have forced us to provide a general account of this schooling history and not a precise and detailed account. We, thus, see our documentation as a launching

point for future understanding of the sociology and demography of Native education and not an end point. We know that this is an exceptionally large topic and that the data are often ambiguous and error-ridden, making definitive conclusions very difficult, but we believe that our work can be a reasonable beginning point for more precise and complete work which we welcome.

We also note that there are many significant aspects of American Indian schooling that we have not been able to examine in this paper. Among the many uncovered dimensions of Native schooling experience are the extent to which school enrollment was voluntary or forced on Native families and their children, the nature of treatment in the schools (for example, abused or treated with care), the quality of teaching and learning, and how well the school experience did or did not prepare the children for adult life. While we recognize the importance of understanding these matters in the lives of American Indians, such investigations are outside the scope of this research, and we do not try to adjudicate whether the experiences and results of Euro-American schooling were, on balance, good or bad. While we fully recognize the importance of these other dimensions of Native education, our research provides, to our knowledge, the first long-term documentation of schooling trends over a long time period from a numerical perspective.

Although we know that Native schooling in Euro-American missionary institutions—sometimes supported by government funds—began substantially earlier than 1819, we began our quantitative analysis in 1819 at the time of the beginning of the systematic support of Native education by the U.S. government—a program that was extended in multiple forms to the present. Government support of Native schools began almost immediately in 1820 with 11 schools and by 1821 nearly 500 students were reported. Although there were significant ups and downs in subsequent years, particularly in regard to the government's program of ethnic cleansing in the 1830s and 1840s, the expansion of Native schools and students generally grew at a substantial rate across the next four decades to the start of the Civil War in 1860/1861, when the number of schools reached 160 and the number of students exceeded 6000. The growth of Native American schools and students accelerated after the Civil War, booming to more than

400 schools and nearly 20,000 students by 1884. We have not reported the numbers of schools for all Natives after 1884, but the BIA reports indicate that student numbers reached approximately 80,000 by the 1930s.

Although the overall expansion of Native American schools and student numbers was generally upward and especially rapid after the Civil War, our data also demonstrate that the growth of Native schooling depended on the conditions of the external environment. Perhaps the first external force interrupting the growth of Native schooling was the expansion of the official ethnic cleansing program of the U.S. government that became especially draconian in the 1830s with the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, which was followed by an extensive period of forced expulsion of Natives from the east to the west, including such events as the Trail of Tears and the Trail of Death. This enormous disruption of Native life was accompanied by very substantial reductions in schools and students among some Native populations. Another important general disturbance of the expansion of Native schooling was the Civil War, whose effects were so dramatic that it is difficult to specify them with precision.

One significant finding of our research is that our division of the Native nations into three groups demonstrated that there was not just one story of Native schooling over the period studied but three stories. Among the three groups we focused on—the Five Nations, the New York Nations, and the Other Nations—the disruptions of the 1830s and immediately afterwards were especially serious for the Five Nations and the New York Nations, with the effects on the Five Nations being particularly dramatic. During this time the Five Nations—the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole—felt the full brunt of the Trail of Tears as they were expelled from their homelands in the southeastern United States to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma, a tragedy that was felt directly in the school experiences of the youth.

Many in the large and diverse group of Other Nations experienced their own ethnic cleansing following the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, but they did not experience the large reductions

in the numbers of schools and students. In fact, the numbers of both schools and students among the other Nations were higher in 1842 than in 1830. We have put forward the plausible explanation that the disruption of schooling was less for the Other Nations than for the Five Nations. In addition, schooling in the Other Nations may have increased during the decade because of the implementation of treaties where the U.S. government promised to provide school resources in partial payment for land that the Natives were forced to cede. Further research is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

The Civil War also had different effects across the three groups of Native nations that we examined separately. From the data we compiled, the most powerful effects of the War were among the Five Nations located in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) near the Confederate States where Native schooling was nearly, if not completely, abandoned. The Civil War also greatly diminished school enrollment in at least some Other Nations located close to the Confederate States.

The Five Nations in Indian Territory also had their own fairly unique experiences with schools in the early years of the 20th century when their government functions were abolished and the State of Oklahoma was established in 1907. This transition had very substantial negative effects on Native school facilities and the number of students enrolled. There was not only no such decline around this time among the Other Nations, but very substantial increases—indicating again the importance of local events and circumstances on the trends in Native schooling.

The differential effects of events and circumstances on schooling across Native nation groups were, thus, revealed by dividing the Native nations into three groups. With subgroup analyses we were able to detect the differential stories across Native groups. This leads us to the expectation that further subdivision of the data into additional groups, or even individual Native nations, would result in further differentiation of experiences and stories. This is illustrated by our discussion of the southwest Natives generally and the Navajo more specifically, where school expansion was much slower than in most other

places. Ultimately, we believe that each of the individual nations have their own stories—although with certain fundamental threads running throughout.

The data we have assembled also document that even though the enrollment of Native children in schools generally increased throughout the period covered in this paper, there were still many Native youths not enrolled in school in the first part of the 20th century. As late as 1900, only one-third of seven-year-olds were reported to be in school, and the maximum age specific percentage enrolled in school was only 60 percent for thirteen-year-olds. To be sure, seven-year-old enrollment increased to almost three-quarters by 1940 and the enrollment rate for thirteen-year-olds increased to just over four-fifths in 1940. These data thus indicate that even by 1940 Native school enrollment was still far from universal at the usual school-going ages in the United States. Our data also suggest that the percentage enrolled may also have varied across groups, with percentages higher in the Five Nations in the first decades of the 20th century than in the Other Nations, particularly those Other Nations located in the southwestern part of the U.S. This differential across Native nation groups illustrates again that each nation likely has its own somewhat unique experience and that further breaking of the data into more detailed subgroups would likely provide additional insights.

The previous paragraph reminds us that Native school enrollment was relatively low in 1900 at the younger ages of 7 to 9 and did not reach its maximum level until age 13, but then remained relatively high through the teenage years. A major story of the years after 1900 was the substantial expansion of school enrollment among the children of ages 7-9, the solid increases from ages 10-16, and continuing increases during the later teenage years.

Our data also contradict a common misperception that Native schools were predominantly—perhaps almost exclusively—boarding schools. Instead, our data indicate that in 1877 when we were first able to break down the number of schools into boarding and day schools, boarding schools represented only 18 percent of the total number of Native schools in the U.S. And, in 1884 when we were first able to

document the number of boarding and day students separately, boarding school students represented only 41 percent of the total Native students in the country. The decade of the 1880s and beyond, however, witnessed a remarkable growth of boarding school students, so that by 1910 boarding school students constituted 73 percent of the country's Native students. Nevertheless, while the three decades from 1880 to 1910 represented great boarding school expansion, even in 1910 there were still a substantial number of day school students.

Despite the fact that boarding school enrollment came to dominate day school enrollment by 1910, boarding school enrollment was overtaken by 1915 by another form of Native schooling—the standard neighborhood schools where at least some Natives mixed with non-Natives. Although boarding schools remained significant throughout the first four decades of the 20th century, standard neighborhood schools were rapidly becoming the predominant mode of Native schooling. This was especially true among the Five Nations where the number of standard neighborhood school students in the middle 1930s reached nearly 28 thousand compared to just over 3 thousand for the combined total of Native boarding and day students. At the same time, the number of standard neighborhood school students and the combined number of boarding and day school students in the middle 1930s in the Other Nations were very nearly equal at around 28 thousand each. As we have discussed, this expansion of standard neighborhood school students was an explicit part of the BIA school program of this period.

The 1930s also brought trends in the distribution of day and boarding schools within the standard Native schools portion of the BIA school portfolio, trends particularly marked among the Other Nations. During this interval, enrollment in Native day schools increased by about 7 thousand among the Other Nations, with this increase nearly offset by a decline of about 8 thousand in the number of boarding school students. These trends also reflect the new priorities of the BIA during this period, favoring smaller and more local schools over the more distant boarding schools, with boarding school enrollment actually declining significantly.

The end of the 1819-1940 time period brings us to the brink of American involvement in World War II and further changes in the nature of Native education. The BIA reports of the World War II era discussed such matters as providing Native education and personnel to assist the War effort, young Natives serving in the military, eighteen thousand in 1943, the great exodus of American Indians off of reservations, and the BIA's new assignment of working with the War Relocation Authority to administer internment camps for Japanese Americans during the War[50]. The educations of American Indians would undoubtedly continue to evolve well into the future.

We close this numerical summary of the 1819-1940 levels and trends of the numbers and kinds of schools, the numbers of students attending different kinds of schools, and the enrollment rates of students with our earlier-stated caveat that the data we have presented are affected by measurement errors of many types. Yet, we believe that they are sufficient to provide information about general patterns and trends. We also emphasize that our results represent a first exploration of these bodies of data. We recognize many limitations in our work and welcome other scholars examining, improving, and extending our work in other directions and into the period after 1940.

[50] Office of Indian Affairs 1940, pages 354-356; 1941, pages 412-418; 1942, pages 233-244; 1943, pages 273-275, 293-294; 1944, pages 237-238.

Table 1. Comparing Decennial Census Literacy by Single Years of Age for American Indians 10-19 in 1900-1930.

	Percent Literate			
	1900 IPUMS SAMPLE	**1910** IPUMS 100%	**1920** IPUMS 100%	**1930** IPUMS 100%
Age				
10	57.2	68.4	75.1	82.8
11	65.2	75.8	81.7	86.4
12	61.1	74.4	80.1	86.8
13	69.8	79.6	84.6	89.2
14	64.1	79.7	82.6	89.1
15	66.3	79.8	82.1	88.6
16	67.1	79.2	82.1	88.3
17	71.0	80.1	84.6	88.0
18	64.4	74.4	80.2	85.5
19	68.5	75.8	82.3	86.1

Table 2. Back Projecting American Indian School Attendance in 1900-1930 from School Attainment in the 1940 Decennial Census.

	Estimated Proportion Attending School			
	1900 IPUMS	1910 100%	1920 100%	1930 100%
Age				
6	.782	.817	.874	.893
7	.769	.819	.877	.887
8	.687	.746	.816	.852
9	.634	.731	.791	.827
10	.430	.536	.644	.763
11	.413	.527	.656	.740
12	.322	.424	.503	.636
13	.252	.300	.406	.550
14	.104	.138	.215	.370
15	.064	.080	.142	.281
16	.060	.062	.098	.206
17	.047	.051	.074	.158
18	.016	.021	.025	.036
19	.014	.019	.021	.028
6-19	.370	.418	.475	.565

Table 3. Age Specific Proportion Enrolled and Age Specific Standardized Proportion Enrolled by Year

	Age Specific Proportion Enrolled					Age Specific Standardized Proportion Enrolled[51]				
Age	**1900**	**1910**	**1920**	**1930**	**1940**	**1900**	**1910**	**1920**	**1930**	**1940**
5-20	0.376	0.606	0.532	0.596	0.603					
1	0.001	0.004	0.010	0.008	0.008	0.003	0.007	0.019	0.013	0.013
2	0.001	0.004	0.008	0.008	0.006	0.003	0.007	0.015	0.013	0.010
3	0.004	0.007	0.010	0.010	0.011	0.011	0.012	0.019	0.017	0.018
4	0.010	0.015	0.019	0.017	0.017	0.027	0.025	0.036	0.029	0.028
5	0.075	0.231	0.010	0.074	0.084	0.199	0.381	0.019	0.124	0.139
6	0.210	0.448	0.358	0.338	0.452	0.559	0.739	0.673	0.567	0.750
7	0.331	0.630	0.550	0.636	0.728	0.880	1.040	1.034	1.067	1.207
8	0.385	0.701	0.629	0.749	0.780	1.024	1.157	1.182	1.257	1.294
9	0.432	0.755	0.694	0.807	0.819	1.149	1.246	1.305	1.354	1.358
10	0.546	0.765	0.711	0.830	0.817	1.452	1.262	1.336	1.393	1.355
11	0.585	0.804	0.778	0.854	0.831	1.556	1.327	1.462	1.433	1.378
12	0.543	0.778	0.747	0.851	0.826	1.444	1.284	1.404	1.428	1.370
13	0.602	0.823	0.771	0.854	0.811	1.601	1.358	1.449	1.433	1.345
14	0.514	0.794	0.718	0.814	0.806	1.367	1.310	1.350	1.366	1.337
15	0.488	0.762	0.658	0.751	0.750	1.298	1.257	1.237	1.260	1.244
16	0.438	0.696	0.573	0.635	0.642	1.165	1.149	1.077	1.065	1.065
17	0.372	0.612	0.476	0.512	0.511	0.989	1.010	0.895	0.859	0.847
18	0.291	0.492	0.316	0.356	0.346	0.774	0.812	0.594	0.597	0.574
19	0.198	0.261	0.236	0.247	0.248	0.527	0.431	0.444	0.414	0.411
20	0.093	0.163	0.136	0.151	0.150	0.247	0.269	0.256	0.253	0.249
21	0.080	0.110	0.073	0.105	0.092	0.213	0.182	0.137	0.176	0.153
22	0.037	0.059	0.042	0.068	0.057	0.098	0.097	0.079	0.114	0.095
23	0.017	0.049	0.034	0.005	0.036	0.045	0.081	0.064	0.008	0.060
24	0.013	0.028	0.018	0.032	0.027	0.035	0.046	0.034	0.054	0.045
25	0.010	0.025	0.020	0.023	0.020	0.027	0.041	0.038	0.039	0.033
26	0.012	0.019	0.013	0.021	0.016	0.032	0.031	0.024	0.035	0.027
27	0.010	0.018	0.012	0.014	0.009	0.027	0.030	0.023	0.023	0.015
28	0.005	0.012	0.012	0.013	0.010	0.013	0.020	0.023	0.022	0.017
29	0.002	0.013	0.009	0.015	0.012	0.005	0.021	0.017	0.025	0.020
30	0.002	0.010	0.020	0.010	0.009	0.527	0.431	0.444	0.414	0.411
31	0.000	0.016	0.011	0.012	0.008	0.000	0.026	0.021	0.020	0.013
32	0.000	0.011	0.009	0.011	0.008	0.000	0.018	0.017	0.018	0.013
33	0.003	0.008	0.001	0.010	0.008	0.008	0.013	0.002	0.017	0.013
34	0.002	0.008	0.008	0.010	0.009	0.005	0.013	0.015	0.017	0.015

[51] Age specific standardized proportion enrolled is the ratio of the age specific proportion enrolled at each age in a particular census by the proportion enrolled at ages 5-20 in the same census.

Table 4. Proportion Enrolled and Age Specific Proportion Enrolled, Change in Proportion Enrolled 1900-1940, and Increase in Proportion Enrolled 1900-1940 Relative to Possible Increase in Proportion Enrolled

	Age Specific Proportion Enrolled					Change in Proportion Enrolled 1900-1940	Increase in Proportion Enrolled 1900-1940 Relative to Possible Increase in Proportion Enrolled
Age	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940		
5-20	0.376	0.606	0.532	0.596	0.603		
1	0.001	0.004	0.010	0.008	0.008	0.007	0.007
2	0.001	0.004	0.008	0.008	0.006	0.005	0.005
3	0.004	0.007	0.010	0.010	0.011	0.007	0.007
4	0.010	0.015	0.019	0.017	0.017	0.007	0.007
5	0.075	0.231	0.010	0.074	0.084	0.009	0.010
6	0.210	0.448	0.358	0.338	0.452	0.242	0.306
7	0.331	0.630	0.550	0.636	0.728	0.397	0.593
8	0.385	0.701	0.629	0.749	0.780	0.395	0.642
9	0.432	0.755	0.694	0.807	0.819	0.387	0.681
10	0.546	0.765	0.711	0.830	0.817	0.271	0.597
11	0.585	0.804	0.778	0.854	0.831	0.246	0.593
12	0.543	0.778	0.747	0.851	0.826	0.283	0.619
13	0.602	0.823	0.771	0.854	0.811	0.209	0.525
14	0.514	0.794	0.718	0.814	0.806	0.292	0.601
15	0.488	0.762	0.658	0.751	0.750	0.262	0.512
16	0.438	0.696	0.573	0.635	0.642	0.204	0.363
17	0.372	0.612	0.476	0.512	0.511	0.139	0.221
18	0.291	0.492	0.316	0.356	0.346	0.055	0.078
19	0.198	0.261	0.236	0.247	0.248	0.050	0.062
20	0.093	0.163	0.136	0.151	0.150	0.057	0.063
21	0.080	0.110	0.073	0.105	0.092	0.012	0.013
22	0.037	0.059	0.042	0.068	0.057	0.020	0.021
23	0.017	0.049	0.034	0.005	0.036	0.019	0.019
24	0.013	0.028	0.018	0.032	0.027	0.014	0.014
25	0.010	0.025	0.020	0.023	0.020	0.010	0.010
26	0.012	0.019	0.013	0.021	0.016	0.004	0.004
27	0.010	0.018	0.012	0.014	0.009	-0.001	-0.001
28	0.005	0.012	0.012	0.013	0.010	0.005	0.005
29	0.002	0.013	0.009	0.015	0.012	0.010	0.010
30	0.002	0.010	0.020	0.010	0.009	0.007	0.007
31	0.000	0.016	0.011	0.012	0.008	0.008	0.008
32	0.000	0.011	0.009	0.011	0.008	0.008	0.008
33	0.003	0.008	0.001	0.010	0.008	0.005	0.005
34	0.002	0.008	0.008	0.010	0.009	0.007	0.007

Figure 1. Number of American Indian Schools, 1819-1905

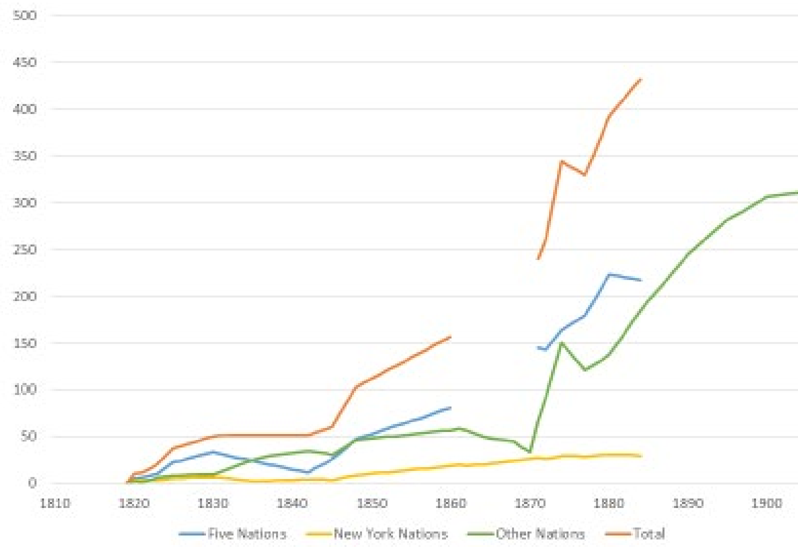


Figure 2. Number of American Indian Students, 1819-1877

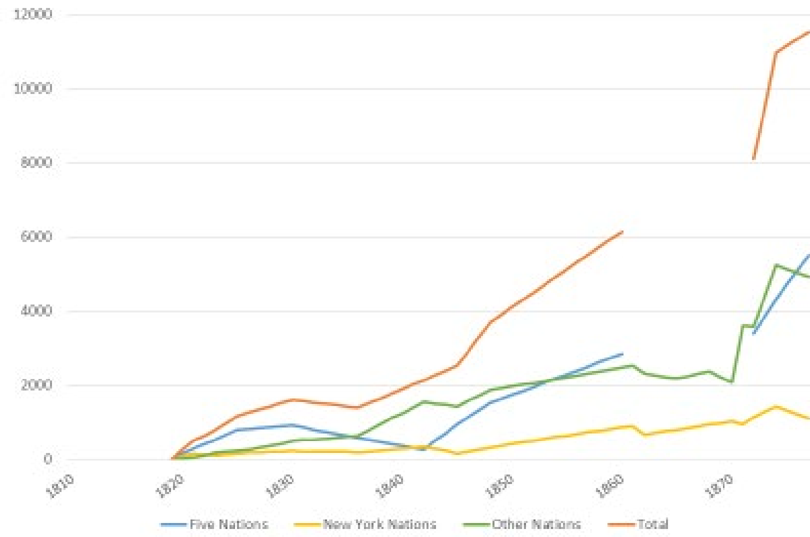


Figure 3. Number of American Indian Students, 1819-1938

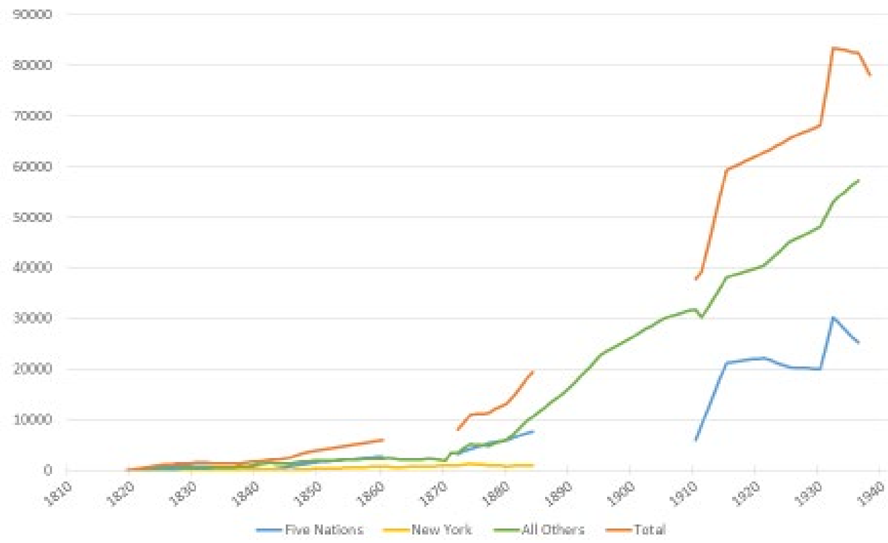


Figure 4. The Number and Percentage of Treaties Including Clauses for Support of Native Education, by Decade

Figure 5. Number of American Indian Boarding and Day Schools, 1877-1905

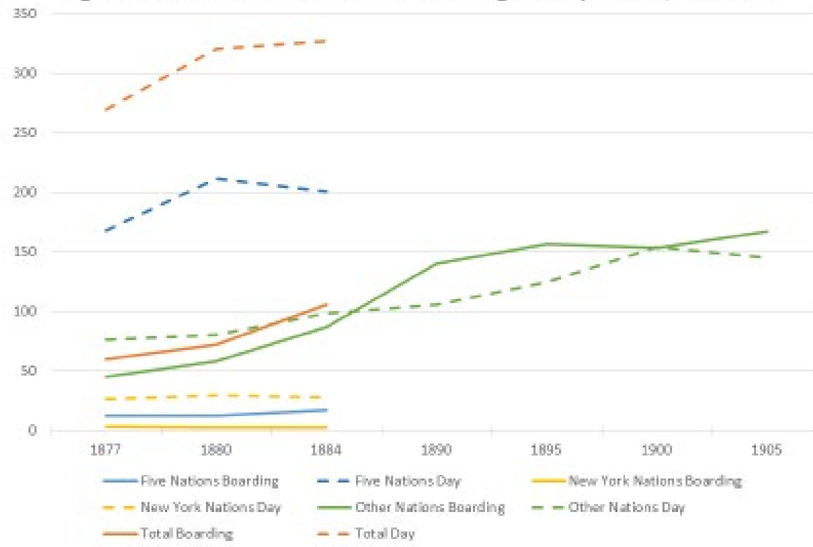


Figure 6. Number of American Indian Students Enrolled in Boarding and Day Schools, 1884-1936

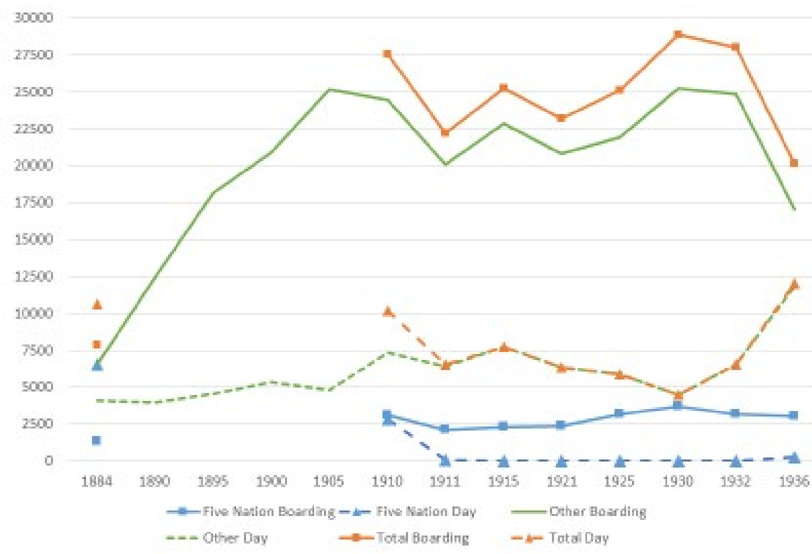


Figure 7. Average Enrollment per school, 1821-1905

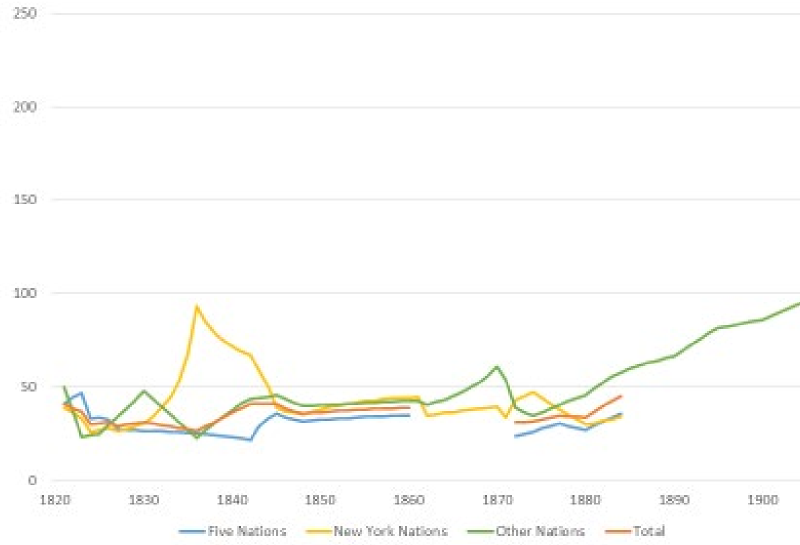


Figure 8. American Indians in Standard Neighborhood and Standard Native Schools, 1910-1938

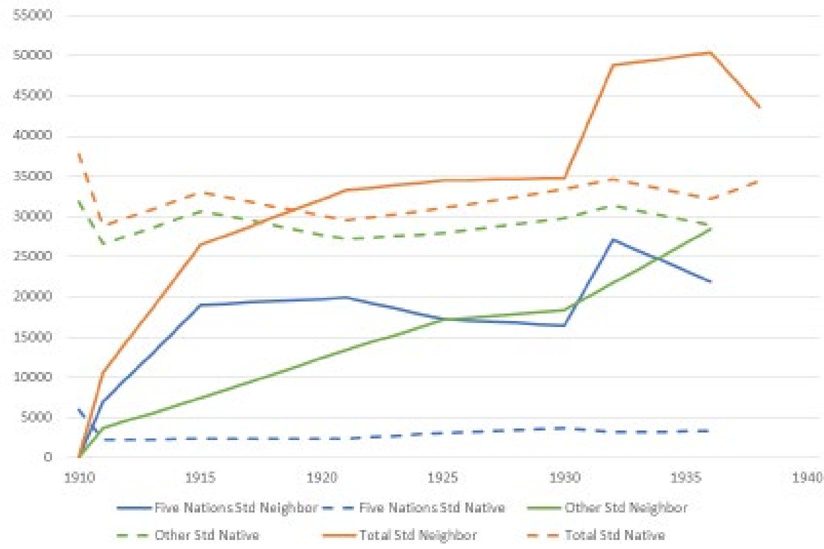


Figure 9. BIA Reports of the Proportion of American Indians Enrolled in School, 1910-1938

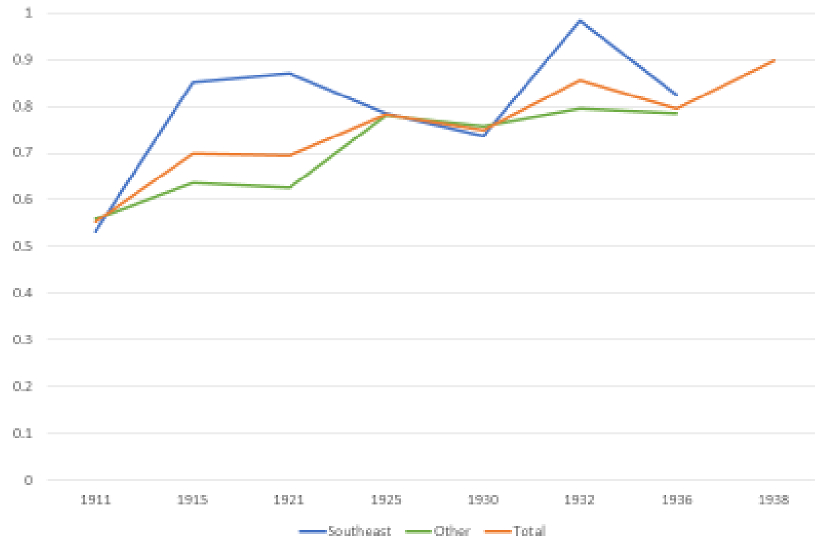
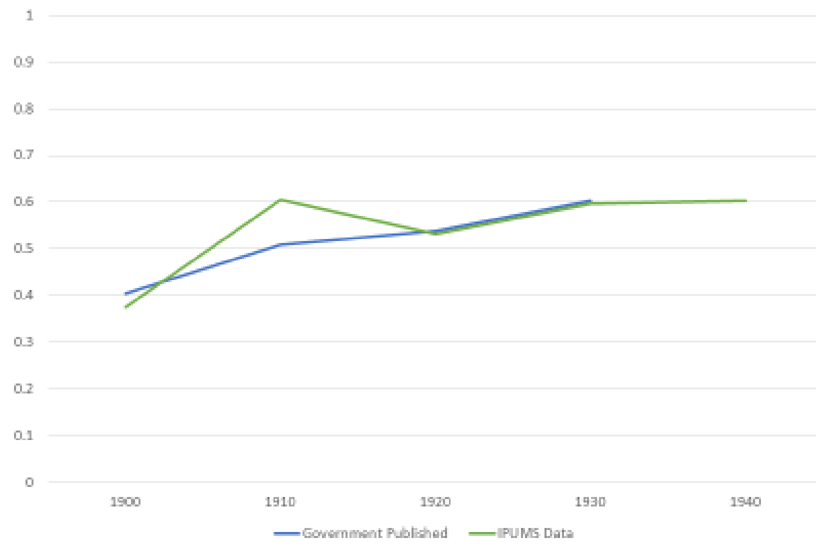


Figure 10. Government Published and IPUMS Data Reports of the Proportion of American Indians Ages 5-20 Enrolled in School, 1900-1940



Appendix Table 1: Sources of Bureau of Indian Affairs Data

1819: Calhoun (1820, pages 200-201).

1820: Calhoun. (1822a, pages 271-273).

1821: Calhoun. (1822a, pages 271-273); Calhoun (1822b, pages 275-276). Students were designated as "No. of scholars".

1823: Fletcher (1888, page 164). Students were designated as "scholars at last report".

1825: Number of schools from Fletcher (1888, page 165) and from McKenney (1825, pages 584-587). Students were listed as the number of "pupils". The student number was taken from McKenney (1825, pages 584-587) and from Office of Indian Affairs (1826, page 509, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).*

1826: Number of schools and students ("pupils" from Fletcher (1888, page 197). Number of students ("pupils" or "children") from Office of Indian Affairs (1826, page 509, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The 1826 *Annual Report* indicates that the detailed report for this year is in Appendix A of the 1826 BIA report. However, we have not yet been able to locate that Appendix.

1830: Office of Indian Affairs (1830, pages 166-168, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as "pupils". Kenyon College in Ohio is not counted as an Indian school, but its one Indian student is counted.

1836. Office of Indian Affairs (1836, pages 43-44, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as "pupils". Law School at Buffalo and at Vermont are not counted as Indian schools, but their students are counted. The Choctaw Academy and its students are included and counted as Five Nations (although 44 students were known not to be such).

1842. Office of Indian Affairs (1842, pages 514-516, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as "scholars".

1845. Office of Indian Affairs (1845, pages 617-618, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as "scholars".

1848. Office of Indian Affairs (1848, pages 406-408, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as "scholars".

1860. Office of Indian Affairs (1861, pages 215-217, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as "scholars". The 1860 data are taken from the 1861 report because *w*e have not located any general reports for 1860. However, we found reports for the Five Nations in the 1861 report. A footnote on page 215 of the 1861 report states that: "Owing to the disturbances in the southern superintendency, there has been no report of the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Choctaw, and Chickasaw agencies since that of 1860, which is here given again".

1861. Office of Indian Affairs (1861, pages 210-221, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as "scholars".

1862. Office of Indian Affairs (1862, pages 352-362, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as “scholars”.

1865. Office of Indian Affairs (1865, pages 575-578, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as “Scholars”.

1868. Office of Indian Affairs (1868, pages 354-359, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as “scholars”.

1870. Office of Indian Affairs (1870, pages 330-335, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as “scholars”.

1871. Office of Indian Affairs (1871, pages 606-619, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as “scholars”. The 1871 report appears to be the first complete canvas of the schools among the Five Nations since the Civil War. This report also gives a count of students, but this count appears to be such a serious undercount that we have not included it in our time series.

1872. Office of Indian Affairs (1872, pages 383-399, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as “scholars”. The 1872 report is the first one since the Civil War that we have seen to provide an adequate account of both the schools and students among each of the Five Nations.

1874. Office of Indian Affairs (1874, pages 98-112, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* Students are listed as “scholars”.

1877. Office of Indian Affairs (1877, pages 288-305, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is the “No. of scholars attending school one month or more” (page 305).

1880. Office of Indian Affairs (1880, pages 238-257, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is the “Number of scholars attending school one month or more during the year” (page 256).

1884. Office of Indian Affairs (1884, pages 266-282, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is the “Number of pupils attending [boarding/day] schools one month or more during the year” (page 282).

1890. Office of Indian Affairs (1890, pages XV and 324-335, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Enrollment”. The head of the table states: “Statistics as to all Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government during the year ending June 30, 1890” (page 324).

1895. Office of Indian Affairs (1895, pages 3 and 492-506, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Enrollment”. Standard neighborhood schools are not included in the count of schools, but students enrolled in such schools are included. The head of the table states: “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1895” (pages 492-493). For Appendix Tables 3 and 4, we categorized “Boarding, specially appropriated by Congress” as government schools.

1900. Office of Indian Affairs (1900, pages 22 and 622-635, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Enrollment”. Standard neighborhood schools are not

included in the count of schools, but students enrolled in such schools are included. The head of the table states: “Statistics as to Indian schools during the year ended June 30, 1900” (pages 622-623). For Appendix Tables 3 and 4, we categorized “Boarding, specially appropriated for” as government nonreservation boarding schools

1905. Office of Indian Affairs (1905, page 50 and pages 505-515, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Enrollment”. Standard neighborhood schools are not included in the count of schools, but students enrolled in such schools are included. The head of the table states: “Statistics of Indian schools during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905” (page 505).

1910. Office of Indian Affairs (1910, page 56, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Total enrollment”. Standard neighborhood school students are included and are listed as “Public day” (page 56). All are listed under the category “contract”. No information was provided separately for New York. We assumed that New York was included in the total number for the Other Nations.

1911. Office of Indian Affairs (1911, pages 157-170, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Indian children in school”. Standard neighborhood school students are included and are listed as “Public schools” (page 163). 4015 are listed as “Contract”; 6610 are listed as “Noncontract”. The school age population number is labeled “Indian children of school age”, with no definition of this concept (page 163). Because we have no consistent time series for New York from 1910 onward, we counted the 870 New York students in the Other Nations category.

1915. Office of Indian Affairs (1915, pages 149-155, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Indian children in school”. Standard neighborhood school students are included and listed as “Public schools” (page 155). The school age population number is labeled “Indian children of school age”, with no definition of this concept (page 155). Because we have no consistent time series for New York from 1910 onward, we counted the 163 New York students in the Other Nations category.

1921. Office of Indian Affairs (1921, pages 49-54, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Indian children enrolled in school”. Standard neighborhood school students are included and listed as “Public schools” (page 54). The school age population number is labeled “Indian children of school age”, with no definition of this concept (page 54). Because we have no consistent time series for New York from 1910 onward, we counted the 249 New York students in the Other Nations category.

1925. Office of Indian Affairs (1925, pages 40-44, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as “Indian children enrolled in schools”. The number of children reported to be enrolled is limited to children “from 6 to 18 years of age, inclusive” (page 44). The report does not provide information for the number of children under 6 or over 18 years of age. Standard neighborhood school students are included and listed as “Public schools” (page 44). The school age population number is labeled “Indian children of school age”, defined as “from 6 to 18 inclusive” (page 44). New York was not listed separately this year; it is not clear whether it was included or not, but assumption is that it was included as part of the Other Nations population.

1930. Office of Indian Affairs (1930, pages 51-55, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as both: “Indian children enrolled in schools” and “Total children in school, all classes”. The number in school (68220) appears to include 1488 who were ages under 6 or over 18 years. The school age population number is labeled “Indian children of school age”, with no definition of this concept (page 55); however, the detailed table lists the same number as “Number school

children 6 to 18 years inclusive" (page 51). New York was not listed separately this year; it is not clear whether it was included or not, but assumption was that it was included as part of the Other Nations population. Standard neighborhood school students are included and listed as "Public schools" with the number for the Five Nations equaling 16371, but with the footnote that "Additional Indian children attending city or town public schools are reported to the number 9,663, which however is regarded as excessive" (page 55). We followed the BIA lead and did not include this number of 9,663 in either the Five Nations or the national numbers for standard neighborhood schools ("public").

1932. Office of Indian Affairs (1932, pages 57-61, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs).* The number of students is listed as "Enrollment". The number enrolled in school (83410) includes 2864 who were ages under 6 or over 18 years, but does not include 1950 enrolled in sanitarium schools. New York was not listed separately this year; it is not clear whether it was included or not, but assumption is that it was included as part of the Other Nations population. Standard neighborhood school students are included; they are listed as "Local public" (page 57). An explanatory footnote on page 57 indicates that this number is, in some instances, "Partly estimated on the basis of a percentage-of-enrollment for Indian pupils attending public schools with white children at-poinst-away from the jurisdiction". The school age population number is labeled "Population, age 6 to 18, inclusive" (page 57).

1936. Office of Indian Affairs (1936, pages 220-223), Office of Indian Affairs report in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington: Government Printing Office. Indian school population is defined as "Indian children, 6 to 18". The enrollment numbers are simply labeled "school enrollment". We have included students reported in "Sanatorium" or "special schools" with those in "Federal nonreservation boarding". Students under 6 and over 18 are not included in the enrolled number. We classify students listed as in "Public" schools as being in "Standard neighborhood schools". The data for the Five Nations reported by the BIA in 1936 actually refer to 1935.

1938. Office of Indian Affairs (1938, pages 244-245), Office of Indian Affairs report in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington: Government Printing Office. This report is less complete and less clear than earlier reports, probably resulting in less precise estimation. The report indicates that the "total number enrolled 6 to 18" in public schools (standard neighborhood schools" is 33,645. The report also states in footnote 2: "It is estimated that 10,000 of these children are enrolled in public schools away from the reservation, in addition to the number known to be in public schools, making an estimated total of 43,645 in public schools". Although the exact meaning of this statement is not clear, we have used 43,645 as the number in public or standard neighborhood schools. The report also lists 31,521 as the "total number enrolled 6 to 18" who are not listed in public (standard neighborhood schools); In Figure 8 we categorized these students as enrolled in standard Native schools. This is the sum of all enrolled students ages 6 to 18 who are not listed as being in public schools. It goes on to state that there were 2834 enrolled students who were "Under 6 years and over 18 in all schools" We counted these 2834 as standard Native school students, bringing the total enrolled in standard Native schools to 34,355 . This brings the total number enrolled to 78,000. The school age population is labeled "Indian children 6 to 18". Footnote 1 states "An apparent decrease in the number of Indian children this year from last year is accounted for by the fact that reports for the Five Civilized Tribes Agency, Oklahoma, cover only children having one-fourth or more Indian blood".

Appendix Table 2: Number of Schools, Students, and Average Enrollment per School by Group and Year

Year	Five Nations			New York Nations			Other Nations			Total		
	# of Schools	# of Students	Average Enrollment Per School	# of Schools	# of Students	Average Enrollment Per School	# of Schools	# of Students	Average Enrollment Per School	# of Schools	# of Students	Average Enrollment Per School
1819	0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0	
1820	6			3			2			11		
1821	7	288	41.1	4	155	38.7	1	50	50	12	493	41.1
1823	11	514	46.7	3	100	33.3	7	164	23.4	21	778	37
1825	23			6			9			38	1159	30.5
1826										40	1248	31.2
1830	34	907	26.7	7	216	30.9	10	478	47.8	51	1601	31.4
1836	22	559	25.4	2	187	93.5	28	635	22.7	52	1381	26.6
1842	12	262	21.8	5	337	67.4	35	1533	43.8	52	2132	41
1845	26	936	36	4	156	39	31	1416	45.7	61	2508	41.1
1848										103	3682	35.7
1860	81	2838	35									
1861				20	894	44.7	59	2507	42.5			
1862				19	661	34.8	57	2310	40.5			
1865							48	2165	45.1			
1868							45	2362	52.5			
1870				26	1026	39.5	34	2069	60.9			
1871	145			28	940	33.6	67	3595	53.7	240		
1872	143	3399	23.8	26	1129	43.4	92	3566	38.8	261	8094	31
1874	164	4300	26.2	30	1418	47.3	151	5240	34.7	345	10958	31.8
1877	180	5496	30.5	29	1106	38.1	121	4913	40.6	330	11515	34.9
1880	224	6098	27.2	31	929	30	138	6311	45.7	393	13338	33.9
1884	218	7862	36.1	30	1022	34.1	185	10709	57.9	433	19593	45.2
1890							246	16377	66.6			
1895							282	23036	81.7			
1900							307	26451	86.2			
1905							312	30106	96.5			
1910		5953						31930			37883	
1911		9163						30234			39397	
1915		21323						38124			59447	
1921		22249						40515			62764	
1925		20420						45073			65493	
1930		20060						48160			68220	
1932		30335						53075			83410	
1936		25201						57330			82531	
1938											78000	

Appendix Table 3: Number of American Indian Boarding and Day Schools by Year, Group, and Government or Non-Government.

	1877	1880	1884	1890	1895	1900	1905
Five Nations							
Government							
Non-reservation boarding							
Reservation boarding							
Boarding total							
Day							
Total							
Non-government							
Boarding							
Day							
Total							
Government + Non-government							
Boarding	12	12	17				
Day	168	212	201				
Total	180	224	218				
New York Nations							
Government							
Non-reservation boarding							
Reservation boarding							
Boarding total							
Day							
Total							
Non-government							
Boarding							
Day							
Total							
Government + Non-government							
Boarding	3	2	2				
Day	26	29	28				
Total	29	31	30				

	1877	1880	1884	1890	1895	1900	1905
Other Nations							
Government							
Non-reservation boarding						27	26
Reservation boarding						81	93
Boarding total				79	105	108	119
Day				81	110	147	139
Total				160	215	255	258
Non-government							
Boarding				61	52	45	48
Day				25	15	7	6
Total				86	67	52	54
Government + Non-government							
Boarding	45	58	87	140	157	153	167
Day	76	80	98	106	125	154	145
Total	121	138	185	246	282	307	312
The United States							
Government							
Non-reservation boarding							
Reservation boarding							
Boarding total							
Day							
Total							
Non-government							
Boarding							
Day							
Total							
Government + Non-government							
Boarding	60	72	106				
Day	270	321	327				
Total	330	393	433				

Appendix Table 4: Number of Students in Boarding and Day Schools by Year, Group, and Government or Non-Government (and Number of Standard Native School and Standard Neighborhood School Students)

	1884	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1911	1915	1921	1925	1930	1932	1936
Five Nations													
Government													
Non-reserve boarding							326	1,782	1,653	839	1,006	1,349	203
Reservation boarding							1,214	0	151	1,236	1,486	1,023	1,917
Boarding total							1,540	1,782	1,804	2,075	2,492	2,372	2,120
Day							95	0	0	0	0	0	256
Total							1,635	1,782	1,804	2,075	2,492	2,372	2,376
Non-Government													
Boarding							581	564	550	1,074	1,197	830	943
Day							0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total							581	564	550	1,074	1,197	830	943
Government + Non-Government													
Boarding	1,316					3,137	2,121	2,346	2,354	3,149	3,689	3,202	3,063
Day	6,546					2,816	95	0	0	0	0	0	256
Total	7,862					5,953	2,216	2,346	2,354	3,149	3,689	3,202	3,319

	1884	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1911	1915	1921	1925	1930	1932	1936
Standard Native	7,862					5,953	2,216	2,346	2,354	3,149	3,689	3,202	3,319
Standard Neighborhood	0					0	6,947	18,977	19,895	17,271	16,371	27,120	21,882
Grand total	7,862					5,953	9,163	21,323	22,249	20,420	20,060	30,322	25,201
New York Nations													
Government													
Non-reserve boarding													
Reservation boarding													
Boarding total													
Day													
Total													
Non-Government													
Boarding													
Day													
Total													
Government + Non-Government													
Boarding	130												
Day	892												
Total	1022												

	1884	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1911	1915	1921	1925	1930	1932	1936
Standard Native	1022												
Standard Neighborhood	0												
Grand total	1022												
Other Nations													
Government													
Non-reserve boarding				7,830	9,861	8,863	7,687	9,009	7,719	7,703	8,615	8,982	4,884
Reservation boarding				9,604	11,402	10,765	9,039	9,899	9,028	9,379	10,677	10,402	6,592
Boarding total		8,224	14,060	17,434	21,263	19,628	16,726	18,908	16,747	17,082	19,292	19,384	11,476
Day		2,963	3,843	5,090	4,399	7,152	6,026	7,270	5,296	4,604	4,205	5,250	10,353
Total		11,187	17,903	22,524	25,662	26,780	22,752	26,178	22,043	21,686	23,497	24,634	21,829
Non-Government													
Boarding		4,186	4,126	3,438	3,963	4,823	3,398	3,993	4,087	4,899	5,950	5,462	5,600
Day		1,004	688	243	397	216	406	492	1,030	1,307	309	1,278	1,455
Total		5,190	4,814	3,681	4,360	5,039	3,804	4,485	5,117	6,206	6,259	6,740	7,055
Government + Non-Government													
Boarding	6,579	12,410	18,186	20,872	25,226	24,451	20,124	22,901	20,834	21,981	25,242	24,846	17,076
Day	4,130	3,96	4,531	5,333	4,796	7,368	6,432	7,762	6,326	5,911	4,514	6,528	11,808
Total	10,709	16,377	22,717	26,205	30,022	31,819	26,556	30,663	27,160	27,892	29,756	31,374	28,884

	1884	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1911	1915	1921	1925	1930	1932	1936
Standard Native	10,709	16,377	22,717	26,205	30,022	31,819	26,556	30,663	27,160	27,892	29,756	31,374	28,884
Standard Neighborhood	0	0	319	246	84	111	3,678	7,461	13,355	17,181	18,404	21,714	28,446
Grand total	10,709	16,377	23,036	26,451	30,106	31,930	30,234	38,124	40,515	45,073	48,160	53,088	57,330
United States													
Government													
Non-reserve boarding							8,013	10,791	9,372	8,542	9,621	10,331	5,087
Reservation boarding							10,253	9,899	9,179	10,615	12,163	11,425	8,509
Boarding total							18,266	20,690	18,551	19,157	21,784	21,756	13,596
Day							6,121	7,270	5,296	4,604	4,205	5,250	10,609
Total							24,387	27,960	23,847	23,761	25,989	27,006	24,205
Non-Government													
Boarding							3,979	4,557	4,637	5,973	7,147	6,292	6,543
Day							406	492	1,030	1,307	309	1,278	1,455
Total							4,385	5,049	5,667	7,280	7,456	7,570	7,998
Government + Non-Government													
Boarding	8,025					27,588	22,245	25,247	23,188	25,130	28,931	28,048	20,139
Day	11,568					10,184	6,527	7,762	6,326	5,911	4,514	6,528	12,064
Total	19,593					37,772	28,772	33,009	29,514	31,041	33,445	34,576	32,203

	1884	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1911	1915	1921	1925	1930	1932	1936
Standard Native	19,593					37,772	28,772	33,009	29,514	31,041	33,445	34,576	32203
Standard Neighborhood	0					111	10,625	26,438	33,250	34,452	34,775	48,834	50,328
Grand total	19,593					37,883	39,397	59,447	62,764	65,493	68,220	83,410	82,531

Appendix Table 5: School Age Population, School Enrollment, and Proportion Enrolled by Group, Data Source, and Year

	Five Nations BIA			Other Nations BIA			United States BIA			U.S. Published Decennial Census			U.S. IPUMS 100% Decennial Census			U.S. IPUMS Sample Decennial Census		
Year	School Age Pop	School Enroll	Prop Enroll	School Age Pop	School Enroll	Prop Enroll	School Age Pop	School Enroll	Prop Enroll	School Age Pop Age 5-20	School Enroll Age 5-20	Prop Enroll Age 5-20	School Age Pop Age 5-20	School Enroll Age 5-20	Prop Enroll Age 5-20	School Age Pop Age 5-20	School Enroll Age 5-20	Prop Enroll Age 5-20
1900										89632	36243	0.404				87711	33012	0.376
1910								37883		102163	51877	0.508	99743	60399	0.606	107579	67742	0.630
1911	17252	9163	0.531	54110	30234	0.559	71362	39397	0.552									
1915	25043	21323	0.851	59886	38124	0.637	84929	59447	0.700									
1920										94605	50939	0.538	91541	48742	0.532			
1921	25573	22249	0.870	64875	40515	0.625	90448	62764	0.694									
1925	26010	20420	0.785	57755	45073	0.780	83765	65493	0.782									
1930	27256	20060	0.736	63652	48160	0.757	90908	68220	0.750	129145	77806	0.602	129018	76830	0.596			
1932	30854	30335	0.983	66680	53075	0.796	97534	83410	0.855									
1936	30590	25201	0.824	73051	57330	0.785	103641	82531	0.796									
1938							86913	78000	0.897									
1940													117262	70694	0.603			

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