2002

The Aftereffects of the Boarding School Experience For Native Americans In Michigan

Sharon Marie Brunner

Grand Valley State University

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/theses

Part of the Social Work Commons

Recommended Citation

http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/theses/706

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Research and Creative Practice at ScholarWorks@GVSU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters' Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@GVSU. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gvsu.edu.
The Aftereffects of the Boarding School Experience
For Native Americans
In Michigan

Sharon Marie Brunner

Master’s Thesis
SW 695

This thesis is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Social Work degree
Prophecy

We knew this is the wealthiest part of this continent, because here the Great Spirit lives. We knew that the White Man will search for the things that look good to him, that he will use many good ideas in order to obtain his heart’s desire, and we knew that if he had strayed from the Great Spirit he would use any means to get what he wants. These things we were warned to watch, and we today know that those prophecies were true because we can see how many new and selfish ideas and plans are being put before us. We know that if we accept these things we will lose our land and give up our very lives.

-Dan Katchongva, Hopi
American Indian

Keepers of the Earth

A long time ago the Creator came to Turtle island and said to the Red People, “You will be the keepers of the Mother Earth. Among you I will give the wisdom about Nature, about the interconnectedness of all things, about balance and about living in harmony. You Red People will see the secrets of Nature. You will live in hardship and the blessing of this is you will stay close to the Creator. The day will come when you will need to share the secrets with other people of the earth because they will stray from their spiritual ways. The time to start sharing is today.

-Don Coyhis, Mohican Writer and Consultant
American Indian

Spiritual Security

They do us no good. If they are not useful to the white people and do them no good, why do they send them among the Indians? If they are useful to the white people and do them good, why do they not keep them at home? They [the white men] are surely bad enough to need the labor of everyone who can make them better. These men [the missionaries] know we do not understand their religion. We cannot read their book — they tell us different stories about what it contains, and we believe they make the book talk to suit themselves. If we had no money, no land and no country to be cheated out of, these black coats would not trouble themselves about our good hereafter. The Great Spirit will not punish us for what we do not know.

-Red Jacket, Seneca Orator
American Indian
Respect

A lot of our kids—I say you think you are an Indian just because you wear red bandanna or war dance. Not being Indian. Have to respect yourself, others, Elders, and everybody else. Then you are an Indian.

-Jennette Timentwa, Colville Lake Tribe Elder
American Indian

Community

All affirmed the central role of Indian prophecy, the bond between Indians and “Mother Earth,” the existence of sacred “powers” by which ritual specialists benefited their people. They agreed to restore spiritual practices, encourage native language use, and combat alcoholism and family disintegration.

-Little Star, Tribe Unknown
American Indian

Seven Generations

Look behind you. See your sons and your daughters. They are your future. Look farther and see your sons’ and daughters’ children and their children’s children even unto the seventh generation. That’s the way we were taught. Think about it—you yourself are a seventh generation.

-Leon Sheandoah, Onondagan Elder
American Indian

The Human Family

O Great Spirit, who made all races, look kindly upon the whole human family, and take away the arrogance and hatred which separates us from our brothers.

-Cherokee Prayer
American Indian

This is dedicated in the memory of all the ancestors who suffered before me. Megwetch Gitchi Manitou (Thanks Creator) for your guidance during this project.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of my masters thesis committee, Dr. Jane Swanson, Chairperson, Mr. Martin Reinhardt, and Dr. Jerry Johnson for their support and guidance on this project. I would like to thank Mr. Robert VanAlstine for his provision of valuable materials and insight. I would like to thank the interview participants for sharing their accounts of their family history and boarding school experience. I also want to thank my family who tolerated my involvement in this process. I hope to provide insight to the strengths and the difficulties that are still endemic in the lives of the Anishnabek.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>Chapter 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Introduction ................................................................. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Operational Definitions .................................................. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Purpose of Study .............................................................. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Theoretical Overview ....................................................... 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II.</th>
<th>Chapter 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Literature Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pre-Colonial Period (Traditional Period) ......................... 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pre U.S. Period ............................................................... 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Boarding School Era ......................................................... 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Comparison of Teaching and Learning Practices .................. 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Abyss and Revitalization Periods (Twentieth Century) ........... 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Current Traditional Practices .............................................. 39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III.</th>
<th>Chapter 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Methodology ................................................................. 41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>Chapter 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Results ................................................................. 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Oral Historical Accounts ................................................. 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Individual Interview Analysis ......................................... 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Summary of Results ....................................................... 91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. Chapter 5
   A. Discussion ................................................................. 94

VI. Chapter 6
   A. Conclusion ................................................................. 109
   B. Implications for Social Work Practice ......................... 111

VII. Bibliography ............................................................... 116

VIII. Appendices
   A. Legends
       The First Porcupine
   B. History of Federal Indian Education Policy
   C. Ethnographic Interviewing Skills
       Self-Evaluation Form
   D. BIA Public Apology
   E. Informed Consent Form
   F. Research Questions
ABSTRACT

This study focused on the family history and boarding school experience of nine Native Americans in the state of Michigan. Primary questions were utilized to gain information regarding perseverance and problems still being faced as they tie to their boarding school experience. Interview participants were selected who attended the Mt. Pleasant and Holy Childhood boarding schools. These individuals reported both negative and positive recollections about their boarding school experiences. Themes were derived from the interview summaries and utilized for the analysis portion of this project. The results revealed similarities and differences between the experiences of those who attended both institutions. An extensive literature review was conducted. This thesis is designed to be useful for social workers, educators and others when implementing services and developing policy that addresses the unique challenges and strengths of Native American people.

Advisor: Dr. Jane Swanson
Chapter 1

Introduction

My personal heritage consists of Ojibway, Odawa, French, and Dutch. I am a member of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians. My ancestors on both sides, two to three generations before me, lived in Quebec, Canada. The maternal side of my family of origin represents all of the above nationalities. In fact, my maternal grandfather spoke fluent Ojibway and French as well as English. His mother spoke only the Ojibway language. Native American blood ran through the veins of the family members on my father’s maternal side. However, this was treated like a dirty secret. My parents remember my great grandparents fighting. My great grandmother was referred to as a “dirty squaw.”

My maternal grandfather’s family moved to St. Ignace. I am not sure when this move occurred. My grandfather stayed in his family of origin’s home to care for his mother after his father passed away. He was older when he met my grandmother and they married. The birth of
their children occurred soon after that. My mother’s family of origin went through hard times. Jobs were scarce in St. Ignace and if you claimed to be a Native American, you could not get a job. So my grandfather claimed to be French. They lived through problems such as substance abuse, and loss of employment. The “Depression” caused hardship for the family. The family suffered from near starvation and had to obtain free clothing and any other assistance, no matter how meager, that was available during this time period.

Meanwhile, their children (i.e. my aunts, uncles, and mother) were placed in the Holy Childhood Boarding School and other relatives’ homes because of their inability to care for them. Some of my uncles spent time in reform schools because of their unruliness. My mother told me that my grandfather and some of my uncles had difficulty controlling their anger. My grandfather and one of my uncles spent some time in prison because of their problems with anger and making poor choices. My mother stated she went through periods of rage as a teenager. Now, I am going to explain some of my personal history.

I was born and raised in St. Ignace. The people in the community with whom I associated with had a strong dislike for Native American people. In fact, I remember Native American people being referred to as “dirty useless Indians.” When I was seventeen, my mother obtained tribal identification cards for herself and her children. All along I thought I was French and Dutch. I went along with this confusing situation but felt slighted because I was lied to. My mother and some of my extended family members went searched to find documents such as death and birth certificates that explained the family’s lineage.

In 1987, I began working for the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians. I was employed as a secretary for the Binogii (child) Placement Agency until I took a position as an Education Coordinator for the Sault Tribe Johnson O’Malley Program. This is the time when my
interest in my Native American heritage was sparked. An elder took me under her wing and
taught me part of the language and instructed me about areas of the Native American culture. I
shared this information with the children in the classrooms in St. Ignace.

Around this period, my mother was introduced to the sweatlodge ceremony. She
convinced me to go with her. I was scared and did not know what to expect. The people at the
lodge welcomed me and told me to just let things happen. This and subsequent experiences at
the sweat lodge have been extremely gratifying. They have taught me how to take care of myself
and my family and how to find balance in my life.

As a Native American, it is my belief that we are all brothers and sisters. It is upsetting
to note that my ancestors have been led to believe that they were worthless and inferior because
of their Native American lineage. My ancestors had to deny their heritage in order to fit as
peacefully as possible into communities that practiced various forms of discrimination against
Native American people. Now that I have explained part of my personal history, the next order
of business will be to delineate the purpose of the study.

Operational Definitions:

The raw data that was analyzed for this project was placed into theme categories. Some
of the areas covered are not self-explanatory. Definitions are given for those areas that may
appear ambiguous for the reader.

Alliances Developed with Adults and Children: Children formed social support systems while
attending the boarding schools. Some of the children maintained these friendships into their
adulthood.

Censored Communication: Letters were written by the students at the boarding school to send to
their parents. The students had to change the letters if they contained information that was
deemed inappropriate, especially if it could implicate the adults at the boarding schools of any wrong doings.

**Harsh Discipline:** This form of discipline consisted of cruel and severe punishment. Beatings with a rubber hose were an example of this (Littlefield, 1989).

**Identity Confusion:** Some Native American people struggle with self-doubt concerning their personal identity in regards to their tribal heritage. Native American children were placed in these foreign environments, the boarding schools. Their cultural development was thwarted during a crucial period in their lives (Fixico, 2000).

**Institutionalized:** Many children carried learned behaviors from the boarding school experience into adulthood. Children became conditioned to follow the regimented lifestyle that was instilled during their stay at the boarding schools. A goal of the boarding school experience was to assimilate children into the European American culture that include values such as a materialistic point of view.

**Mixed Messages About Religion:** The children were provided religious instruction. Oftentimes, the children were treated in a manner that contradicted the religious lessons that they were being taught.

**Parent’s Personal Choice to Send Their Child(ren) to the Boarding Schools:** Multiple childbirth’s, poverty, etc. were some of the reasons why children were sent to the boarding schools.

**Perseverance:** Many Native American children continued the struggle of holding onto their cultural identity. They did so by their demonstration of various acts of resistance and by forming alliances. As a result, they maintained a sense of autonomy against an oppressive system which was the boarding school (Littlefield, 1989).
Regimented Teaching and Monitoring Practices: One of the main goals of the boarding schools was to teach Native American children to follow orders. Students were expected to march in line and participate in military style drills. A strict schedule was set up for daily tasks. Adults and older students provided the monitoring of assigned roles and responsibilities. Children were disciplined if rules were not followed (Littlefield, 2001).

Resistance To Authority: Students attempted to undermine the authority that was imposed on them while staying at the boarding schools. They recounted episodes in which food was stolen, and of times when they left the boarding school buildings to explore, fish, etc. during the nighttime hours. Running away was another example (Littlefield, 1989).

Traditional Cultural Practices: The term culture refers to values, beliefs, and worldviews that lend an explanation to people's behaviors (Haviland, 1994). The traditional cultural practices represent the socialized ideals within the tribal societies before the arrival of the European Americans to this country. These are learned through the use of language and other forms of instruction. Storytelling was an example of this and was utilized to provide important lessons. (Refer to areas in the literature review entitled "Precolonialism" and "Current Traditional Practices" for more information.)

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the aftereffects of the boarding school phenomena and learn more about the factors that have led to the perseverance that has been exhibited by many Native American people and how these factors are related to their boarding school experience. This study involves the examination of the experiences of those who endured the boarding school experience. According to Littlefield (1989), the will to persevere was
demonstrated by many of these Native American children. They continued the struggle of holding onto their cultural identity while attending the boarding schools. They did so by various acts of resistance and by forming alliances. As a result, they maintained a sense of autonomy against an oppressive system, the boarding school (Littlefield, 1989).

Assimilation into the European Americans' way of life was the main goal for the development of the boarding school institutions (Tyler, 1973). Problems such as alcoholism and racism are still endemic in the lives of many Native American people (Antone, Miller, and Myers, 1986). These hardships may be considered symptoms of the boarding school experience. Theoretical perspectives will be used to explain the rationale behind the behaviors exhibited by European and Native American people as these behaviors tie to the possible aftereffects of the boarding school experience.

**Theoretical Overview**

Boarding schools were established during a time when the European American inhabitants were colonizing parts of this country. (Refer to Appendix B for Chronology of Related Events.) Resources were needed for these inhabitants. Traditional Native American homelands encompassed some of the most valuable land. Many tribes moved from place to place to find game, fish and suitable land for farming and gathering. Sometimes tribes needed to relocate during inclement weather to seek shelter from the natural elements. The reservations, boarding schools, and other methods of assimilation have caused many problems for Native American people. A land of opportunity for the European Americans soon became a land of oppression for the Native American people (Bowden, 1981). Today, Native American people are faced with the aftermath of this disruption of their traditional lifestyles.
In this thesis, the boarding school experience was examined and analyzed by utilizing various social learning theoretical perspectives and theories based on power and control. These theories will subsequently be used to analyze how and why boarding schools were established and the effect that these institutions had on the ones who attended.

According to Rotter, Chance, and Phares (1972), behavior does not occur in a vacuum without internal and external forces. Humans are products of their environments. Children can be trained to follow directions. Reinforcing conditions and personality constructs are by products. Behavior is a sum of these two components (Rotter, et. al., 1972). When children were beaten for speaking their language, they began to believe that their safety was far more important than their cultural heritage. Oftentimes, children were given gifts when they learned some of the European American ways that were being taught in the boarding schools.

Social Learning Theory

Bandura (1973) states that learning occurs through modeling. Modeling can lead to three kinds of effects while observing others. These effects can explain different aspects of aggression. Observation can result in the acquisition of new patterns of behaviors. Modeling influences can either strengthen or weaken inhibitions of behavior that those observing may have previously learned. Rewarding and punishing consequences are closely tied with inhibitory and disinhibitory effects (Bandura, 1973). Many Native American families are still facing problems involving domestic violence; child abuse and neglect coupled with substance abuse. These factors tear at the embracing fabric of families (Anton, Miller and Myers, 1986). Many children either witnessed or were the victims of child abuse in the boarding schools.
Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Freire (1993) suggests that the nature of the European American people led to their attempt at cultural domination through the public education system. This “sadistic drive” (p. 59) is the result of multigenerational conditioning. Domination, through the use of education and violence by those with power, oppresses those without power. Both groups are effected by the repetitive process of domination. Over time, the dominant culture develops a possessive conscious that becomes the identity of the individual. Oppressors find pleasure in the act of transforming the animate into the inanimate, taking away the freedom essential to a sustained quality of life (Freire, 1993). However, in the act of oppressing others they oppress themselves.

This in turn may lead to a lack of cultural authenticity of the Native American people. Native American people could not openly oppose the control that was inflicted on them by the European Americans. These phenomena correlate with the “culture of silence” delineated by Freire (1993). The adoption of the European American culture weakened their ties with their own cultural heritage. One of the main goals of this invasion was to condition the Native American people to accept and adopt their patterns and way of life. The European Americans studied the Native American people to the extent that was necessary to gather an understanding of what values and other concepts were of the most importance to the Native American people. This permitted them to dominate the Native American people more effectively (Freire, 1993).

Cognitive Treatment for Shame

Steffen (1999) describes seven sources of shame. These included faulty learning, excessive negative feedback, poor decision-making, being a victim of circumstance, false identity, inaccurate perceptions and loss of social status or recognition. In regards to faulty learning, sometimes the wrong information is received or untrue information is believed to be
true. Excessive negative feedback refers to being told on several occasions that they, as children and adults, are unworthy or incompetent. An inability to believe in one’s capabilities leads to difficulty making sound decisions. Being the victim of circumstance makes reference to someone whom expects bad circumstances to continue because they have occurred in the past. This state of affairs is tied with the feelings of constant gloom and doom about the future. Individuals develop false identities when they change themselves to what they think others want them to be. Inaccurate perceptions is in reference to denial and being naïve. Individuals define themselves by the roles and positions in their lives. Losses are often faced in these areas such as the death of a parent or spouse. How the individual chooses to adjust to those losses can effect the redefinition of their lives (Steffen, 1999).

Many Native American people are plagued with alcoholism as a means of dealing with the hardships that have surfaced in their lives. One common denominator exists in regards to addictive behaviors. Addictions are used to achieve detachment from feelings. Detachment lessens the feelings of pain. In other words, individuals are self-medicating. With the progression of their addictions comes feeling more and more detached from the feelings of shame and other uncomfortable feelings. This suppresses their anxiety. These behavioral symptoms have detrimental effects on self-esteem and self-worth (Steffen, 1999).

All of these categories may explain the dilemmas that Native American people have gone through from the disruption and loss of their culture to the redefinition of their roles within the context of their communities and families. The development of chronic shame may have been associated with the long lasting effect of the assimilation tactics of the European Americans. The feelings of shame have been linked to the feelings of powerlessness. Native American people were powerless to the oppressive forces of the European American political leaders.
Standpoint Theory

Standpoint theory is born from a complex and differentiated basis. Each circumstance is viewed separately from an individual's perspective that may vary from one point of reference to the next. This theory is contradictory from the materialistic point of view that operates under the assumption that one person's analysis or viewpoint will remain consistent over time. Human production is closely connected with the development of human knowledge (Welton, 1997). Hundleby (1997) states that knowledge was built on the premise that people only know what they have been exposed to. Experience begets knowledge. People need to not only be observers but active participants in their own lives (Hundleby, 1997).

Welton (1997) explains her perception of Hartsock's Standpoint Theory. The concept of power is addressed. Power is an important aspect because it may provide a legitimate basis for the organization of communities and the ideals behind community action. Historically, Native American people have been forced to continually negotiate their own environments including the communities in which they reside in (Hundleby, 1997). Therefore, the effects of these negotiations led to other problems that can be defined by the term ethnostress.

Ethnostress

Antone, Miller, and Myers (1986) describe the term ethnostress. This refers to the disruption of the satisfying feelings of being a Native American person. According to Antone, et.al. (1986), indigenous people of the United States and Canada have the highest rates of suicide, alcoholism, family breakdown, and other family and individual plights than any other cultural and/or ethnic groups. "Response patterns" tied with ethnostress include feelings of hopelessness and powerlessness (Antone, et. al., 1986). Ethnostress is caused by a disruption in the development of cultural beliefs and personal identity. This is due to an act or acts committed
by the people in power. As a result, it may lead to other negative experiences through the
interactions with their own culture and interaction with people from other cultures (Antone, et.
al., 1986).

To explain this concept further, stereotypes can carry a lot of weight in relationship to
self-perceptions. They influence social relationships through the creation of an illusion of reality
(Rothenberg, 1998). Antone, et. al. (1986) described how today many people have the freedom
to express their cultural identity and move beyond past oppressions. However, they have fallen to
a trap of internalizing the stereotypes that have been placed on their parents and grandparents
(Antone, et. al., 1986).

History portrays Native American people as being forced onto reservations and their
livelihoods taken away. Thus, they became reliant on the government to provide for some their
basic needs such as clothing, food, and shelter. However, other basic needs were neglected and
pushed aside. These needs include:

- to be seen
- to be heard when we communicate
- to know that our communication is accepted and believed
- to know that others have faith and trust in us
- to be allowed to take our place in the world
- to feel secure about, and at peace with one’s self
- to feel that one’s existence is not detrimental, but beneficial to the important
  people in one’s life.” (Antone, et. al., 1986).

Native American people went through devastating experiences and still feel the aftermath
of such experiences. Their way of being one with the earth was taken away from them. They
were coerced and forced to adopt the European American way of life. No longer did they hold a special place and status amongst their people. Most Native American people have been placed in a desperate situation, not free to practice their beliefs and punished for being different from the European American descendents. The more Native American people are told they lack worth, the more this belief is instilled in their self-concept. Native American people have internalized their oppression, therefore, holding themselves hostage (Antone, et al., 1986).

These concepts are associated with the assimilation tactics that were imposed on the Native American people by the European Americans. The policies that put the boarding schools in place were some of those assimilation methods. The reaction of the Native American people to these acts of assimilation is another important point to consider. Although Native American people represent a small segment of the population in the United States, they have a proportionally large number of problems. The history of the Native American people from the precolonial times to the present will be delineated further in the literature review in a sequential manner to portray the struggles and strengths of the Native American people.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

PreColonialism: (Traditional Period)

The Anishnabek, term representing the plural context for Native American people, resided in villages that consisted of family groups and extended family members. They had a system of government called the clan system, which provided strength and order.

Seven original clans existed for the Ojibway people. These were the Crane, Loon, Fish, Bear, Martin, Deer, and Bird. Each served a function for the Anishnabek (Clifton, Cornell, and MClurken, 1986). The clan system is still being practiced today within various tribal entities to varying degrees.

Membership in specific clans was inherited from the father’s side. All members of the same clan, blood relatives or not, were considered brothers and sisters. Members of the same clan could not marry (Clifton, et. al, 1986).
The clan system as well as the kinship network created a blanket of security for the villagers. This coupled with the strong commitment to giving and sharing was endemic of this tribal culture. Bad luck could befall anyone at any time so it was best to practice a continual redistribution of supplies in an attempt to avoid deprivation in the future. The Anishnabek lived in areas that were abundant with wild game, fish, and edible plant life such as berries, acorns, and fruit. The people did not take this abundance for granted; they bestowed appreciation upon these gifts. The Anishnabek had great respect for all of creation (Clifton, et al., 1986).

The availability of food afforded the Anishnabek time to participate in various ceremonies. Villagers danced, sang, played games, participated in family activities and built the tools that they needed for food gathering, farming, and the processing of food and other necessities. They had an optimistic view about life in general and continually planned for their futures. However, a great deal of work was involved in providing sustenance for their families and the community as a whole, but all family members took on the responsibility of insuring the well-being of the family (Clifton, et. al., 1986).

The Anishnabek culture was an oral culture. Public speaking was practiced and perfected by many of the Anishnabek. The Ojibway language is a descriptive language, which explains human emotions and actions as well as natural phenomena. The speaker could vividly recall events and by using their language instill detailed images. The Anishnabek were good listeners too. It was considered impolite not to listen and important messages may be lost if they did not give their undivided attention to the speaker. Children were strongly encouraged to listen. They were responsible for passing down the traditional information to their children and grandchildren. Children were taught to speak well and portray the exact meanings of what they
were trying to relay to others. The stories and legends provided entertainment along with the inclusion of valuable lessons (Clifton et. al, 1986).

Children were considered precious gifts provided by the Creator. The entire village provided care, supervision, and instruction to the children (Clifton et. at., 1986). Everyone was responsible for the security and protection of the young children. Childbirth was celebrated with feasting and fun activities. The child and mother were inseparable for the first year (Clifton et. al., 1986).

The most important event in an Anishnabe's life is the receipt of personal identity through a naming ceremony (Johnson, 1990). The given name permits the child to have a place by the tribal fire and be a part of the tribal thoughts. The name represented gifts of the spirits, which were inherited through a naming ceremony ritual by the person bestowing the name. The given name was to be respected for its origin within the tribe and cherished by the one receiving it (Johnson, 1990).

The Anishnabek lived a tranquil and peaceful existence in conjunction with the other elements of nature. During this time period the Anishnabek did not suffer any of the repressive elements of the European American culture such as poverty (Maracle, 1993). The communal form of living afforded all of the needs of the Anishnabek. The arrival of the Europeans changed the lives of the Anishnabek.

**Pre U.S. Period**

The Europeans arrived in the early 1600s in Michigan. French explorers and missionaires first came to the land of the Anishnabek. The area that was first visited by a European named Etienne Brule, is what was known as Bahweting (home of the rapids and cascades). This is currently known as Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. At a later date, Jesuits and
other Frenchmen came into contact with the Anishnabek. The Anishnabek were called Saulteurs by the French, which meant people of the rapids. At that time, Anishnabek resided in various locations near Lake Superior and parts of what is referred to as the lower peninsula of Michigan (Clifton et. al., 1986).

In 1634, Champlain commanded Jean Nicolet to meet with Anishnabek leaders and make arrangements to conduct fur trading in the area of their villages. This was accomplished mostly on friendly terms. However, on occasion, alcohol was used to provide assistance to carry out plans of manipulation and exploitation. The fur trading business was conducted throughout the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth centuries. The furs often served as a bartering tool to elicit other goods that were produced by the Europeans such as flour, coffee, sugar, etc. Anishnabek were not accustomed to functioning in a market economy so the Europeans often took advantage of them. The balance of power swayed in the direction of the French. The French had more advanced weapons and therefore the Anishnabek were at their mercy (Clifton et. al., 1986).

The Anishnabek became allies with the French against the English. This conflict, the French and Indian War, was being fought between the French and the English. Many Anishnabek lost their lives in what ended up being a victory for the British. The British set new ground rules for the Anishnabek to follow. The Anishnabek revolted against the unfair trade policies. In October 1764, both the British and the Anishnabek agreed upon a settlement. The Anishnabek returned to their villages to continue to their way of life (Clifton et. al., 1986).

The assimilation tactics that were practiced by the European Americans did not occur in a vacuum. The Anishnabek from this point forward were effected by the same policy changes that were implemented throughout the nation as a whole. In essence, the U.S. government began
its massive movement to take care of the “Indian problem.” The words Native American will be used from this point forward to depict all Native American people residing in the United States. The word Indian, which was improperly given, will be used only when another term would skew the meaning of the text or because that was the formal title given to the people by the dominant culture (i.e. Bureau of Indian Affairs, etc.). The nonnative American people will be referred to as European Americans from this point forward.

Bowden (1981) stated that policymakers viewed agriculture as one of the best means for changing Native American people into civilized and productive citizens. In 1793, Congress gave authorization to the President that permitted the President to provide Native American tribes with domestic animals and farm tools. Agents were sent to demonstrate how to use the tools. However, many U.S. citizens and policymakers were pessimistic about the outcome of these acts of assimilation. They believed that Native American people would not buy into the European American culture and its value system. The more efficient way of dealing with the Indian problem was to quarantine them. Public supporters for the common cause requested that treaties be implemented to provide new locations for Native American people to reside, in which they would be permitted to live their unacceptable life styles (Bowden, 1981).

In 1803, the Louisiana Purchase was one of the first steps taken towards relocation of the Native American people. Native American people were relocated to this Louisiana territory. President Jefferson and his successors used the territory beyond the Mississippi as a dumping ground for eastern Indians (Bowden, 1981).

William Henry Harrison set forth and put into place a policy in 1809 that allotted for the provisions of removing as many Native American people as he could. Native American people were known as lacking the capacity to live up to European American standards. Harrison
negotiated the treaty of Fort Wayne, which ceded the majority of land in Indiana and Illinois to the European American settlers. "Is one of the fairest portions of the globe to remain... the haunt of a few wretched savages, when it seems destined by the Creator to support a large population and to be the seat of civilization?" (Bowden, 1981). Harrison backed up his convictions with a large military garrison. (Bowden, 1981).

At the same time, clergy made the assumption that Christianity was closely tied with republican virtues. However, policymakers implemented laws within the constitution that instilled provisions that worked towards the disestablishment of religion. Most of the states abided by those federal guidelines. Nineteenth century missionaries had one main goal which was to persuade Native American people to convert to a more civilized manner of living through Christianity (Bowden, 1981).

The governmental military conquests were successful at reducing Native American land holdings east of the Mississippi. At the same time, Congress passed a bill in 1819, establishing a "civilization fund." Ten thousand dollars was allocated for agricultural and literacy instruction and other benefits for Native Americans (Bowden, 1981).

The Native American people, who were in agreement with this philosophy were provided assistance from missionaries. These missionaries served dual roles. One was to Christianize the Native American people. The other was to provide instruction concerning the customs suitable for Native American people to allow them to obtain citizenship. Missionary sponsored farms and households were popping up in various locations in the country. These served as models of acceptable values and customs for Native Americans to copy (Bowden, 1981).

The mid 1840s was a time when it was evident that the separation between the Native American people and European Americans did not work. Vast numbers of Irish and
Scandinavians were immigrating to this country. These immigrants were heavily settling the northern-forested regions. The only land available for what they referred to as “warehoused Native American people” was the Indian territory in Oklahoma and the unceded Ojibway lands west of Lake Superior (Cleland, 1992). The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Medill, implemented policies that protected these lands from the threat of removal. However, the threat was imminent. The blame for the flaws of Native American policy was placed on the Native American people. They were incapable of becoming civilized (Cleland, 1992).

Meanwhile, Native American people who lived in the Great Lakes communities continued to maintain their cultural integrity against all the above adversities. They succeeded in doing so until the last half of the nineteenth century. According to Cleland (1992), the Native American people who lived in these regions managed to hold onto their language, social and economic systems, political integrity, and their spiritual values. They were persistent with portraying their views to the U.S. government. However, it was considered that change was inevitable and the best way to serve their communities was through educating their children.

The growing consensus of Native Americans was that they wanted to become citizens of the state of Michigan. This created another opportunity for the European American culture to take advantage of the Native American people. A second Michigan Constitution was established in 1850 and part of that Constitution included Article 7, section 1. Article 7, section 1 provided the provision that “civilized Indians could become citizens by renouncing their membership in tribes.” (Cleland, 1992). Fortunately, few Native Americans decided to become Michigan citizens and they were not considered U.S. citizens. However, some Michigan Native Americans enlisted in the Union army and fought in the Civil War (Cleland, 1992).
The nation was being interconnected by the construction of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. The main lines of the railroad were connected to remote areas. The long communication lines that plagued the Army's attempts to control troublesome Native American land became less of a problem. Their conquerors and policymakers and the enforcers of the nation's policies surrounded the Native American people. The old way of Native American leadership was quickly disappearing (Tyler, 1973).

Related to the construction of the railroad was the final disappearance of buffalo herds. This was the main source of sustenance for the Plains Indians. The buffalo furnished meat for the railroad builders. There was a market for buffalo hides. Eastern hunters and sportsmen from Europe had to come to the plains to hunt the buffalo before they became extinct. The needless slaughter of buffalo destroyed the balance the Native Americans had maintained with nature by taking only what was needed for food, clothing, and shelter (Tyler, 1973). This marked an onset of drastic inevitable changes for Native American leaders. They saw their struggles to keep what they knew as a way of life as useless. Their economic base gradually disappeared. Thus, poverty and other problems such as alcoholism became endemic with the tribal entities (Cleland, 1992).

The Native American people could not successfully resist the onset of the European American takeover. Their communities were governed by those located in Washington D.C. through the administrative structure entitled the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The local representatives were agents or superintendents who were given the authority to supervise the Native American tribes and look after their welfare. In Michigan, the 1855 Treaty included provisions that allocated $80,000 to be distributed over a ten-year period for a school system. This school system was to be run by the government and consultation was sought from members of the Ottawa and Ojibway tribes. A day school system was developed. It was considered a
large-scale public school experiment. At that time, Michigan schools provided a model for other governmental school systems. The Mackinac agency’s efforts served as a national model in regards to Native American education (Cleland, 1992). Cleland (1992) states that thirty of the forty-eight Indian day schools in the U.S. were in Michigan. Native American acculturation and assimilation was not as successful as the government hoped it would be (Cleland, 1992). Improvements were being considered to improve the outcome of the educational process for Native American children.

According to Rinaldi (1990), by 1880, the government had taken away the Native American people’s will to fight back. The Native Americans were confined to reservations throughout the United States including Michigan. The land that housed the reservations was considered useless for agriculture and was home to very little game. Native American people were no longer free to roam, hunt and provide sustenance for their families. Thus, what was left but to take the only other important aspect of their lives, their children (Tyler, 1973).

**Boarding School Era**

Total control of the Native American children’s education was viewed as the most feasible option. Therefore, Native American children were to be removed from their parents’ care and influence. The government with some assistance from church entities implemented the boarding school system by 1887. The boarding school phenomenon was referred to as ethnocide (Lomawaima, 1996). It had a profound impact on the maintenance of Native American culture. According to Cleland (1992), within twenty-five years, the boarding school initiative had more of an impact than the efforts of the armed forces, starvation, disease, loss of land, and Christianity.
As part of an experiment, several young Native American people were placed in the Hampton Institute in Virginia. Following this the Carlisle Indian Boarding School was established in 1879. Shortly afterwards, four other non-reservation boarding schools were established. Lieutenant R.H. Pratt has strong associations with the early boarding school experiment. Industrial education was conducted as part of the experimental process. School officials were given little, if any, direction regarding the instruction of the Native American students. Instruction was accomplished by using trial and error techniques (Tyler, 1973).

Native American children were stringently taught how to follow orders. Most boarding schools were run like military camps. The children had to fall into formation, march, and oftentimes wear military type clothing and shoes. During the weekdays, the children attended school. They were taught English, math, history, and geography usually by European American teachers. Some of the teachers tried to be kind and helpful while others were cruel. Student labor provided most of the day-to-day maintenance of the schools from meal preparation and repairs, to cleaning. These chores would prepare them for their work as adults.

Girls were being prepared for their work as servants or housewives. Boys were being trained in the areas of gardening, repair and maintenance of homes and farms, the running of farms, printing presses, and the building of houses and furniture. Many of the children participated in an outing program in which they were placed in European American homes and expected to perform tasks for their room and board (Littlefield, 2001).

The educational endeavors would not accomplish complete assimilation. The European Americans would have to destroy traditional cultural ties of the Native American people. Native American people must be forced to change the way they look, and forget their language, customs, and religion (Rinaldi, 1999). Harjo (1993) went further to state that the main purpose
of boarding schools was to discontinue the influence of Native American families on their children, thus putting an end to the traditional child rearing practices of the Native American families. Children were removed from their families for up to twelve years. Oftentimes, parents and other relatives were not permitted to visit their children while they attended school. Parents were reported camping outside of the boarding school gates in hope that they would see their children. At the same time, Native American children were taught that their families’ traditional practices were immoral and uncivilized. This resulted in Native American children having mixed messages about their heritage and themselves (Harjo, 1993).

The year 1887 was another turning point for Native American people. Congress passed the General Allotment Act, otherwise known as the Dawes Act. Henry Dawes was its chief supporter. This reform movement lasted two decades. The General Allotment Act afforded the President the ability to distribute quarter sections (160 acres) of Indian reservation lands to each Native American who was a head of a household. Bachelors over eighteen years of age received an eighth section. American citizenship was a part of the bargain. Those who accepted these allotments were required to live on their homesteads away from their fellow tribesmen (Bowden, 1981). Another advantage to this initiative was to extend citizenship to the Native Americans as legal landowners. Therefore, Indian land could be and was taxed. This Homestead Act was strongly enforced in Michigan (Cleland, 1992). Any reservation land that was not appropriated to Native American people went to the European Americans (Bowden, 1981). The allotment process caused long-lasting dependency and resentment (Cleland, 1992).

Congress passed the Compulsory Indian Education Law in 1887, which necessitated the building of more boarding schools and attendance of such boarding schools by Native American children. Some of these boarding schools are still in operation today (Locke, 1992).
Ellis (1996) reports that children who were in many boarding schools suffered from various types of abuse. Children who demonstrated resistance to the teaching practices and the regimented authority were subjected to humiliating and harsh punishments. They suffered whippings, paddlings, and otherwise unusual treatments such as standing on their tiptoes with arms outstretched, and having their hands whipped. The treatment of boys was typically more severe than that of girls. Severe punishments occurred when children tried to run away, although this did not deter many from trying to do so (Ellis, 1996).

According to Bandura (1973), the highest incidences of aggressive behavior was typically found in environments where aggressiveness was highly valued. Abuse of Native American children was acceptable in the boarding schools. Children needed to be under control no matter what. Bandura (1973) referred to these environments as deviant subcultures. Boarding schools can be referred to as a subculture with in the European American culture.

Native American children developed alliances with each other while attending the boarding schools. According to Littlefield (2001), many had never met Native Americans from other tribes. Friendships were often formed that lasted over the period of their lives. Children wrote messages to their friends in their native tongues. They made fun of the teachers and gave them names that they felt best suited the teachers' personalities. The children looked after one another also. When a child was sent to bed without a meal, the children would often sneak him/her food. At times, they would sneak out at night together and do things that they knew they were not supposed to do. Sports, choirs, bands and dances were other ways that long lasting friendships were developed (Littlefield, 2001).

The boarding school experience did prepare children to communicate with the English speaking population. Students usually had a difficult to impossible time returning to their home
of origin. Some of the Native language, if not all, was lost along with many of the customs. Many did not return to their place of origin. Instead, they joined the white population and were acculturated into their way of life. They worked at jobs on farms or in towns. Some moved to the urban areas. Some were hired by the boarding schools as teachers, cooks, and caretakers (Littlefield, 2001).

Nobokov (1999) stated that Native American children and their families responded differently to the boarding school experience and other school entities in general. Some suffered long-lasting negative effects from this experience. However, the boarding school experience did not destroy the Native American culture forever. Former students and their children continue to work towards undoing the damage caused by the various acts of assimilation. Many of the people from the Native American population do not want their stories and traditions lost or forgotten (Littlefield, 2001). Three boarding schools were opened in Michigan. The Catholic church opened the school in Baraga in 1887 and the Holy Childhood school in Harbor Springs was opened in 1889. The federal government opened the school in Mt. Pleasant in 1893. Interviews and other research techniques were utilized to explore information to compare and contrast experiences between the institutions in Mt. Pleasant and Harbor Springs.

**Mt. Pleasant Boarding School**

*Historical Background*

Originally, a day school, this institution was located in Mt. Pleasant for Native American students. The site of the school was relocated to the current location. The new school opened on January 3, 1893. Some of the former students returned back to the school to be employees. By 1911, eleven red brick buildings were erected which included boys’ and girls’ dormitories, an
assembly hall, dining room, hospital, powerhouse, laundry, storehouse, industrial building, and teachers' club. The staff at the hospital served the residents and staff of the school as well as the local residents (Littlefield, 1983).

The education that was provided at this site was similar to that of other residential industrial schools during that time period. According to Littlefield (1996), it was estimated that almost half of the tribal children in Michigan attended this boarding school for at least some of their schooling. Thousands of Native American children from Michigan were provided with an education from this institution. After graduating from the Mt. Pleasant boarding school, students either went on to finish their schooling at public high schools or were transferred to other federally run boarding schools such as Carlisle (Littlefield, 1983).

The curriculum and other practices matched that of other federally run schools. Basic academic subjects and vocational subjects were taught (Littlefield, 1983). Initially the school provided up to eight years of instruction and later on this was switched to nine years (Littlefield, 1996). The school was closed due to federal budget cuts in 1933. The state was requested to accept the students into its school systems. The land, buildings and equipment were turned over to the state as a part of what was known as the Comstock Agreement. Part of the agreement took educational responsibilities in regards to addressing the special needs of Native American children from the federal government and placed the responsibility in the hands of the state of Michigan (VanAlstine, 1994). The closing of this school was a highly controversial matter. The state of Michigan utilized the property as a home for the mentally retarded after it was closed as an Indian boarding school (Littlefield, 1983).
Boarding School Experience:

One half of the day was spent in the classroom and the other half was spent doing chores. The goal behind the chores was preparation for adulthood and to provide maintenance of the school and its basic operations. The school was run in a military fashion with marching and the expectation of stringent obedience. Disobedience, tardiness, and other infractions were punished. Punishment included denial of privileges, extra work duties and occasionally beatings with a strap or rubber hose. Children sometimes ran away from this institution, but it is reported that this was mainly due to their loneliness for family, not due to harsh treatment (Littlefield, 1996).

A strong emphasis was placed on agricultural instruction. The school was located on two hundred acres which was soon increased to three hundred and sixty acres. Children learned how to grow a variety of fruits and vegetables and how to raise the typical farm animals such as chickens and pigs. It was hoped that the boys would own a small farm and have plenty of food to eat and provide sufficiently for their families. Boys were also given training in various vocational areas such as tailoring, barbering, and carpentry (Littlefield, 1996).

Girls were trained to become domestic engineers or housekeepers. It was presumed that the girls would be returning to lifestyles that were somewhat primitive, lacking the modern conveniences. Therefore, it would behoove them to learn how to do laundry without utilizing the modern equipment. They were encouraged to do the employees’ laundry at the school in order to earn money, and at the same time hone a necessary skill. The girls were trained in the areas of sewing, cooking, cleaning, and other domestic duties as deemed necessary (Littlefield, 1996).

In the heart of the domination and inequality, the Native American children demonstrated acts of resistance that would be hard pressed to ignore. The significance of this resistance was an
indication of the strength and endurance of Native American people in general. In spite of the imbalance of power, these children found and maintained forms of solace through the interdependent interactions with their peers (Littlefield, 1989). Children made a game out of stealing food for themselves and their peers. They would sneak into the woods and make forts and go hunting much like their ancestors did. Some of the boys would fish in the nearby ponds and rivers (Littlefield, 1989).

The twentieth century educational system evolved into a tool, which was used to promote and maintain the European American culture, a capitalistic society. All students were taught that obedience, punctuality, and maintaining control of emotions demonstrated respect for those in one's surroundings. The latent reason behind the boarding school experience was the production of a working class that continued to benefit those in power (Littlefield, 1989).

**Holy Childhood School in Harbor Springs**

*Historical Background:*

Members of the Odawa tribe in northern Michigan sent a request to Congress in 1823 ("Unholy Childhood," 1994). They stated a need for a "teacher or minister of the Gospel" ("Unholy Childhood," 1994). Their request was not met until 1829. At that time, Father DeJean settled in the L'Arbre Croche community better known today as Harbor Springs. A fifty-four by thirty-foot church with school was erected in the site that the current Holy Childhood church is located. From 1839 - 1884, the school was closed because of a lack of funding ("Unholy Childhood," 1994). The Franciscan Fathers of Sacred Heart of St. Louis reopened the school. In 1886, the School Sisters of Notre Dame took over the administration of the school. In 1926, the present brick school was constructed. During the spring of 1983, the boarding school
was closed. In 1988, the day school was closed and a day care center was opened in its place ("Unholy Childhood," 1994).

The purpose of this school was considered by the clergy to be a noble one. Native American children were provided housing, food, and education, and at the same time their souls were saved. Children were taught and supervised twenty-four hours a day. As of 1961, two hundred and thirty children from all over the state of Michigan attended the school, with over one hundred being boarders. Children were sent for various reasons. The two main reasons were poverty and alcoholism. Because of the already existing generations of assimilation, parents and grandparents were conditioned to believe that they were less than human and thus, needed to turn over their lives and the lives of their children to the European American culture ("Unholy Childhood," 1994).

**Boarding School Experience**

Unfortunately, the experience at the Holy Childhood Boarding School was not quite as positive for the boarding school attendants as it was for the students who attended the Mt. Pleasant Boarding School. Students were told that they had to learn or they would burn in hell. The threat of beatings and public humiliation was one of the ways that the nuns maintained order and obedience. This boarding school was also a place where students discovered that skin color did make a difference in regards to treatment ("Unholy Childhood," 1994).

The children were assigned numbers, which were attached to their clothing, toothbrushes and beds. The numbers represented the regiment of their lives while staying at the Holy Childhood. A strict schedule was in place for prayer, school, chores, meals, play and television or movie times (Kolker and Golder, 1994).
One of the most disturbing factors that were discovered in this article was the rate of sexual abuse. According to Kolker and Golder (1994), this was not linked to the priests that were assigned there. The nuns were associated with this abuse. Reading further revealed that both men and women were interviewed, who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school. Of the eighty men and women, nine former male students, stated that they were ones sexually abused. The abuse occurred repeatedly and they expressed that they felt there was no choice but to comply with the abuse. Otherwise, they feared the sanctions would have been unbearable (Kolker and Golder, 1994).

The Native American children, who attended Holy Childhood, were often referred to as "black savages" or "heathens." A former attendee stated "Even a lot of people I know right today still don’t believe in God because every time they hit, beat or whatever, it was in the name of the Lord." (Grand Rapids Press, 1994). Another statement that was made was "By the time I got out of that school, I didn’t want nothing." ("Unholy Childhood," 1994).

However, there were some fond memories. Not all of the sisters were abusive. There were the ones that said consoling words and gave gentle encouragement. They were the ones who the children could turn to when they needed positive attention. What needs to be considered were there were different standards for discipline during the period of time that the school was in operation. Corporal punishment was widely accepted. However, the philosophy behind the Holy Childhood boarding school appeared to differ from that of the Mt. Pleasant boarding school. The Mt. Pleasant boarding school philosophy appeared to utilize vocational and domestic training as their way of assimilating the Native American children into the European American culture. The philosophy behind the Holy Childhood boarding school was based on religious training and humiliation. Both had the same goal in mind to dominate and
promote the values of the European Americans. Vast differences existed between the way children were taught traditionally by their parents before the onset of the boarding school phenomena and the way the Native American children were taught in the boarding schools.

**Comparison of Teaching and Learning Practices**

According to Miller (1996), education was put into place with two main goals in mind. The first is to provide information to an individual so that they gain a better understanding of who they are and how they fit into all the social circles life encompasses. Another important goal implied was that the educational process involves preparation for adulthood. This training includes the practicing the necessary skills to enhance the development of children into productive citizens of their communities (Miller, 1996).

Native American people emphasized the approach to education that placed importance on looking, listening, and learning (Miller, 1996). Children were encouraged to tag along with adults with the implicit purpose to look, listen and learn. Native American people participated in a number of methods for providing the pertinent lessons to their children. These included conditioning their behaviors by demonstrating positive examples in their homes and communities, the provision of subtle encouragement through games, and they relied heavily on the oral traditions to instill important messages that would be carried out throughout their lives. The stories that elders and other adults told the children relayed information about the creation of the world, its contents, and how the various beings that populated the world stood in relation to one another. Proper behavior was implied by indirect and non-coercive means which was in
contrast to European American child rearing practices which reflected abuse and deprivation (Miller, 1996).

Language and values symbolized the strengths of the Native American culture and aided in the learning process about the environment. These areas have been sacrificed with many Native American families and pose a great concern for many Native Americans. The spiritual balance of many Native American people has been threatened as the result of the school systems of the past and present. Social and psychological problems have been caused by this and as a result the Native American child has struggled to understand and possibly maintain a true sense of his/her Native American identity (Fixico, 2000).

The patterns and methods in which Native American learned best was drawn from their cultural backgrounds (Fixico, 2000). Native American children preferred to work and learn in groups and did not want to be singled out even when it came to being asked questions. They feared ridicule. Children were often punished in front of their peers for not understanding their schoolwork while attending the boarding schools. Native American children would tend to rely on the teachers’ expertise to guide them through the learning process. Intently listening was considered a sign of respect and most Native American children were taught to be respectful to adults at all times (Fixico, 2000).

Fixico (2000) went further to explain the way Native American children’s brains function differently than that of their European American peers. Native American children tend to be right-brained oriented. This is tied with art, music, and other forms of creativity. They tend to be more interested in the abstract areas of thought. Whereas their European American peers tend to be left-brained, which is tied with the concrete sciences (Fixico, 2000).
The training in the federal boarding schools was tied with specific occupations and professions. Vocational types of training occurred at the Mt. Pleasant boarding school. Traditionally, Native American educational philosophies were based on the abstract sense of life. This differed from the educational philosophies behind the boarding schools.

Native American children traditionally observed adults for periods of time. This provided the Native American students with the confidence of completing the tasks with minimal to no failure. Failure in the classroom would lead to feelings of inferiority (Fixico, 2000).

Native American youth saw themselves as members of their community. The sole purpose of this membership was unity. The achievement of grades caused the Native American students to stand out in class. Native American students did not like to stand out. The European American culture promotes individual accomplishment, however, Native American people traditionally preferred not to be distinguished from the rest of the family or community. Their culture reflected cooperation and was communal based, not competitive and individualistic (Fixico, 2000). The twentieth century marked a period of change for the educational process for Native American students.

**Abyss and Revitalization Period: (Twentieth Century)**

During the early 1900s, liberal government officials created a more tolerant atmosphere towards the Native American culture. President Roosevelt’s “New Deal” stirred hope for Native American renewal of their cultural traditions. However, before that, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) worked on coercing Native American people to become peaceful farmers by buying into their white neighbors morality and materialism. A BIA directive denounced the Sun Dance and other spiritual ceremonies. Idleness and superstitions were linked to these ceremonies. These
Native American cultural practices have survived an onslaught of attacks throughout history (Bowden, 1981).

In 1924, Congress implemented the “Citizen Act.” Native Americans were made citizens of their own country. During the next three decades the BIA continued to break up parcels of communally held land and allot it to individuals. European American businessmen took advantage of unsuspecting Native Americans and leased or bought approximately two million acres per year (Bowden, 1981).

By 1928, most Native Americans were living in poverty. That same year, Lewis Meriam conducted his historical study. His report indicated that the vast majority of Native Americans suffered from a lack of health care and educational opportunities. The European American economic and social standards were of no benefit to them. The “Great Depression” served as a more imposing hardship than it did to most of the other U.S. citizens. Policy makers continued to ignore the needs of tribal people even after the Meriam report was publicized (Bowden, 1981).

Michigan Governor Comstock entered into an agreement with the federal government. The agreement was known as the Comstock Agreement. Part of that agreement permitted the transferring of the land, buildings and equipment of the Mt. Pleasant boarding school to the state. The state, as part of the agreement, would allow the Native American students to attend the public schools. The responsibility for providing an education to the Native American children was transferred from the federal government to the state (Bowden, 1981).

Michigan governmental officials were given the responsibility to undertake and meet the obligations set forth by the federal government. These endeavors included the practical and financial obligations that the federal government owed the Native American people in the state.
of Michigan. For approximately thirty years, the state government did little to assume these responsibilities the Comstock agreement transferred to the state government (Clarke Historical Library, 2001). This period of educational neglect is referred to as the abyss period.

Government officials decided that the necessary services for Native American people were in the areas of education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare, including the relief of distress of Indians within the boundaries of the aforementioned state and territories. The Johnson O’Malley Act of 1934 was put into place to address these issues. The Act included provisions for the Secretary of the Interior to develop separate contracts with a state or territory. The Johnson O’Malley Programs funds were not made available to Michigan Native American children until 1971 (VanAlstine, 1994).

In 1936, the Act was amended to include provisions for flexibility. Contracting entities were extended to public and private institutions, corporations, agencies, and political subdivisions of the state or territory. The act in regards to education stated broadly that the intention of this act was to address the special educational needs of Native American children (Strickland, 1982).

The same year that the Johnson O’Malley Act was introduced, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was implemented. President Franklin Roosevelt appointed John Collier as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. John Collier was an active participant of the reform movement. Many of Collier’s proposed philosophies were a part of this policy. The goal of this act was to revitalize tribal organizations and tribal community life. The long-range policy leaning towards assimilation still remained the same (Strickland, 1982).

A termination era began in 1952 (VanAlstine, 1994). Native American people were strongly encouraged to relocate from the reservations to urban areas to seek and maintain
employment. In 1964, the Office of Economic Opportunity was established and this office bestowed opportunities for Native American children and adults to participate in programs. These programs were Head Start, Upward Bound, Job Corps, Vista, and Indian Community Action Programs. The purpose of these initiatives was to help those in need rise to higher standards of living (VanAlstine, 1994).

In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Act was set into place to assist disadvantaged youth both economically and socially. Titles I and II of the Act were extended to include BIA administered schools. Following, there was a push to encourage more tribal and parental involvement in regards to the education of Native American youth (Van Alstine et. al., 1994). As a method of holding onto part of their heritage such as communal life, the Native Americans created social and political organizations. This occurred in the 1970s and 1980s. During the 1990s intertribal activities began blossoming more. Native American organizations and gatherings formed the much-needed alliances and supported the growth of pan-Indianism. Socialization was the priority. Political issues were placed second in regard to goals (Fixico, 2000).

Congress passed the Indian Education Act in 1972. Provisions included the establishment of a supplemental entitlement program for Native American education in public schools and the creation of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education. In 1975, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act. This act consisted of the allocation of contracts for tribes for BIA educational programs and other BIA operated programs. Following in 1978, standards were put into place for the running and administering of BIA schools (Van Alstine et. al., 1994). (Refer to Appendix B for more information about the History of Federal Indian Education Policy.)
The Indian Child Welfare Act was passed by Congress on November 8, 1978 and signed by President Carter after numerous hearings were held with the Senate to cover all issues regarding the status of Native American people in the United States (Goodluck, 1993). The most significant discovery of these hearings was the high percentage of Native American families that were broken up by the removal of their children from them. It was determined that there was a rate of twenty-five to thirty-five percent of all Native American children being placed out of their home (Goodluck, 1993).

The current trend reflects self-determination for Indian tribes at the federal level. The U.S. Constitution and the federal government supported this. President Bill Clinton issued Executive Order 13084 on May 14, 1998. It was entitled “Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments” (Mason, 1998). In Michigan, progress has been made in the area of economic development. However, further steps need to be taken to enhance the growth of this process. The Bureau of Indian Affairs needs to develop a more liberal funding policy for tribes and tribal entities need to establish more entrepreneurial activities (Cleland, 1992).

Several national studies have included the study of Native American education from the past to the present. These include: The Meriam Report; The National Study of American Indian Education; The Kennedy Report; and the American Indian Policy Review Commission. The constant concern described in these studies was that Native American parents were not given the opportunity to be involved in the governance of their children’s education.

The 1970s marked a new period of change. The importance of parental participation at the local level was finally recognized and has been a part of the legislative process. Since the arrival of the European Americans in this country, Native American people have not been given the opportunity to provide assistance with determining the direction in which their children’s
education will take (Champagne, 1994). The educational process has finally gone full circle. This period of time marks the revitalization for the education of Native American children. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has recognized the need for changes in regards to their educational policies and accepts responsibility for the negative sanctions placed on Native American people.

The Department of the Interior has given primary responsibility to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for the administration of Native American programs. Today, the BIA has under its command one hundred and eighty-five federally recognized tribal or Bureau managed schools (Mehojah, 2000). Congress has taken notice of the problems concerning administration of BIA schools from the Bureau itself and has introduced amendments to address these issues. A public apology was issued by Kevin Gover, Head of the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, concerning the hardships caused by the insensitivity of the BIA officials towards the Native American population in the past ("Indian Affairs Head Apologized," 2000). (Refer to Appendix D.)

Another dilemma being faced by many Native American people is the question: who is an Indian? A definition needed to be developed by the various tribal and governmental entities in order to make the determination about who will share the benefits of tribal people. Blood quantum issues have created dissention amongst the tribal people. To define Indianness, not only predicates biological factors but also includes a cultural sense and feeling of belonging to a distinct part of history. The idea of blood quantum was based on the quantitative approach from the early nineteenth century. This quandary placed many tribal entities into a catch 22 situation so to speak. The struggle to gain access to these privileges has been a long and difficult journey (Cleland, 1992).

The educational process for Native American children was developed differently than it was for other people in the United States. Approximately four hundred treaties throughout
history have included provisions for educational services. These treaties were put into place in conjunction with the federal government and the tribal nations. The treaties involved land exchanges, protection against invasions, and self-government in lieu of the provision of services. The Bureau of Indians Affairs was created because of the unique relationship between the federal government and the tribal entities. For approximately one hundred years the educational system for Native Americans was operated with little to no local control (Champagne, 1994). However, tribal entities throughout the United States have been persistent in maintaining their traditional Native American culture.

**Current Traditional Practices**

According to Fixico (2000), minorities rarely became completely acculturated into the dominant culture. Fixico (2000) states that most minorities maintain distinctive qualities from past family cultural traditions. Oftentimes, many traditional practices were kept hidden from the eyes and ears of the European American culture. Sometimes Native Americans had to forego the practice of some of the traditional practices for the sake of mere survival (Fixico, 2000).

Native American people drifted from the reservations to the urban areas to seek employment and back to the reservations to seek their roots. They struggled with their Native American identity in regards to being eligible for services. It was difficult to impossible to find their niche in the bigger context of the European American culture. Fortunately many Native American people managed to maintain their kinship network. Social integration has been enhanced through this kinship system. Extended family members have been supportive with helping in raising the children. In fact, the family unit has taken over in many occasions where the clan system has left off. In essence, this partial adaptation of the new living styles has supported the cultural struggle to hold onto past traditions. The loneliness, however, of being
away from family and friends has led many Native American people to return to the reservation despite the fact that there was often lack of employment and other resources (Fixico, 2000).

Roles for women and men had to change in the name of progress. Women were given even more duties than they had in the past such as employment outside of the home. As a result, it was often considered a luxury to have the amount of time that their foremothers had to raise their children in the traditional way. Native American women have been forced to make choices between the well-being of their family and their own well-being. Women have been traditionally given the role of being the guardian of cultural traditions and values. Adult men have been traditionally placed in charge of providing cultural instruction for the young males to prepare them for their traditional roles as adult males. However, the chaos of their lives and the separation geographically has caused barriers for this training to occur (Fixico, 2000). The lifestyle of Native Americans promoted an interdependence on one another (Fixico, 2000). The idea behind Pow Wows, which still occur today, was not primarily a maintenance of culture, however, but one of socialization. The drum and the various dances revitalized one’s cultural heritage. Sweatlodge ceremonies were and continue to be practiced within the Native American communities. Many tribal entities continue to utilize herbs for medicinal and other spiritual practices.

Communal gatherings and story telling are practices that continue to be practiced today. Story telling was and continues to be an important method of providing instruction and entertainment for Native Americans of all ages (Fixico, 2000). Involvement in traditional practices and the support of family and friends provide a source of strength for Native American people.
Chapter 3

Methodology

An exploratory qualitative research design was used to gather data for this project. The problem that was described for this study was broad in nature. The kind of questions asked during the unstructured interviews were exploratory in nature and an attempt was made to gather facts and thoughts with an unmapped contextual base. (Refer to Appendix F.) In essence, the research participants were permitted to tell their stories about their families of origin and about their boarding school experience in a manner in which they would be most comfortable to do so. Each participant was asked questions, which were broad and open ended. This allowed for flexibility and thorough in-depth answers. This type of participatory research involved listening and envisioning the message that the research participants tried to convey. These oral histories were used to provide assistance with a developed understanding about their system of meanings in the context of which they were given (Saleebey, 1997).
The topic for this project was selected because of the researcher's personal family background and personal involvement with tribal entities. The researcher's mother attended one of the boarding schools that are covered by this project. The researcher made a determination to follow the recommendation that the study encompass experiences of those who attended two boarding schools, the Mt. Pleasant and Holy Childhood. The plights, such as alcoholism, that Native American people still face may be symptoms of their boarding school experience. The researcher's family has been plagued with alcoholism among other problems of a serious nature.

Many of the Native American families whom the researcher has previously met have demonstrated various strengths and a sense of pride in being a Native American person. Other Native American people appeared to the researcher to be struggling with issues that have seriously affected their lives and the lives of their families. The researcher wanted to explore these areas more thoroughly to determine what may be the possible aftereffects of the boarding school experience.

Native American people who attended the aforementioned boarding schools were members of different tribes. These individuals resided in areas throughout the state of Michigan. The researcher had the desire to have other tribes represented in this study and not only focus on tribal members from the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians (Sault Tribe). The referral process, snowballing techniques and personal knowledge led to the selection of the interview participants. The researcher was acquainted with some of the perspective interview participants.

Contacts were conducted in person and by phone, to individuals that worked for tribal entities within and outside of the Sault Tribe to seek information about other possible interview participants. The researcher attended a workshop in Mt. Pleasant and met with an elder, who agreed to participate in the study. Many of the interview participants gave the researcher names
of persons to contact for possible interviews. The age and health of some of those who attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding school was a negating factor in ruling out some of the interview participants. The Mt. Pleasant boarding school was closed in 1933 and a lot of the people who attended the school are either quite elderly or deceased. The process for selecting the interview participants who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school was not deterred by these factors. The interview participants decided where the interviews would take place.

The interviewing sessions went from one to four hours in duration. Participants were made aware that they may be contacted again if more information was required. The sessions were audiotape recorded. The researcher took notes when it was possible and added dialogue to the interview when it was appropriate. Nine interviews were conducted. Three interviews were conducted with individuals who attended the Mt. Pleasant Boarding School, one lived in Haslett and two lived in Sault Ste. Marie. Six interviews were conducted with individuals who attended the Holy Childhood Boarding School in Harbor Springs. One from Sugar Island, one from Sault Ste. Marie, three from St. Ignace, and one from Petoskey. The interviews were held at the participants’ homes with the exception of the one that was conducted in Petoskey. The interview was held in the participant’s place of employment. The participants were members of the Sault Tribe or the Little Traverse Band of Odawa Indians.

Each interview participant was given an “Informed Consent” form to read. Time was allotted for questions regarding the “Informed Consent” form and before the interviews began the interview participants were requested to complete and sign the “Informed Consent” form before the interview could proceed. (Refer to Appendix E.) The participants were informed that these interviews would be kept confidential and they would be given another name when the contents of the interview were utilized in the body of the master’s thesis. The city name and
what boarding school they attended would be the only identifiers.

The interviews began with the development of a rapport between the interviewee and the interviewer. Tobacco was presented as a gift to most of the participants. The researcher explained the interview process and the goals of the project. The researcher informed the participant that she/he was a cultural guide and the researcher expressed her own ignorance regarding the participants' experiences (Leigh, 1998). The interviews were held from April to June 2001. The audio-tape recorded interviews were transcribed in the researcher's office, which was located in the researcher's home. A standard word processing computer program was used. The interviews were summarized and themes were drawn from these documents.

"Communicating for Cultural Competence" that included a self-evaluation form for ethnographic interviews was used to self monitor the interview process and add as a reminder of what techniques work to the advantage of both the researcher and the participant (Leigh, 1998). The researcher would review the self-evaluation form before and after each interview to reinforce and monitor interview skills. (Refer to Appendix C.) The researcher took mental notes about what skills needed to be improved on for future interviews.

The analysis portion of this project was conducted in a systematic order. First of all, the interviews were thoroughly read. Then the individual interviews were summarized and placed into two categories. The categories represented the two boarding school entities. The boarding schools were utilized as reference points to delineate any differences that may have occurred between the experiences of those who attended both boarding schools. The personal background of the researcher again came into play with this decision. The point of reference of the researcher related to personal family history and how that history tied with the Holy Childhood boarding school. Additionally, the researcher wanted to investigate the alternative to a
missionary run school. The data was separated by boarding schools to gain a better understanding of the experiences as it pertains to the specific boarding schools. Inductive reasoning was the rationale for this decision.

The summaries were examined closely and themes were derived from each summary. The number of times a theme was represented in each summary was documented and separated by each interview participant. The themes that were noted more than once for all of the summaries were listed on a hand written table. Then the themes were dispersed into the time periods in which they represented. For example, the interview participant stated that his family suffered from poverty when he was a child. This aspect provided the rationale for why he/she was sent to the boarding school. The theme of poverty was placed under the section entitled the epistemology of the family of origin in each individual interview participant’s table in which this theme was represented.

A summary of the results for each time period was completed and placed after the individual tables. Each table for the summary of results depicted the themes and a separation between responses for those who attended both boarding schools. This will delineate the differences and similarities between the experiences of those who attended both institutions.

In order to determine the aftereffects and perseverance of Native American people, the researcher had to make comparisons from their situations of growing up with their families of origin, their boarding school experience and what their lives were like in the present. Every effort was made to disallow the epistemology of the researcher to come into play when the results of this study were calculated and listed in the result section of this project.

Horizontal and vertical analysis of the criteria obtained from this study was utilized to delineate the similarities and differences between the results as denoted by the three time
periods. The vertical and horizontal information was portrayed by the use of tables. The tables symbolizing the individual interviews covered horizontally the time periods and vertically the person's interviewed and the themes that were indicated by the analysis of the interview summaries. The titles of the tables represented the order in which the oral historical accounts were portrayed in this paper and the boarding school in which the interview participants' attended. The time periods that were represented covered the epistemology of the family of origin, the boarding school experience and the post boarding school experience.

A summary of the results was prepared that covered an analysis of the compiled results from all of the individual interviews. The horizontal axis symbolizes the boarding school in which the interview participants' attended and the major themes that were depicted in the interview summaries. The vertical axis illustrates the major themes and the number of interview participants. The themes were delineated by the interpretation of the individual interviews. Each theme had to be represented more than one time to be recognized in the vertical column.

The discussion portion was prepared by comparing the three time periods listed in the summary of results section and theoretical perspectives were applied to assist the researcher with possible rationale for explaining the discovered phenomena. The discussion covers the themes that were delineated in the analysis of the raw data and separated into various formats to assist with making a determination as to the positive and negative impact of the boarding school experience.

The literature review was conducted throughout the entire project. The available literature did not adequately cover the experiences of the Holy Childhood boarding school students and boarders. Only brief statements and a brief summary in a few newspaper articles were discovered. Although these sources were useful, they were not comprehensive enough to
warrant a clear picture about the experience of those who attended this institution. Many of the sources covered the federal boarding schools throughout the nation as a whole and Canada. Concerning the Mt. Pleasant boarding school, Dr. Alice Littlefield covered the experience of some of the boarders. However, the available circulating materials did not cover information about their families of origin and their present lives.

Other studies and literature resources have covered the experiences of Native American people who attended the federal and missionary boarding schools. The researcher has explored some of these resources. (Refer to the bibliography.) Experiences have not been examined of those individuals who have attended either the Mt. Pleasant or Holy Childhood boarding schools in the same study. The researcher has painted a picture of the three time periods of the boarding school boarders' lives and brought to the forefront some of the aftereffects of their boarding school experience. A project of this nature has not been conducted to the researcher's knowledge.
Chapter 4

Results

Oral Historical Accounts:

All the interviews were transcribed and for the purpose of this project were summarized for the reader. The interview summaries were separated by the boarding schools in which the interview participants attended. The Mt. Pleasant boarding school is represented first.

Mt. Pleasant Boarding School:

Interview #1:

Jeff from Haslett, Michigan

Jeff was born in Custer, Michigan in Mason County approximately eighty years ago. Jeff was raised by his parents on the reservation until he was five years old. For many Native American fathers, it was close to impossible to support their families on the reservation. Jeff’s family moved to Muskegon and his father obtained employment at the rag and metal, a junk
yard. The house that they lived in according to Jeff was inadequate. "We had substandard housing. The wind would come off the lake and just rattle those panes... They would just rattle. We had inadequate heat. I mean it was terrible... So I stayed there and then our family broke up, mostly due to alcohol... He would get his paycheck and would stop in the bars with his friends. There would be a lot of boozing it up. It broke up my family..."

"The government expected the Indian to farm. They didn't know anything about farming. They'd try. They put the reserve on the poorest land. Nobody wanted it back in the early 1900's. It was timbered off and sand. But I remember my dad coming up the road with a big steelhead, the tail of the fish dragging in the sand... They were big fish... He hunted but hunting was poor. Game was scarce. But I remember we ate duck and a lot of wild game, venison and other small rodents, squirrels I suppose. It's good eating... The social status of the Indians back in those days, they were unemployed, uneducated, and actually it was some of the government's responsibility. Put them on a reserve that a wolf would starve to death on. Expected them to make a livelihood on that sand so they all drifted into the cities... Some of them were shipped out West. Some of them, they either couldn't collar them. I think in my case, my father... wasn't full blooded Indian... is one reason why our family wasn't shipped out West... my dad was Irish, too. I'm sure that's one reason why, like my aunt, they married white people in that area."

His mother had difficulty meeting the basic needs of her children because of the problems his father was having with alcohol. "The probate court intervened... They shipped my three sisters and I to the Indian boarding school in Mt. Pleasant... I was six... We went to the Indian school, that was a plus... I finished the seventh grade, then the next year in 1933, they closed that school down. My sisters had finished the ninth grade... The object of the Indian
school was for assimilation. With me it worked. This is the important thing. I was with white people all my life. My parents didn't have the wherewithal to maintain a family."

The interview moved into a discussion about what the boarding school experience was like in his eyes. Jeff explained a regular day and what his training involved: "When I first came there, I was lonesome to begin with but I had all kinds of playmates. We were all in the same boat. We all had a good relationship, playing, we were all somewhat from the same mold. I as a person appreciated that sanctuary. I had three meals a day, good wholesome food... I lived in a dormitory. All the laundry was done at the school, the girls did all that. Domestic training, actually it was an industrial school... I was the one selected to do the barbering. I had a professional come in and I think teach three or four of us to cut hair. We had the hydraulic chairs. They provided a good training area for barbering. Of course, when I went to the army, I cut hair. I accumulated quite a bit of money. Every time someone wanted money they'd come to me and borrow it. I always had money... It was all regimented. We all marched. When we gathered to march, we were all inspected by one of the older students that came from the big boys down. They had this kind of position to keep track of us. When we lined up, you had to have clean hands. They would check your hair, your hair had to be combed. They were disciplined... Of course if your hands were dirty they would rap them with a light stick."

"Then after breakfast we would get back to our dormitory... and get ready for school...And they would march us over, we were in formation. There was a cleanliness inspection again...we would do almost a full eight hours of school." They were inspected for cleanliness before meals all day long. Meals were served in a big bowl and everyone would help themselves. There were six to eight children sitting at the table. "The girls would be on that side and we would be on this side. And they had girls up in the middle that would serve us. This
again was their domestic training... The older boys would work on the farm and they would work in the boiler house... They had a carpenter shop. They were supposed to go in and learn how to use tools... They would do repair work on the school, paint windows and repair chairs... Then they had agriculture training, tending crops and that sort of thing. They had a big dairy farm, so they worked in the dairy barns. The clothes were all brought in, they were government made. I know they were all the same. They would put your number on the back. So when they did the laundry... the matron for the small boys and small girls, she had to match all the laundry. She would get the laundry and fold it and put it in the cubicle there..." Jeff was a bed wetter but the only repercussion was that they slept in a wet bed. The sheets were changed the next day.

Jeff reported that he would be involved in activities that were not part of the scheduled school activities. Jeff and a few of his friends would sneak out at night and go fishing and one night he stole a flashlight among other things with his friends from a local store. "They had these officers, the older students, they would come around and check, do a bed check. Everyone would have to be in bed. Course after they're gone we'd sneak out. We'd do things, we would go down to the river and fish and stay out all night... We'd sneak into town. They knew we were government kids. Another bad habit I had, I stole. I would go to the hardware store. I couldn't keep my hands off the knives and flashlights... The disciplinarian was out there walking, looking for people who stole some flashlights. He knew what room it came from, he would come upstairs and take our flashlights. Next day, they would give us a hard whipping... I saw nothing wrong with that. I knew I would get a licking if I did something wrong and that was wrong... We would go to the mill and skate on that ice... In the Spring, we would go into the river and get on this ice and float down the river."

Jeff was asked to explain his worse and best memories at the school. "Most of them were
good. To me that was a godsend. I don’t know what I would have done if it wasn’t for that Indian school... I really can’t think of anything bad. Everything they insisted on me doing, I should do. I should wake up at a certain time in the morning, clean up and have breakfast, go to school. You would expect that. If you don’t do it now, the truant officer is after you. And cleanliness was practiced. Good housing and dry clean linen... We played a lot of football. The big boys would get a team together. We’d play against each other. We used to make our own football... I think they should have had the gym open all the time. We all had to participate in athletics, gymnastics... we had a qualified physical trainer. I think we went to the gym three times a week... We had good equipment... Why anyone would knock it, maybe they had it better at home but not with me. Actually there was five of us in Muskegon area where other families didn’t have suitable homes. They had to go to the children’s home too after the Indian School. So I was there until about eighth grade at the children’s home and then part of ninth grade...”

My moving from the Indian school to the public school, I didn’t have any problems... I was physically able, if you want to antagonize me you would be in trouble... The Probate Court, they wasn’t interested in me, somebody wanted their oats sewed in the Spring. The Probate Court released me to work for my room and board at this farm East of Muskegon. When I look back on it that was terrible doing something like that to a minor. Didn’t even let me finish the ninth grade.” He worked there for two years.

He lived on his own and then he worked for another family. The male head of household at this farm was previously employed as a superintendent of a school. “They were educated people. They weren’t teaching then. They were strictly farmers...” He went hunting with the owner of the farm. They treated him with respect and provided him with his needs such as clothing. They also encouraged him to go back to school and he did. Jeff successfully graduated
as the valedictorian of his class from high school. "I was a good basketball player in my high school. I had to work, too... I had a good relationship with my fellow students, in fact because I was a couple of years older... I was a good student without trying... My sisters, they all came to my graduation." He was asked about his relationship to other extended family members such as aunts and uncles. "I visited them from time to time. We had a cordial relationship. They treat me all right."

After serving time in the service, Jeff attended Michigan State University on the GI Bill. He attended for three years but he stated that he lacked the ambition to make a determination about his future. He looked upon this time period as taking the easy way out. Jeff married his wife in 1939 and has remained married ever since. Jeff obtained a position at General Motors until his retirement a few years ago. He referred to General Motors as "Generous Motors." They paid him well and he was able to advance up the ladder. He stated that his wife’s main duty was to raise the children and she did so until the children graduated from high school. They have seven children, whom he talked about to a large degree. Jeff was focused for a while on his children’s college and their success with employment and the acquisition of material things such as their nice homes. He stressed that he didn’t drink alcohol. His other son buys him many nice things such as the gas grill that is sitting on his porch. Jeff showed me his hunting blind that his daughter built for him. Jeff has participated in a variety of sports throughout his lifetime. Many of his children were involved in sports too. He told the researcher about the bowling team of which he is currently a member. Jeff does go to Pow Wows and his wife collects Native American art items such as baskets. He also stated that Native Americans must marry other Native Americans.
Interview # 2:

Doris from Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

Doris was born in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan ninety-one years ago. Her father died serving in the army at Fort Brady when she was two years of age. Her grandparents lived in Sault Ste. Marie a couple of blocks from where her home was. Her mother was raising her on her own when she was placed at the Holy Childhood boarding school. She was five years of age at that time. She said she liked the church services and her mother would go to the boarding school with things she bought for her. "Oh they had a beautiful church... I only went there a year... I peeled potatoes there. You know when you skin a potato... I was even fussy about that, even today."

Doris had a special place at the boarding school to store the things her mother bought her when she was staying at the Holy Childhood boarding school. She was sent to the boarding school in Mt. Pleasant when she was six and stayed there until she reached high school age. Her mother died in a car accident when she was nine years old. Following her attendance of the Mt. Pleasant boarding school, she went to the Catholic school in Sault Ste. Marie. She liked learning more about the Catholic religion.

She started the interview by stating that she was picky about how she liked her house maintained. This was explained in great detail. "Nobody satisfies me. I am very different. I am very fussy." Doris was ninety-one during the time of the interview. She fell on her arm a couple of weeks before this interview was conducted. She was receiving physical therapy and there were people who came to the home to clean and provide assistance in other ways.

Doris explained some of her experiences at the Mt. Pleasant boarding school. "When I was in Mt. Pleasant I didn't have to do any detail work... They had me just do the employees'..."
table... Detail was like when you were out washing the dishes at the machine and hauling garbage and stuff like that. They had a special place for the employees' table... We had to get up and get ready to go to the dining room for our breakfast. I used to like to do fun stuff like dancing... Sometimes they would have a drum to go along with the other music... I was a good little dancer. I loved getting on the stage and singing. They would have celebrations like for your birthday. It was the same way, where you did the laundry for the school. I did the employees' laundry... I would do the dishes after and I had everything cleaned up... oh they had everything, meat and good vegetables. Of course it was different for the employees' table... the salads were made individually which I got to do a lot of that... So I always like that..."

She was asked about friendships that were developed while she was staying at the boarding school. She mentioned the children who received money from the tribe of which they were a member. They received approximately three to four hundred dollars and she described some of the things that they bought with that money. She did not explain any activities that she participated in with these children. Doris went on to discuss some of her favorite experiences at the boarding school: "I liked to work in the dispensary. That's where I got a lot of experience... We made our own clothes too. Like I said I made my own uniform for graduation... There was a couple that came from the Sault here. And their crying wouldn't stop. 'Oh I miss my daddy.' Couldn't do anything with her. She was just a big baby and turned out that way."

There was a discussion about the teaching staff and the quality of education that was provided at the Mt. Pleasant boarding school. "The teachers, they were good. They would come from different states... Some of the children would have to stay over to brush up a little more on their school work, very very efficient."

Doris liked to do things when she was at home with her mother such as sliding in the
wintertime and roller skating. She loves music. Doris and her husband had five children. Her husband is deceased. She discussed in depth about her children’s jobs and their possessions such as nice homes and beautiful cars. Things were pointed out in the home that her adult children have purchased for her and she would discuss the price of some of the items. Her husband liked to fish but she doesn't trust eating the fish now. She and her husband played catch in their yard. He was a good baseball player. She didn't have time to do many fun things with her husband but when her children were younger, they would go camping on occasion. She was asked how she learned how to do things and she said she just knew. "I don't know. Aunt Nettie didn't teach me. No it just came to me, everything did...it was just my way of doing things." Doris lived with her Aunt Nettie when she went to the Catholic school in Sault Ste. Marie.

She described further who she was as a person. "It was in me to work. I was like a slave. I didn't mind it at all. I didn't feel like I was a slave. If I wasn't doing something, I wasn't happy. I just wanted to do something all the time. I used to go over to grandma's, my husband's grandma. And we used to go and help her and she had a stairway with no carpeting, no nothing, just wood floor stuff... I used scrub those white for her. She would be so happy when I would come over and help her iron. Because oh she took in washings you know... She would give us a jar of homemade jam and half a dozen eggs. And that's the way she would pay me instead of money." Doris focused a lot on household chores and related much of her life to the satisfaction that she received by accomplishing tasks in a manner in which she deemed acceptable. She led the conversation to a discussion about her late husband. The conversation involved Doris explaining visits that she has received from her late husband. She was given some photographs taken at the site of the Mt. Pleasant boarding school this year. Doris stared at the photographs. She appeared to be happy to get these photographs. Doris lost a lot of memorabilia during a
house fire that occurred recently.

**Interview # 3:**

**Fred from Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan.**

Fred was born and raised in Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan and he was in his early eighties during the time that this interview was conducted. He came from a large family. His family was faced with poverty. He attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding school in 1927 or 1928 for one year. "There were a lot of kids in our family. They took better care of us." Fred made reference to how tough those times were. It was the year before the "Depression" hit the country. Fred spent a lot of time with his extended family such as his aunts and grandmothers. He commented what a wonderful cook his aunt was and his grandmother had a sanitation business with which he assisted. His father left to move to the Detroit area when he was in his teens and his mother and grandmother raised him after that. Every summer, his family and extended family members would set up camp in the Strongs area and pick blueberries all summer. That was one of their main sources of income for the family. Fred would listen to music that was played by local musicians. "All Indians had a little talent, to play some guitar or this or that." He explained parts of the history of the area.

Fred explained with some detail his experiences at the Mt. Pleasant boarding school. "I was only six years old when I went there. I stayed in the little boys dormitory. One side was for people who didn't wet the bed. Course we were up in age and we didn't wet the bed. There were smaller ones on the other side. There was a bunch of cows. There was the M.I.L.K. company and they had a place they raised their own beef. They had older boys tending the cows... Every morning you would line up just like the army at attention. You would learn how to drill. Rear march, squad right, same thing as in the army... There was a military training. It was built like a
military fort, like Fort Brady... The bake shop, it was a great big place with board tables. Again it was just like I was in the army... They would call your name too and you if you weren't there they would call you AWOL... The potatoes, they had rows and rows of potatoes. We would be picking up the potatoes and throwing them on the wagons... I can't remember ever getting any sugar... I had a runny ear. I would go to the dispensary. It was like a hospital... I had to go there every day and they had to drain that out for me."

Fred was asked what his favorite experiences were at the boarding school. He said "steal apples. After you got out of school... you had your chores for that day... You would eat because you were always hungry... Like I said about the bake shop, hollow out that bread and put some lard and some sugar in it. They tasted like coconut cream pie back in them days. You never had sweets... Never see no milk or sugar."

He would catch the train and go exploring when he was a child living in Sault Ste. Marie. Movies were only ten cents and bread was two cents a loaf. Public school was not a pleasant experience for him. "I went and I quit... I went to school, there was a bunch of, the dad was the superintendent of the powerhouse down here and this one and that... When you were Indian back in them days you just kept your place... I always went to school four or five of us at a time... It was a group anyway. We never in no trouble either... A pair of pants were only $1.25 back then... But in those days, the kids they had these ties, these shoes, they looked pretty good in them days... Anyways I was designated to be the lead singer...How are you going to school if you ain't got nothing to wear... I never showed. She was disappointed... (His grade school teacher). “I was ashamed.” His worst memory from his childhood was trying to get clothes to wear to school. He was threatened with reform school so he decided to try and go to school as much as possible. One of his public school teachers sold him the home that he still lives for
what he was being charged for one month’s rent.

We discussed if anyone spoke the Ojibway language. "My grandma, that’s where I missed the boat... They all talked Indian. We went away on that because we didn’t want that, at that time you know. They were called savage when they were going to school... The Indian back in them days, all they wanted to do was put them in the bush to cut pulp wood... The job would charge thirty-five to forty cents... Salt pork would maybe cost fifty cents... They got done in the Spring of the year, they got nothing, they owed the job..." He explained further about some of his extended family members who spoke the language and participated in traditional practices.

"Grandma, right on Cedar Street, it was quite a little street for Indians. They would all come down... they would all sit down by the two big elm trees... They’d make a smudge and get it going... they would all talk Indian. We would all run away. We could have learned it easy. Nobody in the area wanted to..."

When Fred served in the army he was recognized for how highly trained he was. "I was called in 1943... Lieutenant Peterson was a real American Company C. Reviewing the three squads of us anyway. I was at attention and he stood right in front of me and he said ‘private’ and I said yes sir. ‘I see you got your training down in Mt. Pleasant.’ Yes sir. ‘Did you ever go to West Point?’ Then he gave me an at ease. No sir. ‘Where did you get your training at.’ I said that I went to a government Indian school in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan. You know I think I could have been sergeant right then and there but I was afraid of them guys... I knew all the commands you know. That was a good experience you know down in Mt. Pleasant."

Adam the medicine man who came to the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians, requested Fred to play the drum while Adam was providing care to the tribal clients. "It’s like a prayer... You know how to bang bang bang by listening to him. He said I was ok on that drum. I
got a little Indian in me so I guess I know how to pound on that. I did that quite a few times for him... he wanted me to go every day..." This commitment had to be given up because he has to stay home with his wife to provide care for her. He explained the making of maple syrup and how the elders, such as his grandpa, made it in the past.

Fred married his wife in 1943. His wife was of European American descent. They had fifteen children. He described in detail how well each one of his adult children were doing. He explained their material items such as their nice homes and the vehicles that they owned. Many of his children provide assistance to them in many ways such as preparing meals for them and buying him a truck. Fred's wife was ill when the interview was conducted and he explained what was happening to her in regards to her healing process. He stays home with her to provide assistance with her care. His wife was introduced during the interview process.

Different types of fishing equipment utilized by Native American fishermen were shown to the researcher. Fred looked at pictures of the Mt. Pleasant boarding school and he pointed out the purpose of the buildings. Taking a walk around Fred's yard ended the interview and various points of interest were discussed.

**Holy Childhood Boarding School:**

**Interview #4:**

Kent from Sugar Island

Kent was in his mid fifties during the time of this interview. He began his interview by relaying information about the history regarding his family of origin. His father, grandfather and uncles were fishermen and his family was relocated to a reservation in Ontario, Canada. The family was allotted a plot of land approximately 160 to 250 acres in Gros Cap which is directly across from Bay Mills. The land was considered useless. The government was placing more and
more restrictions on fishing and lumbering businesses. His father was unable to provide for his family so that was the main reason why Kent was sent to the boarding school.

He believes one of the reasons why the family suffered from poverty was simply linked to their Ojibway heritage. According to Kent, his family of origin could not be honest about their heritage. "Because what happened when I was little. We moved here and because of the situation then, it wasn’t good to be an Anishnabe. So my aunts were anything but Anishnabe. They were French. They were Italian. They were anything anybody that kind of had a dark color to their skin. That's what they had. They wouldn't hire my uncles at Algoma Steel or any place like that because they were Anishnabe...It's like the language. They couldn't speak their own language. They could speak French. The French were accepted but people still looked down their noses at the French a little bit. English was the A number one thing."

Kent attended the Holy Childhood boarding school for approximately seven and one-half years along with four other siblings. He was approximately six years of age when he first attended the boarding school. He described many experiences during his stay at the boarding school throughout the interview. "We were called boarders. The people that were not were called day scholars. The day scholars had a different regiment of doing things then we did. We would start about 5:00 in the morning. All the kids would get ready to go and be with the nuns... So we would all go to church with the nuns. Then after the chapel we would come back and make our beds and do our chores and then we would go to breakfast...before we went to class we had to go to church again...It was a line to go play. It was a line to go to bed, a line to brush your teeth... We would all stand in line down these halls. The girls on one end and the boys on another. We would stand facing one another, no talking... After lunch we would go out. They had a playground for the girls and a playground for the boys... We would get in line to go have
our supper and we would get to, even when we were eating it was to be quiet. After the meal was done the girls would go and do their thing. The boys had to wash all the dishes. The girls cooked and the boys washed the dishes."

Kent explained some of the things they did to entertain themselves at the school. They put on little skits and sang and played instruments such as the harmonica. Those friendships were important to Kent. He recalled three boys that remained his friends throughout his entire boarding school experience. There were various restrictions implied through obscure ways.

"We were not allowed to use our own tongue. Nobody ever came to us and said you can't speak that. It was an unspoken rule...The nuns were really disciplinarians. Some of them were pretty mean...There's actually two nuns that stand out in my mind from all the years that I have been there. One of the nun's name was Sister... She was the meanest individual that I ever ran into in my entire whole life. She was sadistic. The other nun was in charge of the senior boys. Her name was Sister..."

He explained how every Friday or Saturday night they would show a movie in the girls' playroom. They all had to line up to get a chair which were stored in the basement. The first one usually got the best chair. He stated that this was important because the simple things like getting the best chair or having a good pair of pants to wear was where his pleasure was derived from. He described an incident when he was the first one to go get his chair and he was forced physically to give up his chair to one of the nun's favorite boarders. Kent wrapped himself around the chair and the banister to the stairway and the nun managed to pry the chair away and sent him flying down the stairs. She turned out the lights and had him sit in the dark at the bottom of the stairs in the basement. She closed the door behind him. He described the basement as having "itty bitty" lights and it seemed like a mile long. It was like looking down a
dark tunnel. Without the lights, it was even scarier. "I think I was probably seven. It scared the hell out of me. I didn't care. I stayed right there. When she finally came and said I could go. So I didn't get to see the movie or anything like that. I thought about that, the things that effect your life. You know the way you do certain things. I always had this, even now, it grips me if I have to go outside in the pitch black... I think when things happen like that to you and your attitude. If you were a little boy you grew up damn fast. And you know that there is no mommy and there is no daddy. There's nobody, just you...so you better stand up and learn how to fight and take care of yourself... Then I became one mean son-of-a-bitch."

He was asked what his best experience was and he said "My best experience, going home. My greatest experiences...was when my parents would come to see us. My parents would only come to see us at Easter and at Christmas. Sometimes that was it. I could hardly wait to go home...my most favorite memory of my childhood was my grandmother. She was a little brown lady... I remember the time when she came to see me at the boarding school. My grandma came there once or twice but I will never forget it."

Kent explained that living in another world such as the boarding school was foreign to him. At the same time, when he went home during the summer months he would spend most of the time with his grandparents. "When I was in the boarding school I was trained to live in another world other than an Anishnabe world. Here I didn't know what my world was. When I was here. Because in my mind this was my home because it was where you come and visit for the summer and you go away. Is that your home? I would come here and maybe be with my parents maybe for about two to three weeks then I would go to Gros Cap Ontario with my grandmother and grandfather. And that's where I learned about my heritage more. My grandma was a full blooded Anishnabe. And when I learned the language the only words that I knew were from my
Kent participated with other traditional activities with his grandparents and other extended family members and continues to do so today with his Native American family and friends. During the interview, Kent demonstrated the various Ojibway words and phrases that he has learned. His goal was to learn one phrase or word on a daily basis. He explained how the Anishnabe traditionally cooked their meals and tied his explanation with a legend. Story telling was a tool that was used to educate Anishnabe Children by parents, grandparents and other extended family members. Kent relayed that he had stories that he would be willing to share with the researcher during another visit.

The interview was ended by further explanation about the things in which he was involved in such as sweatlodge ceremonies that include a water drum. "The water drum supposedly could cure you for a couple of miles. Just that little tiny drum." Kent was and continues to emerge himself in the Ojibway culture by participating and associating with his Anishnabe family. "It was like somebody gave me a culture. Just a made up culture of somebody else's. It was like a delusion of another race... So I am still going through that to change back. I am being filtered. So that's how I learned was by doing it."

*Interview #5:*

**Yulanda from Petoskey**

Yulanda was raised primarily by her father and her uncle in the Petoskey area and was in her late forties during the time that this interview was conducted. Her mother left and did not return except only to visit on occasion. Her uncle shared a piece of property with her father. Babysitters were hired to watch over her and her siblings while her father was at work. However, these babysitters ended up drinking alcohol and abandoning them. One of her siblings
went to a neighbors home because they were cold and hungry. The uncle was not home at the
time either. The neighbor contacted the authorities. These individuals came into the home and
cleaned and bathed the children, and provided necessary supplies such as food and started a fire
in the wood stove. The court ordered her and her siblings to be placed in the Holy Childhood
Boarding School in Harbor Springs. Her father was ordered to pay child support in the form of
money or food supplies to the boarding school staff. Yulanda attended for seven years and each
year she went home and stayed with her father during the summer months.

Her father had a lot of support from extended family members. "My uncle would see to it
that we ate and we were very very lucky to have him... He had cousins who helped him. We
learned how to dye eggs, did Christmas things. When we finally got to go home you know he
had cousins that helped us with what we should be doing. The only time he stumbled when it
came to personal needs with us girls... I used to go with him on some of the night jobs. I was
fishing when he was working on some of the houses and doing extra jobs... He taught all the
things that guys should know but we were girls...He was a plumber."

Chores were shared at home. She was in charge of home repairs and her siblings were in
charge of other household tasks. "Holy Childhood taught us the cooking part, house cleaning
and all the other things... Someone donated bolts and bolts of cloth one year. We all had skirts
and uniforms that were all the same. Sometimes we would embroider pillow cases and things
like that. In the summertime we were not supervised. My dad would say stay in the yard and we
knew the perimeters and we would stay within those perimeters and do what he says... We played
together and we stayed in the yard together. We did everything together."

Her father used art and stories to teach his children. These activities are still carried out
today with her children. Yulanda told two legends about how the porcupine got their quills
during the interview. They used to go around and visit their Anishnabe friends and family. She referred to this as making the rounds. This is still being practiced today with her children. Humor was an important component during her childhood. She recalled many times that her family used humor as a way of providing entertainment for one another.

She was asked about the Ojibway language. Yulanda reported that she didn’t find out until she was sixteen that her dad spoke the language. Her uncle Pete came to the door and asked to speak with her dad and they spoke to one another in the Ojibway language. “I sensed right away that there was something up. They had this conversation... Then it occurred to me that they were speaking their own language. There was a girl that went to school there and knew not a word of English. They beat her if she would talk in her language. She would hang her head. My dad said the same thing. He would not teach us. When I heard an elder speaking the language, it took me right back when I was a kid. I was impressed.”

Her father was generous when it came to their friends. “He didn’t care if there were thirteen kids in the house. He would feed them.” Her father would drink alcohol with his friends and family. She started her marriage and raising her kids by drinking alcohol every weekend with her husband. Then she changed her focus to raising her kids and on the weekends would take up to twenty-three children to the movie theater and they would participate in other fun activities. Both her father and the staff at the Holy Childhood boarding school promoted reading. She reads everything she can get her hands on, she reported during the interview.

The educational portion of the boarding school experience was not always positive for Yulanda. “I had a hard time with math, adding and subtracting. It was because I think that I was traumatized back then. Now when it comes to numbers and math I don’t want to do it till this day... I have turned down job promotions cause I don’t want to work with budgets. They
scare me away. I am willing to work overtime and whatever else to do my job but I don’t want
to work with budgets... I have more hair on the left side of my head than I do the right because
they would drag me around by the hair. The hair was pulled out of my head. Plus they would
grab you by the hair and slam you into the chalkboard. I was up close to the chalkboard a lot of
the times.”

Yulanda reported alliances that were built while attending the boarding school and later
on in her adult life. “We would cross sympathize. We would know it and we could feel it and we
could sense it. When they were yelling at you, trying to make you think and do that number on
the board... you could hear and see and such the classroom behind you. They sided with you. It
was very simple things. You might hear a ssssss sound. Maybe one person might do it but you
could hear it. You could hear a little murmur or you could hear a tap tap tap sound... Like there
was a bed wetter and we would sympathize. They would be drug by their hair or forced to stand
out on the fire escape outside and wrap their wet soaked sheets around them, you know even if it
was wintertime... We would say quick make your bed and throw the towels on them to soak up
the urine. We had a sign language where we could look at each other and agree and disagree...
We were held together by being in the same boat...”

Yulanda demonstrated a form of resistance by not crying in front of the nuns. “She
grabbed a board and beat me with that board... Why don’t you hit me back. I was always
respectful to older people... She really wanted me to cry. I would not cry. It was not until I was
in bed alone that I cried. I was sent to bed without any supper... A girl was sneaking me raw
carrots. She was working in the kitchen... Well she went upstairs and got a beating on the
stairs... I usually got a poking in the chest. They knew when I was at an early age that I would
not back down. I would not look at them directly... I would not bend or break or be
The older girls were placed in charge of taking care of the younger girls. This was part of their training as a preparation for returning home. They could in part assist with taking care of their younger siblings. "When I went there from grades first to fourth, you were basically a junior. You pretty much played along with kids and learn how to play and learn how to socialize. Then when you were in the fourth grade they started teaching you buttons. How to sew them on. In the fifth grade you were given a girl to take care of. In fifth grade you become a senior and the girl you take care of is a junior... It would make their work a little easier and we would sew their clothes. Made sure their hair was clean and combed...."

Yulanda explained other boarding school experiences. "There was fifty of us packed into two classrooms. There were two grades in each room. One teacher would teach first and second grade. She would start out with one grade in the morning and then the other half would have to homework or read. Then she would go to the other grade and work with them. She was working back and forth in that classroom from 9:00 until 3:00. If there was a disruption with one kid, she would spend ten to fifteen minutes yelling at one kid and knocking him around. There was a lot of that, that got knocked around a lot... If there was colds or viruses or things going around you would jump in line and get a clean handkerchief. During that time too you had to jump in line if you had to take medicine. Like everybody got cod-liver oil from the same tablespoon. All fifty of us would have our mouths opened wide."

She was asked what happened to runaways. "They would be beaten by the nuns and they would be turned over to the brothers and they would beat them. Then they were turned over to the security and she beat them and the students were allowed to beat them too." Meals were eaten in silence and activities were censored. "You were required to write a letter home at least
every other week. Your letters were censored. You would turn it in and she would read it. If she
didn't like it, she would scratch it up. You would have to take it back and you would have to
rewrite it. You couldn't tell them that they were being mean to me or hitting me or anything like
that. Things we would write about would be, we went for walks and we would have meat for
supper. Sometimes like deer meat you know. Really bland letters. So you wouldn't get them in
trouble... Books that were brought in were censored. Movies were censored.”

Religion was a big part of what was practiced at the Holy Childhood boarding school.
“They pushed religion. I accepted what they were telling me and I believed it and I really did
pray hard... The only time that I had trouble was my first confession... We used to make up
things for confession. Because we were actually basically really good kids. The religion part
wasn't too bad until I got older. When I was in eighth grade and we were getting ready to leave
the school, sister... told us about kids being raped and murdered. So when I was in eighth grade
she was the first one to give us a reality check. The boys are going to want sex and you girls
have to say no. Another nun told us that she was a nun for penance for killing her sister.” This
was an accident when she was cutting wood with her sister. “There was an Indian one there at
one time. I found out later that she was a cousin. She looked after me.”

The boarding school experience impacted Yulanda in other ways. “The Holy Childhood
experience set us in a schedule. To this day, on Saturday, we still clean. We learned some things
at Holy Childhood that were rigid that I haven’t broken. I stayed with that. When I got to high
school, I was so rigid that they thought that I was stuck up and stupid because I didn’t respond
to them. I never learned how to socialize with friends... They would talk about movies, music,
just normal teenage stuff. It didn’t compute with me. I didn’t fit in. I think every kid that came
from the Holy Childhood was like that. We went out into the world and it was chaos. The took
away our ability to make decisions. They made them for us. If some kids said party they would party. They just went with the flow. So many kids got pregnant and drunk because they went with the crowd and became alcoholics you know because of the school experience... I just sat there until they called ya. If they didn’t call on you for six months, I was fine with that. You would get graded on participation... I never skipped school. I never had the nerve to skip school. When I was sick, the nurse would say you are very sick and I would be at school and they would say we are going to take you home and they would give me a ride.” Yulanda addressed the high drop out rate of Indian kids as she referred to them. “When I started ninth grade, I think there was about fifteen Indian kids in the school in Charlevoix. Just about all of them dropped out except for three... So the drop out rate was high.”

Her two sons attended the Holy Childhood boarding school. One of her sons resented the experience she reported. She explained the history behind the school and its closure in 1983. “...I worked to keep it opened and turn it into an alternative school. Tribes let them build that church and let their children go there as long as they would educate their children. If you are going to shut the school down, give the school back to the people.” There was a scandal involving a few boys who were vandals. According to her, they were out of control. “The nuns got fed up and laid hands on them and the kids reported them... It was a generation after generation going to that school. I was a part of that history part.” She was asked how many generations went to the boarding school and she reported three generations, her parents, herself and her sons. “Yeah, on my mother’s side and my father’s side... I was a survivor...”

Many people, she reported, share the same bond who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school. “You went to Holy Childhood and so did I. It didn’t matter what age. A sixty year old would come up to me and say I went to Holy Childhood and I would say of you did you
Interview #6

Brenda from St. Ignace

Brenda was raised in St. Ignace by both parents and was in her early seventies during the time this interview was conducted. Poverty was not an issue for this family because according to her both of her parents worked. She worked while she was in high school for extended family members at the Moose Lodge as a waitress. Her father was away a lot working on boats. Brenda inherited her Ojibway ethnicity from her father’s side and her mother was of Polish descent. This created some issues regarding discrimination, which will be discussed during the explanation about the interview. Her father attended the Holy Childhood boarding school and to maintain this tradition, his children were sent there for approximately one year. Two of his children were not accepted the following year due to the light coloring of their skin and hair. Brenda and one of her brothers had darker skin and darker hair. Her sister had a lighter complexion.

Brenda explained the visits to her maternal grandmother’s home. “We had to visit her mother every summer... The only time we were allowed to go inside was to get to bed or to eat. We also had to sit at the end of the table. We had to use tin plates and the scrummiest looking forks you ever saw. She did not want savages in her house... She would have our uncles down there every night but she wouldn’t let us in the house. Now my sister could go in the house.”

There was positive involvement with her paternal relatives. “Dad’s mother was there. Uncle Charlie and his brother and sister, Aunt Lillie, and my grandma and my brothers and sisters. My grandma gave me a book of poems. It had all kinds of poems...” They were the ones that were mostly involved in her upbringing. Her brother died of a car accident some time ago.
One of the family traditions involved the children walking to church during Lent, rain or shine. It was approximately seven to ten miles. They had a car and the neighbors would offer to take them to church. Her mother insisted that they walk. Brenda did not know that her mother played the piano until she was in her twenties. She recalled her father embroidering and sewing. He had a sense of humor and would tease her mother. Some of her fondest memories as a child involved playing outside with her siblings and friends. They would use big pans to slide down hills in the wintertime and they would climb trees.

Brenda explained some of her boarding school experiences. "We really starved. Breakfast, I don't know what that was that they gave us but there was no sugar or cream on it or anything. Bugs were in it and they would make us eat that...I don't remember ever having a decent meal down there. The only thing that I do remember is that sometimes on Sunday they would give us a treat. They would give us a slice of bread with syrup and an apple...Mom and dad used to bring in tomatoes and they used to bring in apples. Kids never got any of that stuff..."

"I don't know how many times they put kerosene on our hair. It was to kill lice. Then we would keep it on all day... Everybody smelled like kerosene... They weren't nice down there. I know that one time one of my brothers threw a ball and a car went by and it broke the window...She made us lie... We used to have a big Christmas... All the visiting priests and nuns would come in. They were usually too drunk to come to the Christmas parade. And they had rooms for them. Now they wouldn't sleep in separate rooms either. They had this one room upstairs... Some of us would have to give, well after these parties, used to have to give these rooms a good cleaning. It smelled like alcohol. We had to wash all those glasses and all those plates. You should see the pictures that were on the wall, on the blackboard. Now these were not pictures that you would want little kids to see..." Brenda stated that she did not like the nuns
and resented that they would put on airs like they were good and proper. "I would see those nuns and priests going up there so darn holy. Acting like holy terrors. We were young but we still knew what was going on. But we couldn't say nothing. They would tell us not to. You don't say anything... My mother wouldn't believe me anyways... Dad would have believed us but mom never would have." Brenda was twelve years of age when she attended the school. "I knew how to cook before I got there. I was baking bread when I was nine years old... Didn't do any sewing down there... We did a lot of singing because we had to sing in the choir, in latin..."

Brenda and her alliances planned and carried acts of resistance during her stay at the boarding school. "You know what we used to do, we use to take and grab a piece of paper usually toilet paper and we would sing in the choir and we would shoot it at the wings in their hats. We would throw things that the hats would hold. Sometimes we would throw gum. They made us wear these stupid silk hats... With those white blouses and black skirts and those white silk hats and we had to wear hose. We used to cut and rip those hose and wear those to church on Sunday. Nuns didn't catch us you see, have to go to communion every Sunday. We would have those cute little silk hats and we would put them on and go to communion and throw our heads back like that and the hats would fall down. They would get so mad at us. We did that a lot." Brenda was asked what happened to the children, who ran away from the school. "I don't know but they would always bring them back... They had to clean the black marks off the floors... You could eat off the floors..."

This nun had false teeth and she would be up there singing and her teeth would fall out... She would make us slap our own faces. Now that was funny. She would say slap your face and slap it hard." She was asked about the teaching practices at the school. "School was good. I liked my teacher, too. Some of the kids didn't like her. She was stern." Some of the fun things
they did at school was going tobogganing and going for walks. One of the worst memories of the school besides the food was cleaning the windows. They had to clean the third story windows. "I was so scared that I was going to fall." The interview was ended by a discussion about her grandson who was living at their home. He seemed to be the focal point of her life. She was making fry bread and stated that her mother used to burn the fry bread when she made it.

Interview #7

Tim from Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan

Tim lived with his family in Canada during his childhood and was in his late forties during the time that this interview was conducted. His father was an Ojibway from Garden River, Ontario and then they moved to Gros Cap, Ontario later in his childhood. The government was placing more and more restrictions on their fishing rights. They resided on the reservation and his father went to the boarding school in Canada. "The tribes were beginning to make land settlements, restructure and reorganize... So my dad took on the tradition of being independent for as long as he could... Then he went to work at the steel plant. I think he quit fishing the same time we were at the boarding school." Tim's mother was an Ojibway from Sugar Island. Tim's family faced many difficulties such as alcoholism, suicide, domestic violence and poverty. His mother was giving birth to one child after another according to him.

His parents liked to play music, dance and had other talents such as gymnastics. His father drank a lot. His father served in WWII and was an honored soldier. His father had difficulty supporting his children so some of them were sent to the Holy Childhood boarding school. "The boarding school would have a place for us and food. Then they could afford to take care of the babies." Tim attended for one year. He was told before attending the boarding school that he would be able to be with his siblings at the school. He could not see them. This
had a long lasting effect on him.

Tim shared additional details about his childhood. "Lots of story telling around the fire... Some of the stories, the ones we remember the most were the scary ones like the ones about bear walking... Another story is about spirits of the water. Not to go in a direction if a hand comes out of the water... They would all tell stories about growing up and what they did together as kids... The oral tradition was our tradition. We did a lot of talking about things... We went hunting, fishing, swimming a lot. We were in the woods all the time. We cut wood every day. Hauled water every day. Fished just about every day. Uncles would bring by deer, moose, and bear meat. When we were old enough, we would go and get meat. There was squirrel and rabbit."

The boarding school experience was explained in some detail. Tim only attended for one year but that year made an impact on his life. "The boarding school experience damaged me greatly. I got really sick there. After five years after I left there, I had to get penicillin shots for what they called Rheumatic fever... They exposed us to all the other kids that came in that may have had things... I was five when I left home. I turned six in October... I was still pretty young to go... I got very ill. I guess you could call it homesick. It was a combination of being homesick. I wanted to be with my brothers and sisters and I wasn't... I think I developed more sickness because I was emotionally distraught... It was a suffering place... Then for eight years after that, I was in and out of the hospital trying to recover basically. My heart was very sick for almost ten years. You were there to be disciplined and educated. They did that to us. They certainly educated us and disciplined us... A lot of kids died there. A lot of kids thrived there. But for a kid like me, it nearly killed me. Home wasn't the greatest compared to other places but there were things that we managed to value and enjoy while we were there."
Tim gave more information about his boarding school experience. "It was structured religious ceremony ritual. Then you would learn how to be a soldier of God. Catholicism was heavy. You had to learn the stations of the cross, purgatory, communion." He was asked how he was being raised at home. What were his spiritual practices? "We were being raised traditional. We were being raised outside. We were hunting, fishing, learning the wilds of Canada... We didn't kill animals, just to kill them, we ate them."

He explained his worst experiences while residing at the boarding school. "The worst experience was being disciplined. Being made to wear a pissy sheet because I peed the bed. I had to wear a sheet and a diaper in the food line to go and eat. The worse thing was having great big sores all over my head and my body after being inoculated... That, combined with some of the missionary films they were showing us about going over to these leper colonies being a missionary. You were going there to die to save these people. I thought I had leprosy. The impact it had on me was that it made me introverted a lack of confidence. I wasn't encouraged to grow. I was deteriorating... They didn't feed us well or clothe us well. I remember going into this one area where they had blankets, shoes, clothes. We had to go in and find our stuff to wear. A lot of stuff was given by other orphanages or hospitals. From what I understand, it wasn't clean."

"I would have much rather been at home where mom and dad were fighting, drinking and there was domestic violence, abuse between them than to go through being institutionalized in a place where they tell you that you're evil. You're totally evil and nothing is ever going to save you. So you may well give yourself over to God and die however that God deems because if you don't the devils got you, fear of the devil. What they made me afraid of was the dark."

"There were some parlor times, where you would go and did things, social functions."
Watching plays, I guess, they got ready for plays, musicals. I don't remember much about the rest of it... I remember one night a kid hemorrhaged to death in the bathroom. I walked in and saw it." When he was asked if there were any positives he stated that there were only negatives. The positives in his childhood ended up being the negatives. When he was participating in fun things with his friends, he recalled that if he hurt himself in any way he ended up in the hospital.

Stories around the campfire were addressed in more detail to explain the difference between these teachings and the teachings at the boarding school. "You combine that with the Ojibway stories, the stuff we had heard, we had heard them around the fire. We saw laughing going alone with it. They would tickle us and they would wrestle us and somebody would throw us in the water. That was playful. This other teaching was you are no good. There's nothing good about you. Tim was asked if anyone spoke the Ojibway language in his family. "Our grandparents would say things in Ojibway that we didn't know what it meant. My dad spoke French and Ojibway on occasion."

Tim explained some of other the family traditional practices. "While we are also here we have a responsibility of living up to the name, the family tradition, not just Ojibway, the family's tradition. That is to stand up and go out and work hard. Share what you get. Take care of your kids, those kids are first. That's the facts of life, be a realist... Reality to us is we we're not born into richness and power, the kind that either some people were born into or come into. We have our own power and wealth and values. And they are very tough because we had experiences like the boarding school, rheumatic fever and other things, poverty, death, suicide, all the things have visited our home, our families. But our tradition is to stand up to it and not give up... That's our tradition. We have to be strong about things. We are not defeatist, we're pacifists."
Tim explained his philosophy regarding education and the problems that many Native American families still face as a result of the infractions of the past. "Good traditional teachers have helped me understand things. But what I have is the right to utilize all the knowledge I have no matter where it comes from. That could be from Germany or India, the Ojibway or anywhere. I don't think that Ojibway people were racist or segregationist. I also had a good relationship with our environment and everything in it. I think that's what it takes to be fully human... Things happened to our ancestors that devastated them. That was supposed to destroy us. But it didn't totally destroy us, but it sure did a lot of damage. So now we have some of this dysfunction to deal with. We have had four to five hundred years of this kind of treatment. The dysfunctions that are rampant in our families, the addictions. We also have the external pushing and pulling too. It is a very tough challenge. It's like asking a six year old in a boarding school who is dealing with disease and distress to understand. It was designed to really break you down. Make you into something different."

The interview was ended with a discussion about the tragedy that their family was currently facing. His mother had a stroke. "The four oldest kids went to boarding school, now that we are going through this crisis, my mom had a stroke you know, the four of us aligned in a way that we say we want certain kind of treatment for our mother. The three youngest seem to differ from that. Not that they want anything worse or better. There is a split. I think part of it is there was an alliance built between the four of us."

**Interview #8**

**Jennifer from St. Ignace**

Jennifer was in her mid sixties during the time this interview was conducted. Missionaries influenced the upbringing of her father's during his childhood. Jesuits lived in her
father's home when he was a child. Jennifer's childhood was riddled with sexual abuse, physical abuse and neglect. Her father worked but a lot of his paycheck was spent on alcohol. On more than one period in their lives, the family was faced with poverty. Another problem the family faced was the discrimination of the times. Her father could not claim his Ojibway heritage in order to seek and maintain employment. His age was another factor. He was approximately fifty years of age before he started his family. When he was about to pass away, he would lay in his bed and speak the Ojibway and French languages to himself.

Social workers placed her in the Holy Childhood boarding school with her older sister because of the abuse and other circumstances that occurred in their home when she was younger. Her brothers attended the same boarding school. Jennifer only spent one year at the Holy Childhood boarding school. She was six years of age when she attended the school. "We went to school as I refer to it as the school of hell... It was so huge. Scared to death. The first thing they did was shave our hair off. I had beautiful brown hair and they shaved it off. They said it was because of lice... We wore dark black little pinafores, black stockings. We looked like we were from a concentration camp. We were just so pitiful."

"We could smell the food, it was rotten. If you were sick and couldn't eat, they would punish you, you would have to sit there... We had to scrub. There was black marks from these shoes and there was these big long hallways... With kerosene rags. I would just get so sick. You could hear those rosaries, and those shoes, they would go click, click, click... I remember there were a couple of nuns that were really nice. Especially the one in the kitchen... There was this one priest that befriended us when we went out and played. I learned to skip rope. I skipped and skipped and skipped when I was outside."

"My parents never came. Not even an aunt or an uncle... We had a playroom. I would
spend a lot of times gazing out the playroom because I could see. I would watch and surely
today someone would come... As bad as it was at home, you still miss your parents and my aunt Helen. My sister and I would huddle in bed together."

"When I wet the bed she would help me so the nuns would not find out. Wash the sheets out and try to put them on the register and they wouldn't see the wet bed and I wouldn't get a beating. They took you in front of everybody, laid you across the bed and used a rubber hose. As young as you were when you wet the bed... I wasn’t the only one but at the time I felt like I was the only one. I remember I watched how they treated the other children. You used to always hear like howling, they sounded like animals howling. Then I found out later that it was a dungeon that they had down below. It was solitary confinement... We were up at the crack of dawn, going to church. We went to church at noon. We went to church in the evening. Here’s these people praising God and they are so mean. I got so many mixed messages. So confused."

Poverty led to childhood memories that were still carried into adulthood. "Nobody knows the feeling of being hungry. No place to go and you are hungry. In the summertime, we stole from gardens. We raided people’s gardens and we had apples... We swiped potatoes. Other people fed us... We needed mittens to walk to school... my mother took an old coat and sewed us mittens. We had these ugly mittens. We had to walk, these big old coats. We used to get clothes at the courthouse. They had a box that we could look through and get some clothes. You know when I was a child I might have been lacking a lot of things but outdoors and nature was my thing. Yeah, playing outside and being with my friends... We had the freedom to go... We are lucky we are alive today, some of the places we went. We just loved to go and explore. To climb places and go and explore. Just like heaven to us. My grandmother would make one of the most delicious cookies, they were big. It was like mincemeat. She was a fabulous baker and
The boarding experience and other childhood experiences have made an impact with her life as a whole. "I had trouble with abandonment and being alone and lonely. I never felt like this inner peace that you get. I always felt that there was something missing... Through my younger years and my teenage years, I was really really lonely, even though I had friends. Cause I know that feeling of being in prison. Being cornered or trapped bothers me more. I'm claustrophobic in certain places. I can't go underground... I felt trapped when I was at school." She was faced with identity issues because of her gender and her race. Her father used to call them "useless girls" and her husband used to call her a "squaw." These circumstances would anger her so much and she stated it had an effect on her self-esteem.

Jennifer described her marriage to an alcoholic and being medicated in the 1950's. They tranquilized women all the time back then. She stated that she was discovering her heritage. Jennifer started attending sweatlodge ceremonies, has learned about her Ojibway name and clan affiliation and has discovered an outlet which is painting with watercolors. This discovery occurred after trying various other craft and art activities. She has met with other people who have attended the Holy Childhood boarding school and have discussed their experiences. Jennifer stated that she found support in sharing her experiences with others who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school.

Interview #9

Diane from St. Ignace

Diane lived with her family on Mackinac Island when she was a child and was in her mid fifties during the time that this interview was conducted. Her father worked for Edison Sault Electric Company. Poverty was not an issue for this family. They had a lot of freedom to
explore on the island, except their mother would not allow them to go near the docks or by the water. The older siblings cared for the younger siblings and brought them along when they went out to play. They earned money by singing for the tourists who visited Mackinac Island. As children, they would play house in the woods. They would pick the herbs and plants and make dishes out of leaves. She was asked how she knew which plants were safe to eat and she said they just knew. Diane was the second oldest of ten children in her family.

Diane was close to her grandmother but her grandmother passed away when she was only five. Her parents drank on the weekends but otherwise provided for them well according to her report. Diane did not know why her parents sent her and her siblings to the Holy Childhood boarding school. "They were good parents. They were both alcoholics, weekend alcoholics. ... We had to listen to some awful fights... They took good care of us. Of course, they shipped us all off too. He always made sure we had our bikes and there was always a horse around for us to ride." But if her grandmother would have been alive, she would have never allowed her parents to send them to the boarding school. Diane attended the boarding school in Harbor Springs for approximately six years.

Her biggest complaint about her boarding school experience was the lack of peanut butter. "We would think peanut butter was so plentiful that we would get it more often... if it was at a meal you would take that and scraped it to the corner of the bread... You wanted it to last as long as you could. We would go home... There would always be a couple of loaves of Bunny Bread and a couple of jars of peanut butter sitting on the table. There was homemade bread down there. We never ate that store bought bread. You get tired of homemade bread... The nuns bread was always sweeter than ours... You would sneak that bread like crazy... There were nuns supervising everything. The nuns did most of the cooking. We didn't have to do
Diane appreciated the fact that the staff at the boarding school taught her how to sew, embroider and other things such as cleaning and maintenance. She was asked to compare her experience with the public school as opposed to the boarding school. "I think it's a lot better because of the discipline." She explained that they would have races with her fellow students and whoever won the race would get a piece of candy. The races involved numbers and other learning tasks. "You had an incentive to do it." Diane enjoyed watching the movies and participating in the other fun activities. Part of her acceptance of the boarding school experience she relayed to the fact that she reminded the nuns that her father was paying for them to attend. The other children who complained about attending this school were from poverty situations except for one. Her complaints about the problems that were faced by the other people during the interviews were less in amount and severity than the other interviewees who attended this boarding school.

Diane explained in some detail about the medical care that was provided by the staff at the boarding school. "Every night everybody lined up and you have any complaints or anything, got a cold... Kerosene and sugar. If you needed a poultice they had sticks... some Indian made them for that. And she would break you off a little piece. You would work it with your fingers until it was soft until they got to you and then they would put it under the gauze and put it where it was needed... After every holiday they would give you a pretty good meal. You have to line up and everybody would get Carters little Liver Pills. They gave you this good meal and then they would give you pills to shit it out."

Special jobs such as painting the walls in the rectory were assigned to her and a few other children. They were rewarded with treats such as a few varieties of ice cream. The children
were taken on field trips to the Ramada Inn Hotel that was located in the area. They would play
around the pool that did not have water in it. Diane reported climbing the fire escapes. Cottages
were located by the lake. The lake was near the boarding school. She and her school friends
would enter without permission during the night. "There was a bunch of cottages around the
lake. We would break into those cottages. If there was a piano someone would bang on the
piano and we would dance. We never did any damages though. We would put it all back when
we got done. We would just have a ball in those old houses. And sometimes the boys would
meet us out there. Down in a different direction, four or five of us would go off with boys. Just
the fact that we could do it you know." Her worst memory as a child was when her sister died.
Her best memory involved her father bringing a horse home for the children to ride.

Diane was asked if she was involved with extended family members other than her
grandmother. "There were cousins but we call them aunts. They were my mother's age. We use
to go around there." Then she addressed her anger to some degree. "Did you talk to ... I beat
her up one time. I would have killed her if they didn't stop me. She beat up my little sister... I
was a big bully." She is not in contact with the children she went to school with on the
Mackinac Island but she was and continues to be involved with her family. Diane explained her
living in Alaska. There was a girl that she graduated with from the Holy Childhood boarding
school. "I met her twenty-five years later in Fairbanks, Alaska. She came to my house with a
friend of mine to use my telephone...And we hung out for two years..." Her friendships during
her stay at the boarding school were discussed. "There was this family that were migrant
workers and their folks would drop them off and they would go an pick at other places...They
would come back and tell us all the stories about their experiences and ... was my age. She was
the best story teller. I remember 20,000 Leagues Under the Sea and she came back and we
would all sit around and she would tell that story. She could really narrate it without the
book..."

Diane explained other positive experiences while at the boarding school. "I remember in
fifth or sixth grade, I was the one that got picked to paint the windows on the stores. I won the
recruiting poster. Must have been during the war... In November she (the nun) would start
making Christmas cookies. They were always Jesus, Mary and Joseph, the manger scene. We
would paint them with egg whites and food coloring and stuff. Like the Twelve Days of
Christmas... we would get these three cookies for breakfast... There was Roxy the taxi driver. She
would take us to school and she would come and pick us up when it was time to come. She had
the most wonderful car. I can still smell it today when I think about it. Those seats were so deep
and you would just sink away in it... It was a comfy and kind of cozy feeling when you think about
it."

She discussed traditional practices such as language or songs. "Sister ..., she was the
little old Indian lady... She was one of the first ones that started Harbor Springs. When we first
went there, she taught us to say the Lord's Prayer in Indian. But I couldn't remember a word of
it now... There were no benefits to being Indian like there is now. Everybody's Indian... It was
1947 when we went..." She was asked what her experiences of the school was like. "Scared. It
was very scary. We didn't have any experiences with nuns before. We never spent any time
away from home... Most of the kids that went there didn't have much of a family life besides
anyways." Diane had many recollections about her boarding school experiences. Most of these
appeared to be of a positive nature. The interview ended with Diane's explanation of the high
school graduation that she was going to attend that evening.


**Individual Interview Analysis:**

Tables were developed to portray the results for each individual interview participant. The tables are numbered in the order of the represented by the interview summaries listed in the oral historical accounts in this paper. Each table gives a horizontal and vertical representation for each individual interview participant. The horizontal axis denotes time periods. These are listed at the top of each table and were: 1) Epistemology of the family of origin; 2) Boarding school experience; and 3) Post boarding school experience. The vertical axis represents the themes that were described in the interview summaries.

**Mt. Pleasant Boarding School**

**Table One**

**Interview One: Jeff from Haslett, MI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Poverty</td>
<td>-Resistance to Authority</td>
<td>-Identity Confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Alcoholism</td>
<td>-Developed Alliances with Other Children and Adults</td>
<td>-Institutionalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Lived on a Reservation</td>
<td>-Court Ordered to Attend the Boarding School</td>
<td>-Importance placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Importance placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Multigenerational Attendance of Boarding Schools or Missionary Training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Explained Regimented Teaching Practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table Two**

**Interview Two: Doris from Sault Ste. Marie**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Importance placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Institutionalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table Three

Interview Three: Fred from Sault Ste. Marie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Poverty</td>
<td>-Developed Alliances with Other Children and Adults</td>
<td>-Institutionalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Explained Regimented Teaching Practices</td>
<td>-Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
<td>-Parents’ Personal Choice to Send Child(ren) to the Boarding School (i.e. poverty, large families, etc.)</td>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ojibway Language Forbidden or not Encouraged</td>
<td>-Resistance to Authority</td>
<td>-Continued Alliances with Those who Attended the Boarding Schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Abandonment (father moved to Detroit)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Stated Regrets About Not Knowing the Ojibway Language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Holy Childhood Boarding School

Table Four

Interview Four: Kent from Sugar Island

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Poverty</td>
<td>-Resistance towards Authority</td>
<td>-Identity Confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Developed Alliances with Other Children and Adults</td>
<td>-Fears and Phobias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
<td>-Aggression Towards Other Children and Adults</td>
<td>-Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Lived on a Reservation</td>
<td>-Stated Incidences of Harsh Discipline and Communication with Parents</td>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Stated Resentments Towards Being Sent to the Boarding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</td>
<td>Boarding School Experience</td>
<td>Post Boarding School Experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| - Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends  
- Traditional Cultural Practices  
- Abandonment (Mother left the family) | - Resistance towards Authority  
- Developed Alliances with Other Children and Adults  
- Stated Incidences of Harsh Discipline and Communication with Parents was Censored  
- Court Ordered to attend the Boarding School  
- Ojibway Language Forbidden at the Boarding School  
- Explained Regimented Teaching Practices  
- Multigenerational Attendance of Boarding Schools or Missionary Training  
- Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends | - Fears and Phobias  
- Traditional Cultural Practices  
- Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends  
- Resentments Stated About Being Sent to the Boarding School  
- Continued Alliances with Those who Attended the Boarding School  
- Stated Regrets About Not Knowing the Ojibway Language  
- Institutionalization |

Table Five

Interview Five: Yulanda from Petoskey
### Table Six

**Interview Six: Brenda from St. Ignace**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>- Resistance to Authority</td>
<td>- Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ojibway Language was not Encouraged</td>
<td>- Developed Alliances with Other Children and Adults</td>
<td>- Resentments Stated Towards Upbringing by Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Parents' Personal Choice to Send Children to the Boarding School</td>
<td>- Continued Alliances with Those Who Attended the Boarding Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Multigenerational Attendance of Boarding Schools or Missionary Training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Statements About Mixed Messages About Religion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Stated Incidences of Harsh Discipline and Communication with Parents was Censored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Resentments Stated Towards Upbringing by Parents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Continued Alliances with Those Who Attended the Boarding Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table Seven

**Interview Seven: Tim from Sault Ste. Marie**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Poverty</td>
<td>- Stated Incidences of Harsh Discipline and Communication with Parents was Censored</td>
<td>- Fears and Phobias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Alcoholism</td>
<td>- Personal Choice to Send Children to the Boarding School</td>
<td>- Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Domestic Violence</td>
<td>- Statements About Mixed Messages About Religion</td>
<td>- Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>- Expressed Feelings about Loneliness and Abandonment</td>
<td>- Resentments Stated About Being Sent to the Boarding School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
<td>- Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>- Continued Alliances with Those who Attended the Boarding School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Lived on a Reservation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table Eight

#### Interview Eight: Jennifer from St. Ignace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Poverty</td>
<td>-Multigenerational Attendance of Boarding Schools or Missionary Training</td>
<td>-Identity Confusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Alcoholism</td>
<td>-Stated Incidences about Harsh Discipline</td>
<td>-Fears and Phobias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Alliances Developed with Children and Adults</td>
<td>-Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Expressed Feelings about Abandonment and Loneliness Issues</td>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Stated Mixed Messages About Religion</td>
<td>-Resentments Stated About Being Sent to the Boarding School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Continued Alliances with Those Who Attended the Boarding School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Court Ordered to Attend the Boarding School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table Nine:

#### Interview Nine: Diane from St. Ignace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemology of the Family of Origin</th>
<th>Boarding School Experience</th>
<th>Post Boarding School Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Alcoholism</td>
<td>-Resistance To Authority</td>
<td>-Resentments stated About Being Sent to the Boarding School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Domestic Violence</td>
<td>-Developed Alliances with Other Children and Adults</td>
<td>-Importance placed on involvement with family and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>-Parents’ Personal Choice to Send Children to the Boarding School</td>
<td>-Continued Alliances with Those Who Attended the Boarding Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Explained Regimented Teaching Practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Aggression Towards Other Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary of Results:

Tables were developed to portray the three different time periods that were discussed during the interview sessions. These include: 1) The epistemology of the interviewee’s family of origin; 2) The interviewee’s boarding school experience; and 3) Post Boarding School experience. Themes that were present more than one time in the interview summaries were referred to as major themes. Frequencies were tabulated to represent the number of people who expressed statements that indicated that the themes applied to them. The respondents were separated by the boarding school in which they attended (i.e. Holy Childhood and Mt. Pleasant). There were nine interview participants, six attended the Holy Childhood boarding school and three attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding school.

Table Ten

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Themes</th>
<th>Mt. Pleasant Boarding School</th>
<th>Holy Childhood Boarding School</th>
<th>Themes Not Evident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ojibway Language Not Encouraged or Forbidden</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholism</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lived on a Reservation</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandonment</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Violence</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Seven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table Eleven

## Boarding School Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Themes</th>
<th>Mt. Pleasant Boarding School</th>
<th>Holy Childhood Boarding School</th>
<th>Themes Not Evident</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developed Alliances with Children and Adults</td>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explained Regimented Teaching and Monitoring Practices</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Choice to Send Child (ren) to the Boarding Schools</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resistance to Authority</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multigenerational Attendance of Boarding Schools and/or Missionary Training</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated Incidences of Harsh Discipline and Communication with Parents was Censored</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements About Mixed Messages About Religion</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court Ordered or Ordered by Social Services to Attend the Boarding Schools</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressed Feelings of Abandonment</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggression Towards Other Children</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ojibway Language Forbidden at School</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Themes</td>
<td>Mt. Pleasant Boarding School</td>
<td>Holy Childhood Boarding School</td>
<td>Themes Not Evident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>Six</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued Alliances with Those Who Attended the Boarding Schools</td>
<td>Six</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resentments Stated About Being Sent to the Boarding School</td>
<td>Six</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Cultural Practices</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fears and Phobias</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Four</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated Regrets About Not Knowing the Ojibway Language</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity Confusion</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutionalization/ Materialism</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutionalization/ Disciplined Behaviors</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Seven</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

Discussion

The study involved the examination of possible factors that may explain the perseverance of Native American people and the problems that they are still facing. One of the goals of this project was to compare the experiences of those who attended the federal and missionary boarding schools covered by this study. Another goal was to seek information about the possible aftereffects of the boarding school experience. Three periods of time were delineated by this project. The interview participants portrayed both positive and negative recollections that may explain the rationale behind the perceived perseverance and difficulties still being faced by these individuals.

The exhibited strengths were linked to the perseverance of the individuals who were interviewed. Various areas were explored such as importance placed on involvement with family and friends and other sources of support that aided in their valor as individuals. The boarding
school experiences of these individuals were both positive and negative in nature ranging from harsh treatment to the building of alliances. The possible aftereffects may include, but are not limited to, their resentments towards being sent to the boarding schools, fears and phobias, and identity confusion. The strengths and problems that surfaced for these individuals are delineated by the following paragraphs. An explanation is given that may offer insight to how these factors tie with their family of origin and their boarding school experience. The first topic to be discussed is the importance that was placed on involvement with family and friends.

Importance Placed on Involvement with Family and Friends

All of the Native American people who were interviewed placed an importance on involvement with family and friends during their childhood and into their adulthood. These individuals gave examples of activities that they participated in with family and friends. Most of those who were interviewed placed importance on attending community gatherings. The families would share any extra food they had with their family members and friends. Harmless pranks were one of the ways of providing entertainment for one another. Humor continues to be a significant aspect for these individuals.

Grandparents played a vital role with many Native American families. Grandparents provided supervision, care, and guidance for their grandchildren. One of the interview participants stated that he spent more time with his grandparents when he was not at the boarding school than he did with his parents. Another stated that he went back and forth from his grandmother to this mother's home to live when he was a child. Siblings and other family members such as aunts and uncles provided protection for one another. Two of the persons interviewed for this project stated that their families have suffered hardships such as suicide,
depression, poverty, etc. but have faced these struggles together. The researcher suggests that these individuals found comfort and support in these relationships.

Fixico (2000) states that Native American people seek out other Native American people through various events such as Pow Wows, sweatlodge ceremonies, feast meals and other social gatherings. This enhances their sense of belonging. One of the persons interviewed told about his family's excursion to the Strongs area to pick blueberries with family members and friends. They would set up camp and stay in that area for almost the entire summer. The same individual and other individuals explained other positive experiences as children and adults. These events oftentimes involved music and dancing. One of the interviewees relayed fond memories of singing in the glee club at school and another dancing and singing on the stage at the Mt. Pleasant boarding school. Other cherished memories that were mentioned were playing and exploring outside with their friends and siblings, playing sports, hunting and fishing, reading, watching movies at the boarding school and the local movie theater, listening to the elders tell stories and other activities.

**Traditional Cultural Practices**

Grandparents gave their grandchildren special gifts that were carried into adulthood. One interview participant shared his experiences about cooking with his grandparents. They cooked the traditional way by burying the vegetables in the ground under the fire and the meat was cooked in a cast iron pot over the fire. The interview participant told a legend during the interview that tied with this cultural practice. Stories were told around the campfires. One of the interview participants reported that she would visit an elder's home and listen to some of the stories and/or legends. This individual told two legends that tied with the first porcupine. (Refer to appendix A.) Legends were utilized to provide entertainment and lessons to the children. The
literature review revealed the importance of storytelling. The same individuals who were exposed to the traditional cultural practices when they were children still carry on some of the same cultural traditions in their present lives.

**Ojibway Language**

Interview participants made reference to not knowing the Ojibway language. They state that they regret not learning the language as children. Some of the participants relay that their parents did not want to teach them the language to protect them. If they spoke the language, they could receive harsher treatment from European Americans. One participant said that he ran the other way when he heard his family and extended family members speaking the language. Two participants report that speaking the Ojibway language was forbidden at the boarding school. One participant witnessed a girl being punished for speaking the language and another stated that it was an unspoken rule. Barriers to learning the Ojibway language have existed throughout the three time periods delineated by this project.

**Lived on a Reservation**

Three interview participants informed the researcher that they resided on a reservation when they were children. This information ties with poverty and other problems that the families were facing. All three of these families moved off the reservation to seek employment. The land in which the reservation was on was not suitable for agriculture and wild game was not in abundance. This information correlates with some of the materials that were reviewed for the literature review.

**Multigenerational Attendance of Boarding Schools and/or Missionary Training**

Another factor to consider is that four of these individuals stated that their parents and other extended family members attended either a boarding school or were influenced by
missionary persons like the Jesuits. An intergenerational form of assimilation with either religion or education has already occurred with these families.

**Alcoholism**

Four interview participants reported that their families were plagued with alcoholism. Alcoholism caused many problems, especially neglect. A couple of their parents did not provide food and clothing for their families because money was being spent on alcohol. One common denominator exists in regards to addictive behaviors. Addictions are used to achieve detachment from feelings. Detachment lessens the feelings of pain (Steffen, 1999). Alcoholism was not reported as being a problem for these individuals as adults.

**Domestic Violence**

Two interview participants who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school indicated that domestic violence was a problem that their families of origin faced. One stated that her parents would have some awful fights and another reported that even if the domestic violence incidences were occurring, home was still a better place than the boarding school.

**Poverty**

Five of the interview participants made reference to their families suffering from poverty. One stated that she often experienced hunger as a child and would raid gardens to obtain food. Poverty often forces parents to focus primarily on the day-to-day survival while other important aspects of the family are neglected. Poverty may generate feelings of hostility towards people in positions of authority. Tribal people were forced onto reservations without being provided a means of providing subsistence for their families. This dilemma by itself may have led them down a bumpy road of frustration, anger and resentments (Horejsi, et. al., 1991). The disruption
of the cultural development by being removed from their family of origin and the loss of family roles such as the provider role are phenomena that delineate the process of ethnostress.

An interesting point to note was that one of the interview participants suggested that she was treated with more respect by the employees at the Holy Childhood boarding school because she reminded the nuns that her father paid for them to attend the boarding school. Poverty was not an issue for the two interview participants who did not state an issue about the abuse that occurred at the Holy Childhood boarding school. Poverty did not appear to be an issue that these individuals are currently facing.

Court Ordered/Parents' Personal Choice to Send Child(ren) to the Boarding School

Three of the interview participants were court ordered to attend the boarding schools and six were sent due to personal choice of the parents. Two of the interview participants stated that child abuse and neglect were reasons for being sent to the boarding school. One participant reported that she and her siblings were abandoned by the babysitters left in charge of them. Their home was without heat and food. The other stated that alcoholism, child abuse and poverty were reasons why she was placed in the boarding school with her sister. Alcoholism and poverty were the reasons given by another participant who was court ordered to attend the boarding school. Parents' personal choice is in reference to the economic status of the families at the time that they were sent to the boarding schools for three of the interview participants. They were sent because of poverty and large families. Their parents had difficulty feeding and clothing all of the children.

One of the interview participants suggested that her mother had difficulty raising her on her own since the death of her father. However, her mother went to visit her while she was attending the boarding school and would bring her gifts. One of the participants who attended
the Holy Childhood boarding school stated that her father attended the same boarding school and he wanted his children to have the same opportunity that he had. Another mentioned that she does not know why her parents sent her to the boarding school. Poverty was not an issue for the last three participants mentioned in this section.

**Aggression Towards Other Children**

Three of the interview participants indicated that they demonstrated acts of aggression when they were children and in their adolescent years. Acts of aggression were modeled by the staff at the Holy Childhood boarding school through the harsh types of discipline, in their homes and by their peers. Bandura (1973) suggests that people become products of their environments.

**Harsh Discipline and Censored Communication/Fears and Phobias**

The same number of interview participants who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school, who accounted for incidences that involved harsh discipline, also reported that they have fears and/or phobias. Three expressed their fear of the dark and one has a fear of numbers and math. One reported that he was forced to sit at the bottom of the stairs in the basement in the dark. He always had a fear of that basement while attending the boarding school. Currently, he has difficulty going outside in the dark. Another reported that they instilled a fear of the devil in him. Today he has a fear of the dark. One indicated that she thought she heard children screaming during the night and she thinks there is a dungeon in the basement where children were locked up as a form of punishment and reports having a fear of the dark.

Another interview participant stated that she has refused employment promotions because they required her to work with budgets. Her hair is thinner on one side of her head because the hair was pulled out when she had difficulty doing her math problems while she attending the Holy Childhood boarding school. Her head was also slammed into the wall or
blackboard if she didn't know how to do a math problem. Two interview participants reported severe infractions for bedwetting. One was beaten with a rubber hose in front of her peers and another was made to wear the sheets with urine on them in front of his peers.

On more than one occasion, it was mentioned that the correspondence that was sent to their parents was censored by the nuns. Their letters could only consist of the everyday and special activities such as field trips. The children could not tell their parents about the abuse and other inappropriate behaviors. The letters were returned to them to make the requested changes before they were sent to their parents.

**Mixed Messages About Religion**

Another topic to explore is the mixed messages about religion that the individuals made reference to who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school. The researcher came to the conclusion that most of the nuns and priests did not establish credibility with the children because these preachers of the gospel also appeared to break a lot of the rules stated in the ten commandments. It is reported that one of the nuns asked the children to lie about the breaking of a car window. The nuns beat and humiliated the children all in the name of the Lord. The nuns and priests, according to one report, were participating in immoral acts during holidays such as Christmas and Easter.

**Expressed Feelings of Abandonment**

One interview participant said that she lost both of her parents because of death. Two other participants told about one of their parents leaving the family home when they were children. These parents had little to no involvement with their upbringing. Two interview participants portrayed that they missed their siblings and other family members when they were
attending the boarding school. One stated that she would stare out the window waiting for someone from her family to come and visit her.

**Regimented Teaching and Monitoring Practices at the Boarding Schools**

Two-thirds of the interview participants delineated the regimented teaching and monitoring practices at the boarding schools. They explained that most of the transition periods between activities involved marching and standing in lines. The lines were formatted from the oldest to the youngest boarders and girls and boys were segregated. A strict schedule and rules were developed for daily activities. Those not following the rules were disciplined.

**Institutionalization/Materialism**

The identification and acceptance of the mainstreaming into the European American Culture was observed. The ones who attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding school focused on their adult children's employment positions and the material objects that their children possessed such as their nice cars and homes. The interview participants who attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding schools readily accepted the values that were being promoted at the boarding school. The work ethics that were promoted tied with hard work and the acquisition of material goods.

**Institutionalization/Disciplined Behaviors**

Another form of institutionalization also occurred. One of the interview participants who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school told about her high school days as being the loneliest days in her life. She did not know how to communicate with her classmates and talk about the normal teenage topics that teenagers talk about. The boarding school was noted as taking one's ability to think for oneself away from those who attended. She walked stiffly through the halls and did not participate in classroom discussions. Her grades were poor in high
school because classroom participation was considered a substantial part of the grade. Talking was not allowed at the Holy Childhood boarding school during the scheduled class time.

This same individual explained that she completes household tasks in somewhat of the same scheduled regimented routine that she adopted from the boarding school experience. For example she does her laundry every Saturday as they did at the boarding school. One of the interview participants stated that when he was in the army they asked him if he went to West Point because of his marching abilities. The time in which they spent in these institutions varied from one year to approximately seven years. These individuals were highly trained to follow orders within short lengths of time.

Developed Alliances with Other Children and Adults

Alliances were built in the boarding schools and some of these alliances continued into adulthood. All but one of the people interviewed described a connection they felt with those who attended the same boarding school as they did. These alliances were explained in some of the literature resources and this phenomenon was reiterated during the interviews.

These alliances provided a multitude of benefits ranging from a form of communication to support. One interview participant relayed that there was a secret language that existed which was comprised of eye and finger movements. She would be standing at the blackboard trying to complete a math problem and she would hear a quiet hissing sound or a tap of a pencil. These symbolize the support that her peers were giving her while she was struggling to complete the task. The same person told about an incident when she was beaten and sent to bed without supper and a peer tried to sneak her food. Littlefield (1989) explains these alliances were aligned with the various forms of resistance that was demonstrated by several boarding school students.
Resistance to Authority

Numerous reports indicated demonstrations of resistance to authority. These include the tearing of their stockings and throwing back their heads far enough so their hats would fall off in church. This interview participant stated that they would do this in unison. One of the interview participants indicated that she would not cry no matter what kind of abuse they inflicted on her. She would wait until she was alone in her bed before she cried. Another reported sneaking out with his friends and going fishing or sneaking into town to steal items from a local store.

A subculture was created with those who attended these boarding schools. Bandura (1973) explains the subculture phenomena that develop within the larger context. Two entities existed within this subculture of the boarding school. These consisted of the ones in authority and the ones who were expected to be submissive. The ones that were expected to be submissive fought desperately to hold onto their sense of autonomy (Littlefield, 1989).

Identity Confusion

Evidence of identity confusion surfaced during the analysis of the data collected from the interviews. Two interview participants, who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school, and one participant, who attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding school, indicated that they struggled with their identity as a Native American. One of the interview participants on more than one occasion commented that he considered himself lucky to have been raised by “white people.” This same person stated that Native American people must marry other Native American people. He was listed as being faced with identity confusion because on more than one occasion he contradicted himself in a similar manner.

Another person stated that he felt like he was given somebody else’s culture. Now he is making an attempt to learn about his cultural background. Every day he learns an Ojibway
word. He attends ceremonies such as feast meals and explained the water drum ceremony that he recently attended. One interview participant stated that she was not at peace until she begin practicing traditional cultural activities such as sweat lodge ceremonies and has found her medium with watercolors.

The development of shame was linked to the some of the problems being faced by the persons interviewed. One of the interview participants relayed that he was ashamed to be a Native American person. Childhood experiences have also led to long lasting effects of one’s psychological well-being. The feelings of shame were derived from the feelings of powerlessness. However, while being placed in that position of powerlessness the child oftentimes experiences feelings of being inadequate and unworthy. These feelings may place the adult in a position void of personal power and promote feelings and thoughts of predicted failure concerning the outcomes of future endeavors.

Resentments Stated About Being Sent to the Boarding School

All of the interview participants, who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school, stated the dislikes about their boarding school experience or their anger at being sent to the boarding school. They explained the incidences involving harsh discipline, the loneliness they felt for their families, the distasteful food, and the vast amount of work that they had to do to assist with the maintenance of the boarding school. The interview participant who portrayed more positive details about her boarding school experience also stated that if her grandmother would have been alive she would not have been sent to the boarding school.

None of the interview participants who attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding school indicated that they had regrets about attending the boarding school. These individuals were quick to relay the positive experiences about the boarding school. They expressed their appreciation
about the food, the structure, hygiene practices and instruction that was provided. These interview participants stated that their attendance at the boarding school was in their best interests.

Summary of Discussion

The researcher has explained the reasons that tie with perceived perseverance and possible aftereffects of the boarding school experience. The rationale that is tied with the perseverance included the importance of the involvement with friends and extended family members. The alliances that were built in the boarding school and during their childhood and adulthood provided a source of support for the interview participants. The activities that were linked to forms of resistance and alliances aided in their feelings of belonging and gave them the strength to survive the highly structured and domineering atmosphere of the boarding schools. The ties with the Native American culture may have provided them with a clarification of their Native American identity.

The researcher suggests that the negative aftereffects may include, but are not limited to, the identity confusion, the personal problems that some of the individuals still suffer from such as their fears and phobias, institutionalization, and resentments towards the boarding school experience. Fixico (2000) suggests that nobody is completely assimilated. Currently, many Native Americans are practicing the traditional cultural practices of the past. Native American people have had to learn to live in two worlds.

Limitations to the Study

Limitations for this study include the fact that this is a master's thesis. This type of research alludes to a shorten time period to complete the study. Qualitative data analysis is a fundamental methodology for the interpretation of research, but it does have certain limitations.
Words, as opposed to numbers, can have multiple meanings. Another point to consider is that only one researcher interpreted the data for this study. Thus, the analysis of the data was based solely on the researcher's points of reference. The researcher notes that the small sample that was selected to be a part of this project was another limitation for this paper. An imbalance occurred between the amount of interview participants selected who attended these institutions. The results of this study cannot be attributed to all Native American people who attended boarding schools. The age of some of the interview participants may have hindered their ability to recall the events surrounding their boarding school experience.

Other areas exist that could have been improved to add more to the accuracy and amount of the data collection. Some of the problems faced with this project include the fact that the researcher did not explore the religious practices to the point in which that area needed to be explored with the interview participants who attended the Mt. Pleasant boarding school. Literature about the Holy Childhood boarding school was practically nonexistent. A few newspaper articles existed and there were other materials that were in print but not accessible to the researcher. The researcher uncovered areas that may require future exploration.

Additional Questions for Future Studies

1. Were children given preferential treatment if their families were thought to have a higher socioeconomic status?

2. Did the interview participants inform the researcher about most of the significant problems that their families are currently facing such as alcoholism, domestic violence, etc?

3. What similarities and differences existed between the teaching practices of both the boarding schools and public schools during the boarding school era?

4. Did the discipline have a tendency to be harsher at the missionary boarding schools than at
the federal boarding schools throughout the United States and Canada?

5. Are the findings related to the fears and/or phobias idiosyncratic to these individuals or to other individuals who received harsh treatment in the boarding schools?

6. Was the process of assimilation similar for all boarding school students from various tribes?
Chapter 6

Conclusion

The results of this study gave a better understanding about the effects of the boarding school experience. The study covered the differentiation between experiences for those who attended the Mt. Pleasant and Holy Childhood boarding school. Similarities and differences did exist according to this study. These individuals portrayed recollections from their boarding school experiences that were both negative and positive in nature. The Native American people who were interviewed, their families of origin, and their ancestors have survived generations of victimization such as the boarding school phenomena. They have not come through these oppressive situations unscathed. The boarding school approach to assimilation was monumental in the destruction of the Native American culture. As a result, their sense of identity was profoundly effected. However, they have managed to adapt and work towards self-determination.
Many Native American people have accomplished these goals by learning how to cope and survive in two different worlds.

Problems such as phobias and fears and other serious problems still exist for those who attended the Holy Childhood boarding school. The programs that do provide social services are not addressing these issues adequately, therefore, the well being of some Native American people is still suffering. However, the interview participants are currently not plagued with poverty. A variety of inner strengths appeared to provide a source of support for these individuals, more so, than outside entities such as social service programs.

The European American values that were practiced and explained in this paper went against the main goals of the National Association of Social Worker Code of Ethics. The boarding school philosophy was not founded on the grounds of providing fairness and equity for Native American people. Areas that did not cover the rights of the families included but were not limited to informed consent, cultural competence and social diversity, sexual relationships and physical contact, respect for worth and dignity of individuals, and the promotion of self-determination.

The researcher has accomplished a personal goal for herself. As a social worker, a basic understanding did exist that led to the belief that the boarding school experience did have a long lasting effect on Native Americans. Associations exist between the experiences of those who were interviewed and the researcher’s family and personal history. The researcher has uncovered a lot of information about the history of the Native American people and in turn has learned more about who she is as an individual. She has struggled with her identity as a Native American person while trying to fit into two worlds. Meanwhile, personal strength has been gained as a result of these adversities. Future endeavors with providing social work services to
Native American people will be enhanced given this insight. The following information covers the implications for social work practice at the micro, meso and macro levels.

**Implications for Social Work Practice: (Individual and Family, Community and National Perspectives)**

**Individual and Family Perspective:**

A multicultural view of today’s Native American families would reveal a wide array of traditional values with a combination of current views and values. Each individual needs to be considered unique with a distinct worldview. The issues of the past concerning boarding schools may have had a contextual impact on individuals and their families. A culturally sensitive approach needs to be developed to address these issues. The approach may include a form of questioning that will help the clients define the difficulties they may be experiencing as a result of the past abuse they or their parents may have suffered and address the strengths that are in existence within their social context.

Other areas need to be covered in order to meet the specific needs of Native American people. Goodluck (1993) suggests that social workers, who will be working with specific Native American populations, need to learn about: the tribal history, value systems, tribal court systems, tribal family structures, tribal parenting styles, tribal community resources, contemporary child welfare issues that the community is facing, and have knowledge about the various class and gender issues (Goodluck, 1993).

Social workers must be trained in communication skills and have the ability to obtain positive factors about individuals, and their environmental context. They need to be able to develop holistic studies about the people who may be in need of services. In addition, social workers need to have skills and/or knowledge in the areas of traditional healing practices,
contemporary practice techniques, cross-cultural situations and empowerment techniques or have knowledge about where to direct clients for these services. The social workers repertoire needs to include certain values. These values include humanistic ethos, self-determination, confidentiality, respect for the worth and dignity of individuals, and respect and understanding of cultural differences (Goodluck, 1993). Tribal individuals and families will be in control of their own treatment process.

According to Nabigon and Mawhiney (1996), the healing process will be ongoing and lifelong. Clients and social workers need to work collaboratively towards termination of the treatment process. This determination will be based on whether the client has enough understandable and conducive information to support and sustain their positive growth within the personal, family and community contextual units (Nabigon and Mawhiney, 1996).

According to Taylor (1995), psychologists have developed a term that defined the aftereffects of the boarding schools experience, which was “residential-school syndrome.” Native American people have been exhibiting a distinct set of symptoms. This syndrome has been linked to the grief cycle that a person goes through after the loss of a close relative. However, instead of losing someone close to them, the Native American people have lost a culture. Something they were born with. This was a part of their soul and it was obliterated by the missionaries and the teachers (Taylor, 1995). Alcoholism, domestic violence, child abuse and neglect and the other ills faced by Native Americans need to be considered symptoms of the boarding school experience (Taylor, 1995).

**Community Perspective:**

An approach may include educating the Native American people and general population about the aftereffects of the boarding school experience. Service providers need to look at the
real reasons behind the problems still being faced by Native American people and look for new ways to meet this challenge. Social workers will work collaboratively with clients for the attainment of personal and collective community social goals. Tribal community members need to be contacted to provide leadership for the accomplishment of the goals (Lee, 1996). A community healing process is developed to address the unique needs of the community as a whole (Antone, et. al., 1986).

The community healing process begins with the development of community organizing. This may include individual relations, group effort, leadership, learning, short and long-range goals. Once a community has regained control of its function, maintenance must be conducted. Part of the maintenance is to include the education of the children, who will be providing the guidance and supervision for the future of the community. Progress made towards the community goals needs to be monitored on an on-going basis. The group recounts the collective history that has brought them together. The principles of the struggle must be maintained and change may only occur if greater efficiency and effectiveness of those principles will be achieved. The group welcomes newcomers and integrates them into the group. Each person in the community must be empowered and given the personal power to be a part of the process of community healing and the maintenance of the process (Antone, et. al., 1986).

**National Perspective:**

According to Bandura (1973), systems may not be influenced from inside forces but outside pressures may provide the necessary influence. Many tribal members are suing the churches in Canada due to the abuse that incurred at the boarding schools. Influential Canadians would be a good source of support in regards to changing policies for the benefit of Native Americans in the U.S. Efforts to instill positive change can be met with successful outcomes if
they support the majority beliefs. Enterprises that create jobs and services flourish under the majority preferences, oftentimes at the expense of minorities. Eventually, there can be very long lasting benefits to all. It would be important to get the key players to join in on the crusade to make attempts at developing new policies that will be of a benefit to all.

Welton (1997) states that the perspectives and life experiences of the dominant European American culture be dismissed and considered completely wrong. Instead, an active, political resistance needs to work against the material ideals of these perspectives and experiences. A developed understanding must be established with a rational, educated, and systematic approach in mind (Welton, 1997). One of the main goals of the assimilation process was to limit and choose the knowledge that the Native Americans obtained. The dominant culture wanted to keep Native Americans in the dark. They have succeeded to some degree. However, a voice needed to be given to the opposition of oppression in the area of accessible empirical resources (Hundleby, 1997).

Another point to be explored would be the learning process that occurs at the elementary and high school levels. The facts are that schools were not conducive to their culture. National policies need to be implemented that address the special needs of Native American children. The European American culture often demonstrated a chosen form of ignorance and disinterest in the consequences of the faulty educational system. Hence, a large number of Native American children continue to be dropouts or push outs. Native American people must be a part of the development of all academic processes that involve Native American people including policy development (Sanchez and Stuckey, 1999).

The first order of business is for the European American culture to begin a process of developing an understanding of the Native American culture. The second order of business is to
address the inappropriate forms of instruction that is being provided to Native American
students. Where in the history and social studies curriculum was the truth portrayed about
Native Americans or history in general? To explain further, according to Sanchez and Stuckey
(1999), government issued textbooks were used to commit cultural genocide. This concept still
exist and has created much controversy. Native Americans must be a part of the development of
all academic processes that involving Native Americans including policy development. It has
been questioned if universal examinations such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test or the state
MEAP testing have replaced the beatings and public humiliation (Sanchez and Stuckey, 1999).
These tests also ignore the specialized needs of Native American children.

Native Americans can and should direct the future of historical research involving Native
Americans. The use of oral tradition, oral history, and the analysis of Native American
languages would be ways of accomplishing the establishment of the true historical facts. The
main goal is to gain an understanding of the history of the Native American population and not
stereotype this group as a whole. This can be accomplished by obtaining in-depth oral histories
through the ethnographic process. The European American documents such as archives need to
be examined for their authenticity. First and foremost, Native Americans need to be enlisted as
consultants and be considered experts when it comes to the education of Native Americans
(Sanchez and Stuckey, 1999). The population as a whole in this country can learn from the past
mistakes portrayed in this study and move forward with a more supportive environment for all.
Bibliography


Cleland, C., (1992). *Rites and Conquests: The History and Culture of Michigan’s*


Goodall, H., Writing the New Ethnography. Walnut Creek: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.


Indian Affairs head apologized for agency's “legacy of racism” (2000, September) *Sault Tribe News.* p.3.


Appendix A

Legends

The First Porcupine

Story telling and/or the telling of legends is a way of teaching children about the history of Native American people. It is also a method for instilling valuable lessons. Yulanda told two legends about the first porcupine during the interview session. The first delineated how quills were given as protection and the other legend depicts a lesson about inappropriate behaviors.

First Legend

“One of the stories I remember is how we got porcupines. A long time ago porcupine was like humans. He had really soft skin. They still ate the same things. They ate greens and tree buds and things like that. They would climb trees to get away from the wild animals. One day this porcupine was out gathering in the woods. He was out in the field, the edge there and he was eating and across the field comes a great big wolf. So he gets in the top of a tree as far as he could get so the wolf could not reach him. So the wolf goes away.”

“He is in that same field again and a bear comes across, growling and growling at him. The porcupine runs and climbs the tree and the bear can’t reach and the bear is trying to reach up and try to grab him. The porcupine is safe.”

“So he goes away and the porcupine climbs back down and he wants to get something to eat so he is out in the field and he is eating. He’s under a hawthorn bush eating the berries that are on the ground and he keeps eating. And the thorns are picking him in the back and hurt him. And he gets this idea. So he gets these branches and ties them in a ball and crawls underneath the bush and then he goes out. Then there’s a wolf and he tries to bite him and the porcupine is
curled up underneath. He continues eating and then Nanabush sees him with the bushes on him and porcupine said I had to do something. Everybody is trying to eat me so I have to protect myself by putting these branches on my back. Nanabush says why I will help you. Nanabush made a clay pack and put it on his back and he stripped the branches and put the thorns in the clay. So the wolf sees that porcupine out there and tried to bite that clay pack and he got thorns stuck in his mouth and in his face and he runs away howling. Then the bear comes along and he sees the porcupine and thinks that he would be a good meal so he takes a swipe at him and he runs away crying with thorns sticking out of his foot."

Second Legend

"Another story about how we got porcupines is told by Eli Thomas. Eli Thomas said a long time ago in the village there was this man that always wanted to make war. He was always causing trouble. Always stirring up things. Then the people started to get fed up with him and then they told him you should leave. You are not good for us. You're always causing trouble and always want to fight. You always want to hurt people. You should go and live in your own little village and make war. So the man left. He went back to work again making weapons. So he said I want to try these out. So he went out there and shot the arrows up in the air and it went out of sight and he said 'this is great.' Shooting the rest of them up and a whole bunch more went up. And he heard a noise and looked up and there was all of these arrows and he realizes his mistakes and there was no room to get out of the way. All those arrows fell on him and knocked him to the ground and he was on all fours. So the arrows came down and landed on him and they stuck in him and that is the story."
Appendix B

History of Federal Indian Education Policy

Historical Events in Indian Education

"The following is a chronological view of the development of Indian Education during the past 200 years. Since at least 1775 American Indian have had an ongoing, albeit tenuous relationship, with the United States Government. While a concerted federal effort at educating the Indian has occurred only within the last fifty years, it has originated from the following historical events." (National Advisory Council on Indian Education, 1993).

1775  Continental Congress approves $500 to educate Indians at Dartmouth College

1778  September 17, 1778, the first treaty between the United States and an Indian Nation.

1802  Congress approves appropriations for Indian education not to exceed $15,000 annually “to provide civilization among the aborigines.”

1818  Congress authorizes a civilization fund in the amount of $10,000 to convert Indians from Hunters to agriculturalists.

1819  Congress passes a law on March 3, 1819 which states that the act was “designed to Provide against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes adjoining The frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits And arts of civilization.”

1870  Congress authorizes appropriations of $100,000 to operate federal industrial schools For Indians.

1871  Congress ends authority to make treaties with Indian tribes and nations.

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

1892  Congress authorizes the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to make and enforce regulations on Indian student attendance including the authority to withhold food and services from families that resist the “educational program” by refusing to send their children to school.

1906  Congress abolishes Oklahoma Cherokee school system.

1921  Congress passes the Snyder Act of 1921 which instructed the Secretary of Interior “to Direct, supervise, and expend such moneys as Congress may from time to time appropriate, for the benefit, care and assistance of Indians through the United States.” The monies could be used for “general support and civilization, including education.”
1928 Meriam Report to the Congress which influenced a change in Indian education policies.

1934 Congress passes the Johnson O’Malley (JOM) Act which authorizes contracts for welfare and educational services, and which was used to entice public school districts to assume more responsibility for providing an elementary and secondary education for Indian children who reside on Indian reservation lands.

1950 Congress amends Public Law 874 otherwise known as Impact Aid which provides federal subsidies to public school districts to educate children residing on federal lands including Indian reservations.

1951 Congress passes a program to relocate Indians away from reservations.


1965 Congress passes the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which is intended to benefit socially and economically disadvantaged youth. Titles I and III of the act was amended to include Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools.

1966 Rough Rock Demonstration School which is the first modern day Indian controlled school funded by the federal government opens within the Navajo Nation.

1967 Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education is established by Senate Resolution 165.

1968 Navajo Community College as the first tribally controlled Indian community college is established in the Navajo Nation.

1969 Indian Education: A National Tragedy – A National Challenge, the Special Senate Subcommittee Report on Indian Education is released.

1970 Rama Navajo High School which is the first Indian controlled contract high school opens.

1971 Navajo Nation establishes the first comprehensive tribal education department which contracts to administer the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office Title I Program and Higher Education Grants Program.

1972 Congress passes the Indian Education Act which creates an Office of Indian Education within the U.S. Office of Education, defines Indian to include members of state recognized Indian tribes and descendents of Indians, establishes a quasi-entitlement program for Indians attending public schools, and establishes a National Advisory Council on Indian Education.
1975 Congress passes the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act which opens up contacting.

1978 Congress passes the Indian Education Amendments which establishes standards for BIA schools, institutionalizes BIA school boards, requires formula funding in BIA schools, and provides for increased Indian involvement in the use of Impact Aid funds.

1988 Congress passes Public Law 100-297 which reauthorizes the Indian Education Act and calls for a White House Conference on Indian Education.

1989 Salt River Pima Maricopa Indian Community, through agreement with Mesa Public Schools (Arizona), gains control over Impact Aid.

1991 Indian Nations at Risk Task Force created by Secretary of Education issues report.

1992 White House Conference on Indian Education held resulting in 114 recommendations.

Appendix C

Ethnographic Interviewing Skills

Self-Evaluation Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Doing All Right</th>
<th>Not Doing</th>
<th>Need Work On</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Understanding theory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Writing global questions prior to the Contact</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Engaging in friendly conversation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Explaining process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Explaining roles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Explaining recording</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Native language explanations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Question explanations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Asking the first global question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Hearing cover words or phrases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptive Questions

11. Asking space questions
12. Asking time questions
13. Asking actor questions
14. Asking evaluation questions
15. Asking typical questions
16. Asking specific questions
17. Asking guided questions
18. Asking task-related questions
19. Asking example questions
20. Asking experience questions
21. Asking native language questions
22. Termination skills
23. Writing the ethnographic summary
Appendix D

"Indian Affairs Head Apologized for Agency's Legacy of Racism

WASHINGTON (AP) - The head of the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs apologized for the agency’s legacy of racism and in-humanity that included massacres, forced relocations of tribes and attempts to wipe out Indian languages and cultures.

By accepting this legacy, we accept also the moral responsibility of putting things right, Kevin Gover, a Pawnee Indian said in an emotional speech Friday marking the agency’s 175th anniversary. Gover said he was apologizing on behalf of the BIA, not the federal government as a whole. Still, he is the highest-ranking U.S. official ever to make such a statement regarding the treatment of American Indians.

The audience of about 300 tribal leaders, BIA employees and federal officials stood and cheered as a teary-eyed Gover finished the speech. I thought it was a very heroic and historic moment, said Susan Masten, chairwoman of California’s Yurok tribe and president of the National Congress of American Indians. Lloyd Tortalita, the governor of New Mexico’s Acoma Pueblo tribe, welcomed the apology but said, If we could get an apology from the whole government, that would be better.

Although Gover’s statement did not come from the White House, President Clinton’s chief adviser on Indian issues, Lynn Cutler, said Gover sent her a copy of his speech late Thursday and the White House did not object to it.

Gover recited a litany of wrongs the BIA inflicted on Indians since its creation as the Indian Office of the War Department. Estimates vary widely, but the agency is believed responsible for the deaths of hundreds and thousands of Indians. This agency participated in the ethnic cleansing that befell the Western tribes, Gover said. It must be acknowledged that the deliberate spread of disease, the decimation of the mighty bison herds, the use of the poison alcohol to destroy mind and body, and the cowardly killing of women and children made for tragedy on a scale so ghastly that it cannot be dismissed as merely the inevitable consequence of the clash of competing ways of life.

The misery continued after the BIA became part of the Interior Department in 1849, Gover said. Children were brutalized in BIA-run boarding schools, Indian languages and religious practices were banned and traditional tribal governments were eliminated, he said. The high rates of alcoholism, suicide and violence in Indian communities today are the result, he said.

Poverty, ignorance and disease have been the product of this agency’s work, Gover said. Now, 90 percent of the BIA’s 10,000 employees are Indian and the agency has changed into an advocate for tribal governments.” (“Indian Affairs Head Apologized,” 2000)
Appendix E

Informed Consent Form

We are seeking permission for you to participate in a research study. This study is designed as a part of a social work masters thesis. The results of this study are intended to provide more information about the boarding school experience and aftereffects.

The study involves a discussion of factors that many individuals face due to the Indian Boarding School experience. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer any question at any time. You may terminate the interview at any time. You may be contacted again, with your permission, if more information is needed.

You will remain anonymous. All data will be confidential between the researcher and the research project committee. The interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed by the researcher. All information will be stored in a locked cabinet and destroyed once the study is complete. Upon your request, you will receive a copy of the transcript of your interview.

You may ask for more information or clarification at any time. For more information, you should contact:

Professor Paul Hysenga, Chair
Research and Development Center
Grand Valley State University
201 Lake Michigan Hall
Allendale, MI 49401
Or Call Dr. Hysenga at
616-895-2025

I have read the above material and agree to voluntarily participate in the research study.

Participant: ____________________ Date: ________________

Signature of Witness: ____________________ Date: ________________
Appendix F

Research Questions

1. Tell me about your family of origin.
   A. Child rearing practices
   B. Ways of providing for family
   C. Traditional practices
   D. Religious practices (missioners, spiritual practices, etc.)

2. What family customs from the past are still being practices today by you and other family members.

3. Tell me about your boarding school experience.
   A. Relationships with family and others
   B. Perceptions of self
   C. Overall satisfaction with the quality of your life
   D. Typical day at the boarding school