



THE INDIAN SCHOOL *on*
MAGNOLIA AVENUE

Voices and Images From
SHERMAN INSTITUTE

Edited by Clifford E. Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert,
and Lorene Sisquoc

The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue



To Sherman students past and present



FIRST PEOPLES
New Directions in Indigenous Studies

The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue

VOICES AND IMAGES FROM SHERMAN INSTITUTE

edited by

Clifford E. Trafzer

Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert

Lorene Sisquoc

Oregon State University Press, Corvallis

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Preface

The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute is a work born of several research projects created by historians studying public and Native American history at the University of California, Riverside, and Sherman Indian Museum. The Museum is located on the campus of the old Sherman Institute, an off-reservation Indian boarding school in Riverside, California. All of the authors in this book have a relationship with the University of California, Riverside, including the Museum's director Lorene Sisquoc. Sisquoc has served on numerous graduate committees for students who interned at the Museum. Furthermore, each of the authors in this volume conducted research at Sherman, and all of them are familiar with the Museum's great steel vault. The vault contains a treasure trove of original documents and photographs that offered every author an opportunity to capture voices and images of students, staff, faculty, and administrators. Every author worked through these sources to research and write their contribution for this book. The following chapters virtually come out of the vault, and the research represents the first anthology assembled about Sherman Institute.

Everyone who contributed to this book can attest to the dogged efforts of Lorene Sisquoc to preserve and protect the items found in the vault. For several years and without salary, she cataloged and archived many records of Sherman Institute. In the 1990s, Jean A. Keller joined Sisquoc's staff as a volunteer to work on the archives and develop a traveling exhibit. Keller and Sisquoc formed a professional relationship that created new research opportunities for graduate students at the University of California, Riverside. Since Sisquoc first opened the vault to graduate students, several research papers, public history field reports, and five Ph. D. dissertations have emerged from the vault's materials. Too often collections of essays offer works on a broad historical topic, and too often these essays are not closely related. We have constructed our work to focus on Sherman Institute and situate our book on only one of the twenty-five off-reservation American Indian boarding schools. We offer the larger experience of Native students at Sherman.

We owe a great debt and our sincere appreciation to Museum Director Sisquoc, who made this book possible. Sherman Indian High School, Sherman Indian Museum, National Archives, and the Riverside Metropolitan Museum

also allowed us to conduct research at their institutions. We especially thank archivists Gwen Granados, Randy Thompson, and Paul Wormser of the National Archives in Perris, California, for their continued and gracious assistance. Curators at the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, including Brenda Focht and Kevin Halarin, also provided access to photographs and information about the school from their museum's collections. We are grateful to the library staff of the Rivera Library at the University of California, Riverside, with a heartfelt thanks to Melissa Conway and Gwido Zlatkes of Special Collections and University Archives, custodians of the Rupert Costo Library, which specializes in Native American history and culture.

In addition, we extend much appreciation to Chancellor Timothy White, Vice Chancellor Dallas Rabenstein, Dean Stephen Cullenberg, Rebecca (Monte) Kugel, Randolph Head, Tom Cogswell, Tom Patterson, Wendy Ashmore, Larry Burgess, Stella Nair, Michael Tsosie, Jacqueline Shea Murphy, Jonathan Ritter, Yolanda Moses, Juliet McMullan, and Michelle Raheja of the University of California, Riverside, and Robert Warrior, LeAnne Howe, Jodi Byrd, Vicente M. Diaz, Christine Taitano DeLisle, Robert Dale Parker, Brenda Farnell, Antoinette Burton, Augusto Espiritu, Adrian Burgos, John McKinn, Kate Williams, and Frederick Hoxie of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, for their support of our research. We are also indebted to the work of many scholars who have studied Indian boarding schools, including Brenda Child, David Wallace Adams, Clyde Ellis, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Margaret Connell Szasz, Jaqueline Fear-Segal, Margaret Jacobs, Devon Mihesuah, Amanda Cobb, Jon Allan Reyhner, and Scott Riney. In addition, Matthew Leivas, Karlene Clifford, Billy Soza Warsoldier, Galen Townsend, Robert Levi, Tonita Largo, Blossom Maciel, and other former students and employees of Sherman provided insights into student life at the school. Finally, we thank our families for giving us time to work on this book, and the students of Sherman, past and present, who made history by engaging the challenges they faced at the Indian school in Riverside.

Clifford E. Trafzer, Palm Desert, California
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January 2012

INTRODUCTION

The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue

Clifford E. Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Lorene Sisquoc

In the early twentieth century, American Indian students entered Sherman Institute from Magnolia Avenue in Riverside, California. They followed a driveway that ran south, traveling uphill onto campus. Before the students, several date palms swayed in the wind. In the heart of campus stood a tall flagpole, each day bearing the Stars and Stripes, the immediate and visible symbol of the United States. As students entered the school, they saw before them large buildings in the Mission Revival style, their stucco fashioned to give the impression of thick adobe bricks. Immediately to the west, students saw the Administration Building, a small, one-story structure, away from dormitories, classrooms, the auditorium, and gymnasium.¹ Eventually, every student entered the Administration Building to conduct business. School officials kept student records there and banked money made by students who worked in the Outing Program. At the far west end of the Administration Building, students could see a large steel vault, complete with a combination lock and metal wheel. A person could easily walk inside the vault and marvel at the contents of its multiple shelves—school treasures, records, and photographs.²

The old Administration Building, one of the few original structures still standing at Sherman, remains an integral part of the campus today. It is the cultural center for students and a constant reminder of the school's past. The building, now the Sherman Indian Museum, serves as an archive and repository for many of the school's records, most of which are kept in the vault. All of the authors included here used documents from the vault to construct their essays, and most of them once worked at Sherman as museum volunteers or student mentors. Some of them took internships at the Museum, organizing documents, cataloging photographs, constructing exhibits, writing letters, running public events, and welcoming guests and researchers. These former graduate students worked in the fields of public and Native American history at the University of California, Riverside, and five of them used documents at Sherman as the basis for their doctoral dissertations.

The chapters in this volume detail the physical move of the school from Perris to Riverside, the building of Sherman Institute, the school's architecture, selling the concept of civilization, the student nursing program, the outing program, the special Navajo program, and the symbolic significance of the school's cemetery. It is therefore from the vault that we have created this book, to share selected elements of the school's past as a public history project that incorporates traditional historical methodologies and a public approach for scholars, Native communities, and the general public.

The concept of boarding schools designed to convert and assimilate American Indian children derived from the mission schools created by Spanish and French priests during the colonial era of North America. Catholic priests separated Native American children from their families, communities, and cultures to control their behavior and instill Christian concepts, new values, European languages, and civilized cultures into the hearts and minds of young people. English and German ministers set up similar mission systems at a later date, and by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were equally zealous in converting American Indian children to Christianity and assimilating them into the cultures of newcomers. Christian organizations sent missionaries around the world to “uplift” so-called brown brothers and sisters, whom they considered pagans, heathens, and savages. Missionaries traveled to Hawai'i and the Pacific Northwest, where Protestant missionaries worked to colonize the indigenous peoples of these lands.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the son of a Protestant minister, Richard Armstrong, grew up on Maui and lived among missionaries in what the colonialists then called the Sandwich Islands. At the age of twenty, he traveled to the mainland to study at Williams College, graduating in 1862 and engaging in missionary efforts to help African Americans, particularly former slaves. Armstrong became the founding principal of Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute in Virginia. He felt called to educate African Americans—former slaves and freed people—and eventually American Indians. Armstrong's work influenced many missionaries and others devoted to assimilation, including Captain Richard Henry Pratt.

After the Red River Indian War of 1875, the U.S. Army imprisoned Kiowa and Cheyenne warriors at Ft. Marion Prison in St. Augustine, Florida. Captain Pratt commanded Ft. Marion Prison, where the military held former warriors as prisoners of war until 1878. While at Ft. Marion, Pratt put several warriors

to work cleaning horse stalls, painting, policing the prison grounds, and caring for the buildings. Pratt believed that idle hands were the devil's playground, and that through work Indians would learn the value of labor and the benefits of earning money. Labor and money management became central to Pratt's vision of assimilation, and he employed his vision of advancing assimilation and Indian education on a national scale. While Pratt commanded Indian prisoners at Ft. Marion, he learned a great deal about work as a vehicle for assimilation. And he also heard about Samuel Armstrong and his Hampton Institute.

In 1878, Armstrong informed Indian Office and Army officials that he would admit seventeen of Pratt's charges. The Army agreed to release the Kiowa and Cheyenne men from prison to attend Hampton. Pratt accompanied the Indian students to the school, located not far from Yorktown, where George Washington had defeated the British during the Revolutionary War. At Hampton Institute, Pratt worked well with Armstrong at first, but he soon grew tired of being second in command and unable to direct the Indian education program to his liking. He therefore sought to establish his own school solely for American Indian students. Almost as soon as he arrived at Hampton, he began to lobby Congress for an appropriation, and in 1879, Pratt opened the Carlisle Indian Industrial School at a former Army base in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.³

Sherman Institute was one of twenty-five federal off-reservation Indian boarding schools.⁴ Similar to other boarding schools, Sherman existed to educate Native pupils in American ways and to provide students with trade skills that they could use on and off Indian reservations.

However, Indian education did not originate with Europeans and Americans at colonial mission schools or federal boarding schools. Native education was indigenous to the Western Hemisphere. All of the indigenous peoples of the Americas had their own systems of education long before non-Natives arrived. For thousands of years, Native fathers and mothers, grandparents, aunts and uncles had taught their children medicine, mathematics, literature, science, music, dance, history, and a host of other disciplines.

American Indian teachers from many diverse backgrounds and experiences instructed children in the oral tradition and by practical experience. On cold winter nights, tribal elders brought children together to listen to knowledgeable men and women. Okanogan writer Humishuma, or Mourning Dove, remembered from her childhood the visits of storytellers who came to her village in north central Washington Territory. When these tribal teachers

gathered the children together, Humishuma's mother admonished them to listen with both ears, not just one. At these sessions they learned proper behavior and respect for tribal traditions, histories, and laws their people.⁵ Teachers taught children through oral narratives, often by telling the creation stories of long ago. For Humishuma's people, the stories related to *tamanwas* or ancient rules of her people regarding marriage, acts toward children, hunting and gathering, interaction with sacred space and places, and numerous others. Stories taught children how to act and be a part of a family, village, and band. American Indian identity and knowledge sprang from these lessons.⁶

In the early 1980s, Palouse and Nez Perce elder Andrew George explained that storytellers would share their knowledge each winter, and after listening to and learning the stories for several years, they would ask a particular child to retell a story.⁷ Andrew once attempted to retell a traditional narrative exactly as he had heard it many times. When he finished, the elder pointed out the mistakes and asked Andrew if he understood. When Andrew claimed to understand, the teacher asked him to retell the story again and to do it correctly. In this way, by memorizing oral traditions, Andrew learned to recite them exactly as his elders had taught him. He applied this same discipline to learning English.⁸ Andrew's experience mirrors that of other indigenous people, but children also learned daily from their parents and other elders.

Tribal leaders often took children aside to emphasize correct behavior when they erred in their lessons or actions. Sometimes a relative or elder took a child into their home for a period of time to could enhance the learning experience. In 1908, for example, Serrano Indian elders Jim and Matilda Pine had a Chemehuevi girl named Carlotta Mike move into their home at the Oasis of Mara (now called Twentynine Palms), in the Mojave Desert. Carlotta had fallen in love with a Chemehuevi man named Willie Boy, and the couple had eloped. Both of their families tracked the couple, separated them, and brought them back to the oasis. Tribal elders ordered Willie to leave the village, and he moved to Banning, California. Carlotta moved in with the Pines, and they explained marriage laws and her infraction of these ancient protocols. Tribal law required couples to be separated by six generations before they could marry. Although Carlotta and Willie were not first cousins, they were nevertheless too closely related. Rather than suffering physical punishment for their infraction, Willie was banished and Carlotta lived with the Pine family for some months before moving back to her father's home. Many tribal people invoked this form of punishment and found the corporal punishment used at missions and schools to be harsh—and contrary to the professed objective of changing individuals'

behavior. Native American parents disapproved of the use of whippings, solitary confinement, sensory deprivation, starvation, excessive labor, jailing, and other forms of severe punishment.

While Pratt emphasized industrial and agricultural education at Carlisle, he owed some of its practices to the mission schools of the past. Catholic and Protestant missionaries had spent years separating children from their parents and people in an attempt to civilize and Christianize them. Similarly, school officials at off-reservation Indian boarding schools separated children from their communities. Historian Jacqueline Fear-Segal has argued that government officials, including Pratt, launched Carlisle as an “educational experiment intended to demonstrate that separating members of the younger generation from their home and intensively schooling them in white ways offered a means of obliterating tribal cultures and acculturating a whole race.”¹⁰

Simply separating Indian children from their parents did not satisfy Pratt’s larger agenda of transforming indigenous youth. He believed Native students would also benefit greatly and expand their education into “civilization” by working in trades, both on and off campus. Based on the work program he had established at Ft. Marion, Pratt created the Outing Program at Carlisle, sending students off school grounds to work as farmers, maids, masons, cooks, cobblers, printers, seamstresses, and in other occupations.¹¹ At Sherman Institute, Harwood Hall, the school’s first superintendent from 1902 to 1909, followed Pratt’s model and established an Outing Program for male and female students.¹² He also adopted Pratt’s military approach to managing the school and ran Sherman much like a military fort, where boys and girls learned discipline, wore uniforms, saluted their superiors, and received demerits for infractions of the rules.

Students often wrote about the military structure of the school in *The Sherman Bulletin*, the school’s official, student-written newspaper. Administrators and teachers used the newspaper as a mouthpiece for assimilation, cooperative behavior, and as a source for students to receive information about life at the school and beyond. Students also used it to write about their cultures and to sharpen their English skills. However, Sherman officials did not generally permit students to communicate in their Native languages, and those students who defied this rule received punishment. Consequently, some pupils at Sherman and other Indian schools slowly became disconnected from their Native communities. Students who lost the ability to speak their indigenous languages often had a difficult time when they returned home. In her examination of Haskell Institute, an off-reservation Indian boarding school

in Lawrence, Kansas, historian Myriam Vučković observed that “For many graduates, going back to the reservation was no real option. They had lost their ability to speak their native languages and had become alienated from life in a communal society.”¹³

Pupils became further alienated from their communities by not having the opportunity to acquire the traditional knowledge of their people. Yavapai-Prescott tribal elder Ted Vaughn once recalled that his teachers prevented him and other Yavapais from learning about their ancient homelands, and kept them away from knowledge that remained with their elders on the reservation.¹⁴ Although Vaughn retained his language, he did not learn details from tribal elders about the way his people had once used the ancestral lands of the *Tulcapaya* or Western Yavapai in southwestern Arizona.¹⁵ Furthermore, several students at Sherman did not learn to be nurturing parents, with detailed cultural knowledge about how to raise and care for children.¹⁶ The few examples of parenting they received came from superintendents, teachers, disciplinarians, or classes in Home Economics for female students.

Without the presence of their parents or other community members, many students chose to make the best of their educational experience away from home.¹⁷ Some joined school clubs, marching bands and orchestras, and performed dramatic plays. Many participated in intramural and extramural sports. In his examination of sports at Indian boarding schools, John Bloom notes that officials at Sherman and Carlisle developed sport programs to “uplift” the Indian “race, build character, and even provide access to boarding school away from the alleged corruptions of reservation life.”¹⁸ Although government officials included sports at Indian schools to help assimilate students into mainstream white American society, Native athletes used sports in ways that also promoted their identities as indigenous people. At Sherman Institute, sports proved very popular among students. In fact, during its first years of existence, the Sherman football team played at such a high level that it regularly defeated the University of Southern California. Furthermore, male and female students at Sherman played baseball, softball, field hockey, volleyball, basketball, track, and other sports.

Alongside their involvement in sports, boys and girls participated in numerous musical ensembles at the Indian school in Riverside.¹⁹ Many students joined the Sherman marching band and regularly performed on and off campus, including at parades, football games, and the weekly Sunday morning roll call. In her study on music at the Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon, Melissa

Parkhurst notes, “school officials viewed music as a unique way to reach the Indian heart and effect the total transformation sought by policy reformers.”²⁰ At Sherman Institute, school officials encouraged this “total transformation” by having students learn and perform patriotic compositions and music deeply rooted in Protestant Christian ideals. While policy makers used music at Indian schools to further assimilate American Indians, Native students eagerly joined music groups and worked hard to master music by composers such as Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart. Since students came to Sherman Institute from indigenous communities that placed song and dance at the center of their religious cultures, pupils already had an appreciation for music and chose to learn new instruments and compositions to expand their understanding of music in the twentieth century.

Music was one of many tools the U.S. government used to encourage indigenous students to look, behave, and think more like American citizens. In her comparative examination of the forced removal of indigenous children to schools in the United States and Australia, historian Margaret D. Jacobs keenly observes that government assimilation policies of the United States “arose at the same time that prominent reformers and officials increasingly defined the United States as a Protestant nation.”²¹ Since most American Indians at this time were not Protestant Christians, their non-Christian status “imperiled the religious uniformity” that government officials and reformers “sought in the United States.” While government officials and other reformers believed that American citizenship could not be fully obtained apart from Protestant Christianity, Protestant and even Catholic churches actively worked among the student population at Sherman.²² Various denominations vied for student attendance and participation in their churches. Christian workers offered students food and gifts to attend church services, and teachers frowned on students who refused to participate in Christian gatherings. Religious leaders also encouraged students to learn Bible verses by offering them presents and prizes for memorizing passages.²³ Some of these religious officials belonged to the Young Men’s Christian Association and Young Women’s Christian Association, and they worked tirelessly on campus to get students involved in their organizations.²⁴

Even though Sherman provided students with extracurricular activities, a small number of pupils each year found their experience to be unsatisfactory and took matters into their hands by running away. Students ran away from Indian boarding schools for various reasons. Hopi student Samuel Shingoitewa

broke school policies and received cruel treatment from Sherman officials and responded by hitching a ride on a Santa Fe train back to his homelands in northern Arizona.²⁵ Ojibwe historian Brenda J. Child observed that at the Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota, homesickness and “loneliness” caused Indian students to run away, while others “deserted” the school because they simply did not want to work in certain industrial trades.²⁶ Serrano and Cahuilla tribal elder Francis Morongo remembered becoming ill at Sherman and being admitted to the school’s hospital. From the second floor, she could plainly see the large natural image of an arrowhead cut into the south side of the San Bernardino Mountains, an arrowhead that pointed to the San Manuel Indian Reservation. Francis did not know where Sherman was located in relation to her home, but the arrowhead told her of its location. She decided to escape by cover of darkness and walked miles to her home at the base of the mountains. School officials considered desertion to be a serious offense and often inflicted corporal punishment. For example, at the Santa Fe Indian School in northern New Mexico, school officials severely punished student runaways by whipping them and forcing them to remain in the school jail.²⁷

The U.S. government’s campaign to transform Indian pupils continued long into the twentieth century. Even after Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier initiated the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Sherman’s administrators championed assimilation, a condition that continued as Native people went off to fight for the United States or work in defense industries during the Second World War.²⁸ In the late 1940s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) designated Sherman Institute as the site of a special, exclusively Navajo Program. Administrators of the program promised Navajos a new educational direction without an emphasis on assimilation, but the reality proved much different. In fact, the curriculum reflected few changes from the past, other than relating elements of the curriculum and educational experience to Navajo culture and landscape. Still, school officials urged Indian students to end their use of *Diné Bizaad* (Navajo language) and adopt English.

The Navajo Program existed during the era of termination, a time in American history when the federal government began to eliminate its formal nation-to-nation relationship with Native American tribes.²⁹ During World War II and the Cold War era, the educational wing of the Indian Office continued to use Indian education to transform Native people. And in spite of growing awareness of civil rights in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s, the BIA slowly changed its policies away from assimilation. Only with time did BIA officials encourage Native peoples to take leadership roles in Indian education.³⁰ After

the 1970s and the era of self-determination, American Indians had a greater say in their educational matters, but Native and non-Native Bureau officials still exerted a heavy influence on administrative and curricular issues. Although Native people influenced some Indian education policies after they accepted appointments with the BIA, government officials had a much greater say in the direction of Sherman than Native parents, the school's board of directors, or the American Indian communities that surrounded the Riverside area.

While Sherman Institute was part of a much larger system of Native education in the United States, the school had its own history and developed a unique community and culture that remains with us today. From documents found in the vault, the National Archives, and other sources, editors and authors of this volume conducted research to create the first anthology devoted entirely to a single off-reservation Indian boarding school. To date, only two authors have published books on Sherman, and only a small number of book chapters and scholarly articles appear in the literature.³¹ Many of the authors of this anthology are currently preparing monographs on various aspects of the school. The present volume is our way of sharing specific elements of the complex and untold history of Sherman while offering student voices whenever possible. The book represents two decades of work inside the vault and beyond, particularly at the Sherman Indian School Museum and the National Archives, whose Pacific Region Branch is now located south of Riverside in Perris, California—near the site of the first off-reservation federal Indian boarding school in Southern California. Although the editors and authors consulted published works about other schools, the bulk of the research in this volume emerges from the thousands of manuscript pages and photographs found in the vault.

The editors and authors make no pretense that this is a comprehensive study of Sherman Institute. Several more books and articles will be written to flesh out the school's story. The contributors to this volume also acknowledge the good intentions held by reformers, including some government officials, who believed that they were acting in the best interest of American Indian people by removing their cultures, languages, social structures, economies, and life ways. Policy makers reasoned that children and young adults were the most vulnerable and malleable members of American Indian societies and, through regimented schools, teachers and administrators tried to change the minds, habits, beliefs, religions, and customs of a select number of Native students.³² This is not a new interpretation in American Indian history, but rather one

presented convincingly in the past by several pathbreaking and notable scholars, both Native and non-Native, including K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Brenda Child, Devon Mihesuah, David Wallace Adams, Margaret Connell Szasz, Clyde Ellis, Sally Hyer, Michael Coleman, Robert Trennert, Jr., Scott Riney, and many others.³³

Most of the authors featured in this volume are young scholars who have worked at Sherman with students, faculty, and administrators to research and preserve elements of the school's history. While no single volume could capture the detailed aspects of this school, these chapters are intended to provide a cohesive picture of select components of Sherman's colorful past. Clifford E. Trafzer and Leleua Loupe provide a short initial chapter addressing the origins of the school and the move from Perris Indian School to Sherman Institute, located in the growing city of Riverside, California. Robert R. McCoy, an associate professor of history at Washington State University, offers the second chapter, "Mission Architecture and Sherman Institute," which analyzes the Mission Revival style used in the construction of the school during an era that glorified the California mission system and portrayed it in architecture that proved more romantic than realistic. He argues that writers and reformers like Helen Hunt Jackson and Charles Lummis, as well as other historical enthusiasts popularized the Mission Revival style. They created a romantic image of California that never existed outside their imaginations. McCoy deals with the significance of space and place in relationship to a military institution built to emphasize surveillance, regimentation, control, and discipline.³⁴

This essay leads into that of William O. Medina, an adjunct professor of history at Riverside Community College and San Bernardino Valley Community College, several of whose family members attended Sherman during the 1920s and 1930s. "Selling Patriot Indians at Sherman Institute" focuses on the way school administrators sought to make patriots of American Indians to further the government's assimilation agenda and bolster the school's reputation. Medina points out that although superintendent Harwood Hall's successor, Frank M. Conser, used the idea of patriot Indians to market the school and affirm Sherman's goal of transforming indigenous students into loyal citizens, the students had their own reasons for demonstrating their patriotism or joining the military. He argues that some Indian students signed up for military service for economic reasons. Male students who did not want to return to poverty-stricken reservations took advantage of military service to earn money and pursue social advancement. Still others joined the Army or Navy to "see the world" or because they wanted to play in a military band. Medina notes that

while former Indian students served bravely in the military during World War I, pupils at Sherman continued the war effort at home. For example, students purchased war stamps, provided updates in *The Sherman Bulletin* about alumni serving in the military, and participated in various patriotic ceremonies.

In chapter four, “Healing Touch,” Jean A. Keller, an adjunct professor of American Indian Studies at Palomar College, examines the school’s nursing program. Keller notes that in 1907 medical doctor Mary Israel took a position as the school’s resident physician (but paid as a nurse) and began a superior nursing program for a select group of female students. Having been denied permission to practice medicine, Israel made the best of the situation by accepting this nursing position. Since Sherman had no resident medical doctor, Israel essentially filled that role, caring for ill students. She also enlisted the aid of promising young Indian girls and trained them to help their fellow students. Using her medical knowledge, Israel established a strong nursing program for a small number of individuals who learned anatomy, physiology, and bacteriology—the curriculum Israel had learned in medical school. The nursing program at Sherman continued after Dr. Israel transferred to the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona to work at the new trachoma hospital, but did not flourish at the same high academic level. Keller details the continuation of the nursing program from the 1920s until the 1950s as it trained nurse’s aides without the curricular rigor that defined the early days of the program. She carefully ties the nursing program into the larger picture of Sherman’s history and student health. Similar to other academic programs at Sherman, the nursing curriculum changed over time but played an important role in the school’s development during the early twentieth century, leaving its mark on the school in much the same way as the outing program.

Kevin Whalen, who has worked extensively at Sherman Indian Museum and is currently a Ph. D. candidate at the University of California, Riverside, offers in chapter five an original essay he researched and wrote on the school’s outing program. He places Sherman’s outing program within the larger picture of boarding schools as a whole, before providing specifics about the program at Sherman Institute. Essentially, the outing program was a work-study program—but with far more work than study. It provided students with practical work experience, wages, and on-the-job training, but essentially it provided employers with cheap labor. At Sherman Institute, most girls served as housekeepers and babysitters for white families, while the boys worked on farms, ranches, railroads, and construction crews. Whalen argues that the program targeted Native people to serve non-Indians at the lowest levels of

work, and did not offer professional positions with upward mobility within the regional or national economy.

In chapter six, “A Curriculum for Social Change: The Special Navajo Five Year Program, 1946-1961,” Jon Ille, a professor of history at Little Bighorn College on the Crow Indian Reservation and currently a Ph. D. candidate at the University of California, Riverside, provides the first scholarly work on this unique program, which the government intended to prepare Navajo students to advance socially and economically into the post-World War II era. Like other authors, Ille ties the Navajo Program to national politics, demonstrating that after World War II, Congress and the Indian Office put more money into off-reservation boarding schools than schools located on the reservation, to counter the earlier Indian policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. During the 1930s and early 1940s, the Indian New Deal had championed greater tribal control of education, but some politicians during the Cold War era used Indian boarding schools as a weapon in their assault on self-determination and tribal sovereignty. Ille argues that the Navajo Program was part of the termination policies of the United States, intended to assimilate Indians, make them useful laborers and members of mainstream society, and move them from reservations to cities. Through a covert plan that policy makers claimed to be “new,” the Indian Office recreated the old boarding school curriculum designed to place Navajo people in menial jobs in urban centers. In other words, the Navajo Program provided old policies in a new package. Ille details the curriculum used at Sherman and analyzes some of the student work opportunities, including loading dangerous uranium and working as ranch hands.

Chapter seven, “Unforgettable Lives, Symbolic Voices, and the Sherman School Cemetery,” deals with one of the dark elements of Sherman’s history. Trafzer and Keller draw on research about the cemetery and their own experiences as members of the Sherman cemetery preservation committee to provide an interpretive essay on the legacy and meaning of the school’s burial ground. They argue that the cemetery is a hallowed space that serves as a symbolic and visual reminder of the ultimate price some students paid for their participation in the federal Indian boarding school system. The grand experiment to solve the so-called Indian Problem with a Western education cost some students their lives. School officials returned the remains of most children in caskets bound for reservations around the country, but Sherman administrators buried some students on school grounds, six miles from the main campus at the school farm. After selling the school farm in 1946, officials

generally ignored the cemetery and allowed it to become overgrown with weeds and trash. The cemetery had been neglected until Native and non-Native volunteers began tending the grounds.

In the 1990s, Lorene Sisquoc, Jean Keller, and students at Sherman Indian High School organized a movement to protect and preserve the cemetery, and even boy scouts donated their time to support these efforts. Today, many people consider the school cemetery to be a sacred site. Individual citizens of Riverside and Corona, especially Dinna Zambrano, Judy Duff, and John Iyotte, keep watch over the cemetery. Law enforcement officers from Riverside County also maintain its surveillance, regularly patrolling Indiana Avenue to ensure that vandals do not desecrate the graves. In more recent years, Matthew Leivas, Larry Eddy, Vivien Jake, and other Southern Paiute elders have gathered to sing songs over the graves of the deceased students. The Paiute singers believe that through their ancient Salt Songs, they implore the spirits of the children to go on to the afterlife and not remain on earth. With their songs and dances, Paiute people pay tribute to former Sherman students as part of the national Salt Song Project of the Southern Paiutes, the Native American Land Conservancy, and the Cultural Conservancy, all of which recognize the healing agency of songs, stories, and landscapes.³⁵

In chapter eight, Trafzer, Michelle Lorimer, and Shaina Wright offer a photographic essay of Sherman Institute, analyzing and interpreting forty pictures out of the ten thousand in the rich photographic collection to be found in the vault. The photographs depict buildings, graduating classes, teachers, administrators, and other subjects. The authors interpret images of identity, sports, plays, trades, outings, bands, and the built environment. The photographs allow readers to see the campus, as well as read about the old Sherman Institute before the Bureau of Indian Affairs destroyed most of the buildings in the 1970s, replacing them with modern ones. Among the thousands of photographs located in the vault, hundreds focus on the Special Navajo Five Year Program.

To conclude the volume, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert presents personal stories relating to Sherman and his research in the vault. Sisquoc opened the vault to researchers, and Sakiestewa Gilbert is one of many scholars who worked at Sherman, bringing forth original and exciting projects that will enlighten and delight readers.

The authors and editors of this collection contribute to our understanding of Sherman Institute by offering original essays based on documents found in the Museum's vault. Although they focus on assimilation and the way

school programs and activities fostered this policy, the authors also seek to highlight Native agency, and the ability of indigenous students to create an educational experience that proved beneficial to students. Many of the authors also incorporate the voices of students, teachers, administrators, and others. However, not every author in this volume focuses on Native agency or even student voices. Some have chosen to center their narratives on a critique of the government's Indian education policies or the actions of school officials. Regardless of their approach, the authors share a common relationship with the Sherman Indian Museum and a reliance on materials housed in the vault to inform their interpretations and conclusions. The vault, therefore, serves as the thread that holds these essays together.

NOTES

- 1 For additional information on the school's physical layout, including photographs, see "Sherman Institute Booklet, 1908" (Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, California).
- 2 Additional information on the Museum's history can be found at: <http://www.shermanindianmuseum.org>.
- 3 David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 44-48; Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 6-11.
- 4 Historian Scott Riney has provided a complete list of all twenty-five off-reservation Indian boarding schools in the United States. See Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 10.
- 5 Clifford E. Trafzer and Richard D. Scheuerman, eds., *Mourning Dove's Stories* (San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1991), vi, 2-3.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Oral Interview of Andrew George by Clifford E. Trafzer, Richard D. Scheuerman, and Lee Ann Smith, Yakama Indian Reservation, November 15, 1980, Trafzer's Collection.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 75.
- 10 Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 26.
- 11 In his survey of American Indian history, historian Roger L. Nichols notes that "Pratt expected that his graduates would move into white society, and so began what he described as an 'outing' system, in which he sent the older students to work in white homes, factories, and businesses. In theory, this equipped them to become integrated into the national economy. In fact, they often became low-wage laborers for the local citizens." See Roger L. Nichols, *American Indians in U.S. History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 154, 155. See also Francis Paul Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 272-274.
- 12 For a brief discussion on the Outing Program at Sherman Institute among female students, see Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907-1925, 181-183 in Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (eds.), *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
- 13 Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 13.
- 14 Ted Vaughn interview with Clifford E. Trafzer, November 11, 2008, January 8, 2009, September 9-10, 2009, Yavapai Prescott Indian Reservation, Prescott, Arizona, Trafzer Collection. Hereafter cited as Vaughn interview.
- 15 Vaughn interview with Clifford E. Trafzer, September 10 and 11, 2009.

- 16 In “Beyond the Mesas,” a film on the Hopi boarding school experience, former Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, Ivan Sydney, recalled that his time at the Phoenix Indian School in Arizona did not teach him how to be a good parent. This was one of many consequences the Hopi and other indigenous people faced when the U.S. government required them to attend boarding schools *away* from their families and Native communities. For more information on “Beyond the Mesas,” visit: <http://beyondthemesas.com>.
- 17 Generally speaking, parents and elders did not attend Sherman with members of their respective communities. However, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert has written about a time in Sherman’s history when a Hopi chief named Tawaquaptewa and other leaders went to school with a group of Hopi students from 1906 to 1909. See Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 71-94.
- 18 John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 125, 126.
- 19 Historian John W. Troutman has written a remarkable account of the ways Indian students used music at off-reservation Indian boarding schools. See John W. Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 66-107. See also, Melissa D. Parkhurst, “To Win the Indian Heart: Music at Chemawa Indian School,” PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008.
- 20 Parkhurst, “To Win the Indian Heart,” 68.
- 21 Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 77, 78.
- 22 Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 77, 78.
- 23 Don Talayesva, *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 116.
- 24 For additional discussions on the ways government officials used Christianity at Sherman Institute, see Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez: California Paiute* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 56-58, and Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas*, 115-135.
- 25 Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas*, xxvii-xxviii.
- 26 Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 88.
- 27 Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990), 15.
- 28 For more information on the ways John Collier implemented changes in Indian education in the 1930s, see K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 7, 8. For more information on the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, see Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress* (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971), 75-78.
- 29 For a brief discussion on the U.S. government policy of termination, see Peter d’Errico, “Native Americans in America: A Theoretical and Historical Overview,” 494, 495, in Frederick E. Hoxie, Peter C. Mancall, and James H. Merrell (eds.)

- American Nations: Encounters in Indian Country, 1850 to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 481-499.
- 30 Clifford E. Trafzer, *As Long As the Grass Shall Grow and Rivers Flow* (Ft. Worth, Harcourt, 2000), 388-400.
- 31 The two books on Sherman Institute are Jean A. Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002) and Sakiestewa Gilbert's *Education beyond the Mesas*.
- 32 In his examination of the Rainy Mountain Boarding School in Oklahoma, historian Clyde Ellis notes that the "bulk of Indian children who received any education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century got it in reservation schools. But most schools also produced students who showed promise of greater accomplishment. For those relatively few, off-reservation Indian boarding schools offered better training and the opportunity to experience first-hand, even if in limited fashion, the outside world." See Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999) 23.
- 33 Their major works include, David Wallace Adams, *Education For Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997), K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of the Chiloco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), Michael C. Coleman, *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898-1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), Amanda K. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self Determination Since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), and Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico).
- 34 Viola Martinez, a California Paiute who attended Sherman Institute in the 1920s and 1930s, has talked at length about the military structure of the school. See Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez: California Paiute* (Norman: University of Oklahoma

Press, 2003), 54, 55. For an additional discussion on the regimental structure of off-reservation Indian boarding schools, see Margaret Connell-Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 20, 21.

- 35 To learn more about the Salt Song Project of the Southern Paiutes, visit the following website: <http://www.nativeland.org/saltsong.html>. For information on the Native American Land Conservancy, see Anthony Madrigal, *Sovereignty, Land and Water: Building Tribal Environmental and Cultural Programs on the Cahuilla and Twenty-Nine Palms Reservation* (Riverside: California Center for Native Nations, 2008), 114-124.

The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue reveals the fascinating story of Sherman Institute, an influential off-reservation boarding school in Riverside, California. In 1902, the federal government opened this flagship institution to transform American Indian students into productive farmers, carpenters, homemakers, nurses, cooks, and seamstresses.

Indian students helped build the school and worked there daily. Administrators provided vocational education and placed students in employment opportunities away from campus through the Outing Program. *Indian School* draws on sources held at the Sherman Indian Museum to explore topics such as the building of Sherman, the school's Mission architecture, its nursing and Special Navajo programs, and the Sherman cemetery. The book concludes with a photographic essay depicting life at the school.

Despite the fact that Indian boarding schools—with their agenda of cultural genocide—often prevented students from speaking their languages, singing their songs, and practicing their religions, most Sherman Institute students learned to read, write, and speak English, and most survived to benefit themselves and their people.

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