

19TH CENTURY ASYLUMS FOR NATIVE AMERICAN YOUTH

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INTRODUCTION

In the history of European contact with the Native American, Christian missionary societies and the missionaries they sent among the native peoples have played a key role. From the first contact, the Europeans in North America attempted to bring European civilization and Christianity to a people they viewed as uncivilized. One of the most respected historians of the Protestant missions to the Native Americans, Robert Berkhofer (1963 176), noted that the early colonial efforts of missionaries were generally viewed as failures by the early 19th century. By the 1820s, however, there was a climate of optimism and enthusiasm for a new strategy of missionary work, the *manual labor boarding school* (MLBS) for Native American youth (Berkhofer 1963).

Berkhofer (1963) suggested that the development of the MLBS was not the result of special conditions on the frontier, where these special schools were established, but a result of cultural assumptions already prevalent in the East. "The activities of missionaries were determined in main outline before they ever arrived in the wilderness" (Berkhofer 1963 190). For Berkhofer, that meant the frontier followed a model and set of assumptions about the manual labor boarding school that had already been established at a few eastern missions in the decade prior to 1820. What Berkhofer and subsequent authors on the mission efforts did not establish was the cultural origin of the model and the supporting theory for these very specialized institutions for the education and acculturation of the youth. It is my intent to establish the cultural roots of the manual labor boarding school and the link between it and other new types of institutions that came into existence in America during the early 19th century.

From the late eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth century, a dramatic change was underway in America and Europe in regard to the philosophy and practice of punishment and/or control of perceived problem populations, criminals, the insane, wayward youth, the chronically unemployed, etc. Writers of the "revisionist" school of penal history, most notably David Rothman,

Michael Ignatieff, and Michel Foucault, have attempted to describe this transformation of the concept of punishment and social control in the Western world. Key elements of this transformation include the mind replacing the body as the object of punishment and control; the increased segregation of deviants into institutions specifically designed and built for that purpose; the prison model as the dominant instrument for modifying behavior; and the increasing involvement of the state in the management of social control (Cohen 1983 102-103; 1985 13).

Ignatieff noted that the

...emergence of the prison cannot be understood apart from the parallel history of the other total institutions created in this period. (1985 82)

The penitentiary and other new institutions arose as a new strategy for control of perceived problem populations within the new Republic. Native Americans were certainly a major population group that was of constant concern to the dominant culture during the 19th century, but have so far escaped scrutiny by theorists of punishment and control. Were the new control strategies championed by this social movement applied to the Native American population, represented by the establishment of the manual labor boarding schools? I believe that the evidence presented in the following pages will answer this question.

Any discussion of social control is intricately linked to the problem of socialization faced by any group (Cohen & Scull 1985). In the case of criminals and other forms of social deviance, the problem becomes one of resocialization; or, in language of the time, a problem of reform. The Native American population represented a unique problem to white, European culture. Since they already had been socialized into a vibrant and sustained culture, the problem was one of cultural conversion. Such a process by necessity involved the destruction of the existing culture of the native population before it could be replaced with European culture. It is the means by which this conversion was to be achieved that has been problematic through-

out the history of religious mission efforts to Native Americans.

The development of and reliance upon specially constructed institutions in the 19th century, such as the penitentiary, represent a societal shift to an increased use of formal coercive control by the state over its population. The primary purpose of these was to control problem individuals and groups, primarily immigrants, through their confinement and resocialization. The establishment of specialized institutions of *coercive control* is the focus of the revisionist school of penal history. But, any discussion of such a change in control strategies must involve more than just a description of the development of specific forms and practices of coercive control. At its core, the discussion must take into account the universe of discourse, i.e., the shared meanings, within which discussion of the forms and practices takes place.

It is within this context that the dominant European culture, primarily through Protestant Christian missionary efforts, sought to achieve cultural conversion and thus control through the resocialization of Native Americans. From the colonial period through the 19th century, the major efforts toward this goal were carried out by denominational and inter-denominational religious societies, in the form of missionaries and missions. While there was great diversity among the various missionary societies, their common theme was an effort to "Christianize" and "civilize" the native population (Szasz 1988 5). In effect, their efforts were directed at the cultural conversion of this population by affecting the destruction of tribalism as a cultural value and replacing it with the individualism of European civilization. Missionaries of the 1840s held strictly to the belief that Indianness and Western Christian civilization were in direct conflict, which they clearly were, and that in order to survive extinction the Indian must give up their concepts of tribes and nations to live as individuals (Berkhofer 1978 151).

For government officials, Christian civilization increasingly became the only pacific method of dealing with the Indian problem in the nineteenth century. (Berkhofer 1978 151)

The prevailing thought of the early nineteenth century was that the Native American was equal to the white in potential and only need-

ed a change in circumstance to overcome the weakness in environment and develop the proper habits of civilization (Prucha 1984 136).

In the early 19th century, the manual labor boarding school appeared to the missionaries and the federal government as the most promising method of achieving the goals of cultural conversion, assimilation, and control of the native population. In order to understand this unique institution and its development, it is necessary to understand the paradigm shifts occurring within that time period.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE ASYLUM

The paradigm shift in strategies for social control was driven by a large and diverse group of social reformers. The goals, beliefs, and intentions of these reformers as well as the social, political, and economic context within which they operated are analyzed in great detail by writers such as Rothman and Ignatieff (Cohen & Scull 1985 2). While mainstream history has often represented such reform movements as emanating from motives of benevolence, these authors turn their attention to motives intended more to achieve the maintenance of social order and to issues of power and conflict among different social and cultural groups in this time period. The emphasis upon ideology and social conflict is not exclusive to the revisionist school of penal history. It also appears as a central theme in the works of authors who have charted the development of the Temperance movement in the same historical period (Gusfield 1963; Duster 1970; Rumbarger 1989). The relationship between ideology and practice has always been seen as crucial because "...the conception of the cause of a problem determines the way in which the solution is seen" (Duster 1970 115).

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, "...the dominant culture and mental habits of one period were being slowly replaced by those of another..." (Garland 1990 206). The changes in the theory and practice of social control that were taking place arose in the aftermath of the American revolution and involved a reordering of the ideological universe of the actors in this period (Dumm 1987 87). The question of agency, of which actors directed the changes so that prisons re-

sembled factories and vice versa, is answered by Ignatieff,

...because public order authorities and employers shared the same universe of assumptions...identifiable social constituencies of individuals...managed to secure political approval for penal change through a process of debate and argument in the society's sites of power. (1985 92-94)

Rothman (1990) used the word "asylum" as a generic term that encompassed all of the specialized institutions of control that arose in the 19th century. Operating within this shared universe of assumptions, the development of the pattern of the asylum, emphasizing the values of order and regularity, uniformity and punctuality, and the devotion to steady labor and habits of discipline, is explained by a process of linking those values which the asylum sought to *inculcate* within the larger social agenda (Rothman 1990 xxiv). These values were those of a growing white American middle-class and a nation at the early stages of industrialization. The need for a workforce that adhered to such values was seen as essential to the success of the new nation. With the changing universe of assumptions, "the penitentiary became a primary institution which a new set of techniques of pedagogy developed" for the purpose of management and control of specific individuals or groups of individuals (Dumm 1987 87).

The asylum was part of a greater movement and its techniques were developed not just with the resocialization of deviants in mind, but as proper techniques for all forms of instruction in social values or normative behavior. According to Foucault (1979 211), its "...disciplines can, in effect, be adapted beyond the institutional fortress..."; as the punitive procedure of the past is transformed into a penitentiary technique that can be transported from "...the penal institution to the entire social body" (1979 298).

In the crisis years of early industrialization, after 1815, the disciplinary ideology was taken up by the evangelized professional, mercantile, and industrial classes seeking to cope with the dissolution of a society of ranks and orders and the emergence of a society of strangers. (Ignatieff 1985 87)

This ideology involved a "...common belief in the reformative powers of enforced asceticism, hard labor, religious instruction and routine" (Ignatieff 1985 82). Persons who did not adhere to these principles were drawn into this new coercive disciplinary network to be reformed.

The belief in reform was based on an underlying assumption that social conditions could contribute to crime and disorder, an early form of social environmentalism. One of the fundamental ways to alter the effects of adverse social conditions was the segregation of the deviant away from the corrupting influences of the environment. A well-ordered institution would reeducate and rehabilitate (Rothman 1990 82). The belief in the possibility that an institution could reform an individual represented a major paradigm shift from earlier conceptions relating to the purpose of punishment and the underlying causes of human behavior, especially various forms of deviance. The development of special institutions as constructed model environments was designed to separate the offender, the mental patient, the unrepentant idler from all contact with sources of corruption (Rothman 1990 82). Quarantine was seen by the reformers as a necessary precondition for moral reeducation, severing the ties to the world outside the walls (Ignatieff 1978 102). But simple isolation was not enough. The artificial environment also had to be ordered in such a way as to inculcate those important values noted above.

One founding principle of the reform movement is the benefit of hard labor and the virtues to be derived from it (Rothman 1990; Ignatieff 1983; Foucault 1979; Hirsch 1992; Jones 1986). As a principle component of the new ideology, the central importance of labor was both moral imperative and guiding principle in practice. Applying discipline as an *instrument of control* over others was conceived as the only practical method of instilling the proper self-discipline in individuals (Ignatieff 1978 58). For those individuals who somehow managed not to have acquired the necessary self-discipline as defined by the Christian leadership of the time, usually attributed to an improper upbringing in a corrupting environment, the coercive asylum stood as the remedy.

In the process of rationalizing the institution, the reformers focused on the physical aspects of the institutions; its architecture,

structure, rules, and procedures (Hirsch 1992 66). The divisions of space and time within the institution through architecture were elevated to a form of "moral science" (Rothman 1990 83). These specific forms of control were applied to the body as a means of getting to the soul, the seat of habits (Foucault 1979 128-129). Foucault (1979) traced the early roots of the disciplinary ideology to the military model of the professional army of Napoleon; the drill as compulsory movements to condition habits within the mind. But many of the other aspects of the regimen of discipline in the new institutions had other roots. The reformers devised the new rules of discipline along the lines of industrial labor with its punch clocks and bells as a means of managing the self and others, analogous to the management of machines (Ignatieff 1978 63-67).

The application of the discipline of the factory regime to those individuals perceived as problems for social order was intended to *reform* the individual through the instilling of proper *habits*. Foucault (1979 129) noted that the purpose of this reform was to render the *obedient subject*, one subjected to "...rules, habits, orders, an authority continually exercised". Such a subject, socialized into a new daily routine, was essential to the new industrial order. This new order represented a very different life from that of the agrarian culture of most immigrants to America or even most of Americans at that time. It was especially alien to Native American culture.

Another key element of the new disciplinary ideology of control was the emphasis on supervision. Foucault (1979), Cohen (1985), and Dumm (1987) use this concept as a cornerstone for their arguments, tracing its roots to Jeremy Bentham's vision of the ideal prison, the Panopticon. The essential element of the Panopticon was the constant, vigilant supervision of the offender, every day, all day and night. The offender was never removed from the watchful eye of the keeper. Hirsch (1992 66) notes how Bentham's concept was championed in the United States by reformers such as Louis Dwight, who argued in 1829 for its extension into all manner of institutions, even *boarding schools and colleges*.

PRE-NINETEENTH CENTURY MISSION EFFORTS

The 17th century saw a diversity of missionary efforts attempting the common goal of Christianizing and civilizing the "natives" (Szasz 1988). However, very little was actually achieved prior to the middle of the century (Bowden 1981; Beaver 1966a). The efforts of the missionaries to the Native Americans could be characterized as following a restraint within the community model (Cohen 1985). White culture attempted to entice Native Americans to voluntarily adopt their concept of "civilization" through a variety of methods. Both Bowden (1981) and Berkhofer (1966) noted that there was general agreement within white culture at the time that the Native Americans were intelligent enough to recognize the superiority of white culture and would eventually abandon the old ways in favor of the new. The task of the missionaries was to demonstrate their Eurocentric sense of superiority to the native peoples through teaching and example.

The most prevalent form of the mission efforts in colonial America was that of establishing the model Christian family. The various tribes of the Northeast were encouraged by missionaries such as Thomas Mayhew to form villages, often referred to as "Praying Villages," in the manner of the white colonists, centered around the church, and following the example of the white colonists in agricultural pursuits on individually owned plots of land (Szasz 1988; Bowden 1981; Beaver 1966a, 1966b; Tracy 1970 [1840]). Unlike Mayhew, many efforts, like those attributed to John Eliot were, in fact, almost nonexistent and amounted to a kind of scam to receive money from missionary societies based in England and then diverting the funds to other projects in the colonies (Jennings 1976 242-247).

Throughout the eighteenth century, the role of the missionary was further developed. Renewed missionary efforts resulted from the Great Awakening and many new experiments for educating Native American youth arose during this period (Szasz 1988; Beaver 1966b). Following the themes of the 17th century, education played a dominant role in the efforts of the missionary societies and the establishment of schools was essential to the goal of Christianizing and civilizing.

Probably the most notable of the 18th century experiments was Eleazer Wheelock's

Moors Charity School, established in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1754 (Szasz 1988). Wheelock saw important advantages of the boarding school over the day school in educating Native American youth. The main advantages were the separation and isolation from the influence of the parents and the importance of constant supervision. The method of instruction focused on a combination of literary education and religious instruction, in the manner of boarding schools for white children (Bowden 1981 139). Wheelock's school made little lasting impact on Native American youth as most rebelled against the regimen of the school and there was no means of compelling by force of law their attendance at these schools (Bowden 1981 141).

NINETEENTH CENTURY MISSION EFFORTS

The dawning of the 19th century marked the beginning of a long process involving the erosion of the political autonomy of Native Americans that would culminate with the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (McCloughlin 1984; Bowden 1981; Satz 1975; Beaver 1966a; Berkhofer 1966). The Native American population represented an impediment to nationalism and the establishment of a single set of cultural standards for the new republic. The policy of the American government toward Native American culture throughout the first two decades of the 19th century vacillated between that of removal and assimilation (Bowden 1981; Satz 1975; Beaver 1966a). Once removal became the official government policy, it was hoped that the tribes that were relocated to the Indian lands would gradually make the transition to white culture, forming governments on their lands that would resemble those of the whites (Deloria 1985 245).

The loss of power and political autonomy by Native Americans within the borders of the new nation placed them in a position of complete subordination to the dominant culture. Prucha (1985 14-15) noted that statements by Andrew Jackson made it clear that removal was to be the beginning of government control of Native American affairs, for their own well-being and survival. Such policy decisions were based on the assumption that the Indians were incapable of making decisions regarding their own best interests (Deloria 1985 244). Such assumptions represent a change from the previous century

regarding the ability of Native Americans to manage their own affairs. In part, this change took place because of the failure of earlier efforts to convert the majority of the native population to white culture and the seemingly intractable nature of Native American culture.

This policy shift greatly affected the mission efforts to the Native American. The original motive of Christianizing and civilizing remained a foundation for missionary work, but a new motive, guilt, would also appear. As the Native American was disappearing from the settled East, it became easier to love them at a distance and become concerned for the wrongs done to them - giving them the Gospel was seen as an act of restitution - especially among the frontier denominations of the Baptists and Methodists (Beaver 1966a 63).

Mission efforts were expanded to the frontier where many tribes were being relocated, assisted by the increasing involvement of the state in subsidizing the civilizing process. Thomas L. McKenney, at one time head of the Office of Indian Affairs, was very influential in forming the links between the government and missionary societies in the period 1812-1830 (Prucha 1984 141). The motive driving the government's increasing involvement was very different from that of the missionaries. Control of the native "problem" was of central concern.

In 1819, the Civilization Fund was established by Congress. This act, in effect, joined the government and the church in a partnership that would last until 1873 and amount to a form of "subsidized philanthropy" (Beaver 1966a 68-70). In addition, the federal government used the annuity program, payments to tribes for land purchases, to subsidize the educational efforts by missionary societies and as a subtle, yet powerful, means of control. With the support and approval of the federal government, the missionary societies set up in the West.

The first two decades of the 19th century saw increasing emphasis on the establishment of boarding schools for Native American youth in order to isolate, supervise, and provide a daily routine to counteract what was seen as a cultural problem of inveterate laziness (McCloughlin 1984; Berkhofer 1963). The first to resemble the MLBS model was established among the Wyandots in the first decade by Joseph Badger with funds received from the Western Missionary Society.

Badger sought to establish a mission that combined religion, education, and agricultural training through linking the school to a farming operation operated by the mission family and the scholars (Berkhofer 1963 181). Badger's limited experiment ended with the War of 1812.

In 1816, Presbyterian minister Cyrus Kingsbury received funds from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the Secretary of War to establish a model school among the Cherokee in Tennessee, named the Brainerd mission. Berkhofer (1963 184) described Kingsbury's mission as *the* model for all future reference:

Here at last were realized all the principles of the manual labor boarding school. The institution was a self-contained community in the wilderness. The children were removed from their parents into a totally controlled environment. This physical separation deemed so essential here is also demonstrated in other stations in even so small an item as a fence to keep the nonscholars out of the scholars' play yard in order to avoid contamination by savage customs. The varied instruction required a large number of laborers who exemplified Christian and civilized life in the controlled environment... The parents were attracted to view the establishment by their offsprings' presence and they too learned by the demonstration project. Yet the school could not be located too near the Indians' habitations for fear of contamination; instead the adults must travel to the controlled environment.

For the many missionary societies that looked back upon the failures of their previous experiments, this new "...manual labor boarding school seemed the answer to their prayers" (Berkhofer 1963 177).

Berkhofer's description of the Brainerd mission contains many of the key elements of Rothman's "asylum." First, a new emphasis was placed upon an institution as a change agent, specially constructed for the purpose of instilling new values. Second, isolation from outside influence, especially that of their own culture, was deemed essential for its success. Third, the use of the word contamination suggests that the discourse of social influence upon behavior prevalent in the prison reform movement's champions had been adopted by those involved with

the mission efforts. Fourth, the emphasis on the mission as a controlled environment suggests that constant supervision and control of the daily routine of the youth was also a feature of this mission. Finally, the institution was to be a demonstration project, a model for influencing not only behavior of the students but of their parents who would come to observe it. What was missing from Berkhofer's description of Kingsbury's mission that would be included in the model asylum of Rothman was the critical element of discipline, equated with the factory model, and the "rule of rules" of Foucault. These were to be incorporated into the MLBS once it reached the frontier in the 1840s, by then the "asylum" had achieved dominance as the means to resolving the social problems that came as a result of industrialization in the East.

The attempted assimilation of the Native American through resocialization increasingly relied on forms of coercion from the third decade of the 19th century onward. One of the early problems with the mission day schools among the tribes, and even the early boarding schools, was the lack of means to compel attendance. The Indian agents used the annuity funds to apply pressure to ensure that youth would remain at the new boarding schools. Since some of the funds, by treaty provisions, were earmarked for education, agents would make it clear to tribal leaders that monies provided to the school from the tribe's funds for any youth's education would not be refunded and would be forfeited to the school if the child did not stay the full term. Thus, tribal leaders were coerced by agents of the government into guaranteeing attendance of their youth at missionary schools under threat of forfeiture of funds. The ability to compel attendance, lacking in the previous century, was gradually being realized through the involvement of the state.

While all of the programs established by the missionaries and funded jointly by the missionary societies and the government in the 1830s were developed under the auspices of humanitarianism, the reality was that these programs provided the government with the means to undermine and control Native American culture (Satz 1975 246). After 1834, Congress, through the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs with its agents among the tribes, "...had become a surrogate for Indian decision-making in the

important area of cultural and economic relations with settlers" (Deloria 1985 243). The increasing governmental involvement was in part motivated by the fear of having a hostile population on its Western border and located in between the two coasts. With trade to the Southwest increasing during the 1820s and 1830s, protection of trade routes became an important concern. The increasing growth and influence of the Department of Indian Affairs represented the rationalization of control through the development of a bureaucracy, with its hierarchy of agents and sub-agents extending the government's control over Native American affairs.

The adaptation of the theory and practice of the asylum to the education of Native American youth does differ in purpose in one key area. Whites drawn into the control network of the asylum already belonged to and were aware of the values of the dominant culture. The problem was seen as one of insufficient socialization, for which a period of resocialization was in order. For Native American youth, the purpose was first and foremost to destroy an existing cultural identity and attachment, a form of cultural genocide, before beginning the process of acculturation and socialization into an entirely new cultural identity. Although the argument could be made that since most of the inhabitants of the asylums in the East were members of immigrant populations, especially of non-Anglo-Saxon origin, that they too were being subjected to a kind of cultural destruction.

Berkhofer (1963 185) noted that in the period from 1820-1830 there were forty mission schools that were receiving government aid and were based upon the model of the manual labor boarding school. This statement by Berkhofer would suggest that the model had reached practical dominance in this period. In the 1821 annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, discussion of the Brainerd school for the Cherokee centered on the lack of profit shown by the farm at the school, specifically noting that "manual labor seminaries have universally been expensive..." but were "...necessary among the Indians, because the pupils must be instructed in agriculture and the mechanic arts" (Tracy 1970 [1840] 99-100). The Methodist Episcopal assembly expressed their optimism upon receipt of the mission reports from Kansas territory in 1840, especially those related to the

establishment of the Manual Labor School among the Shawnee: "Great hopes are entertained of its usefulness" (Mudge 1970 [1840] 546). The MLBS model had been successfully transplanted to the frontier.

OBSERVATIONS FROM THE FRONTIER

In this section I will offer samples of statements from missionaries, Indian agents, and observers commenting on the missions established in the first Indian Territory of what is modern day Kansas, from 1830 to roughly 1850. The following excerpts are presented to serve as illustrative examples of the diffusion throughout all denominations and missionaries of the theory and practice of the MLBS model on the frontier. The following examples are linked to the key elements of the asylum as already established.

The following comments emphasize the importance of the establishment of a specialized institution as a change agent and that it should follow a specific model, that of the MLBS. A new teacher at the Shawnee Methodist Mission wrote in his diary upon his arrival in 1836:

The idea of making this school, to some extent, a manual labor *institution* [italics added] had already been entertained, this year began to test its practicability and importance. (Caldwell 1939a 23)

The Rev. L.B. Stateler noted in his journal in 1838 after a visit to the Shawnee Methodist Mission:

we have great hope in the final success of this new establishment, as we think it is on the best plan that could be adopted — viz., the manual labor system. (Stanley 1907 98)

In an 1842 letter to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, E.R. Ames wrote about the Shawnee Methodist Mission.

I find here a noble institution which promises to be blessing to thousands of the red men. There are now in attendance about one hundred pupils from eleven different tribes. (Kansas State Historical Society 1923-1925 235)

The first principal of the mission to the Iowa and Sac established by the Presbyterian Missionary Society heaps praise upon

the manual labor school model in his 1843 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

This institution, while conducted with its present spirit and interest, cannot fail to wield a powerful influence in favor of Christianity and modern refinement. (Hamilton 1843)

Four years later, W.E. Rucker, Indian Sub-Agent, wrote to his superiors regarding the Iowa and Sac school:

I am fully convinced that the 'manual labor boarding school' system is the only practicable means of their civilization and Christianization... (Rucker 1847)

In an 1843 letter to benefactors in the East asking for financial help for the Shawnee Methodist Mission, Superintendent Berryman lamented that

if our friends do not help us the 'Indian Manual Labor School,' the grandest enterprise ever undertaken in the Indian country, must decline, must die. (Kansas State Historical Society 1923-1925 244)

T.A. Morris traveled to the Shawnee Manual Labor School in 1844 and witnessed the examination of the Native American pupils at the end of October. He applauded their progress and performance in the school subjects; their skill in mechanical and agricultural arts; and, especially, the religious influence brought to bear on the children (Morris 1853 349).

W.H. Goode traveled to the missions of the West in the early 1840s and wrote of their success while expressing the opinion that previous experiments to educate Native American youth while they lived at home with their parents had not been very successful (Goode 1864 98). As evidence that the model had become the standard of the frontier mission schools, a Baptist missionary to the Delaware tribe, J.D. Blanchard (1843) noted in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that

...some misapprehension seems to exist with regard to manual labor schools; *this, and every other boarding school of which I have any knowledge in the Indian country [italics added], is conducted on that plan.*"

The need for isolation of the youth to prevent contamination from the corrupting influences of both their own culture and the worst elements of white culture was seen as essential for success. From the previously mentioned 1843 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Hamilton commented on why the MLBS was better than the method of simply sending a missionary family to live among the tribes:

But how little is the influence exerted by a few individuals upon a number of children, who are continually witnessing the degrading and soul-sickening conduct of heathen parents and companions, to what it might be if those children were *placed [italics added]* where they would not witness such scenes of *pollution [italics added]* and filth, but, on the contrary, have before them Christian example and Christian instruction. (Hamilton 1843)

The need to isolate the youth from corrupting influences was echoed by Baptist missionary J.D. Blanchard (1844) in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

Those who are clinging to the "way of their fathers," to say the best of them, are but on a stand; and others of them are making fearful strides in the vices of low white men. Horse racing, gambling, intemperance, profanity and Sabbath-breaking are taught by precept and example in the army movements among us.

Advertisements for the Shawnee Methodist Mission and Manual Labor School in 1848 not only emphasize the importance of isolation from contamination, but the additional features of constant supervision and control over pupils, rationalized regulations and the importance of discipline:

As we are removed from the *vices to which youth are exposed [italics added]* about little towns, and have the *entire control of the place [italics added]*, we hope to be able to make such *regulations [italics added]* with regard to Both [sic] the *discipline [italics added]* and the boarding of the students... (Scarritt 1924 445)

In their annual reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the missionaries were

constantly complaining, as the few examples above illustrate, of the negative influence of the low classes of whites in the small settlements that had already reached the edges of the Indian Territories by the 1840s. It seems that many of the Native Americans were picking up aspects of white culture quite well, just not the white culture that the pious missionaries sought to inculcate.

The phrase commonly used by Eastern reformers to describe the beneficial outcome of the new penitentiary, instilling habits of industry, also appeared quite often in the reports and writings of frontier missionaries. A Baptist missionary and Superintendent of the school to the Shawnee sponsored by the Baptist Missionary Society wrote:

...In addition to a knowledge of letters, the scholars are trained to *habits of industry* [italics added] in the various departments of life. (Barker 1842)

David Jones, a teacher at the Society of Friends school among the Shawnee, noted some success in his report of 1840:

The new scholars, being unused to restraint, were at first rather difficult to govern; but they are now very tractable, and may, no doubt...be brought up to *habits of industry* [italics added] and virtue.

Goode (1864 98) noted that the Shawnee Mission represented the

...first missionary experiment upon a large scale of educating Indian youth, not only in common English literature, but in *habits of industry* [italics added] and the duties of domestic life, by taking the *entire control of them* [italics added], boarding, lodging, clothing, and instructing them.

One of the most important elements of the asylum model was the disciplinary routine, based upon the factory model of bells and whistles. This feature was necessary to instill a new concept of time, a concept that white culture constantly lamented was seriously lacking in the Native American. To re-socialize the Native American youth into this cultural concept, the MLBS, like the penitentiary of its time, was a well-ordered institution. The following excerpts contain descriptions of the daily life of the MLBS.

An 1842 report by then superintendent Rev. Berryman to the Office of Indian Affairs that briefly outlined the daily routine employed at the Shawnee Methodist Mission and Manual Labor School.

They held school six hours a day except Saturday when they were taught only three hours. The boys not employed in the shops usually worked on the farm...or something of that kind of labor five hours a day. They were at all times under the management of their teachers. The whole school retired to bed, as a general regulation at eight o'clock P.M. and rose at the ringing of the large bell at four o'clock in the morning. (Caldwell 1939a 45; 1939b)

A similar routine was followed at the Society of Friends manual labor school among the Shawnee and described in an 1842 report:

Six hours in each day is devoted to school-learning, and the remainder of the day at such employment as they are capable of doing. (Wells & Wells 1842)

As a young girl, Belle Greene had grown up on the Shawnee Methodist Mission as her father was a teacher at the institution and she recalled many years later the routine of mealtime as it was in 1842. The assembling for the meals was signaled by the ringing of the large bell. At the sound of the bell the boys and girls would assemble in two lines in front of the building before entering and taking their places at their tables (Greene 1924 457-458). The bell as a signal that set the routine of the day was a prominent feature of the institution. In addition, the meal routine bears a striking resemblance to the lining up and walking from place to place in "lock-step," a prominent feature of the penitentiary of that day and well into the 20th century.

An additional description of the strictly controlled daily routine of the Shawnee Methodist Mission was provided by Lutz (1906 175-176). They were awakened by a bell at four or five o'clock A.M., depending on the season, and they would work until seven o'clock A.M., when the bell summoned them to breakfast. At nine o'clock the bell would summon them to studies until noon. Studies were resumed at one o'clock P.M. and ended at four o'clock P.M., when work began. The bell sum-

moned the children to dinner at six o'clock. The children then prepared their lessons until eight o'clock. There was one half-hour of recreational time before they were to retire to their dormitories and prepare for bed at nine o'clock, at the sound of the bell.

The "rule of rules," control over individuals through the promulgation of regulations governing all aspects of life, figures prominently in Foucault's (1979) discussion of the practical shift in carceral practice in the 19th century. An earlier excerpt regarding the Shawnee Methodist mission indicated that such regulations were an important feature of the school by 1848. Rev. John Peery was a missionary and spent the years 1849-1857 as a teacher and the head of the "Female Department" at the Shawnee Methodist Mission and Manual Labor School. Excerpts from his diary entry of January 1, 1850, mention his manner of treating offenders *against the rules of the school*. Peery's diary entry of Tuesday, January 15, 1850, noted a specific incident that occurred on that day: "Mary Abner sent away from school for conduct" by Superintendent Thomas Johnson. The conduct in question was the use of profane language from the complaint of a teacher at the school, referred to as Brother S.M. Cornatzer.

Finally, it has been suggested that the motive of the Federal government in providing assistance for the establishment of MLBS was to increase its level of control over the tribes. In support of the establishment of the Shawnee Methodist Mission near what is now metropolitan Kansas City, agent Richard Cummins wrote to General William Clark in 1831:

I have great hope, that after this school is got [sic] into operation, the Indians within my agency will not be so much opposed to complying with the wishes of the government, in the arts of civilization. (Caldwell 1939a 12)

CONCLUSIONS

The manual labor boarding school cannot be understood apart from the parallel history of the other total institutions created in this period. There appears to be a clear link between the MLBS and other forms of specialized institutions that arose in the early 19th century. The MLBS stands as an outgrowth of the same social forces that led to the increasing reliance upon coercive insti-

tutions for the purpose of social control.

From 1830-1850, the MLBS, as a coercive institution, became the dominant model to be followed by the missionary societies for the education and resocialization of Native American youth, with the full support of the federal government. Even though lack of funds prevented the establishment of such schools in great number, the MLBS was considered the standard, what every missionary on the frontier saw as the ideal method by which to achieve the eventual destruction of native culture and assimilation of Native Americans. For government officials, it appeared as one important method through which to achieve compliance and obedience, thus control, of a potentially threatening population on its western border.

The need for isolation of Native American youth from what white culture perceived as the corrupting influences of both native culture and the worst elements of white culture, especially alcohol, was of paramount concern to the missionaries. The references made to the vices to which youth are exposed in the writing of the missionaries are evidence that the environmental theory of contagion and contamination popular with Eastern reformers and linked to the birth of the asylum also dominated the missionary's world view.

Like the isolation of the penitentiary, total control could be exercised over the youth in an environment where social and moral training and labor usually superceded academic training. The rigid pattern of discipline, what Foucault called the "rule of rules," was designed to replace the Eurocentric perception of "inadequate" tribal family life and would teach the youth to obey their teachers (Coleman 1985 91). The missionaries stressed the need for constant supervision of their students, the ever watchful eye of Bentham's Panopticon, to ensure complete compliance with the rules of conduct. A key component of the asylum and the MLBS was the carefully routinized activities of the day, designed to instill the proper "habits of industry." The habits of industry were values of individualism and the Weberian "Protestant work ethic," in direct contradiction to the traditional ethos of cooperative harmony that was a part of the native culture into which the youth had already been socialized. In addition, the youth had to be acculturated into a new cultural concept of time. The segmentation of the day

into specific blocks of time, punctuated by the bells and whistles in the manner of the factory, was the accepted method of the period.

The establishment of the MLBS represented a rationalization of the process of control and assimilation. The bureaucratic machinery of the federal government and the missionary societies combined to produce an institution that resembled the penitentiary in practice. A component of the asylum model deemed essential to the resocialization process and transported to the MLBS was the method used for the systematic destruction of the former cultural identity of the youth and its replacement with a new identity, one provided by the missionaries. This method attempted to accelerate cultural conversion through the use of standardized procedures in the missionary boarding schools: cutting of the hair, bathing, donning of white man's clothes, and especially by being forced into accepting a new "English" name. The MLBS appeared to the missionaries as the ideal vehicle by which to destroy the tribal identity of the youth and replace it with a "civilized" identity. By taking the youth away from their families and their tribal group and placing them in a centralized boarding school with children from many different tribes, the missionaries sought to further weaken tribal identity. Combined with the government's coercion of tribal leaders to compel attendance, the MLBS was expected to be more effective than the traditional day school.

The motives of those involved with the attempts to assimilate the Native American into white culture by establishing the MLBS on the frontier were varied. Many missionaries believed strongly that it was the only way for the native peoples to survive and that they were acting in the best interest of Native Americans. Others simply were following their perceived duty of spreading Christianity throughout the world. For many federal officials, whether cultural conversion of these youth occurred or not, it was seen simply as means for control. For the parents, who were deemed already beyond change, another strategy was being developed in the 1840s, the precursor to the reservation era a generation later. One could argue that the government of the U.S. was never really interested in the assimilation of the Native Americans. The Cherokee nation was removed even after adopting many of the "civilized" ways of white

culture. The U.S. government was obsessed with fulfilling its vision of "manifest destiny" and the Native Americans had always been an impediment. The MLBS was viewed by its supporters as the long awaited panacea to the Indian problem, just as the penitentiary was seen by reformers to be the solution to the problem of crime and disorder in the 19th century. The government supported the MLBS as one of many control strategies in dealing with Native America, not the only one. Support for such missionary efforts also provided the image of a government with benevolent motives.

The combined efforts in the early 19th century of the missionary societies and the federal government that resulted in the MLBS provided the foundation for future policies of paternalism toward Native Americans and an ever increasing loss of autonomy over their own lives. The ideology of social environmentalism that spawned both the asylum and the MLBS, a form of guardianship by the state over those perceived as unable to make the appropriate decisions for themselves in a civilized society, would subsequently become engrained as national policy toward Native Americans. The MLBS represents the first of the rationalized efforts on a large scale to attempt assimilation under this new ideology. In actual practice, the MLBS most closely resembled the house of refuge for wayward youth, described by Beaumont and Tocqueville (1970 [1833] 112-113) as halfway between a prison and a school, leaning more toward the former than the latter. The frontier MLBS served as *the* model for later, more famous institutions, such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, which Berkhofer (1978 171) noted exercised a "...prison-like supervision of the students..."

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